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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

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The Munitions Case. The Government of India have done wisely in publishing a second statement fuller than the first of the circumstances surrounding the withdrawal of the Munitions case, and in taking the opportunity of stating their own opinion of the procedure adopted. The resignation of Sir Thomas Holland has been accepted by His Majesty, and there is no need, therefore, so far as he is concerned, to dwell on the disclosures contained in the last official statement. But two points are worth noting. The persistent rumour that the cases would be withdrawn, which found expression in the Legislative Assembly, seems to have actually operated as a suggestion on the mind of Sir Thomas Holland who, in his explanation to the Governor-General, stated that up to June last he was himself convinced of the desirability of continuing the prosecution. The consideration which is said to have broken down the last scruple against withdrawal, is significant. Sir Thomas Holland seems to have been long under the impression that the case would be disposed of by the Magistrate. When he came to know that it would have to go to the High Court Sessions, he felt some uncertainty about the issue, his economic conscience was aroused, and he felt the need of consulting two of his colleagues in the Government. The names of these two gentlemen are withheld in the statement on the ground of constitutional practice. We venture to think that these grounds do not apply to the present case where not the action of Government as a whole but the conduct of an individual member of it in relation to two others is concerned. Both these men "agreed to the withdrawal" though for different reasons, and neither of them suggested to Sir Thomas Holland the advisability of consulting the Viceroy on a matter so seriously calculated to involve the power and prestige of his Government. These gentlemen cannot be acquitted, to put it at the lowest, of having exhibited an insufficient appreciation of the seriousness of the matter and of their responsibility to the Viceroy. His Excellency in his generosity may condone the slight consideration to himself, but the public cannot trust the judgment of these two gentlemen who in a matter of such moment, were so completely oblivious

of its bearing on the principles of Government and its certain effect on public opinion here and in England. We, therefore, think that they must share in the blame which has rendered Sir Thomas Holland's resignation imperative, and if they choose to regard themselves as vicariously absolved from it, it is necessary to point out that their position is really in some respects even more blameworthy, in that, having been approached for advice by a colleague in perplexity, they gave him wrong advice which has led to the ruin of his official career. As usual, the refusal to give their names has not prevented more or less shrewd surmises at probabilities, and we suggest that, in the interests of the whole Government, which are far more important than those of any two individuals, the constitutional practice, if it does require the omission, may be waived in this exceptional case. To our mind, there is not the least doubt that Sir Thomas Holland should be accompanied by these two gentlemen whoever they may be and whatever they may be, into retirement.

The Reforms Conference. The idea of the "Reforms Conference," which met in Bombay last week, seems to have been suggested by the necessity of finding a common and neutral denomination under which anti-Non-Co-operationists of all shades could find accommodation, and, perhaps, also of signalling the return of Mrs. Besant to India bringing in her sheaves from the law Court at Edinburgh and the famous luncheon at which she talked Indian philosophy to Lord Haldane on her right and Indian politics to Lord Lytton (or is it, Mr. Montagu?) on her left. The chairman of the Reception Committee was that "young man in a hurry", Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, once the hero, now the *bete noir*, of Bombay hustings, and the audience consisted of a miscellaneous assortment mostly from the Bombay Legislative Council with the Development Member of Government and the Minister of Education to give it distinction. A comparison of the presidential address with that delivered at the 1917 Congress at Calcutta, is an instructive study in Besantine psychology. It has been our misfortune ever since Mr. Besant's first advent in this country not to be able to take her seriously as a religious teacher, social reformer or politician and her pronouncement at the Reforms Conference left one rather bored. The resolutions passed at the Conference were of the usual official "Liberal" type—longing still to pluck the flower, refuse to sow the seed." Almost every resolution consisted of two parts: the first expressed strong sympathy with the highest aim ever placed before the people on the topic concerned, while the second emphatically condemned the only effort, or the only serious effort yet made towards bringing it within practical politics. As for the Reforms from which the Conference derived its name, the Minister of Education who honoured the occasion by his presence, was a living commentary on its success or failure so far. The sinister obverse of the Reforms, illustrated by increased

salaries, more appointments, exchange manipulations and stores purchase, were kept out of the picture, with only a mild resolution deprecating the 7 percent loan. The country has no reason to be jubilant over the net results of the Reforms and, while the promoters of the Conference had every right to express their sentiments, few in India are likely to regard them as an effective contribution to present-day politics.

The Trail of Fire. Foreign clothes were burnt in Lahore, Allahabad and Assam and it may be held that Mahatma Gandhi and his followers, wherever they go, are leaving a trail of fire behind—not of warfare—but of the burning of the much-needed cloth. Khulna, Ahmednagar and Kangra may well cry in vain. On a former occasion, *hartals* were the order of the day. We then protested against such numerous and unauthorised *hartals* and, amongst other reasons, it was pointed out that these *hartals* would only increase the price of the necessities of life, when they were taken up stupidly by the bazars on every occasion. Mahatma Gandhi gave in then, and agreeing with our contention, ordered that there should be no more such unauthorised or such frequent *hartals*. What applied to *hartals* applies in a far greater measure to this bonfire of foreign clothes going on all about the country. But that Mahatma Gandhi's Swadeshi is not much of a success is clear if one sees Bombay after he left it. Less *khaddar* caps and less *khaddar* coats are seen nowadays and it is only natural considering how artificial and how lacking in solidity and in the elements that go to make its permanence, the movement is; and what little interest the real movement aroused, has been stifled by Japanese and Mill-made *khaddar*. Again, Mahatma Gandhi wants us all to burn our foreign cloth because of the Turkish Treaty and because of the injustices to Angora. But a careful observer on the last *Bakrid* day tells us that, in Bombay—not to speak of the increased number of cows that were slaughtered this year as the *Times of India* report says—not even one Mohamedan in a thousand was dressed in *khaddar* and that almost all were to all appearances, dressed in fine and costly foreign cloth. When Mohamedans are not very enthusiastic about Angora and the Turkish Treaty as their wearing such fine and costly foreign clothes in utter disregard of Mahatma Gandhi's and Ali Brothers' frantic exhortations, shows, our correspondent wants to know why Mahatma Gandhi is dragging the whole of India unnecessarily in a movement in which even the Mahomedans seem to be so half-hearted. One cannot help pondering on this perplexing study in contrasts, of bonfire in one corner, immediately followed by still greater avidity and necessity to dress in fine clothes—foreign or swadeshi. The gap that Mahatma Gandhi and his followers are creating in the supply of cloth by these bonfires cannot be filled up by Indian-made cloths as the Mills are working to the utmost of their capacity but there will be the inevitable reaction of resorting to cheaper foreign cloth after this present force spends itself. Already, it is said profiteering is going on not only on piece-goods but also on *khaddar* and we are not sure even that sufficient *khaddar* has been produced to make up the deficiency caused by the bonfire.

'Pussyfoot' Johnson in Bombay: India heartily welcomes to her shores the great prohibitionist from America, who has come with a message of deep import to her. His visit to India was eagerly expected and not even the visit of a royal personage was so much advertised before-hand as Mr. Johnson's. All the same, it must be confessed that his stay in Bombay has not aroused as much interest as was

expected. He delivered two lectures on Prohibition in America in the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall on Wednesday and Thursday. At the first lecture, the hall was fairly crowded; but on the second day, only the ground floor was full, the galleries being practically empty. The fall in interest was perhaps due to the difficulty to follow his American pronunciation. He, of course, spoke fairly loud and his gestures were impressive. In his lecture he paid a tribute to India's age-long abstinence policy and pithily pointed out that "they in America had simply adopted the policy of the Indians, as a nation, instead of as individuals." When a country whose people were almost all addicted to drink, could do away with it at one stroke, it should be comparatively easy for a country, the majority of whose people are abstainers, to adopt the policy so successfully adopted by America. He said that their only purpose and all they had done, had been to forbid and stop the business of making men and women drunk for profit. As he said, the only opposition to Temperance and prohibition has been from those engaged in the trade, and as for the Government's fear in the fall of revenue, he showed clearly that that was made up by gain in other respects.

Questions in the Imperial Legislature. Notices of numerous interpellations have been given for this session of the Imperial Legislature but there seems to be no interpellation on the increase of Railway fares and rates. Several Railways have already increased their fares and rates during the last few weeks and others are likely to follow suit. It is clear this is the result of the Railway Conference. But how the Government and the Railway Board allowed such increases before the Railway Committee submitted their report, passes our understanding. The present increases in fares especially under 3rd class will cause immense hardship to the myriads of the poor passengers, on the one hand; on the other, it will simply add to the dividends of Railway Companies. This periodical revision of fares and rates at the will and pleasure of Railway authorities must be stopped and should be made subject to legislative sanction and approval. These recurring increases in fares in a country of long distances, are indefensible. It is to be hoped that some questions will be asked on this matter. Likewise we miss interpellations on the very low proportion of Reparations amount allotted to India and on the £ 6, 500,000 which India is asked to give towards Persian expenditure.

Relief to Forcibly Converted Hindus: We are glad to state that steps are being considered and will soon be announced for taking back to Hinduism those forcibly converted to Islam in the Moplah disturbances in Malabar. The sympathy of some orthodox and influential gentlemen has already been assured. This, we trust, will bring hope to the suffering Hindu families in the afflicted area.

University of Lucknow: The first session of the University of Lucknow commenced on Monday the 18th July 1921 with teaching in the Faculties of Arts and Science. Students are eligible for admission to a course of study for a Degree in the Faculties of Arts and Science, who have passed the Intermediate Examination of an Indian University, incorporated by any law for the time being in force. Teaching in the Faculties of Medicine, Law and Commerce is also to be given.

Index to Volume XXXI. Owing to the price of paper, we are not sending as usual with this issue the index to the thirty first volume which ended last week. But we are printing a limited number of copies of it to be sent free to subscribers who ask for it. It is requested that such applications may be sent as early as possible.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1921.

THE MOPLA OUTBREAK.

The attempts of some of the leaders and their organs in the press to make out that the Mopla outbreak has no relation to and no bearing upon the Khilafat Non-Co-operation movement, do not carry conviction even with those who, while deploring the short-sightedness of some of its methods, have given credit to its promoters for sincerity and honesty of purpose. The general opinion, so far as we are able to gauge it, is that the outbreak is a most damaging blow to the movement, from the effects of which it can recover only by stern self-examination and prompt abandonment of propaganda calculated to inflame ignorant fanaticism. The Khilafat-Non-Co-operation leaders have sought to throw the whole blame of the outbreak upon the district officials and Government. Unfortunately for them, the Indian newspapers published in Malabar, some of them of considerable repute and long standing, are unanimous in praising the self-restraint displayed by the officials in the face of an organised movement to defy authority. During the troubles in the Punjab, the Indian press of the province, so far as it existed, was severely critical of the actions of officials. The Malabar journals we refer to are quite as independent and as ably conducted as any provincial newspapers. Their deliberate verdict on the situation will naturally weigh more with the public than the ingenious theories propounded by partisan leaders. Nor is there any force in the argument that the preachers of the Khilafat-Non-Co-operation movement had always laid stress on non-violence as the corner-stone of their methods, so long as they had taken no steps to confine their propaganda to minds prepared to accept that condition. If you flout a red rag before an irascible bull, the fact that you are an ardent supporter of cow protection will not save you from the consequences of your fool-hardiness. The Moplas, it is admitted, are an ignorant and easily excited people. The responsibility of those who chose such a people as fit soil on which to scatter about the high explosive of a religio-political propaganda, cannot be got rid of by easy self-satisfied assurances.

More than the damage to the Khilafat Non-Co-operation movement, is the serious embarrassment to responsible Hindu and Mohamedan leaders caused by the outbreak in their efforts to establish a stable Hindu-Mohamedan understanding based on a recognition of a common Indian patriotism. The Hindus of Malabar have suffered much more than the officials not only in life and property, but in things which are dearer than life. It is impossible now to deny that Hindu women have been outraged and Hindu men and women forcibly converted to what the Mopla regards as Mohamedanism. A correspondent, who traversed a part of the disturbed area mostly on foot, in the course of two letters, under dates the 26th and the 28th August, published in the *Hindu* (Madras) of the 30th August, observes :

Indescribable were the horrors committed by the Moplah upon the civil population. Only I did not hear of loss of life among the latter. This is not merely a revolt against the Government but also against the law-abiding public. The rebels have no leader and no principle and are lawless to the core. Houses belonging to Nambudries, Pattars, Nairs, and Anti-Khilaphates were looted. All articles were taken off from the famous Thrikkaikkad Madam, the abode of the Nambudiri Sanyasis (sages). Many were the agonies I saw on my way. At various places modesty of women had been outraged and rape committed on them without distinction of caste or creed.

Special importance attaches to the statements of this correspondent because not only is he describing what he saw and heard but he seems to have enjoyed to a certain extent the confidence of the Mopla rioters who allowed him, as a Khilafat preacher, to pass freely through the disturbed areas. That he was not disposed to condemn the rioters without cause appears from his further statement that on his way he did not learn that the Hindus were converted to Islam "but," he added, "there is every probability of its occurrence." Subsequent evidence does not unfortunately confirm this correspondent's doubts regarding the killing and forcible conversion of Hindus. The *West Coast Reformer* (Calicut) writes :

The outbreak which at first seemed political in colour has, of late, been growing dismal in its effect on peaceful inhabitants. The fanatical spirit of aggressive proselytisation has been asserting itself to the despair of the Nambudris in the infected zone. The tragic story of a Nambudri compelled to embrace Islam on pain of instant death and the beheading of the innocent gentleman on his refusal to change faith, reveals the dangerous transfiguration politics has taken in the hands of the fanatic.

In any other religion, faith so heroic would have been hallowed as martyrdom: it is only Hinduism that takes sacrifices such as this as a matter of course, and our contemporary's rather contemptuous reference to "a Nambudri" without the courtesy to mention or, perhaps, even the curiosity to know, his name, is typical of the Hindu attitude of mind.

Any one who knows how rigid are the ideas of the Hindu community regarding the re-admission of persons converted, willingly or unwillingly, to another religion, will understand the feeling of horror and disgust which has taken root in the minds of men and women. The Khilafat leaders have passed the usual condemnatory resolution about violence, but none of them has dared to denounce forcible conversions to Islam. No wonder that the Hindus of Malabar have come to think that Hindu-Mohamedan unity at this price is too dearly bought, and that the feeling is beginning to spread beyond Malabar. The Khilafat to non-Mohamedans is just an Empire like the many that have disappeared and the few that survive. Still out of sympathy with their Mohamedan countrymen, Hindus and other non-Mohamedan Indians made common cause with them in demanding that the Turkish treaty should respect the Khilafat. They never subscribed to Pan-Islamism, and if Khilafat leaders cannot make a stand against forcible conversion, they cannot expect to retain the sympathy of non-Mohamedans for their aim.

The Mopla outbreak has further proved that the *Swaraj* which the Khilafat-Non-co-operation movement was to bring is a mirage. Three centuries before Christ, Asoka in memorable words proclaimed equal respect for all religions as the fundamental rule of Indian polity. It has since been accepted implicitly by every Hindu ruler. The best Indian Mohamedan rulers accepted it, and their Empire prospered. The moment their successors departed from it, that moment they undermined the foundations of their sovereignty. British rule has followed the old Hindu principle to a large extent. If the future *Swaraj* means countenancing of forcible conversions, a very large section of Indians would prefer to have the present religious freedom to a millenium where they will have every kind of freedom except that of religion. The linking of *Swarajya* with the Khilafat was one of the greatest mistakes ever committed by an Indian leader of eminence. The Moghal Emperors repudiated the pretensions of the Khalif so far as they were concerned and Akbar, the greatest of them all, waged unrelenting war all throughout his resplendent reign against Moslem pedants who sought to induce him to mould his policy not according to the needs of the Empire but according to the predilections of Baghdad or Constantinople. The wisest and most patriotic Mohamedans to-day fully realise that this is the right and true policy. Hindus and other non-Mohamedan Indian communities have put forth their best efforts in pleading for a just treaty with Turkey, but they have neither the desire nor the intention to tolerate forcible conversion to Islam or to any other religion on any pretext whatsoever. We should not be surprised if it transpires that to untutored fanatics like the Mopla masses the distinction between joining the Khilafat movement and becoming Mohamedans is not readily comprehensible. If that is so, it is obvious that the Khilafat movement cannot in reason expect further co-operation on the part not only of non-Mohamedans but of all, whether Mohamedan or non-Mohamedan, who believe in perfect religious toleration.

FROM A WAYFARER'S NOTE BOOK.

Mahatma Gandhi's confessions of faith and personal recollections which are published occasionally in *Young India* and elsewhere are interesting reading. An anonymous correspondent seems to have written to the Mahatma accusing him of imposture in claiming to be politically a disciple of Gokhale and advising him to prove a worthy follower of Tilak. The Mahatma writes in reply that he cannot claim the honour of being a follower of the late Lokamanya. The Mahatma says :

"I had many heroes but no king. It was different with Gokhale, I cannot say why. It was really a case of love at first sight. He was and remains for me the most perfect man on the political field. It were blasphemous to conjecture what would have happened if he were alive today. I know, that I would have been working under him. I thought, I must declare my faithfulness to Gokhale, especially when I seemed to be living in a camp which the Indian world calls

Gokhale had great faith in the sense of justice and fairplay of the British people and it is no wonder that the Mahatma, true to the spirit of his Rajya-Guru, says even now that he has faith enough in the British people to feel that, whilst they will test our determination and strength to the uttermost, they will not carry it to the breaking point.

The Mahatma's Rajya Guru was a staunch and consistent friend of the suppressed classes. The Mahatma himself writes that the families of suppressed classes still live with him as before. The little pearl, Laxmi, still remains with him at the Ashram as dear to him as his own children. All the same, the All-India Congress Committee's omission of the anti-untouchability resolution is as significant as it is ominous. It was Mr. Bernard Shaw who said that in a stupid nation the man of genius becomes a god, and everybody worships him but nobody does his will. Well might an Indian pray with the poet saying "God, do not give us great men but elevate our nation." That is why the Mahatma is painfully forced to write :

I hold it to be blasphemy to represent me as Sri-Krishna. I claim to be a humble worker and no more among many in a great cause, which can only be injured rather than advanced by glorification of its leaders. A cause has the best chance of success, when it is examined and followed on its own merits. Measures must always in a progressive society be held superior to men, who are at all imperfect instruments, working for their fulfilment.

It is a great thing that the Mahatma is alive to the truth that the quickest remedies are always fraught with the greatest danger and require the utmost skill in handling them. He has explained how he was arrested in South Africa when he was marching into a prohibited area with over two to three thousand men and women. "They were disciplined soldiers and all the better for being unarmed..... This was an instance of discipline and non-violence for which there is no parallel in history. Without such restraint I can see no hope of successful mass civil disobedience here." It appears that as Lokamanya Tilak advanced in years, he began to lose faith in the people and their power to immediately work out their own salvation. Just a fortnight before his death, Tilak said that the Mahatma's method was an excellent one "if the people could be persuaded to take to it. But he said he had doubts." The *Standard Bearer*, a journal edited and inspired by Sri Anurobindo Ghose, concludes a thoughtful article on Non-Co-operation with the remark "Gandhiji cannot, he should not, rest till he has done his splendid bit. But then, the nation must learn the lesson of self-transcendence and divine conversion. In this connection, the Russian parallel has its lesson for us in India. Modern Russia has produced a great prophet in Tolstoy who is also a Guru of the Mahatma.

Mr. H. W. Williams says in his *Russia of the Russians*.

The "Intelligentsia" of Russia was specially recruited from the students. Among the students of the universiti

arose a movement known as "going into the people" which meant that educated young men and women carried the University settlement principle to its utmost limit, that is to say, they tried to bring enlightenment to the ignorant peasants by mixing with them and dressing exactly as they did. At first this movement had a purely educative and humanitarian character. It was only later that it became political."

Dr. A. S. Rappoport in his book "Pioneers of the Russian Revolution" says that the result was but a poor one. "The pilgrimage of these enthusiasts, of the frail women, to the shrine of the people was without real effect.....The chief cause of the failure of the propaganda lay in the apathy of the people, the indifference of the rural population and the monk." Mine is not, however, a plea for inaction. There is a wide field for patient, constructive work among the masses.

It is the suffering and the sacrifices of the millions of our people that, as Sir Jagadish Bose said, are a sort of living bone-dust fertilising the soil of national life in all its varied departments. Not to do all that is in us lies, to improve and elevate these people is not only to leave the vital part of the national organism weak and inefficient but to be guilty of the blackest ingratitude. Thus, "mass-response" is quite essential for our national progress. This is the moral to be deduced when a poet like "A. E." (George W. Russell) edits the organ of agricultural Co-operation in Ireland. It was to him that Sir Horace Plunkett pointed when he said that the most practical man in the Irish Agricultural movement was a poet. This is also the secret of Poet Tagore's message to the people which he conveyed years ago in his famous lecture on *Swadeshi Samaj*:—"If nobody follows thee, go thou forward alone."

Russia offers perhaps the best field for the study of Co-operation under an infinite variety of aspects. Kropotkin says that in Russia, it is a natural growth, an inheritance from the Middle Ages; the *artel* makes the very substance of Russian peasant life. As for India, says Mr. Henry Wolff: "of all countries, in the old world and the new, there seems none so specially marked out for the practice of co-operative credit." Moreover, co-operation is a great measure for the improvement of our cottage industries. This is a part of the vast amount of voluntary social service that has to be done in India.

The moral behind Indians' present demoralisation in South Africa is, as the *Reformer* well puts it, that a community or a class will, under the impulse of a great emotion or the enthusiasm created by a great personality, over-strain its capacity for severe and self-sacrificing effort, but the after-effects of it will always be lassitude and division. I met the other day Mr. C. R. Naidu who has been handling the indentured Indian question in Natal for the last twelve years. I drew his attention to the moral deduced by the *Reformer*. Mr. Naidu could not but endorse this considered criticism. I see that certain remarks of his, made in a mass meeting at Madras have been con-

tradicted by the Government of India. Notwithstanding the Simla communique of the 5th inst, Mr. Naidu still asserts publicly that even after the Government of India notified the Union Government that there was famine, that repatriates were suffering considerable difficulties in India, the Union Government made no attempt whatever to issue fresh special circulars in all vernaculars contradicting their original circular which raised false hopes. If there is any basis for this serious allegation, the dubious attitude of General Smuts towards the Asiatic problem in South Africa is as intelligible as Mr. Sastri's robust optimism is misplaced. May I venture to remind Mr. Sastri of his characteristic saying:

Mr. Gokhale to the end writhed under unjust attacks; but, like the child whom an angry mother puts away, returned again to her lap. But I can imagine others similarly situated who may retire to their tents like Achilles, or even turn against their country like Coriolanus.

I trust however that when the full proceedings of the Imperial Conference become available there will be ample reason to efface my present anxiety that London, or rather South Africa, is perilously near becoming "the grave of his reputation." Since writing the above, the *Hindu* has published the letter from its well-informed London correspondent who says:

"Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has not, so far, been able to give much satisfaction to his fellow countrymen (on the subject of the Indians overseas). He has eloquently voiced the claims of India to just and equal treatment in his speeches at the Imperial Conference, but although he has been well supported by the Maharao of Kutch and Mr. Montagu, he has nothing to show as yet in the way of tangible gains."

The third session of the Madras Legislative Council has come and gone. So far as the future distribution of the loaves and fishes of offices is concerned, the Madras non-Brahmin party won a decided victory in this session. Dewan Bahadur M. Venkataratnam Naidu M. L. C., however, in welcoming this as one of the first and richest fruits of the reformed Council explained by saying that the non-Brahmins had been particular about communal representation in an adequate measure not from any undue desire to snatch away the loaves and fishes of offices, but for the reason that under existing conditions it was the most powerful stimulus to education and to civic and social responsibilities. The resolution supporting Dr. Gaur's Marriage Bill was, after much discussion of the usual type, declared carried, 48 voted for the resolution, 23 against it. My friend Mr. R. K. Shaumukham Chettiar M. L. C. who has made a careful study of the Excise question and who is a rising star in the Council effectively pointed out that the whisky bottle was combined with British administration in India. His amended resolution that the Standing Committee which is to be attached to the excise department be required to investigate and suggest means of improving the excise administration of the Presidency was accepted by the House Mr. Patro and the amended resolution was unanimously carried.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent).

London, August 11, 1921.

RAIN AT LAST.

The drought has broken, rain has fallen practically all over the country, the temperature has gone down, and no heat-stroke cases have been reported for days. But the rainfall has come too late to save the crops, and great depression among farmers is the result. On the whole, the wheat crop has suffered the least, for though the wheat did not grow tall or have full growth, it nevertheless was fairly sturdy and gathered in easily. Stock farms have been severely hurt and will continue to suffer. The winter months will be filled with grave perplexity for the dairy farmer, for the root crop upon which they depend for the winter has completely failed, and no amount of rain coming now can make it good.

LABOUR CONDITIONS.

Unemployment is sharply on the down grade. Last week the numbers on the registers of the exchanges fell by 145,000, and during the last month the total reduction is 386,000. The figures are certainly hopeful, but even if the decrease continued at such a rapid rate, it would still be many weeks before the army of two million men could be absorbed. The idle coal mines still remain a problem to be dealt with even though the miners' strike is a thing of the past. There are still 131 pits not opened, thus leaving idle over 25,000 miners in Great Britain. Apart from the above mentioned pits not working at all, there were about 93 pits, normally employing about 29,000 men, in which no coal was brought to the surface up to July 23rd, but in which a small number of workers were employed in clearing away the water and preparing the mines for work. There seems to be a firm hope that very shortly coal will be cheaper, and should this hope be realised, business will revive in earnest, and the trade returns, which have latterly been depressingly low, will go up accordingly.

The ship-yard joiners' strike, however, continues and no hope of a conclusion is held out at the present time. The owners declare their inability to make any new proposals, so that it seems the present deadlock must continue until the endurance of one side or the other is exhausted.

At a recent big labour meeting, Mr. J. H. Thomas, M. P., said "he believed we were now approaching and definitely going to establish a new era in the relationship between the railway companies and the employees. He refused to believe that the men were entering into an unholy alliance with the companies, with a view to fleecing the public, as had been asserted. Nor did he think a huge monopoly was being created. The N. U. R. intended to have a fair deal. He would say that railwaymen, while not denying the right to strike, intended in future to make strikes their last consideration, instead of their first." Such speeches from such sources help to give security to commercial life.

It is reported in a Cardiff Press message that the

South Wales colliery enginemen stokers, and surface-craftsmen, whose Associations were merged in the Miners Federation shortly before the recent dispute, are breaking away from that body. The policy of the Federation during the recent stoppage in calling out the maintenance men has been severely criticised, and it is probable this has caused the severance from the main body. There is every likelihood, too, that the Triple Alliance will shortly cease to exist, as it has already ceased to function.

CRIME AND DIVORCE.

It is said that when a nation is prosperous, it is virtuous; but wars produce as an aftermath a great increase in crime. It is easy to believe that when the great stress of poverty is removed from a large portion of the population, pillage and robbery become less, the temptations not being the same. But as virtue is the standing erect in the face of temptation, not the absence of the latter, the saying does not seem a particularly true one. That wars produce an aftermath of crime, history has proved to us. Yet the history of the past does not necessarily mean that it need be repeated to-day. Anyway the Judicial Statistics for England and Wales recently published show that a substantial advance has been made in the direction of order. From the figures given, a remarkable decrease in crime of almost every kind has been going on for years. On a given day, in 1893, there were more than 4,000 men and women undergoing penal servitude. At the outbreak of war there were under 3,000, and on March 1st, 1921, the figure given was less than 1,400. It is believed that one reason for the decrease is the influence of the Borstal system, under which it is claimed that about 73 per cent of the young men sentenced and released on licence are permanently reformed. It is probably owing to this, as well as other reasons, that a large number of prisons were closed during the war. One other big reason for the decrease in conviction has been the fact that in the cases of a fine in lieu of a term of imprisonment for first offences, a longer time of late has been given for the payment of the fine; in addition the increase in wages and the standing at the old rate of fines have made it possible for fines to be paid much more easily, thereby lessening the number of persons sent to prison. On the other hand, the figures for bigamy and divorce for 1919 show an enormous increase over the figures for 1913. In 1913, there were 133 cases of bigamy, in 1919, there were 917 cases. To a very large extent this enormous increase can be directly traced to the disturbance in family life and hasty marriages due to the great war, and is part of its aftermath. It also points to the fact that our present marriage and divorce laws do not meet the requirements of the present day. But the present day's problems are rather abnormal, and rules that have been laid down for social life and found worthy, need very careful consideration ere altering them radically.

TAXPAYERS' SOCIETY.

A new society has been formed to protect the taxpayer, having Lord Inchcape as President. A large

number of influential names are given as members of the general council. Sir William P. Treloar is chairman of the General Purposes Committee of the society and in a letter reporting the formation of it, he says: "In view of the present complexity of the income tax, it becomes daily more evident that there is a clear need for the formation of a strong permanent association to watch and safeguard the interests of income and super-tax payers. The first object of the society is to maintain the constitutional principle of control of the administration, assessment, and collection of income tax by the tax-payers themselves, through the medium of their representatives, the Commissioners for the general purpose of the income tax, and their local offices. The subscription has been fixed at five shillings for individuals and a guinea for corporations, companies and firms." The society is to be absolutely non-political and has already a wide sympathy.

MENTAL DISORDERS.

During the war a tremendous amount of attention was directed to mental disorders, and special means of treating such were devised. But mental sicknesses are amongst the most obscure of the evils that mankind can suffer from, so very little is really known about them. Our asylums have for many years received a large amount of harsh criticism, and efforts for acquiring knowledge and commencing reforms have been many and various. As long ago as 1889 a medical member of the London County Council was instrumental in setting up a committee of the Council, to report on the advantage of supplementing the asylum system with hospitals having visiting medical staffs for the study and curative treatment of insanity. The committee reported strongly in favour of the hospital scheme, declaring that "such institutions scarcely fail to be productive of increased knowledge of the subject and consequently increased means of prevention and cure." The report, however, was shelved and later a cry was raised that any attempt to dissociate mental treatment or research work from the hospital must fail. In 1907, a sum of £30,000 was offered to the London County Council by another medical man, if they would establish a mental hospital. After some delay the offer was accepted, but some years elapsed ere a suitable site was found for building. After the site was found, nothing further was done, and the hospital is still not opened for the purpose for which the philanthropic doctor gave his money. Most probably the war had a lot to do with the delay: but the war did one thing for the mentally sick. A demand was made during the war which had the whole force of humane public feeling behind it, that no soldier should be certified as insane until it was shown that the mental disorder he suffered from was incurable. This demand, however, was not made applicable to civilians. So now once again the question has become acute, and demands are made for greater investigation into cases of lunacy.

POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The question of the position of Women in the Civil Service occupied a large part of the day in the House of Commons on August 5th. The motion put forward

suggested that women should have the same chance as men in the Civil Service, that they should be admitted by the same examination, that they should be placed on the same establishment list as men, and should be given equal pay for equal work. A great deal of controversy ensued, showing that the average male still clings tenaciously to what he has believed to be his own ground, and dislikes the idea of feminine competition. But the old barriers have fallen away, and women can no longer, be restricted in any profession or denied opportunities of advancement in any way they themselves select. That part of the motion concerning equal pay for equal work came in for the most criticism. The need for national economy is so great to-day that the present conditions of payment for women cannot be altered hurriedly, for already there is a very large number of women in the Civil Service, and the cry of undue extravagance that has been raised against the administration does not allow of further expenditure at the present time. Anyway, women will have an opportunity to prove themselves in the higher positions and once having done that, the question of equal pay can come up again for a solution. No changes are, however, due to take place for another three years.

LICENSING BILL.

The new Licensing Bill has passed its third reading and control of prices and quality is to go. Hours of opening, however, are fixed for eight hours only all over the country, except in the Metropolitan area, where they remain fixed by the Bill at nine. A big anti-liquor fight is going to be put up by a number of organisations and though no one, even the most sanguine, expects the country is going dry yet, propaganda on a big scale will do much to help along that road.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE, BOMBAY.

The Social Service League, Bombay, having been founded on 19th March 1911, has completed the first decade of its existence. During all these years, the League has been striving to improve the physical, moral, mental and economic condition of the people by adopting various means. The following are the main activities of the League:

LIBRARIES.

The Library movement of the League consists of travelling libraries, standing libraries and reading centres. The total number of books in the Travelling Libraries is about 5,000. These books are kept in 50 boxes, each containing 100 books. Each box is kept at a centre for two or three months, after which period it is replaced by another containing a fresh stock of books. During the period of 19 months under report, these boxes were circulated at 161 centres. The League maintains six libraries for mill-workers, one for the depressed class people, one for Mohamedans and two for middle classes. The League conducts two reading centres for the depressed classes—one at Parbhadevi and the other at Valpakhdi.

EDUCATIONAL WORKS.

At the end of the year 1920, the League had under its management 22 schools of which 16 were Night Schools and 6 Day Schools. The total number of students taking advantage of these schools was 1,655, of which 1,476 were boys and 179 girls. In the 16 night schools under the management of the League, the total number of boys on the roll was 1,101 and the daily average attendance was 781. Students came from backward class communities, depressed classes and some of them were Mohamedans. All of them (except 150 small children) earned their own livelihood. The total number of pupils in the 6 day schools for half time (children working in mills) was 554, of whom 375 were boys and 179 girls. Slates, pencils, primers, etc., were supplied free to all the students. The League possesses about 1,000 slides on various subjects such as, mythology, hygiene, history, sanitation, temperance and co-operation. With the help of these slides, 125 lectures were delivered among the working class people during the period under report. This work is undertaken by the League specially for the benefit of the poor children living in dingy habitations and in the smoky atmosphere of the city. During the period under report about 1,000 children were taken out on excursions to four different places and seven programmes of the open air sports were arranged at different centres. About 3,000 children took part in the sports. The League conducts the two scout troops one in Girgaon and another at Parel. A pack of cubs (children between 7 and 12 years) is also formed in Girgaon. These three troops together comprise about 120 boys. Since the inception of the first scout troop in 1918, the activities of the open air sports and fresh air excursions have all along been managed by the scouts. They also took a prominent part in the child-welfare Fete held in March 1919 at the Prince of Wales Museum.

MEDICAL RELIEF.

The League maintains a small Homoeopathic Charitable Dispensary at Parel for the benefit of the poor people. During the period under report 4,114 patients were treated at the Dispensary out of whom 2,914 were men, 723 women 477 children. Another dispensary known as the Bai Bachubai Charitable Dispensary is also maintained by the League at Parel specially for women and children of the working classes. The Dispensary is conducted in the name of the late Bai Bachubai wife of Shet Kanji Cursondas, who bears the whole expenditure of the Dispensary. During the period under report 23,593 patients were treated at the Dispensary, of whom 13,795 were women and 9,798 children. With the intention of putting the Dispensary on a permanent footing, Shet Kanji Cursondas has offered the League a donation of Rs. 55,000. The Florence Nightingale Village Sanitation Fund was placed at the disposal of the League by its Trustees in July 1919. The League gives a small grant of Rs. 50 from this Fund to any village for sanitation purposes on condition that an equal amount is raised locally in that village. During the period under report 8 villages were given grant of Rs. 50 each.

POLICE COURT MISSIONARY.

The League in co-operation with the Released Prisoners' Aid Society has appointed a Police Court Missionary. His work is to visit the Courts of the Chief Presidency Magistrate Bombay and Third Presidency Magistrate, and to request the Courts to give the first offenders the advantage of section 562 of the Criminal Procedure Code, to keep in touch with prisoners after their release, and to try to prevail upon them to lead an honest life. During the year 1920, 504 first offenders were released on his recommendation. Among them 73 were women.

THE CO-OPERATIVE WORK.

The work of improving the economic condition of the poorer and working classes in Bombay is carried on by spreading the spirit of co-operation among them. The following are the main activities of the League in this direction: The League has 68 Co-operative Credit Societies under its supervision. The total membership of these societies is 3,300. The total share capital amounts to Rs. 26,990. Deposits from members and non-members come to Rs. 34,461. The League conducts three co-operative stores. The total sales of these stores amounted to Rs. 57,569 during the period under report.

SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS.

Tardeo and Chikalwadi Centres.—The programme of work in these centres consists of the formation of Sanitary Committees, which look after the sanitation and lighting of the localities, night schools, co-operative societies and such other activities.

Parel Settlement—This settlement was started in 1917 with the object of bringing educated social workers in actual contact with the inhabitants of the slums and of developing a centre of social work in the labouring class locality of Parel. The Settlement maintains a free Reading Room and Library. Public lectures and street preachings and chawl lectures are arranged from time to time. The settlement has started a new activity in the "Parel Parliament." People meet at the Settlement weekly and discuss among themselves topics of the day. The Settlement undertakes to try to redress the grievances of the working class residents of the locality by sending representations to the authorities concerned.

The Madanpura Settlement.—With the object of doing social work among the Mohamedan weavers of the Madanpura District, a Settlement was started in February 1918. A Mohamedan graduate is placed in charge of this settlement. It maintains a Library of Urdu books and a Reading Room, arranges street preachings and public lectures. It has an employment Bureau, which secures employments for poor labourers in mills, in private firms and Government Offices. A number of complaints are addressed every year by the settlement to the Municipality regarding the insanitary condition of several localities inhabited by poor Mohamedans.

WELFARE WORK.

Since the year 1918 the League has undertaken Welfare Work for the two groups of mills managed by the Agencies of Messrs. Currimbhoy Ebrahim & Sons Ltd. and the Tata Sons Ltd. respectively. Two separate Welfare Institutes have been started for the two different groups of mills and the whole expenditure of the work is borne by the respective Agencies. The Institutes maintain Reading Rooms, Libraries, Night Schools and Day Schools for half-time children working in the mills. They conduct 51 Co-operative Credit

Societies and three Co-operative Stores. They have opened Gymnasiums in which members from the working class people are admitted on payment of a nominal fee of one anna per month. They maintain Day Nurseries for the children of the work-women. Lectures and theatrical performances are occasionally arranged for the workers. Under the auspices of the Institutes, Works Committees, on which both the employers and the workmen are represented, are formed in different mills with a view to create mutual confidence and to establish cordial relations between the employers and the employees. The Currimbhoy Ebrahim Workmen's Institute has opened a Social Club where refreshments are provided to the workmen at cost price. This Institute conducts a Marathi monthly Magazine which is distributed broadcast among mill workers free of charge.

THE WORKMEN'S INSTITUTE, PAREL.

The long cherished idea of the League to have a Central Workmen's Institute not patronized by any particular Firm of mill agents has been well nigh realised. The League has secured on lease a plot of ground from the Improvement Trust in a central mill locality at Parel and the construction work of some of Institute buildings has been almost completed. The Institute will house a day school, a night school, a library, a reading room, a dispensary, a gymnasium, a theatre for cinema shows and dramatic performances and a hall for indoor games. The total cost of the buildings is expected to reach about three lacs of rupees and the annual expenditure of the programme of work to be done by the Institute will come to about Rs. 80,000. The League has been able to secure about a lac and a half of rupees for the Building Fund. The Workmen's Institute is the first and the most important attempt that has so far been made by an Indian agency to promote the social, educational and economic condition of the working classes and it is hoped that the public will co-operate with the League in establishing the Institute on a sound financial basis.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD "MAPPILLA" FOR THE MOHAMEDANS OF KERALA.

Sir —Mapilla is a Tamil word, the English rendering of which is son-in-law. Lately I had been to Cannanore and stayed there for 8 days. During my stay Sultan Alli Raja of Arakal Kovilakam died. As it generally happens when prominent people die there are discussions about his past life history. I had a talk with a gentleman of position and standing about the history of the Sultan Alli Raja. During our talk the gentleman told me that the Sultan Alli Raja's family and the Chirakal Royal family are the same. 500 years ago or so a wealthy Arab merchant used to visit Chirakal Raja whenever the Arab merchant came to Cannanore on mercantile business and used to present the ruling Raja the rarities of Arabia. The Raja in return used to present the merchant over and above his present and also assisted the merchant in so many ways for his trade (in the shape of spices, etc.) and thus he had a high opinion of the merchant. On one occasion the merchant without looking to the social position of the Raja asked a royal boon. The Raja promised to give anything which the merchant may want and asked the merchant to mention his request. The merchant, though with some hesitation asked for a girl of the Royal family for his wife, then the Raja without any murmur asked the merchant to take the first girl who came across his way in the downstairs of the palace. Curiously enough it was the Raja's own niece that was at the time downstairs. The merchant took the Raja's niece as his wife and the faithful and generous Raja gave half his wealth to his niece and then Chirakal Kovilagam for the Royal family and Arakal Kovilagam to the son-in-law and thus Mappilla.

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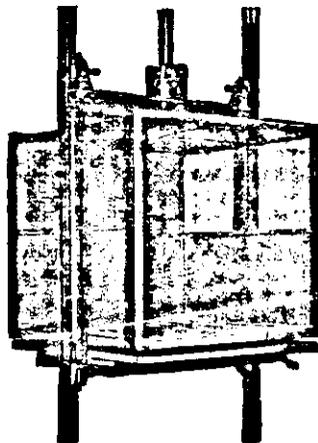
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Turn of the Tide: We referred recently to the reception accorded to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya by Bombay audiences as presaging a turn in the tide that has been flowing for some time past in favour of isolation, exclusion and abstention as the most effective methods of political and national salvation. The enthusiastic reception accorded by the Calcutta public to poet Rabindra Nath's great message which we print today, is even more significant in the same sense. For, what is the sum and substance of the poet's message? It is that, not isolation, exclusion and abstention, but expansion, inclusion, and activation, are the true means of national salvation. "Turn from the West," exclaims Mahatma Gandhi. "Learn from the West," exhorts Mahakavi Tagore. This conflict of ideals is no new thing. It appears in the history of every race and nation and is, in fact, as essential to national life as the expanding and contracting movements of the heart are essential to animal life. The Mahatma represents the Indian heart at its systole; the Poet at its diastole. It must expand in order to contract and contract in order to expand. To vary the metaphor, the Mahatma is India in her extreme introspective mood when even one's nearest and dearest are intruders; the Poet is the same India with her eyes gazing joyously on the world and all mankind—the mood which inspired the glorious opening verse of the *Ispanishad*: "All this is suffused by Deity!" While both processes are essential to sustain life, either of them carried too long or too far spells death. Excessive introspection leads to morbid melancholia and valetudinarianism. Morality is dissipated in moralising. The mind fatigued by fruitless reflection seeks repose in a few visible symbols—the wearing of *khaddar* assumes in the eyes of the non-Co-operationist the same significance as the sect-mark on the forehead of a Vaishnava or even that of the trade-mark on the goods of a merchant. There was some imminent danger of the Mahatma's movement passing the bounds of national safety, and we are glad of the signs which show that it is on the turn. One good result of it will be that the Mahatma will find his proper place in the national economy as an inspired

social reformer and moral teacher of great power; while as a sort of political hierophant, he had been forced into a position in which he could not do the greatest good to the country of which he is capable. The task of steering the country amidst the deeps and shallows of practical politics, belongs to the statesman skilled in the science of political navigation, well acquainted with the ocean currents marked in history, ancient and modern, along which other nations in similar circumstances have sailed their craft to safety or destruction, and trained to detect swiftly on his own national horizon indications of propitious wind and of menacing tempest.

University in the Melting Pot: The restlessness that has come over the Bombay University bodes no good to the future of higher education in the Presidency. The changes necessitated by Lord Curzon's Act in the constitution, regulations and courses of study, had scarcely been completed, when the University was called upon to carry out fresh changes. Some of these are yet under trial and none of them has been sufficiently long in operation to justify a considered appreciation of their effects. While yet in this transitional stage, the report of the Calcutta University Commission has had a fatal fascination for some members including the Vice Chancellor and the Minister of Education. At the instance of these gentlemen, quite a lot of time and money has been spent in framing a scheme which differs from the Sadler Commission's scheme as chalk from cheese. The financial aspect of the scheme was deliberately left out of consideration as a matter of detail. Having regard to the fact that the Minister of Education has been obliged to throw the responsibility of funding funds for the pressing calls of primary education on a non-official Committee, the chances of finding funds for the scheme, which have yet to be estimated, are not of the rosiest. If the Minister embarks on a costly scheme of unnecessary reform of University education without fully satisfying the clamant needs of primary education, which will absorb for more funds than he is likely to be able to provide in the next two years, he will not only find his position untenable but will deserve to do so. While the Senate's labours are likely to bear no fruit, the discussions therein have had disastrous results. Almost every college in the Presidency, including the most famous, have had fewer admissions this year than ever before. This is only slightly due to the Non-Co-operationist aberration as most of those who left in April have rejoined, sadder and wiser for their experience. We can only account for this fall as the result of the wild statements made by some speakers in the Senate, and by the general uncertainty created by the prospect of vague and far-reaching changes. The Colleges do not know what to do. They cannot undertake much-needed developments because the Damocles' sword of reform hangs over their heads, and the two Intermediate classes from which they derive their largest income are involved in the Sadler scheme. Mean-

while the University at the instance of enthusiasts goes on adding odd bits to the courses of study, and poor Principals of Colleges are driven to distraction by the difficulty of adjusting time-tables, providing class rooms and special lecturers, all at very short notice. To a certain extent, the Principals have themselves to blame for their sisyphian troubles. The Universities Act of 1924 was primarily intended to give them a larger share in University affairs and expressly provided for their election to the Senate and Syndicate. But they have been contented to remain interesting but silent spectators instead of active participators in University deliberations.

The Industries Portfolio: There is a strong feeling in the country that the Joint Committee's recommendation regarding the number of Indians in the Governor-General's Executive Council has not been carried out in its full implication. The vacancy created by Sir Thomas Holland's resignation gives Lord Reading an opportunity to remove this cause of dissatisfaction by appointing an Indian of capacity to the post. We hope His Excellency will avail himself of it. It may be pointed out that the Industrial and Commercial portfolio is one of the four which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his speeches in Bombay indicated as an essential one to be in the hands of Indians in order that the country might prepare itself for the assumption of full Dominion rule in the near future. It is understood meanwhile that the Department will temporarily be in charge of the Hon. Mr. Shafi, the Education Member. The duties of Mr. Shafi, so far as Education is concerned, chiefly consist at present in carrying on a wordy warfare with Sir Asutosh Mukherji regarding the affairs of the Calcutta University. The additional work will not overwhelm him. The fact of his choice would also seem to show that he was not one of the two members whom Sir Thomas Holland consulted about the Karnani fiasco. It has been pointed out to us with reference to our comments last week on the responsibility of the two members, that their responsibility cannot be assessed without knowing exactly how the circumstances of the case were put before them. We admit the force of this correction. We assumed that the case as presented to them could not have materially differed from the version of it in the official notes, but this need not have been so. It is possible that the matter as put before them wore a different aspect. It is for the two gentlemen now to state publicly the circumstances in which and the reasons for which they agreed to the withdrawal of the prosecution, and wherein they differed from those that were placed before the Governor-General. We hope that His Excellency the Viceroy will allow them to make a public statement in justice to themselves. We support the demand for a thorough enquiry into the administration of the Munitions Board and Department.

Ex-officials and Trading: The *Hindu* of Madras has a timely article calling attention to the increasing practice of high financial and other officers of Government on retirement or resignation, engaging themselves in business in which secret information as to Government's policy and position might be utilised to their profit. Our contemporary gives instances. The *Hindu* points out that the officials during their connection with the Government know all the secrets of Government and its policy as well as information as to what concessions the Government is prepared to make and what new schemes are to be promoted which may be supported by the Government; and all such information may be made available to the Company promoters at the expense of the tax payers. Moreover, as these retired officials wield considerable influence with their erstwhile colleagues, they are

better able to influence the Government in the matter of concessions. Our contemporary further points out that in India schemes sanctioned in one year are put in operation only the next year or may be some more time hence. The general policy agreed upon by the Government of a particular day is in many cases put into force only after the tenure of office of the members of that Government is over so that they may easily profit by decisions which they knew and to which they were a party. We strongly support the plea of the *Hindu* for putting a limit to a practice which cannot but be highly detrimental to honest administration. The *Hindu* refers to a statement by a Calcutta Commercial journal to the effect that in a new sugar flotation that has been projected, Sir Thomas Holland is associated and may become one of the Directors. Our attention was also called to the statement but we did not notice it as we could scarcely believe that Sir Thomas Holland would have negotiated, while still holding office as Member for Commerce and Industries, to get a controlling interest in an industrial venture which obviously would need concessions from Government in various ways. Sir Thomas Holland's resignation was not even a surmise when the Calcutta paper made its announcement, and, in fact, the friend who brought it to our notice inferred from it that Sir Thomas' resignation was imminent. Indian capitalists should show more regard for public proprieties than they sometimes do. Business men do not always realise that nothing that affects the integrity of public life can in the long run benefit them, though immediately it may bring them increased profits. The practice to which the *Hindu* calls attention should be regulated by the co-operation of Government and Indian leaders of commerce and industry, but there is another tendency which Government can on their sole initiative nip in the bud. We refer to the tendency of retired high officials, or those about to retire, foisting themselves on Indian States. Some Indian rulers cannot bear to see their own subjects or countrymen rise to positions of power and trust, and prefer to pick up some super-annuated British ex-official whose presence about them apparently ministers to their vanity in some obscure way. The Government of India can insist on such Indian rulers training up their own men, and in doing so they will be acting in the spirit of the admirable advice which Lord Curzon gave to, we believe, the late Maharaja of Indore.

Architecture and National Character: In his letters during his recent visit, Sir Valentine Chirol propounded some fanciful theories regarding India, her people, and their social and religious institutions. One of these is his deduction from a comparison of the architecture of the great Hindu temples of the South with that of the Taj Mahal. He assumed, as Mr. H. C. Chatterjee shows in the August number of the *Indian Review* against the most recent authoritative opinion, that the Taj Mahal was built by Moslem architects. It has been repeatedly shown that many of the most famous mosques in India, for example, those at Ahmedabad, were built by Hindu architects, that their very ground-plans are those of Hindu edifices, and that only the superstructure was modified to suit Moslem ideas. But if architecture must be used as a key to national culture and character, if we must seek in it a clue to the central idea inspiring a people's mode of thought and life, we should dive deeper than surface appearances. Mr. E. B. Havell is a student of Indian art in a truer sense than Sir Valentine, and it is interesting to note what he has to say on this point. In his admirable "History of Aryan Rule in India," which every Indian student and statesman should read, mark and inwardly digest, he dwells on the antiquity and continuity of the Indo-Aryan building tradition

from the earliest times and shows that the Indo-Mahomedan was truly a development of it. He writes:

The exquisite refinement of contour which Indo-Mahomedan tomb-builders achieved, and their comparative reticence in surface decoration, had their counterparts and prototypes in the marvellous profiles and massive generalisations with which the Indian painter realised his ideal of the divine Buddha at Ajanta: the inspiration of the Trimurti of Elephants and of the bronze Nataraja of the Tanjore temple is evident in the tombs of the Pathan Kings and in the dome of the Taj Mahal.

The Simla Legislative Programme: The Simla Legislative programme would seem to have been drawn up with the object of spending the maximum of time and doing the minimum of work. Beyond half a dozen members being sworn in in the Assembly and the President's statement regarding the programme of work, no other business was done on the first day. There was nothing to do the next day. The Viceroy addressed the joint session of the Legislature on the 3rd, on the 4th again there was nothing to do. On the 5th there was some business, and then the Assembly adjourned to the 15th. According to the programme, meetings are to be held on the 15th, 19th, 22nd and 26th for official business and on the 20th and 21st for non-official business. It would have been better if the members had been asked to come on the 5th instant when, after the new members had been sworn in, the Viceroy could have addressed the joint Session, and the Assembly and the Council of State could have proceeded with the business without wasting five days in Simla. No wonder that members feel that they are wasting their valuable time—"eating their heads off," as one of them puts it—in Simla, while their business needlessly suffers at their own places. The autumn Session, at any rate this year, seems to be a grand picnic, and it is not surprising that some of the speeches of the picnickers smack of the postprandial.

Beggars in Bombay: It is now about five years since on a resolution moved in the Local Legislative Council, a committee was appointed to report on the Beggar Problem in Bombay. The committee took about two years to submit its report and the Government took another two years to consider the Report and publish it. Now, again, it appears from an answer in the last Legislative Council Meeting, that the Government have asked the Bombay Municipality to formulate definite proposals to deal with the beggar population. This sort of exchange of notes and question has gone on for the last few years without bringing us any nearer the solution of the problem. When will this fruitless and provoking process cease, one wonders. Meanwhile, the position is much worse than what it was a few years ago and the number of beggars of all sorts and descriptions has increased enormously. The unusually long-drawn-out rainy season has intensified their sufferings and miseries and the sheltered pavements of Hornby Road look like asylums for these beggars. Cases of extreme privation and starvation could be seen and there is not the least doubt that, during the last few weeks, there must have been some cases of death by starvation. Only, nowadays, we do not hear of such police reports of death from starvation, but judging from the conditions prevailing, there must have occurred some cases of this kind. Cannot the Municipality and the Beggar Relief Committee do something for these poor people? The busy streets and pavements of the Fort are infested with beggars suffering from

loathsome disease like leprosy and this should not be allowed to prevail in such a busy locality.

Forced Conversions: The two letters that we publish today show that the forced conversions in the Mopla area, are exercising the Hindu mind in widely separated places. Mr. Gharpure's letter is specially important as the considered opinion of an eminent Hindu scholar and lawyer. The Smriti of Devala which he cites, is one of the original Smritis and not a Digest or Nibandha like the Mitakshara, Mayukha and other more modern treatises. The Smritis record what the sages "saw" and not what they "composed" and, therefore, they are accepted by orthodoxy as guides or evidence of what existed in the times to which they belong. We stated last week that it is under consideration to concert measures to ensure that the forced conversions involve no loss of social or religious status to the victims. Meanwhile, we are pleased to learn that a leading Hindu ecclesiastical authority in the area affected has declared that a simple purificatory ceremony would suffice to readmit the forcibly converted persons to their respective castes. The present trouble will not be wholly without a beneficial result if it leads Hindus all over India to adopt a settled policy in respect of similar cases now and in the future applying alike to men and women. We also suggest that leading Mahomedan divines and laymen should issue a declaration, and have it promulgated in every mosque, that they condemn the action of the Moplas as opposed to Islamic injunctions and that those directly concerned in effecting forced conversions should not be admitted to Islamic communion unless they express their penitence in some approved form.

India and Aden: The *Bombay Chronicle* has come to agree that the transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office is an injustice to India. The main reason given by our contemporary for its changed opinion is the divided responsibility between the Colonial Office and India and that the Indian share of the expenditure will be maintained as before. On the other hand, the feeling amongst Indians in Aden is against transference to the Colonial Office on any ground whatsoever, and if by such transfer, India's share of the expenditure, is not altogether done away with, India should the more strongly resist any such proposal. India should insist that the present arrangement should continue and that her sons who have built up the prosperity of the settlement should not be penalised for their trouble. It is reassuring to learn from an official statement in the Legislative Assembly that the question of the transfer is not yet finally settled. If we remember, Mr. Winston Churchill stated in the House of Commons that the transfer had already been effected and that only financial details awaited settlement, but he is the author of the famous phrase, "intelligent anticipation of events," and he was, perhaps, testing his own powers in that direction on this Aden question.

Women Suffrage in Bengal: While Bombay and Madras have adopted women suffrage, the Bengal Legislative Council has rejected by a majority a resolution to remove the disability of women to vote in elections. This, in spite of the pleading of Sir Surendranath Banerji, who admitted having held a different opinion in the Southborough Committee. But for his obstinate opposition and Mr. Sastri's politic indifference, women would have been enfranchised at the same time as men and taken part in the first elections. The women of Bengal must hold Sir Surendranath responsible for placing them in an invidious position as compared with their sisters in Bombay and Madras.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1921.

THE VICEROY ON SOME PRESENT DAY PROBLEMS.

The speech with which the Viceroy opened the Simla Session of the Indian Legislature, was characterised by a sureness of touch naturally wanting in his previous utterances. It shows that Lord Reading has now a clear view of the ground before him and needs no longer the aid of general propositions which may be made to cover all possible contingencies. His Excellency has spent his five months in the country to good purpose. Another quality which will be noticed with satisfaction is that, whatever His Excellency may be able or may not be able to do, he does not shut his eyes to facts or attempt to represent them to himself or to the public as being other than what they plainly are. Yet another feature of the speech worthy of praise, is the judicial fairness with which differences of opinion and points of view are dealt with. On the whole, Lord Reading's speech, so far as it went, was just the kind of pronouncement that was needed in the present disturbed and disturbing conditions in several parts of the country. As typical of all these qualities, may be cited the sentence referring to the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales, where the Viceroy pointed out that His Royal Highness is coming, not as the representative of any Government or to promote the interests of any political party, but as the heir to the Throne and in order to become personally acquainted with the princes and people of India and to see as much as would be possible during his visit to this country. In other words, His Royal Highness comes not on a pleasure trip or on a political mission but in the discharge of one of the duties of his position, and it is ungracious not to extend to him the courtesies due to a guest of such exalted status. By the side of the Viceroy's correct and conciliatory description of the character of the Prince's visit, the swelling periods of Sir M. Dadaboy in moving a resolution relating to it in the Council of State seem forced and Dr. Sapra's accusation that a member of the Legislative Assembly, who thought that the political and economic conditions at the moment were not the most favourable that could be chosen for the visit, was guilty of breaking his oath of allegiance, is ludicrous.

NO NEW APPOINTMENT.

His Excellency in referring briefly to the Muniton embroglio, remarked that the lesson of this unfortunate incident was that it is very desirable that the direction and control of Government prosecutions should be in the hands of a trained lawyer, and that the matter would be considered by Government. In view of the inveterate tendency in this country for everything to end in the creation of a new appointment, we venture at once to enter a protest against any addition to the present top-heavy Government of India in the shape of a Director or Department of Prosecutions. The plea that Sir Thomas Holland or any

other member of the Government of India is over-worked at present—the Viceroy, of course, is— is utterly incompatible with the claim that the Reforms have transferred a good deal of administration to Provincial Governments. We did not know until the fact was published that not the Home Department, but the Muniton enclave of the Commerce Department, was dealing with the prosecution in the present case. Then there is the Law Member who should certainly have been consulted about legal matters and there is also the Advocate-General of Bengal who continues by some anomaly to be an officer of the Government of India and its constitutional legal adviser. We do not see any need for another trained lawyer to deal with prosecutions. The Home Department has been relieved of much work that it was doing ten years ago. By the delegation of legislation to the provinces, the Law Department should have some time for looking after the administration of justice which badly needs looking after. We are perhaps not quite correctly informed of the present allocation of functions but, in any case, we earnestly urge that no new appointments should be created and that any defects disclosed in the existing arrangements should be met by a readjustment of work among the present personnel.

FRONTIER AND MOPLA OUTBREAKS.

His Excellency, it is pleasing to know, does not despair of making a friendly treaty with Afghanistan, and that he cherishes the hope of an early end to operations on the North West frontier. Lord Reading, however, foreshadowed the possibility of further expenditure on frontier defence. The creation of the North Western Frontier Province has not brought about the results expected of it. It is well worth re-considering the question. The reunion of the Frontier with the Punjab and the encouragement of the possession and use of arms by the civil population, will be the most effective as well as economical way of dealing with the Frontier problem. It should not be forgotten that India had solved the problem prior to the advent of British rule by the growth of the Sikh State which effectively sealed our northern passes. His Excellency's observations on the Mopla outbreak in Malabar, will be generally approved in the country. The most ugly feature of the outbreak has been the forced conversions of Hindus. A mob may in a fit of frenzy loot, burn and kill, but when it comes to forcing others to foreswear their religion and adopt another, accentuating the apostasy by a painful physical rite, the question assumes a vastly different complexion. The non-Mopla civil population of Malabar is in the same position as the inhabitants of the Frontier districts and they must have the same facilities for protecting their religion and lives as we have suggested for the latter. There would have been no Hindus in Malabar had they always been as powerless against Mopla fanaticism as they are today, and there would have been no occasion for His Excellency's sorrowful speculation as to what would have happened to them but for the protection afforded by the troops and the warship, had they not been disabled from defending themselves by being deprived of the use of arms under

the Arms Act. We revere the Prophet of Islam and we have a high appreciation of the great services which Islam has rendered to the world and to India. Forced conversions are absolutely contrary to the injunctions of the illustrious Prophet, and the Mopla rioters are, therefore, renegades from the pure faith, against whose fanaticism true Mahomedans as well as non-Mahomedans should be able to protect themselves. Khilafat-non-Co-operationists committed a fatal blunder in not excluding this ignorant and fanatical sect from their propaganda and the least that they should do is to avow the mistake and undertake not to repeat it. We need hardly add that the utmost care should be taken, when the situation in Malabar has been brought under control, to deal mercifully with the ignorant offenders and to adopt immediate measures to extend to them the refining influence of education. A special department should, if necessary, be created for this purpose and placed under enlightened Moslem guidance.

THE INDIAN STATES AND THE INDIAN PRESS.

His Excellency remarked with reference to the decision to repeal the Press Act that it might become necessary to consider what form of protection should be given in substitution to ruling Princes against seditious attacks upon them in newspapers published in British India. In regard to this question, some points arise for consideration. Do the ruling Princes themselves desire that they should be protected by special measures? It is not enough if one or a few of them, much less if the Political Agents report that they, do so. The question should be openly discussed in the Council of Princes and their Highnesses should be requested to say if there is a consensus of opinion among them that special protection is needed and, if so, what form they would like it to take. For our own part, we do not see why any special measure is necessary so long as a ruling Prince can stop any newspaper, which indulges in seditious attacks on him, from coming into his territory. The next point to consider is whether protection of ruling Princes from criticism in British Indian newspapers, will not operate as closing down the only means that subjects of most of the States now have of ventilating their grievances. There are, of course, no newspapers of any importance in Indian States. Journalism does not thrive even in the most enlightened of them. Few Indian editors care to take up matters connected with the States if only because they lie so far apart from the broad currents of national life. Other reasons are that almost every complaint from Indian States can be traced, if one has the time for it, ultimately to a personal grievance, that independent and reliable confirmation is not easy to secure, and that often the complaints themselves are of a nature with which newspapers, as a rule, can not deal. Nevertheless the fact remains that, if British Indian newspapers are obliged to shut out criticism of ruling Princes who are often their own Ministers, the subjects of these States will be absolutely without the means of invoking public opinion for the redress of their grievances, and will have to subsidise petition-writers, often retired officials pretending to backstairs influence in high

quarters, to bring their woes to the notice of the Political Agent or Government. The third point is, will it conduce to the permanent good of the States to be rendered immune from criticism in the British Indian press? To give them special protection against seditious attacks is merely a roundabout way of forbidding respectable newspapers to write about them. The Government policy at present is complete non-interference in the internal affairs of the States. There is no press, no effective public opinion, in them. Their affairs cannot be discussed in the Legislative Councils of India. The British Indian press is thus the only power that can exercise some influence on them, and if this too is to be banned then, in the words of the late Sir T. Madhav Rao, these States must sink under the weight of their own despotism. We may add, in passing, that what some of the ruling princes fear is not so much criticism of their public measures as the exposure of their personal lives which often fall far short of the standards which the various reform movements, stimulated by English education, have established in British India. These movements have found no foothold in the States. The higher type of ruling Princes, so far as we know, do not want any protection and, in fact, are among the inspirers of some of the best and most progressive movements in the country. The protection demanded may not, after all, be so much for ruling Princes as for Political officers who naturally would like to enjoy unlimited freedom of action in Indian States at least. Lastly, if the British Indian press may not comment on the affairs of Indian States, but the British press is free to do so, the protected Princes will be exposed to temptations and dangers which it should not be difficult for a shrewd judge of human nature like Lord Reading to imagine.

FINANCE, THE WEAK PART.

The weak part of the Viceroy's address was where it referred to finance. The steady, unflinching hand with which His Excellency traced the situation, showed signs of faltering here. Said the Viceroy:

The State may have been occasionally forced during the war to do things which must have seemed to be a departure from the severe conservatism which had hitherto characterised the management of India's finances, but when we remember what most other belligerent countries were forced to do and the enormous inflation of currency and credit, leading in many cases to something like national bankruptcy which has followed elsewhere, we may, I think, at the risk of being considered pharisaical, thank Heaven that we are not as other countries.

In the first place, the chief operations which have created the greatest discontent took place not during the war, but after the principal Peace Treaty was signed or, at any rate, after the Armistice which preceded it was declared. The gift of one hundred millions and the other heavy contributions during the war, are not among them. The sale of "Reverse Councils", for instance, could in no sense be said to have been "forced" upon the State by the necessities of war. Sir William Meyer was the last exponent of the policy of "severe conservatism" which,

Lord Reading rightly said, has been the general characteristic of Indian financial administration in the past. And when His Excellency compares India with other belligerent countries, it is right to remind him that, except the countries directly involved, no country has had individually to make as great sacrifices in men, material and money as India; that while the sacrifices of the self-governing Colonies have been recognised and rewarded by mandated territories and large shares of reparation money, India has been awarded the glorious satisfaction of contemplating the copy-book maxim that virtue is its own reward; and that, most important of all, all the belligerent countries with which comparison can reasonably be made, whatever their present financial troubles may be, have had for years a national system of education and had attained a high level in respect of sanitation and other departments which make for national efficiency, while India lacks most of these and that, owing to financial mismanagement supervening on the set-back resulting from the war, even her normal modest rate of progress in these matters has been checked. The poor man who was deprived of his one ewe lamb, might have consoled himself with the reflection that he had at least the use of his limbs, while the owner of huge flocks who robbed him was, perhaps, a victim to gonorrhoea or other diseases of the rich, but the Prophet who denounced the outrage did not advise the victim to thank his stars that he had a good appetite, was free to work with his hands, and that, besides, "the sweet restorer, balmy sleep" was not denied to him. Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, whose election to the Legislative Assembly adds greatly to its strength in financial deliberation, has given notice of a motion to appoint a strong Committee to investigate recent financial policy and to suggest measures to guard against future blunders, and we trust that it will be accepted by Government.

THE REPATRIATION MUDDLE.

It will be remembered that in reply to the complaints made in a Madras meeting about the condition of Indian repatriates from South Africa, the Government of India issued a communique on August 5th. They stated therein

"that no hopes were held out by the Union Government to the repatriated Indians that every one of them would be given a job on Rs. 80 a month. The Union Government gave an assurance to the Government of India that only voluntary repatriates were being provided with passages to India. It was also stated by them that no propaganda work was being undertaken by them to persuade Indians to accept repatriation."

It is difficult to reconcile this with the latter portion of their statement wherein they admitted:

"A pamphlet was issued by the Indian Repatriation Office in which it was mentioned that the Indian Government was making arrangements to receive Indians returning to India and finding them employment, that Labour Depots were being opened at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and that food was plentiful in India and crops had been very good."

Of course, the Government seek to make out that there is no inconsistency by saying that "they informed

the Union Government in June last that owing to few Indians being repatriated from Natal, they were unable to open Labor Depots, that there was famine in several places and that experience showed that repatriates from South Africa, Fiji and British Guiana were in considerable difficulties and unable to find suitable employment." This explanation does not improve matters. The repatriation of Indians began in the latter half of last year and the Government of India were silent in the face of these false and misleading allurements to the Indian repatriates for eight or nine months. They woke up only in the month of June. It is a case of shutting the stable door after the horse is stolen. Have the Government made enquiries as to how many have been sent back to India, how many are in need or in distress and how many of them think they have been misled and want to go back to South Africa?

Government say they asked the Union Government to cancel the paragraphs about cheapness of food and Labor Depots. These protests they made in the month of June only and it is not certain whether the Union Government gave even then immediate effect to these suggestions of the Government of India. There must have been the usual dilatoriness and it might be taken that the repatriates who have come to India up to the month of August, have been victims of gross deception practised on them. That this has been so is clear from copies of statements of three repatriates which are reprinted elsewhere from the *Hindu*. Greater proof is not needed of the mischievous nature of the whole Repatriation Scheme. The Government of India's indifference or lack of provision is clear from their remark that 'owing to few Indians being repatriated from Natal they were unable to open Labour Depots'. Does it mean that they expected that tens of thousands of Indians would be turned out of South Africa or that the 1500 or 2000 repatriates did not need any help but they were to be left to shift for themselves, and to wander about the country homeless and destitute? Curiously enough we have to gather even the number of returned emigrants from South Africa papers and the Government of India in their expectation of tens of thousands have not cared to publish how many Indians have been deceived into going back to India.

There is only one method of redress. The whole policy of Repatriation should be reversed and the Government of India should send strong representations asking the Union Government to stop further repatriation proceedings. They should at the same time, instead of merely making ineffective representations to the Government, advertise in the Indian papers in South Africa like the *Indian Opinion* and otherwise spread broadcast the information that conditions in India are not so favourable as represented and that those who sign repatriation bonds must do so at their own risk. There is no reason why the Government of India representative on the spot, whose existence was not felt during the dismal proceedings of the last seven or eight months, should not run an active counter-propaganda depicting the state of the repatriates

already here and asking people to desist from accepting the Union Government's offer. Otherwise, it would mean that the ways of the Union Government have not only been passively looked on but are also connived at. Besides, it is only just and proper that facilities should be given for such of those repatriates who believe they have been wronged and deceived, to go back to South Africa. We wonder whether our Government would show sufficient strength or interest to take the course above suggested. While such confusion and hardship prevail, news comes that some more hundreds of Indian Labourers from Fiji have already left for India. And an Indian deputation is to go to British Guiana, consisting of Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillay and a member of the Servants of India Society, to investigate the possibilities of Indian emigration to that country. This is done in pursuance of a recommendation of non-official members of the Indian legislature. We ourselves hold that no Indian emigration on an organised scale should be permitted at present to any part of the world. The delegation from British Guiana which visited India was unable to give satisfactory replies to our question whether the recommendations made by Messrs. Macneil and Chimanlal in their report had been carried out, and we told the members of it who saw us that the country would not favour their mission at the present juncture. We believe Mahatma Gandhi also advised them in the same sense. In our opinion, it is a waste of time and money to investigate the prospects of Indians settling in Guiana when, as the Government of India themselves state, Indians are returning from that country and find considerable difficulty in securing occupation in India. But the members of the Legislature at Simla and Delhi care for none of these things. And Government is anxious to humour them in such matters so that when it comes to matters nearer home it may remind them how in other things Government has acted in consonance with the wishes of non-official members.

MALABAR—A LAND OF SURPRISES.

(BY MR. N. LAKSHMANAN)

Malabar is par excellence a land of surprises both during normal and abnormal times. In the words of Dr. Slater, "the striking geographical features of Malabar, the coast line with its long tradition of distant trade, trade with Lisbon, with Baghdad, with Rome, with Babylon, the wild mountains and forests, and in between the strip of rich land and convenient cultivation, make the extraordinary intensity of caste prejudice intelligible, if not justifiable." The learned writer who has quoted Dr. Slater's opinion goes on to write, in the course of his articles on the depressed classes in Malabar, that the economic status is closely intertwined with the caste-status among the members of such castes, and the improvement of their status, though difficult, has got to be attempted. The matriarchal system is the special feature of this land of Parasrama. The Nambudiri, the Nair, the Tiyya, the Christian, the suppressed classes and the Moplah form the different strata of society in

Malabar. To many outside Kerala, the sociology of beautiful Malabar is yet a sealed book. However some notable modern travellers have given the outside world certain glimpses of unfamiliar Malabar. For instance, as a wandering monk then unknown to fame, Swami Vivekananda travelled on foot all over Malabar with his eyes and ears open, and on returning from America and in the course of his memorable journey from Colombo to Almora, the Swamiji, in one of his Madras lectures, indignantly styled Malabar to be a huge lunatic asylum from what he saw of the absurd extent to which the curse of untouchability and unapproachability has been carried in that country of strange customs and manners. Even a hurried visit to Palghat—the gate of Malabar—was enough to torment the heart and conscience of the Mahakavi Tagore and Professor Andrews with the existence of galling social disabilities in that place. Dr Gilbert Slater has said that the very physical features of Malabar seem to favour or foster the spirit of exclusiveness. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar visited Malabar a couple of years ago and writing on the moods of Malabar he quoted with effect Bishop Heber's lines:

" It is a place where nature smiles,
But only man is vile."

Malabar has evolved a special and peculiar system of land tenure. Under the existing system, the relation between the "Jemmies" (landlords) and "Kudiyans" (tenants) is far from being satisfactory. One generally comes across in Malabar too many signs of extreme poverty in the midst of plenty. Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair, M.L.C, the Ex-Dewan of Travancore is pledged to bring forward, before long, a tenancy legislation radically modifying the present system of land tenure in British Malabar. It is reported that a gang of 75 Moplabs entered the family house of the Jenmi representative of the Madras Legislative Council and demanded money and arms. Mr. P. Thampan M.L.C. had to surrender a revolver and a sum of Rs.100 as blackmail. It is also reported that about three hundred Nambudiris who have arrived at Calicut as refugees from Ernad and Walluvanad taluks had doleful tales to relate of the diabolical crimes committed by the Moplabs who not only looted their houses but subjected most of them to torture. It is just possible that agrarian discontent and general economic depression are among the deep-seated causes of the Moplah rising though the party politicians have left them entirely out of consideration.

In times of peace, the Moplabs are a most hard-working race: they seem to possess immense powers of physical endurance. But in spite of their infinite capacity for continuous hard manual labour the Moplabs always feel the pinch of poverty in Malabar and are therefore ready to go to any outside place to be able to keep the wolf off the door. A remarkable instance of the utter helplessness of the Moplah to make the two ends meet was noticed by many observers when, a few months ago, thousands of Moplabs men, women and children most of whom were not professional beggars went on foot to Ootacamund on

hearing that a very rich Mahomedan planter of the Nilgiris was going to distribute alms and clothing to the poor members of the community. From an economic standpoint, this Moplah "exodus to Ooty" is comparable to the recent 'exodus' of the Assam labourers. With reference to the labour efficiency of the average Moplah, a Malabar friend remarked to me about two years ago that next perhaps to the Tiyyas, the Moplahs are the coming race of Malabar.

But, now alas, the rebel Moplah has become an object of terror to the civil population of Malabar. Is it likely that the disbanded Moplah sepoys, soon after their return from Mesopotamia, were not provided by the authorities with reasonable facilities for employment in useful and peaceful occupations? As the *Hindu* says, the force which contributed to many of the sinister aspects of the riots is the training, the tenacity of purpose and mischievous leanings which the "demobbed" unemployed Moplahs brought with them from Mesopotamia and other places overseas. That the Moplahs are amenable to the advice or persuasion of their local religious leaders is evidenced by the non-violent example set by the "Thangal" or high-priest of Ponnani. Mr. C. Vijayaragavachariar of Salem and other responsible publicists have advocated that the way of pacifying the turbulent Moplahs is to send peaceful and respected men of their own community, men who will be successful in bringing home to them the need for non-violence. In the light of this opinion and the early but abortive attempt of the President of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee to pacify the mobs, the step taken this week by the Madras Provincial Conference at Tanjore to send some of the Non-Malabar Congress workers to the scene of the troubles appears to be more theatrical. It is hardly likely that the gentlemen who have courageously undertaken this delicate and thankless task of going to Malabar share the average Englishman's notion that a Moplah fanatic is either easily terrorised by the revolver or gets pacified by the remonstrance of the Moplah woman. Let us however hope for the success of the Congress delegation.

It also augurs well for an early restoration of peace and order in the disturbed areas that Mr. F. B. Evans I. C. S. is the special civil officer with the troops in Malabar. Mr. Evans was the District Magistrate of Malabar during the anxious period of the great war and has won the esteem and confidence of the people by his tactful and conciliatory administration of the District. His knowledge of and insight into Malabar and its people are sure to stand him in good stead at this trying time, and he can be trusted to keep his head cool and, as far as it lies in his power, to see that the work of pacification is accomplished, as the *Reformer* has suggested, with a minimum of force and with the maximum of prudence and persuasion.

RELIEF TO FORCIBLY CONVERTED HINDUS.

I

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,
Sir,

It was a relief to have read in to-day's issue of your esteemed paper that steps are being contemplated for taking back to Hinduism those forcibly converted to Islam in the Moplah

disturbances and that the sympathy of influential orthodoxy has been assured. In matters of religious and social adjustment it is always better to proceed on the lines of evolution rather than of an out and out revolution. And it appears to those thus disposed that the attempts to readmit the erring Hindus would be more successful if a warrant were shown from the Hindu Shastras which, speaking for myself, present one beautiful expanse of an evolutionary national mind. My present object is, however, not to start any controversy but to offer assistance to those who are at work in connection with the unfortunate victims of the Moplah. The occurrences and the daily happenings the news of which is being daily carried to us from the disturbed area, and which have brought to the forefront the question about the status of such of the unfortunate victims as have been forcibly dragged away into Islam, are not, unfortunately, the first contingency of its kind. For India has been having the test of its enforced contact with the foreigners from very early times—from the 3rd century B. C. at least within historical record—and the carrying away of women and men as captives and their escape or discharge from such captivity are episodes which must have been of constant occurrence in those days and must have taxed seriously the capacity of those whose business it was to maintain order in the body politic. Enough will be found in the *Smriti* of Devala who appears to be specially fitted to provide for a contingency like the present as you will find from the contiguity of the place to the countries overrun by of his abode the early foreign invasions and thus the whole *Smriti* is an answer to a question put thus

भगवन्स्तेच्छनीता हि कथं शुद्धिमवाप्नुयुः ।

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्चैवानुपूर्वम् ॥

and the answer is given in the several verses beginning from verse 17 to almost the end of the *Smriti* i.e. the verse 90, and in particular verse 45 to verse 54 some of which I quote to your readers

स्तेच्छैर्हतानां चरेर्वी कान्तारेषु प्रवासिनाम् ।

शुक्त्वा मह्यमक्षयं वा क्षयार्तेन भयेन वा ॥ ४५ ॥

पुनः प्राप्य स्वकं देशं चातुर्वर्णस्य निष्कृतिः ।

कृष्णमेकं चरेद्विप्रस्तदर्थं क्षत्रिचक्ररेत् ।

पादोनं च चरेद्वैश्यः शूद्रः पादेन शुष्यति ॥ ४६ ॥

शुद्धीता श्री बलादेव स्तेच्छैर्गुर्वीकृता यदि ।

शुर्वी न शुद्धिमाप्नोति त्रिरात्रेणेतदा शुचिः ॥ ४७ ॥

योषा गर्भं विधत्ते वा स्तेच्छात्क्रामात्कामतः ।

ब्राह्मणी क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्रा वर्णतया च वा ॥ ४८ ॥

I refer to pages 85 to 89 of the Collections of *Smriti* (स्मृतीनांसमुच्चयः) published by Anandashrama of Poona Serial No. 48.)

I may state for the benefit of such of your readers as cannot follow the Sanskrit, that to a question put to the Sage Devala, residing on the banks of the Indus, as to the way for the purification of those carried away by the *Mlechha* the Sage, expounds in his reply the several purificatory rites and assigns each of these to the kinds of pollutions brought by the *Mlechhas* covering in this range the comparative paltry case of a mere contact to the most serious case where women were forced into sexual intercourse and had as a result thereof, become pregnant. For all these cases a way out has been presented in the form of purificatory rites.

I need not say I should be extremely happy to be of use to those who are working in this direction, and that I wish success to their noble efforts.

Bombay.

Yours sincerely
J. R. GHARPUA

II

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer,*

Sir,

It is reported from Calicut, that in the recent Moplah rebellion, over three hundred Hindus have been forcibly converted to Mohamedanism. The Hindu Sastras had anticipated the contingency of like nature, and have made provision for reconversion of the Hindus converted against their will *Matsya Puranam*, Chap. 215, verse 62, p. 774 printed at the Bangabasi Press, says as follows:—

“ Let the king restore him to his caste, who has fallen from his religion of birth.”

An outcaste to be restored to his caste has to perform a “prayaschitta,” (an expiation), which costs money. The Hindus all over India ought to contribute their mite for meeting the expenses of the expiation of the three hundred Hindus, who have been forcibly converted. Leaders of the Indian National Congress, the Khilafat-workers, and the Moderates ought to give the widest publicity to the Sastric ordinance above quoted and show their sympathy with the outraged Hindus.

9. Old post office Street, Yours &c.,
Calcutta, 8rd September, 1921. SAILENDRA KRISHNA DEB.

MOPLAHS AND THE KHILAFAT.

A public meeting of the Moulvies of Malabar was held at the Customs Godown, Ponnani, at 4 p.m. on the 24th July 1921, under the presidency of His Holiness, Pudiagath Abdurrahiman *alias* Kunhi Bava Musader. A very large number of Moplahs from various taluks in the District attended the meeting. The object of the meeting was to convince the Moplahs that the so called Khilafat and Non-Co-Operation movements are not based on religion and are against the true tenets of the Prophet. In spite of the great opposition of the Non-Co-operators, the meeting was well attended, and the audience numbered about 4000. Several Moulvies addressed the meeting, of which the following are prominent; Messrs, K. Abdulla Kutti Musaliar, M. Abdulla Musaliar of Kadagars, P. Avara Musaliar, K. Pokker Musaliar, C. Muhammad Musaliar, A. Ebrahim Kunhi and T. V. V. Iemon.

The following resolutions were proposed by Mr. K. Abdul-eez *alias* Koyotti and supported by Mr. M. Katty Hassan Kutty and passed unanimously:

1. This Meeting of the Moulvies, which is attended by a large number of Moplahs of various Taluks in the District, unanimously condemn the so-called Khilafat and Non-Co-Operation movements in the Islamic World, and regret that the Moplahs were led into it by unlicensed and irresponsible men of the country who misread and misinterpreted the religious teaching of the Holy Quoran and sacred Hadis.

2. This Meeting is unanimously of opinion that the movements are against the true tenets of the Prophet and teachings of the Ulemas which enjoin the strictest obedience to God, Prophet and the ruling King whoever he be.

3. This Meeting desires that all Moulvies would follow teachings from the Holy texts which have been read out here.

4. This Meeting condemns the Non-Co-operation and waraj movements which are opposed to the teachings of the Prophet.

5. This Meeting emphatically urges the Moplahs in the whole District of Malabar and elsewhere to dissociate themselves from such movement which are calculated to ruin the unity of Islam and disgrace their Holy religion and their early religious leaders of ages gone by.

6. This Meeting resolves to organise an Association by the name of “Sahakarana Sangham” to spread the views expressed in the above resolutions.

7. This Meeting resolves to communicate the above resolution to the Government of India, His Excellency the Governor of Madras and the Collector of the District; and Khan Sahab V. Attakoya Dungal. The President of the Reception Committee has been authorised to do the same.

THE MALABAR PRESS ON MOPLAH REBELLION.

The revolt was primarily against constituted authority and has been confined to the particular community. The systematic looting of public offices and cutting of communications is distinctly anti-Government. But it has been accompanied with an equally systematic and wholesale looting of Hindu houses in all the affected areas. If murder of Hindus has not been so widely practised as it might have been, it was due to the readiness with which the Hindus surrendered their possessions and purchased their lives. The plunder and injury to which the Hindus have been subjected, the defilement of some of their places of worship and certain other atrocities which are reported, make a tragic mockery of the Hindu-Moslem unity and brotherhood in so far as the Moplahs are concerned. The systematic destruction of documents is another conspicuous feature of the movement. The rebels probably hope to sweep away their indebtedness by this process. Available records in many private dwellings have been destroyed by them as well as the records in public offices. These features combined with the fact that the rebels all belong to one religious community go to prove that the outbreak is essentially one of fanatical violence, for which even the extreme political party can have no sympathy. But Khilafat propaganda had intensified the old fanaticism of Ernad rather than it infused the new spirit of non-violence, as otherwise the outbreak would not have been so widespread.—*The Malabar Journal*, Calicut.

And this reminds us of attempts that are being made to delude the public out-side Malabar into the belief that the rebellion is not directed against the non-Muhammadan communities and that the reports of outrages on Hindus, their homes, their properties and even their temples and shrines are either fabricated or grossly exaggerated. It is established beyond doubt, however, that numbers of Hindus of substance have been plundered, that there have been number of instances of forcible conversion and of women and girls being either outraged or carried off, no trace of them having yet been obtained. If any one doubts the accuracy of these reports of plundering and outrages, let him go and interview some of the large numbers of Namboodiri Brahmin fugitives who are being harboured and cared for by the Zamorin and by various landlords in and out of the Calicut Taluk.—*The West Coast Spectator* (Calicut.)

RABINDRA NATH TAGORE'S MESSAGE

On the 15th of August, the poet, Rabindra Nath Tagore was accorded an enthusiastic reception by the citizens of Calcutta at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Bengal National Council of Education. The poet delivered the following message in response:

It is due to no external cause that the West has now occupied a principal place in the history of the modern world. She has gained that eminence because she has realised some great truth in her mind and has carried it out in action.

For this reason only has she been able to assert her will over the rest of the world.

The East will not attain her own eminence by any physical and mental rejection of the West. She will not be able wholly to be free herself from the conditions which have been imposed upon her merely in that manner. The material world with its laws is a great fact, and it cannot be ignored with impunity. The needs of this material world have to be attended to; otherwise they exact their penalties. Those who have not made themselves ready to welcome this fact of the material world and to meet its needs must in the end become bankrupts. Its laws are inexorable. It becomes an obstacle only when our knowledge is either inadequate or incorrect.

The West has recently learnt to master those laws. It has got hold of the engine which enables her to progress rapidly along the road of life. She has been the first to reach the feast, and her share in the feast has come to her before others. Those who have been too slow in their movement and got too late to the feast, have found themselves deprived. In reality, it is a competition in knowledge and skill and training—it is not mere accidental advantage, which has given the West its present position.

Men have never accepted the facts relating to phenomena as final. They have always felt that there was something behind the facts, from which the facts themselves have arisen. It has ever been the aim of man, even from primitive times, to get behind the barrier of facts, and to enter into some relationship, with that creative power which is behind phenomena. Thus, man began his experiments to find a means by which he might come into relation to the creative power which is hidden in the heart of nature. His first attempt was that of Magic. He believed that a certain force, called magic, was at the root of things and that by some happy combination of magical powers he might attain to the mastery of the world.

These experiments in the art of magic have led on, step by step, to Science. Men have discovered by experiments and induction and analysis, that there are these immutable laws of nature. It has now become the mission of man in the universe to establish the harmony of the laws of reason with those of the material world. The regulated intellect of mankind has at last got access into the inner store house of power in nature, and has discovered the laws which regulate the supply of that power. The West has been fortunate enough to find out these great immutable truths of nature first of all. She has been able to utilise them and thus she has had power to attain to her present ascendancy among mankind.

The East has not yet shaken off her belief in magical powers. She still retains her sense of the accidental nature of phenomena. She still believes in the special exercise of the Will of divinities upon the happenings of her daily life and surroundings, which are really subject to these immutable laws. She has in this way not yet been made certain of her position in this great world. The East is still pursued by a thousand imaginary fears and by a deep distrust in the conclusions of her own intellect. This has caused a want of self-reliance, a lack of inner certainty, a divided mind, and a leaning on authorities which are outside the will and understanding. This is a mental condition, which is antagonistic to the attainment of freedom in the social and political spheres.

God Himself has given us our "Swaraj" in this world when He has hidden Himself away behind His own universal law, which can be made use of by any individual who has faith in his own rational mind. Those who do not realise this "Swaraj" which is ready to hand, those who fill the throne vacated by God with pretenders, these are defeated in the

race of life and insulted by all the Powers of the earth. Therefore the one true path of attaining freedom in the external world, is the knowledge and faith in these immutable laws which have now been made known to mankind. In order to attain this knowledge we shall have to accept the West as our teacher.

Those students who are angry with their own examiners, only waste their time in venting their rage upon him. The best way to get rid of the examiner is to pass the examination. The East will only be rid of the dominance of the West by accepting the knowledge which must be received at her hands.

I know that the question will be raised, whether in my own experience of the West my mind has been fully satisfied with what I have seen. My answer is that I was not satisfied. The immutable laws of the material world, properly used lead to success, but success itself is not the fulfilment of our humanity. The scientific attitude of mind, which tends to exclude personality from the operations of the universe, ends also to undermine the very basis of all human relationships in the process. Again, the spirit of professionalism has become a prominent motive force in the evolution of society in the West. Therefore, the West appears to me to have gradually lost faith in the infinite variety of human ideals. Thus, with all its efficiency for producing material comforts and even benefits for mankind, the West has taken away at the same time much of that delight which comes to man from the realisation of soul. For the human world loses its inner and ultimate meaning when it abandons its faith in some living ideal as the centre of all creation. Its movements then become unrelated to any final purpose. Its accumulation of things merely expresses the spirit of multiplication instead of that of perfection.

All this failure to reach the inner personal meaning of life has had the effect of raising barriers of exclusiveness between nations: it brings jealousy and interminable quarrels for possession in its train. The late war has made it evident to the West itself and to all the world that some great truth has been lost sight of. For, a sudden and world-wide catastrophe has happened and this could not have taken place without some inner cause. The best minds of the West are now busily employed in seeking for that missing truth which has been forgotten. In doing so, they have instinctively turned their heads towards the East.

The East has its unshakable faith in the infinite living ideal, which gives meaning to all things and fulfilment to our humanity. The time has come for the West to come to the East. For the soul of the West is famished and her social life has been wounded to the quick. This is the point reached in world-history today.

It is the problem of every country of the world to bring to pass the deeper reconciliation of East and West, so that humanity may become one. When, therefore, I think of the education of my own country I keep this problem of reconciliation always before my mind. For, education ought to have this object in view that it may fit us for the great to-morrow, when the meeting of the human races of the world will find its truth in mental understanding and co-operation.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN'S STATEMENTS.

I.

The following is an exact copy of the statement made by, Poonusamy of Veerabathari Street, Vepery, Madras, on the 19th August 1921.

- (1) I went to Natal with my family some 30 years ago under indenture.
- (2) I have 5 sons and one girl, all were born in Natal, South Africa.
- (3) I and my five sons were working at the Flexton Sugar Company, Natal, South Africa, and were earning £4 £3, and £2-16 each with the usual rations and free lodgings.
- (4) I believed the contents of the foregoing pamphlet issued by the Union Government and left for India with my family under the repatriation schemes.
- (5) That there is a rumour in Natal to the effect that the Indian Government shall provide with employment at Rs. 30 per month and food-stuffs are plentiful in India.
- (6) Upon our arrival in Madras we have not been provided with employment by the Government as stated in the pamphlet

nor do we find that the necessaries for life are cheap as mentioned in the above pamphlet.

We are prepared to go back to Natal, provided the Union Government places no objection on our landing there.

(Sd.) POONUSAMY.

As Witness

(Sd.) S. Rajah Muthucumar.

II

The following is a copy of the statement of Appalsamy another repatriate residing near Jubilee Market, Madras.

I went to Natal about 19 years ago under indenture.

I went in the employ of the Election Sugar Company, Zululand, on a monthly salary of £6, rations and house were provided.

I was told by a servant of the Union Government of South Africa, that there is a good prospect in India for Indians returning from Natal and Rs. 80 are at least obtainable, that invariably one could get the same amount of salary as he used to get in Natal, at the time of his leaving South Africa.

I believed these statements and left Natal under the repatriation scheme with my daughter about 4 months ago. On arrival in Madras I found things just the reverse. Had it not been for the above mentioned hope I would not have left Natal; I am prepared to go back and refund the passage money for myself and daughter to the Union Government, and willing to pay our return passage to Durban, if the authorities concerned issue the necessary document for our journey.

(Sd.) APPALSAMY,

MADRAS, 18th August, 1921.

Witness,

(Sd.) S. Rajah Muthucumar.

III

The following is a copy of the statement of K. Mahomed (No. 11219) who has no fixed abode, but is wandering homeless in Madras:

I went to Natal, South Africa some 17 years ago under indenture. About the year 1913 I joined the steamer S. S. "Islandia" as fireman and proceeded to London and returned the same year to Natal.

About the year 1918 I entered the service of J. L. Hulett & Sons Ltd., and was earning wages at the rate of £4, a month with rations, free quarters and medical attendance in Natal.

Early this year, a pamphlet issued by the Union Government, concerning the repatriation of Indians was brought to my notice by a friend. I believed the contents printed therein and left for Madras, under the repatriation scheme.

Since my landing here I am unable to secure an employment, hence I am left in the streets of Madras, stranded and begging.

Had it not been for the above false information I would not have left Natal.

(Sd.) K. MAHOMED.

Witness,

(Sd.) S. Rajah Muthucumar,
MADRAS, 19th August 1921.

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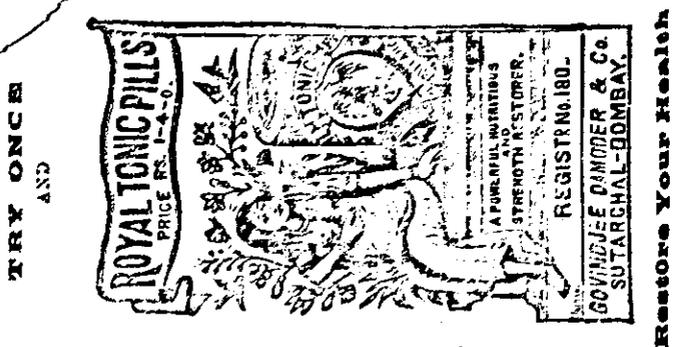
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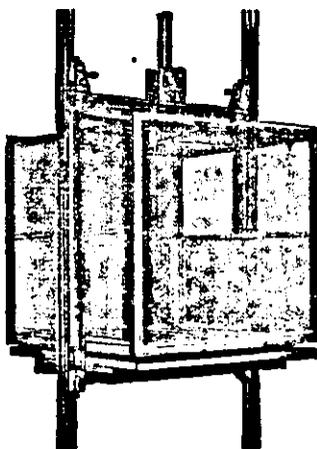
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“ I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard.”
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Mopla Outbreak. We print to-day a courteous remonstrance from a valued Mahomedan friend regarding some statements in our leading article on the Mopla outbreak in the *Reformer* of the 4th September. The letter was not meant for publication, which makes its appeal more forcible to us. We have from the first emphasised what our friend says, namely, that forcible conversions are against the spirit of Islam and that the action of the Moplas is un-Islamic. Every Indian Mahomedan with any education cannot but view the violent evangelism of the Mopla rioters with abhorrence. Among the Moplas themselves, a considerable section has not only stood absolutely aloof from the disturbance but in not a few cases members of this 'sect have, at imminent risk to themselves, stood between Hindus and the physical force missionaries. We printed last week the report of the proceedings of an influential meeting attended by 4000 Moplas held on the 24th July at Ponnani, where several of their leading men condemned the Khilafat and Non-Co-operation movement itself as opposed to the teachings of the Holy Koran. Our criticism was, as our friend rightly mentions, that the Khilafat-Non-Co-operationists had not condemned the forcible conversions as they ought to have promptly done if religious tolerance was an indispensable factor in their Swaraj. We referred to a meeting at which violence was condemned in general terms and our friend says that it must be taken to include forcible conversions. Forcible religious conversions are a category by themselves, their effects transcend in extent, character and duration those of other forms of violence, and they do not end as other forms of violence do with injury to the victims' life, limb or property but reach beyond to his social and spiritual life and to posterity. With great respect to our correspondent, therefore, we cannot but regard the explanation that forcible conversions are covered by the general condemnation of violence, as a bit of special pleading. Then our friend calls attention to the fact that the Kazi of Calicut and other Muslim leaders in Malabar had publicly denounced forcible conversions. This escaped our notice. Although we have not been able on a somewhat

careful study of Calicut and Madras papers to verify the information, we are glad to know that the Mopla leaders had done so. But our criticism referred only to the Khilafat Non-Co-operationists, and the first condemnation by a leading Khilafat leader is that by Mr. Yakub Hussain published last week. He has not thought that a general condemnation of non-violence would cover these conversions, and his denunciation of them is unqualified and emphatic. But the mischief has been done. If he had spoken out two weeks earlier, his words might have had some effect. He not only maintained silence but criticised Government for its measures but for which there would have been many more forcible conversions than there have been. The country does not believe in the capacity of the Khilafat-Non-Co-operationists to secure the Swaraj in which religious liberty will be the absolute right of every subject.

India and the Khilafat. Our friend speaks of Hindu-Mahomedan unity. He knows well that nobody attaches more importance to Hindu-Mahomedan unity than ourselves, but it is obvious that it cannot be built upon a religious or quasi-religious foundation like the Khilafat. That the Prime Minister gave a pledge that Thrace and Asia Minor will not be taken away from the Turks, that he subsequently acknowledged that this pledge was the means of stimulating recruitment among Indian Mahomedans, and that this pledge has not been adhered to in the Treaty of Peace, are deplorable facts. The people of India, without distinction of race or creed, feel that the British Government should do its best to redeem its pledge. The Government of India, it is well-known, has identified itself with this united demand of the Indian people. But to say, as Mahatma Gandhi says in *Young India*, that the Khilafat is now a national question, is very wide of the mark. Two-thirds of the people of India are non-Mahomedans, and even of the Mahomedans, a large section, the Shiaks, do not recognise the Khilafat. As a religious institution, they have no interest in the Khilafat, and to write as if they had, is to lay the seeds of serious misunderstanding between them and the section of Mahomedans who hold by it. Indeed, we think that much mischief has been already done. We are unable to dismiss from our minds the thought that such indiscriminate statements might have had the effect of leading the Moplas honestly to believe that the Hindus were only awaiting some persuasion to adopt the religion of the Khalif. There should no longer be any room for such misunderstanding. The Khilafat is *not* a national question with Indians: it is a religious question with a section of Indian Mahomedans. What is a national question is that the Indian people, including Mahomedans of all denominations, are distressed that the British Government to which they owe allegiance, has not fulfilled its pledge that the Turks should not be dispossessed of Thrace and Asia Minor. This distinction must be emphasised, as the language sometimes employed by Khilafat leaders often slurs

over it. A factitious Hindu-Mahomedan unity based on the Khilafat which to three-fourths of the Indian people is no more than a name, is an obstacle to real and lasting Hindu-Mahomedan unity which must rest and can only rest on a common nationalism which regards religion as a matter of the individual conscience, out of reach of any political consideration whatsoever.

The Future of Ceylon: The Colonial Office is reported in a Reuter's telegram to be contemplating a scheme for the grouping of Crown Colonies according to their geographical position under High Commissioners who will shoulder some of the duties and responsibilities, especially those regarding public appointments and finances, which now devolve on that office in London. Of the suggested groupings the two most important from the Indian point of view, are that of Uganda, Nyassaland, Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar under a High Commissioner at Nairobi; and that of Ceylon, the Seychelles, the Straits Settlements, and Mauritius, under a High Commissioner at Port Louis, the capital of the last-named colony. The former of these is open to no objection and conforms to the principle of geographical contiguity. The second grossly violates not only this principle but every other principle deemed essential in the formation of administrative units. In particular, the proposal to place Ceylon under a High Commissioner in Mauritius, is preposterous. Ceylon has an area of 25,000 square miles and a population of 4 millions. Mauritius is a small island of not more than 713 square miles, with a population of 4 lakhs of persons. The Seychelles is a still smaller island and was formerly a dependency of Mauritius. The Strait Settlements consist of a total area of about 1500 square miles and a population of perhaps 50,000. Ceylon is thus the largest and most important of the group, and the absurdity of placing it under a High Commissioner in Mauritius is self-evident. Commercially and culturally, Ceylon is, of course, far ahead of the other components of the proposed group. If this group is to be constituted—and it is one in which India has a predominant interest—Colombo and not Port Louis will be the most appropriate headquarters of its High Commissioner. This functionary, who will be a sort of Governor-General, should reside not in a secluded part of his jurisdiction but in the part of it where he will be in close touch with the most active currents of political, social and commercial life. The real affinities, racial and cultural, of Ceylon are with India, and no Indian can contemplate any scheme which is calculated to break it with equanimity. Historically, too, India has a deep interest in the future of Ceylon. Like Aden, Ceylon as also Mauritius was occupied at the beginning of the last century by expeditions from India. Colombo is really the principal natural southern port of India in her intercourse with the Far East on the one side and Australia on the other. The integrally complete Indian Empire would be one extending from Kabul to Colombo, which is the geographical and historical unit that it has been the immemorial aim of Indian Empire-builders to consolidate. The most natural political future for Ceylon is to be united to India to which she belongs by every tie that nature and man can contrive.

The Future of Aden: As we surmised last week, Mr. Winston Churchill seems to have been indulging in an "intelligent anticipation of events" when he told the House of Commons that the transfer of Aden to the Colonial office, except for financial details, had been completed. In reply to a supplementary

question in the Legislative Assembly by Mr. Samarth as to whether Government knew that Mr. Churchill had stated in the Commons that it had been decided to transfer Aden to the Colonial Office, Dr. Sapru replied "I am not aware of that." Thereupon Mr. Hailey said, Mr. Churchill's statement was premature. Mr. Samarth further asked whether the Government of India had publicly contradicted it. Mr. Hailey replied: "I have now done it." If Mr. Hailey is better informed of the intentions of the British Government than Mr. Winston Churchill, India must, indeed, be making progress in the confidence of that Government. The difference between the Indian Law Member's profession of ignorance and the English Finance Member's disposition to take the Legislative Assembly into Government's confidence, will be noticed. The *Times of India* thinks that Aden forms an unjustifiable and heavy expense to India and that the Bombay Government would welcome the transfer. If that is so, why was India required to bear the burden all these years? If India was unjustly saddled with the burden, will Great Britain recoup her for her losses on Aden during nearly a century? The question should be discussed in all its aspects in the Legislative Assembly, before a decision is finally taken. As the Western India Liberal Association has aptly pointed out, if Aden is necessary for the defence of India, it will not be less necessary when India attains full responsible Government and the present move is open to the suspicion that responsible Government in India is to be weighted down by depriving her of strategic positions. It has been financially handicapped already in several ways.

The Ali Brothers. The Government of Bombay, acting with the full concurrence of the Government of India, having decided to prosecute Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali for offences of promoting discontent in the Army, sedition and creating enmity between classes of the people, they were arrested on Friday, the former in Bombay and the latter at Waltair on his way to Madras from Calcutta. While we deeply deplore the prosecution, we cannot in fairness accuse Government of precipitancy. The brothers showed commendable patriotism in signing the statement which enabled the Viceroy to withdraw the prosecutions then pending. If the Viceroy thinks that the terms of the undertaking have been violated, and that Government have no option but to institute these prosecutions, we are not in a position to offer any effective reasons against that view. Nor should we overlook the fact that Sir George Lloyd's Government has, on the whole, been distinguished among provincial Governments by its scrupulous regard for freedom of speech and public meeting, though local officials may have occasionally blundered by excess of zeal in these respects. We are sure that the Government has undertaken this prosecution with the utmost reluctance and under an overwhelming sense of duty, and at this stage, we can only express the hope that the result of the prosecution will be such as to vindicate British Indian justice, to promote harmony among all classes of His Majesty's subjects, and to enhance the strength of Government to do the right even though it may feel itself wronged.

Shishir Kumar Ghose Laper Mission: Mr. Piyush Kanti Ghose and Pandit Kriparam of the above Mission have removed from their former address and are now staying at Lingaya Sayanna's House, Plot No. 22, opposite G. L. P. Ry. station, Dadar, Bombay.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1921.

INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

The pre-war world was in many respects different from the world we live in to-day. The participation of Indian and Japanese troops in the European war broke down the barriers between the East and the West, and threw open the flood-gates through which Eastern and Western thought is rushing and mingling, forming an eddy here and a whirlpool there. The frequent and numerous industrial strikes that we have been witnessing during the past few years are but one phase of this thought-mingling between the East and the West. India with its hoary village communal system based on castes, was exempt for ages from corporate action of labourers in assertion of their rights or privileges. Even the introduction of the factory system which brought together large numbers of people consisting of numerous castes and several creeds, did not break the peace in which Indian labourers were working till the world-war brought about an up-heaval rooting out old-world notions all round. Then an era of strikes even in this ancient country began and we are still hearing of strikes and lock-outs here and there. No province has been exempt from this industrial unrest.

A special Committee was appointed by a resolution of the Bengal Legislative Council in March last to enquire into the causes of recent strikes of workmen in Bengal and to advise what remedial measures should be adopted. A somewhat similar committee was appointed by the Bombay Government but its report has, for some reason not known to us, been treated as confidential, though, we believe, the Labour Bureau that has since been created, was its most important recommendation. The Bengal Committee has recently published its report a copy of which is before us. The Committee did not think it necessary to go back further than the 1st July 1920, as before that time though a certain amount of industrial unrest had been evident in Bengal as in other parts of India, in Bengal strikes had not been resorted to on any large scale as a means of enforcing the demands of the workers. The Committee observe:—"During the last six months of 1920, however, no less than 89 strikes occurred in the Calcutta industrial area, while the last six weeks were marked by an outbreak of 12 strikes in the Bardwan district, affecting both the coal field and some of the industrial undertakings at Raiganj. In addition to these, there were two strikes at Barisal and one at Kharagpur. In the first quarter of 1921 there have been 83 strikes in all, some of which were recrudescences of disputes which had worked out in the previous year, but though the tendency to resort to strikes appears to be diminishing for the time being, the industrial situation is still sufficiently unsettled to demand the most anxious consideration, at the hands alike of the Government and of all engaged in industry, of any measures which are likely to afford a more satisfac-

tory means of settling out standing difficulties than those which have hitherto been adopted."

After going at length into the details of the causes that led to the strikes and how they were ended, the Committee discuss remedial measures. These measures as recommended by the Committee are the institution of (1) Works Committees and (2) Conciliation Boards. The former is to include representatives of both employers and employed, whose chief function it would be to establish and maintain harmonious relations between employers and employed. This is a very loose and a very vague definition of the function of the Works Committee. If the employees have a particular grievance and they place it before the Works Committee, the Works Committee can only report; and this is an admittedly weak point and "lengthy negotiations are necessary before a settlement can be arrived at on the basis of their recommendations." The Conciliation Board is to consist of about twenty members to be appointed by Government and to include a due proportion of all classes of the community—both European and Indian—and representatives of both capital and labour. The chief function of the Conciliation Board is to be the settlement of disputes arising in any public utility company. The weak point here: how is the settlement arrived at to be enforced and by what authority?

These recommendations are nothing new—in fact some of the important works have already created Works Committees. The difficulty has always been the lack of the humane element, and it will continue to remain so long as the employer lives and moves in the implicit faith that he is to be eternally employer and patron and the man or woman who works for wages should eternally be his bondsman; that the latter belongs to a different species from himself; and that he should be satisfied with the minimum of comfort, let alone luxury, which might be vouchsafed to him as a favour by the employer. If an improvement can be effected in this attitude, dissatisfaction will seldom ripen into grievances, being dissolved in the sympathetic understanding which ensues generally as the result of free intercourse between man and man. The fact that in concerns managed by proprietors, where the employer works himself among his workmen and is in constant touch with them, and feels the moods and sentiments that pass over them, strikes are scarce, is the best proof of this truth.

In this connection, we quote below an extract from a letter from Northern India. As such small details go to make a human being's life happy or miserable, we trust the point raised by our correspondent will be taken up and satisfactorily settled by the employers themselves:—

"I have never seen the question of "weekly pay" as against "monthly pay" taken up. In England, all classes of labour receive their pay weekly—nowadays usually on Friday so that goods may be bought conveniently on Saturday, and Sunday is of course a holiday. I should imagine that this applies to every body except those special salaried posts advertised at "so much a year"; in other words, to everyone not

in the higher rungs of the ladder of the professional world. One is always running across men who have been out of work for some time and then get a chance of a fresh job. They have often been half-starved, and their wardrobe is reduced to a minimum. They go to their job and in many cases within a week go down with fever. Often, too, within a few weeks a pair of boots has to be bought or a pyjama. Firms in this part of the country usually pay about the 15th of the month; so many have to work for six weeks before getting anything. I have actually found genuine cases of men who could not afford to take a job. They were too poor to get the necessary clothes and to be able to borrow the money to maintain themselves till pay-day came. The holding up of money and the monthly pay system would not be so bad however if men before being dismissed (except in cases of misconduct) were given decent notice or pay in lieu of notice. Here men often get a day's notice. Of course, it will be said that in return they can give a day's notice—or I suppose they can. In England the man who is paid by the week must get a week's notice; the man paid by the month—a month's notice; and the man receiving his pay quarterly (the padre, for instance) a quarter's. Would not men be much better off if they were paid weekly? A monthly pay must put a large strain on the inexperienced or casual housewife and must possibly in a measure which we cannot understand, help to increase the borrowings from the banyas and others. No doubt a weekly pay-day would give more work to a firm—more than it does in England for no pay-clerk there would dare to cheat and so incidentally there is no need to count the sum paid. Here everyone wants to count his pay and also often wants to test the coins to see if they be good or not. The question of paying odd sums should not be a difficult one, for all the world over there are odd sums paid in the matter of overtime. Probably wages would have to be raised, for the month would be a four weeks one."

MR. MONTAGU AND REVERSE COUNCILS.

At long last, Mr. Montagu has come out with his own defence on the sale of Reverse Councils. The London Correspondent of the *Hindu* in its issue of 13th August writes that Mr. Montagu in reply to Col. Hurst, "circulated a parliamentary paper having an elaborate defence of his policy in regard to the above (Reverse Councils)." It is surprising how this really important and rather belated answer by Mr. Montagu has not been cabled by Reuter then. Col. Hurst in his question has raised whether the loss has been £17,500,000 in 1920-21, whether rich financiers gained by £29,000,000, whether this step did not contribute to the fall in Exchange, and why the Reverse Councils were not sold at competitive tender and has rounded off his question with a very proper demand—which India, in the present political turmoil and confusion, has completely neglected—"whether the Secretary of State would take steps to fix the responsibility for these disasters."

The Secretary of State replied,

The sale of Reverse Councils was not however the real cause of this loss, which would have been incurred whether they had been sold or not in consequence of the decision based on the Currency Committee's Report that the sterling securities in the paper currency reserve, originally valued on a 1s. 4d. basis should be revalued on a 2s. basis. The loss resulting from the sale of Reverse Councils at rates other than 2s. after the adoption of the currency committee's recommendations in February 1920, is about 7½ crores. . . . While I deplore the failure so far to make the currency committee's policy effective, I would remind my honourable friend of the abnormal situation prevailing last year which resulted in an adverse balance of trade of 75 crores. I am unable to accept the view that the sale of Reverse Bills has contributed materially to the present fall in Exchange. Indeed, it would be natural to infer that the sales which in 1920 aggregated to £55,000,000 must have tended substantially to check the fall.

Mr. Montagu also sought refuge under the plea that he acted according to the para 62 of the report where the committee, he said, recommended 2s. gold and not competitive rates. The replies given by Mr. Hailey have been evasive and never satisfactory. Now even the elaborate defence of Mr. Montagu sheds no new light, though the full reply will be awaited with eager interest in India—which the Central Publicity Bureau might republish. As for his plea that the loss would have been incurred even otherwise, on the revaluation of the securities at 2s. it must be pointed out that there was no need to convert a prospective loss into an actual loss by embarking on questionable methods. There is no reason why they should not have followed the practice prevailing in big Insurance Companies and Banks and the Government of India have not been reduced to abject penury and distress to dispose of their resources immediately and without waiting for better times like a bankrupt hemmed in by creditors. What will the shareholders of a Bank or Insurance Company say if the Manager and the Directors sell away all gilt-edged securities when they are very much below par instead of the usual practice of simply revaluing the securities at the market value and writing off the paper loss from the years' profits? A manager of a Bank or Insurance Company who does the same thing as the Government of India, in his management of the concern would be discredited as one afflicted with a temporary fit of madness.

India's contention has always been that apart from the merits of the currency committee's recommendation of 2s., they should have simply revalued the securities and not showed an indecent haste to sell them. Mr. Montagu's jugglery with figures and his trying to make out that the loss was only 7½ crores instead of 35 crores leave us amused. The loss is not confined to his estimate of 7½ crores only. In spite of his trying to shift off the responsibility it must be held that it is the sale of Reverse Councils at high rates that contributed to the "abnormal situation" and to "the adverse balance of trade of 75 crores last year." As for his sententious proposition that the sale tended to substantially check the fall, the present position belies it or the Secretary of State and his advisers

were expecting a fall in the Exchange rate. In that case, their action borders on the betrayal of India's interests. The real result of this long-continued sale of £55,000,000 and its effect on substantially checking the fall, were to give an artificial stimulus to the high exchange prevailing, making importers order for goods, for huge sums, especially from Great Britain. No wonder, under this false lure, Indian merchants were tempted to order for more goods than India can consume and no wonder, then, that the favourable balance of trade in 1919 has been mischievously converted into an adverse balance. It is doubtful whether any of his plans will be accepted by economists of repute. India will wholeheartedly support the last demand of Col. Harat with this modification that, instead of the Secretary of State, His Majesty's Government in London or the Houses of Parliament should take steps to fix the responsibility for these disasters. If not, the people of India must settle themselves a bit. In this connection, it is necessary that a resolution should be moved in the Imperial Legislature, asking that the whole of the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India on the sale of the Reverse Councils should be published, from December 1919 to September 1920. A notice of a resolution on the Exchange problem has been given but a resolution on the correspondence prior to and during the sale of Reverse Councils is very necessary and is bound to unravel the mystery attending these transactions.

SCRIPT FOR A NATIONAL LANGUAGE IN INDIA.

(By P. J. P. J.)

The question of a national language naturally preceded that of a script in which the language is to be written. It is evident that in India there are numerous races and creeds and the word "nation" would apply to a conglomeration of these races most of which have got their own dialects. The language called Urdu, Hindustani or Hindi, according to its various stages of developments, is the one which is most spoken or understood in our triangular continent, as the highest and the most unbiased authorities like George Campbell, the author of "India As It Might Be", M. Gracin de Tassej and J. Beams, the author of "Indian Philology", have pronounced (for reference see the *Modern Review* for March 1921 p. 325-326). This *lingua franca* of India contains words of Sanskrit, Prakrits, Arabic, Persian and English languages and even of the aboriginal dialects of Tamil and Telugu, in a harmonious blend, and is further capable of naturalising words of foreign origin in a way that no other vernacular can compete with it in this respect. In fact this indigenous language is the outcome of the social intercourse of various races, the chief of which are Hindus and Musalmans. Its basis is Brj Bhasha as almost all the verbs are Hindi, the verbs and the adjectives have gender unlike Persian and various other peculiarities; but Persian and Arabic which began to influence the Hindi from the

year 1193, as a perusal of Pritbiraj Basu of Chand Kabi will prove, supply a large number of nouns, adjectives etc. In short this mixed language is most suitable for the needs of a mixed nation and in this lies the secret of its popularity.

It is useless to discuss the name by which it is or should be called. The most developed form is called Urdu, which is a Turkish word and probably therefore unpopular among Hindus. Next to it is Hindustani and the least improved dialect is commonly called Hindi, although of late strenuous efforts are being made by the Hindi Pracharini Sabha to improve Bhasha under the name of Hindi, by introducing words of Sanskrit origin which to the common people are more foreign than their Persian or Arabic equivalents which they are intended to displace. The name Hindustani has been given to the stage of language which contains very few of Persian, Arabic or Sanskrit words. For all that, there are so many Persian and Arabic words blended with the Urdu, Hindustani or Hindi that any attempt to divest the language of these commonly understood words, would mean crippling it seriously and replacing them with words of Sanskrit origin would make it impossible to be understood by the common masses without the help of a Pandit in every village. Language forming is a natural process which extends over several generations and even Kings have failed in introducing words of their choice in Urdu language. For instance Jahangir wanted to name wine as Ramraji and Mohammed Shah attempted to change the word Sangra into Rangra—apparently a better descriptive name but these words never found favour with the public. It is not a question of introducing any word of foreign origin but its being capable of naturalisation and acceptance by the people. By this time Urdu is a settled language and no words of Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian origin can, indiscriminately, be interchanged. Any such attempt would at once be marked as unidiomatic. The words, 'Bottle' and 'Btal' for instance are now Urdu words and no longer English and any one pronouncing the correct word 'bottle' would not be taken to be speaking Urdu.

When it is proved that Urdu, Hindustani or Hindi is the commonest language in India and it contains words of Hindi, Persian and Arabic origin, it has to be decided what script could be more appropriate for it. Urdu from its very birth is being written in a particular script and the need for omitting that script and adopting another, has to be proved by the advocates of the change, even under the principles of *onus probandi*. From its infancy upto this time when Urdu language is the most developed vernacular in India and contains books of many ancient and modern sciences and arts, besides having its own vast poetry, there has been no complaint by those who know Urdu that the script has fallen short of the growing needs of the progressive language. The advocates of Devanagiri claim that their script is the most suitable for the common language. In the *Indian Social Reformer* of February 1911 one S. D. M. says, "I hold that the Nagri as at present in use in writing and printing the purposed *lingua franca* is by far and

away the most perfect of all existing scripts or alphabets in actual use over the world." This is too big a claim which can not stand the light of criticism, as I will show later on. At present my view is limited to India only, as we are discussing the question of an Indian common language and not of a cosmopolitan spranto. I hold no brief for the world and have no ambition to create a perfect alphabet for the Bharat varsh. The alphabets of a language are primarily intended for the use of that language and to represent all the articulate sounds used in that particular tongue. Whether we can write the words of another language in a particular script is irrelevant on this occasion and useless in general. No script in the world, so far as I know can lay a claim to this useless ambition and I will prove that Deonagri is not an exception to this rule. Nay, there is a step further, i.e. Deonagri script cannot meet the requirements of even the present day Urdu or Hindustani. For instance Deonagri contains no letter representing the sound of S and Z as pronounced in the words "azure" and "pleasure" or the common Urdu word "Azdaha" and the proper name "Zind".

Deonagri is a pure script and is quite suitable to the needs for which it was invented. It has the same letters as used in Sanskrit language. The classification of the alphabet is an excellent one but after all it is artificial, as the invention of the first three terminal and nasal letters to correspond with the rest shows and as their omission in the Hindi-dialect proves their uselessness. I will criticize the worth of the Deonagri character later on and here have only to say that this pure character can not supply the needs of a language which is decidedly a mixed one. The present Urdu script contains 14 letters more than the Deonagri alphabet.

The existing system of script can represent all the articulate sounds necessary for the language, as these alphabets have been borrowed from Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic equally and therefore deserve rightly to be called mixed script. I hold that a mixed script is most suitable to a mixed language of which a mixed nation and on this principle the centuries past over the Urdu language in the present garb are enough and uncontrovertable evidences.

With the exception of some of the Deonagri letters which are never used in Hindi pure and simple, Urdu script contains representations for all the Deonagri letters. Over and above, these it contains all the letters peculiar to the Persian and Arabic languages. Of course in the beginning some devices had to be invented in converting the Semetic form of the letters to represent sounds used in the Hindi language but these conventionals have survived for several centuries and are never thought of to be artificial device of the present day. If this can be called a fault of the script, Deonagri alphabets also are not free from blame, for they represent the sound of Z by adding a dot to their letter representing the sound of J and so on. Here again S. D. M. is not speaking the truth when he says. . . . "There is no question either of inventing new alphabets or of perfecting and idealizing those already in use over the

world." The Deonagri script has already been perfected in some cases of necessity by finding representations for sounds foreign to the system and hence the addition of a dot to several letters. But for all that artificial device there are no representations for several letters or one representation is supposed to denote 4, 3 and 2 letters at a time.

The advocates of Deonagri say that the several letters of similar sounds do not require different scripts but in this argument they forget that words written with these different letters bear different meanings and the removal of distinction would necessarily give rise to the idea that the same words have different meanings and in this way cause a great confusion in the language and open the door for automatic forgery or misinterpretation. For instance the word "Surat" written in Deonagri character would mean "shape" as well as the name of the famous city; but written in Urdu characters the two words have different forms and can not be misinterpreted. In the same way the word "Arzi" would mean "pertaining to earth" as well as "application." Thousands and thousands of such examples can be multiplied and it is only to be imagined what confusion would be the result. Besides, an independent Urdu prosody based on these scripts and the volumes of Urdu poetry on these principles shall have to be thrown into the depths of the Indian Ocean. The Urdu language has gone so far ahead that it is impossible for it to get rid of its present script which is sure to be retained by those who know its value even if their "numerically far stronger compatriots" formally denounce it as a now national script and adopt another in its place.

THE MOPLAH OUTBREAK.

A valued Mahomedan friend writes: I am writing this to you about your article on the "Moplah Outbreak". I read the article in the train on my way here. I always read the *Reformer* with enthusiastic interest and great benefit; it provokes thought though the views expressed are not always acceptable to me. Your article on the "Moplah Outbreak" filled me with indescribable sadness and it is to express my sorrow rather than to enter into any controversy that I write this letter to you. The fact that this is the first time I write to you about an article in the *Reformer* will give you some idea of the pain I feel.

That the Moplah outbreak would be eagerly seized by a certain type of men, even to question the solidarity of Hindus and Muslims was, of course, to be expected. But that you should have written in the vein you have written has given me intense pain. You write: "If the future *Swaraj* means countenancing forcible conversions, a very large section of Indians would prefer to have the present religious freedom to a millenium where they will have every kind of freedom except that of religion." I have too great a confidence in my countrymen to believe for a moment that in *Swaraj* they would countenance forcible conversions. But that is not what I want to say. The assumption made by you that Muslims, let alone Hindus, would countenance forcible conversions in *Swaraj*, is most unjust and, having been made by you, is most unkind. Your ground for making the assumption seems to be that while "the Khilafat leaders have passed the usual condemnatory resolution about violence, none of

them has dared to denounce forcible conversions to Islam." Before the issue of the *Reformer* was published, the Kazi of Calicut and other Muslim leaders in Malabar had publicly denounced forcible conversions. But even if they had not openly done so, why should you assume that "the usual condemnatory resolution about violence" does not cover forcible conversion, which is also a form of violence? Apart from the fact that one of the cardinal injunctions of Islam is that "there is no compulsion in religion," I think the insistence on non violence implies condemnation of forcible conversion.

The Hindu-Muslim unity is, in my humble opinion, the greatest achievement of modern times,—and it should be the most precious thing for every Indian. The Swaraj that Muslims are fighting for with the help of their fellow-countrymen is Swaraj for the latter as well as for themselves. In moments of excitement such as this, it is possible that some of my Hindu brethren may forget this obvious truth—but those who are likely to forget it are those who have no faith in their capacity to govern their country. As for the Muslims, to say that they say one thing and mean another thing is as unkind as it is unjust. I am writing this to you not as a Muslim, but as an Indian. For, I am proud to say that I have trained myself to rise above communal differences.

HIS HIGHNESS THE YUVARAJA OF MYSORE IN POONA.

(From a Correspondent)

During his brief stay in Poona His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore, who came here for comparative rest, was pleased to encourage several institutions by his quiet visits. He laid the foundation stone of the Ahilyashram for the boys and girls of the Depressed Classes on the 5th of September and for the second time honoured the Poona Seva Sadan of which he is one of the oldest Vice Patrons, with a long visit on Friday, the 9th instant. His Highness drove to the Institution in company with his Private Secretary and Mr. G. K. Devadhar, the Honorary Organiser and General Secretary. Shet Narottamdas Morarjee Gokuldas and Shet Trikamdas Gowardhandas Khatav also accompanied the distinguished visitor. On arrival at the main entrance Mr. Devadhar introduced His Highness to some of the prominent workers. His Highness was then taken to the Sir Vithaldas Thackersey Hall where Mr. Devadhar gave him a brief account of the present position of the Society. It may be stated that this was His Highness' second visit to the Institution, the first having been paid in the year 1915, when the total number on the rolls was only 205, whereas on the day of his second visit His Highness found the same to have risen to 964, during the intervening period of hardly six years.

Mr. Devadhar then brought to the notice of the Yuvaraja the present two different problems that confront the Society, namely, want of sufficient building accommodation and funds. He also mentioned how the Society has begun to spread its net work outside and how several Indian States in the Deccan have started similar work in their territories with the help of the Society and explained its plan of future expansion which depended on funds. He then took the party round the various classes, which by the way, number about 45; and showed how each room in the present buildings had to be put to two or three different uses during the course of the day. His Highness himself made a good many enquiries during the round of the classes and manifested special interest in the working of the Infant Welfare Centre. He also showed special interest, and naturally enough, in a girl from

Bangalore, who has at present been staying in one of the Hostels and receiving instruction in English and domestic industries.

The party having returned to the Hall after about an hour and a half, a brief but choice programme of music was successfully gone through. His Highness was then presented with a gold embroidered cushion and a pair of gold embroidered borders, as mementoes of his visit and was garlanded. Mr. Devadhar then in a very brief speech thanked His Highness for having honoured the Institution with a second visit; and His Highness Yuvaraja Saheb also reciprocated the sentiment and alluded with great satisfaction to the vast strides made by the Institution, expressed a hope that it would receive adequate help from all who wished the all round progress of the country.

Having thus concluded his visit to the headquarters His Highness drove with Mr. Devadhar first to the Woman Medical Students' Hostel No. IV, and inspected the arrangements there. From thence the party drove to the Nurses' Hostel—called the Manubai Nurses' Hostel No. II—and after inspecting the same the party sat down to tea there. His Highness seemed thoroughly pleased with the Society's attempts at providing facilities for medical instruction to high class Indian women. Rao Bahadur Dr. P. V. Shikhare thanked His Highness at the close of the visit. His Highness thanked most cordially the party for the trouble they took and congratulated them all on the success the Poona Seva Sadan Society achieved within such a short period. His Highness spoke to all the women workers and warmly thanked them for their zeal. It is significant to add that His Highness originally intended to spend about an hour at the Institution, whereas he actually spent nearly three hours thus manifesting in unmistakable terms his genuine sympathy with, and interest in, the cause of an all round advancement of Indian womanhood. Three cheers to His Highness and the guests brought this most pleasant function to a close. The schools were closed for a day in honour of His Highness' visit on Friday last.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

ELOCUTION COMPETITION FOR HINDU LADIES.

The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association will hold an Elocution Competition and a Competition in Essay writing for Hindu ladies in the 1st week of October 1921 to encourage public speaking by women and to develop their faculty of expression. Definite time and place will be announced later.

The subjects etc. fixed for the Competition in Marathi are as follows:—

1. Speeches:—

Subject I.

Will be announced 36 hours before the Competition. Prizes 3—Rs. 25, 15, 10.

Subject II.

Will be announced 15 days before the Competition. Prizes 5—Rs. 10, 6, 5, 4, 3.

2. Essay Writing.

The subjects and conditions of writing will be announced a week before the appointed time.

Prizes 3—Rs. 25, 15, 10.

Similar prizes and subjects have been fixed for the Competition in Gujarathi.

Speakers on the 1st subject will be allowed 15 minutes' time, those on the 2nd subject, 7 minutes' time and 3 hours will be allowed for the essay writing.

Ladies and girls wishing to take part in the Competition should send in their applications not later than the 30th September 1921, stating their age, full name, caste, occupation, address and subject, to the Secretaries, Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, Servants of India Society's Home, Southwest Road, Girgaon, Bombay.

Speakers on the 2nd subject must also send a certificate of age signed by their guardian and the Head Mistress of their school.

THE REFORMS CONFERENCE

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

With reference to your remarks regarding the Reforms Conference, will you kindly suffer me to make some frank comments on them? Your personal remarks about Mr. Jamnadas, were quite inappropriate and entirely unnecessary. I cannot say why you indulged in them. That he was very popular once and is not now, ought to be of little consequence to you, if you are fairminded in your criticisms. I have no particular liking for Mr. Jamnadas. But I do necessarily think that your personal remarks are entirely un-called for and the undignified. Your remarks regarding Mrs. Besant, I am sorry to say, are of a very ill-natured. They seem to imply that you take a secret pleasure in her discomfiture, in her suit, and the you feel a certain amount of personal uneasiness at her being honoured by certain high personages in England.

As regards your remarks regarding the audience, they logically mean that Sir Chimanlal Setalwad and Mr. Paranjpye were the only distinguished persons who attended. Members of the Bombay Legislative Council, appear in your eyes, as men of necessarily inferior position. Even in the case of your only two distinguished persons, you seem to recognise them as such, not for their personal worth, but as is clear from your denomination of them, because they hold certain official positions. As regards Mrs. Besant's address, it is unfortunate that in her case you do not seem to recognise that, different situations require different handling, while in your own case, you are prepared to justify your wholesale plunge in politics at present, leaving social reform to take care of itself. I have nothing to say as regards your criticism of opinions and procedure. But your personal remarks, not of a very edifying character, I am constrained to say, are a serious departure from the traditions of the *Indian Social Reformer*. I remember, you once complained bitterly about what you called 'carping criticism' of yourself by the Bombay correspondent of the 'Capital'. I see that you are doing the very same thing now, that you detect in others!

Bombay

9th September 1921.

FAIR-PLAY.

[We have omitted two sentences from the above which related to some gentlemen and a journal quite unconnected with the topic of the correspondent. Ed. I. S. R.]

PUSSYFOOT AND PROHIBITION IN INDIA

The Editor *The Indian Social Reformer*

Sir,

You have always spoken out your mind with characteristic boldness and independence of judgment coupled with a deep insight and mastery over facts. I read your interesting comments regarding Mr. Pussyfoot Johnson but unfortunately you have missed the real cause of the waning interest in his lectures at the Cowasji Jehanghir Hall, to which you passing refer.

You must perhaps have observed Mr. Johnson

- (1) Only relating his great experiences in America,
- (2) Studiously ignoring the existence of a like movement in India,
- (3) Carefully selecting the auspices under which to deliver his addresses,
- (4) Systematically going into a wrong channel, which cannot profit the man that really needs his mission.

On my personally speaking to him after his lectures regarding his studied evasion he said:—

- (1) We accomplished prohibition in America by Law,
- (2) Your Government will therefore do it,
- (3) Your representatives at the Council will move in the matter,
- (4) And that I have only come to relate America's experience regarding Prohibition.

I replied to him that

- (1) The Government who feeds fat on this Revenue will be the last to do anything in this matter
- (2) Our Government in India is not ours
- (3) The representatives do not represent the real electorate.
- (4) Over and above relating America's experiences, you should help and profit us by your support and guidance to enable us to fight out our struggle ourselves.

He also told me that he had no experience of non-violent picketing. Will he not take hold of this larger opportunity that he finds for the struggle of Prohibition, study the surroundings and help us? He shall leave a more glorious name not only in the West but in the Eastern world. There is a vast difference between the struggle in America and India. As he is going to interview Mahatma Gandhi (so he told me) we shall perhaps hear from him more inspiring pronouncements on the eve of his return to America.

Yours etc.

R. A. GABRAY.

[Mr. Johnson, in our opinion, is wise in confining himself, as he does, to stating the experience of America with Prohibition, as regards which there is a good deal of erroneous information disseminated in India. The constitutional action by which Prohibition should be incorporated in Indian administration, belongs entirely to Indians and foreign support, except purely moral support, is altogether out of place. Ed. I. S. R.]

THE CHARAK CLINIC.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

In writing the following few lines, possibly I lay myself open to the charge of advertising "intellectual commodities." Advertisement of talents or intelligence offends against good sense and professional etiquette and yet in Europe it is almost carried to a fine art. Western countries never fail to advertise their men. Great achievements and small both are vigorously kept up before the public through the press. There is no doubt it is partly this that sustains the vitality of the nation. But the contrary is the case in India. Even public opinion, until recently was not created. It was lack of vigorous propaganda through the press that was largely responsible for the huge delay in cultivating public opinion in our country. Not seldom do we find men of high intelligence and considerable talents hardly in the eye of the public. Sir, if through this letter I am bringing to the notice of the public the existence of an institution that deserves encouragement and support I believe I am only discharging my duty. I

speak of the Charak Clinic (situated near the French Bridge) recently founded by two of our most brilliant men Drs. R. D. Shirwalkar and R. N. Cooper, both of whom have acquired the diploma of F. R. C. S. and the degree of M. S. the highest gifts that could be bestowed on an individual in the science of Surgery. The clinic is hardly a few months old, and speaking personally, already it has done some very useful and beneficent work. The institution embraces all the branches of surgery including such specialities as X-Ray work and Eye work. The clinic is in charge of men of high talents, refined, genial, kind, and courteous. There is no doubt that succeeding generations will remember it with gratitude as generations have cherished with affection the memory of one of the greatest Indians and benefactors of humanity—Charak—after whom the Clinic has been so aptly named.

Bombay,
14th September, 1921.

Yours truly,
P. H. D.

BRAHMIN WIDOW MARRIAGE IN POONA.

We are glad to announce that on the 23rd August last Srimati Krishna Bai a well educated widowed lady of 25, the grand-daughter of the late Vaman Daji Oke, the well known Marathi savant of the Central Provinces was married to Captain Vinayak Jaxuman Sathe of the Bombay Medical Service. He was a widower aged 38 and belongs to a prominent family. The ceremony took place at the office of the local widow marriage association and was attended by a large party of ladies and gentlemen friends of the bride and bridegroom. Prof H. G. Diwekar M. A. of the Women's University officiated as purohit. May the newly married couple long enjoy a happy and prosperous life.

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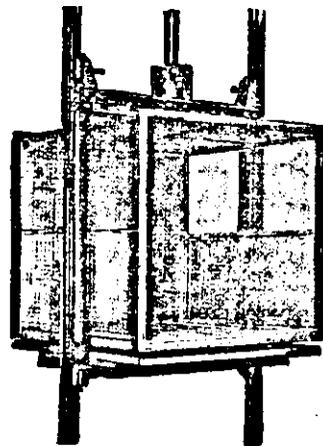
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

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The Prime Minister's Pledge: A correspondent in Upper India sends us a copy of the *Literary Digest*, an American weekly of high standing and conducted with "conservative carefulness" as to facts, of the 30th July, containing an article on the acquittal by a Berlin jury of the Armenian who killed Talaat Pasha, the chief of the Young Turk party and during the latter part of the war Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire. The technical ground of the acquittal was temporary insanity brought on by a vision of Teilerian's murdered mother. But in the course of trial, a good deal of evidence was admitted regarding Talaat's policy regarding Armenians, and official orders issued by Talaat's Government and bearing his signature, were produced to show that it was one of wholesale and ruthless extermination. German official reports were produced showing that the total number of Armenians who had perished was over 1,000,000. The production of the following cipher telegram bearing Talaat's own signature, to the Government of Aleppo, is said to have had a particularly telling effect on the jury:

Collect and keep only those orphans who cannot remember the terrors to which their parents have been subjected. Send the rest away with the caravans.

Our correspondent rather in sorrow than in anger demands to know how, in the face of these terrible revelations, we can plead for the restoration of Turkish Empire. The question is irrelevant as what we have always pleaded for is the fulfilment of Mr. Lloyd George's pledge that Turkey would not be deprived of Thrace and Asia Minor which were predominantly Turk, a pledge which, admittedly, had an effect in stimulating recruitment to the Indian army at a critical period of the war, and which has been totally ignored in the Peace Treaty. The position of Government in regard to the extreme Khilafatists would be immensely strengthened if it was supported by tangible advance in the direction of the revision of the Treaty on the lines of the Prime Minister's famous declaration. We are sorry to say that no evidence of such action is

forthcoming. As for the verdict of the German Court, seeing that the Germans themselves were not so long ago accused of unspeakable atrocities in Belgium, no impartial publicist can exclude from his consideration the possibility of Samuel Teilerian's case having been utilised as an easy, vicarious means of rehabilitating German humanity in the eyes of the rest of Christian Europe. The extraordinary latitude allowed for the production of irrelevant evidence regarding the policy of Turkey in a trial of the murderer of a Turkish resident of Berlin, is suspicious. As for documents, historians, no longer put implicit faith in them, because, as one of the most famous of them has observed, documents can be and have been forged. If Talaat's Government had adopted and deliberately pursued the cold-blooded policy indicated by these documents, it must have been really and truly a Satanic Government. But the Prime Minister's pledge related not to Armenians or Armenia, but to lands which were predominantly Turk in Thrace and Asia Minor, and all that we have ever asked, and now ask, is that that pledge should be kept.

India and the Khilafat: With reference to our observations last week we are asked, since the British Government has failed to secure fulfilment of its pledge, what alternative course is there to that propounded by the Khilafat non-co-operationists. We ask our readers to face facts. The Nizam, the premier Indian Mahomedan ruler, assisted by Sir Ali Imam and other eminent Mahomedan Ministers, has prohibited the Khilafat movement in Hyderabad. So far as we know, no single Mahomedan ruler has given his support to it. There are to-day much-respected Mahomedans of light and leading occupying high and responsible positions in the Government and influencing its policy. We have been at some pains to ascertain the views of non-official educated Mahomedans, and they, almost without exception, think that the Khilafat question has been pressed far beyond its legitimate value owing to Mahatma Gandhi's insistence on it as the way to *Swaraj*. It follows that the result of persisting in this view, can only be to throw the ignorant masses into a state of excitement which, when it passes the limits of public safety as in Malabar, can be put down only by force. We cannot view with equanimity a movement whose ultimate result is bound to be that some hundreds of illiterate, ignorant people would be shot down in the interests of peace and order. Then, is there nothing to be done? We do not say that. We believe something, much, can be done, if the present agitation is abandoned. Our suggestion is that the Indian leaders should leave the matter to be settled in negotiation with His Majesty's Government and if necessary, the Turks, by a Committee of three or four Mussulman leaders of proved ability and patriotism, and should accept as final whatever this Committee recommends as practicable. To persist in the present movement in the face of hard reality, may be magnificent from

the spectacular point of view but it is neither politics nor commonsense. Every person is entitled to go to the extremest lengths of personal sacrifice, if he chooses. But no one is entitled to plunge hundreds and thousands in misery for the sake of his idea.

Art and Polity. Mr. Havell in his "Aryan Rule in India", writing of Hindu and Mahomedan political systems, observes:

The difference between the Hindu and Mahomedan systems is well illustrated in their different methods of building construction. In the former the weight of personal responsibility was evenly distributed from the top to the bottom of the political fabric, right down to the foundation of it in the village community. In the latter the stability of the structure depended upon the soundness of the keystones of the arches—if one failed the house might soon become unfit for human habitation. Islam produced many men of commanding ability and fine character, but never a great dynasty, giving to the State a long succession of happy and prosperous years. Under Hindu rule the prosperity of the State, as a whole, was to a large extent independent of the personal character of the ruling monarch; the strength of its foundations, broad-based upon its village life, was proved by the rapidity with which it recovered from the effects of centuries of devastation and tyranny.

The subject is a fascinating one well worthy of the study of Indian reformers. A harmonious fusion of the two, resulting in a combination of strength with grace, unparalleled in the art of other lands, was effected in architecture, as exemplified in many of our monumental buildings, and can and should be effected in national polity by conscious, well-directed effort, grounded on the bed-rock of truth.

The Arrested Sanyasi: It is unfortunate that the Director of Information should have intervened in a case which is *sub-judice* by publishing his information that the statement in the papers that Shri Shankaracharya of Sharada Pith has been arrested in connection with the prosecutions instituted by Government against certain speakers at the All-India Khilafat Conference, is wrong, and that the person arrested is one Venkatraman *alias* Bharati Krishna Tirthaji who has assumed the above title. This is distinctly calculated to prejudice the accused person in the impending trial and if the Director of Information is as amenable to law as Editors of newspapers, he should withdraw his statement and apologise for his mistake. At the same time, the *Bombay Chronicle's* endeavour to raise the cry of "religion in danger" would be unwise even if it were not somewhat gratuitous. The Hindu rubric is inflexible as regards the nomination, succession and functions of high ecclesiastical dignitaries and, so far as we know, it does not recognise any "retiring Shankaracharya" or his right to instal a successor to his office. You might as well speak of a retiring Pope nominating his successor. The business of Shankaracharya is not like that of a shopkeeper, one to be disposed of to a successor during the life-time of a person holding it, and a nomination purporting to be made in contravention of this principle is *prima facie* of doubtful validity. Our contemporary, we fear, will also find considerable difficulty in establishing that attendance at a Khilafat Conference, is among the prescribed duties of Shankaracharyas, who are bound by the strict letter of the law of their office to adhere to the duties which long-established tradition has attached to it. The religious susceptibilities of the Hindu community centre round principles rather than persons and that is one reason why it has been able to survive the many calamities that have overtaken it.

Capital and Labour in India. A valued English friend writes:—"Can we hope to get rid of capitalism in our own times and in an era of acute international competition? I think all talk of State industrialism has been killed by war and post war experience; the reaction against it here is intense and co-operation has a long road to travel before it can displace the efficient organisation of capitalism. Now the modern factory is by no means a bad thing. If you could visit some of the mine works in England you would be surprised to see how pleasant and healthy conditions of work are. If accompanied by a proper system of housing, they are fully compatible with a high degree of citizenship. It seems to me that we shall be on safer ground if, instead of trying to destroy capitalism, for which I think the world is not yet ripe, we aim by legislation, the pressure of public opinion and Trades Unionism, at robbing it of its worst evils and by the steady expansion of co-partnership paving the way for true co-operative production. In these, as in other ways, it seems to me that Gandhi has the germ of the right idea of a reaction against the worst features of the industrial system as seen in India and greater economic independence. But he is provoking a reaction against it by putting the movement on a non-economic basis which is bound to fail."

Workmen's Breach of Contract Act: Have the official Liberals a coherent social policy? Mr. N. M. Joshi moved a resolution in the Legislative Assembly early this month, recommending the repeal of an ancient act which provides for the imprisonment of a labourer who does not fulfil his contract to work after taking an advance from his employer. Mr. Joshi rightly described the principle of criminal liability for a civil breach of contract as discredited in England from where it was imported into India. He adduced irrefutable evidence to show that it operates in practice as a sort of legalised slavery. We have reason to think it is the vague knowledge of the existence of some such law that among other evil effects, enables brothel-keepers to terrorise, and their victims to submit, by means of bogus contracts. Against the weight of much official and non-official opinion, Mr. B. S. Kamat, the leader of the Poona Liberals, opposed Mr. Joshi's resolution. The answer to Mr. Kamat's arguments, based on his experiences as a contractor, is simple. If the employer cannot be imprisoned for breach of his contract with his labourers, why should the labourers be imprisoned for breach of contract with their employer? Mr. Kamat must have looked small when Government accepted the principle of the resolution, and undertook to introduce legislation, within eighteen months if public opinion in the country meanwhile declares itself in favour of such a course. We are sure that an overwhelming weight of opinion will be against the continuance of this absurd law.

An Unnecessary Committee: We are glad that the Legislative Assembly by a majority has disallowed the sum of two lakhs provided in a supplementary budget present to it by Government, for the visit of Lord Lytton's Committee to India. Indian opinion of all shades was opposed to this provision. It was rightly urged that so soon after the Sadler Commission's report which is on a fair way to be laid on the shelf for want of funds, it was foolish to waste two lakhs on the visit of another Committee. These Committees do more harm than good. They unsettle existing arrangements, without bringing about any compensating improvements. This is due to the fact that, while Government has no objection to destructive measures which cost no money, it will not provide money to carry out constructive recommendations.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1921.

THE MOPLA OUTBREAK AND ITS MORAL.

In one of our articles some months ago dealing with the errors of the Non-Co-operation programme we said that we found ourselves as regards fundamental principles nearer to Mahatma Gandhi than to many other political leaders. The elimination of caste, the equal status of women, the abolition of untouchability and the elevation of the depressed classes, the abolition of drink, the insistence on social and personal purity—these are fundamentals in our conception of politics as a process of social evolution. The Mahatma's unintelligible dicta regarding *varnashrama dharma* did not disturb us in the face of the fact that he had people of the untouchable caste living with him on the same footing as persons of his own caste. By the side of his resonant declarations on these vital matters which go to the roots of national life, the faint, fitful, uncertain and even reactionary pronouncements of official Liberals who have found in Mr. Montagu a second Moses to lead them to the promised land, were positively depressing. In fact, it is impossible to extract any general principle of social import from the pronouncements of intelligences so widely divergent as those of Sir Sivaswami in Madras, Mr. Kamat in Poona, and Sir Surendranath Banerji in Bengal. We are sorry, however, that the Mahatma's social ideals have weakened in the intensive pursuit of the will-o' the wisp of a negative swaraj within the year. One of these, unmistakably, was the omission of the abolition of untouchability from the working programme adopted by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay. Another was the acceptance of picketing as a means of weaning people from the drink habit, which, in spite of the criticism of our attitude by two Christian journals, we hold to be a method wholly at variance with sound social reform principles. To convince a man that he is doing wrong, to point to him the right way, and to make him the principal instrument of his own salvation—that is the true social reform method, the method whose results endure without reaction. The insensate burning of foreign cloth when numbers of people were in dire want in several parts of the country, has evoked protests even from the Mahatma's avowed adherents. In a recent issue, Brigadier Dayasagar of the Salvation Army depicted in forcible terms the urgent need for cloth felt by the destitute poor in Gujarat and Dekhan districts in this Presidency. Sir P. C. Ray has sent to the Press a detailed report by Babu Sailaja Nath Roy Choudhry, a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, on the conditions in Khulna, in which the following occurs :

The cloth famine is so great that it is beyond the imagination of the public. I saw many people naked and even women of respectable classes have been compelled to put on threadbare cloths scarcely hiding their shame. Many are altogether shelterless and are exposed to the rains. The recent flood due

to the cyclone has completely destroyed the seedlings in many places. Rains are abundant at present and there may be some hope of next harvest if they can be supplied with seedlings even now. This is a matter which deserves immediate attention.

Mahatma Gandhi is still unrepentant. He must realise that at least he has chosen a most inopportune time for his bonfires.

We are sorry that the Mahatma's attitude towards the Mopla outbreak does not show the candour and perspicacity which led to his stopping the *Satyagraha* movement when the Punjab outbreak occurred two years ago. The Mopla outbreak is a far stronger reason for stopping the Khilafat Non-Co-operation movement, than the Punjab outbreak was for stopping *Satyagraha*. The Punjab outbreak, as we have always contended, had no visible point of contact with *Satyagraha*, while the inter-relation between Khilafat-Non-Co-operation and the Mopla outbreak can be denied only by those who *will* not see it. We do not say that the Khilafat-Non-Co-operationists intended the outbreak. It has been, as the Mahatma admits, the most powerful set-back to their movement, and they are not fools to contrive deliberately their own undoing. We blame them for not foreseeing it when they carried their politico-religious propaganda to the Mopla area. If they knew anything of the mission they had undertaken, they ought to have known that the Mopla mind can apprehend only so much of it as fell in with its inherited and habitual modes of functioning. The plea that the Moplah outbreak occurred in parts to which the Khilafat-Non-Co-operation propaganda had not been allowed to be carried, apart from its variance with fact, can only be described as childish if it is not to be described as dishonest. The message of the Khilafat-Non-Co-operation movement, as it was transmuted in the mind of the Mopla, is thus described in a very interesting letter, published by *Justice*, of a Nair gentleman who fled from the affected area, in response to an enquiry from Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar of the Council of State. In that letter, Mr. M. C. Udayavarma Raja of Mankada, congratulating himself that he is able to write to Mr. Iyengar as one of his own religion, and not as a Mopla convert "which grim terror was haunting us in all its horrid reality," observes :

The Khilafat movement is to the Ernad Mopla an occasion for playing his old game. He knows very little about the Khalif or his position in relation to Islam or why the Islamic brethren or of the other parts of the world feel so keenly agitated over the question. He is trained under an ignorant and fanatical priest and his zeal for his faith is expressed in his attempt at conversion of others. No wonder, therefore, that when the Khilafat preacher goes and tells the Mopla that the British Government has ever been an inveterate foe of Turkey, it finds ready acceptance at his hands in view of his own experience in the opposition he meets with from the Government in his attempt at conversion, which I am not a little relieved to be told by no less a person than Mr. Yakub Hassan, directly controverts the teaching of Islam and is as such reprehensible. The unreasoning and volatile Mopla became a passionate Khilafat worker and applied himself readily to organising work, deluding himself and others

of his ilk into the belief that the success of their agitation and work would result in a plentiful harvest of converts.... They held frequent meetings, I now gather, in their mosques, wherein a programme of work was prepared and circulated for adoption and execution when the signal for action came. The cutting of all communications by wire, rail or road and thus isolating places rendering the movement of the Police or the Military impossible and making it difficult for the people to escape to other lands if they chose; secondly, the thorough and merciless looting of all Hindu houses (only of the Hindu be it remembered) possessing anything worth the name, including the houses not only of the much-maligned Jenmi, but those of the very innocent Kanamdar, of the selfless High Court Vakile and of the most philanthropic money-lender, sparing not even that of the non-cooperator, the twin brother of the Khilafat Mopla; thirdly, keeping them in want and misery for some days, after which offering them succour and protection in case they became willing converts to Islam, or to put it bluntly, forced conversion, and finally establishing Mopla swaraj. These were the items of the precious programme which they had hatched and got ready for use. This is how the Ernad Mopla intended to carry out the four or five stages of the non-violent non-co-operation programme. This is how he had understood the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and the outbreak is only the attempt on his part to translate into practice the ideals of Gandhi and secure Swaraj as he has understood it before the end of August as contemplated by the Mahatma.

The extract is long but we give it here because it is the best and most dispassionate account that we have come across of the factors which contributed to the present outbreak. The Khilafat-Non-Co-operationists if they knew anything of the Moplas should have known that their movement can have only this meaning for a people so ignorant and fanatical.

But even if their ignorance might serve to excuse their carrying their propaganda to the Moplas, what excuse can avail for their asserting that the outbreak is due not to their propaganda, but to want of a sufficiency of it? It is an easy but dangerous thing to rouse the religious fanaticism of the masses, Hindu or Mahomedan. Indian political leaders had always carefully refrained from touching on any considerations bearing on religion, though they got little credit for their self-restraint from Government, until the Mahatma in an evil moment took up the Khilafat question as a means to Hindu-Mahomedan unity. Let us take timely warning by the example of Malabar. It is a truism of everyday experience, which Bergson puts in philosophical phrase when he writes:

Doubtless we think with only a small part of our past, but it is with our own entire past, including the original bent of our soul, that we desire, will and act. Our past, then, as a whole, is made manifest to us in its impulse; it is felt in the form of tendency, although a small part of it only is known in the form of idea.

The question is not what the Veda or the Koran or the Bible says, but how their teachings have come to be metamorphosed in actual practice. If the Hindus had strictly followed Vedic principles, they would have never lost their political freedom; if the Mahomedans had observed the strict injunction of the Holy Koran against compulsion in religion, they would have

been rulers of India still; if the British had adhered to the teaching of the Bible, they would never have established a British Empire among the Hindus and Mahomedans of India. Maulana Mahomed Ali frankly told this writer that until he met the Mahatma he did not trust any Hindu. The distrust of a thousand years may be covered up in the exigencies of a political propaganda, but it is patient, clear-eyed, long-continued and faithful effort alone that can replace it by an equal habit of confidence. The number of men who have trained themselves to rise above communal jealousies, is not very numerous among the masses; though among the educated classes it is steadily on the increase. This gulf is not to be bridged by the Hindus acclaiming the Khilafat or the Mahomedans giving up cow-killing in the spirit of bargain. It is to be bridged only by patient work to educate both classes and all classes into recognising that religion is a matter of the individual conscience and that patriotism is a recognition of a common citizenship based on common interests pertaining to a single motherland. To this work, every reformer should address himself.

SCRIPT FOR A NATIONAL LANGUAGE IN INDIA.

(BY JUSTICE.)

II

In criticising the Urdu script it is sometimes forgotten that diacritical marks are parts of the script and in the beginning they are taught in spelling. The same is the case with Arabic. But Urdu like Arabic having a progressive tendency, the diacritical marks are omitted later on and the reader is supposed to know particular marks of each letter, unlike Deonagri which carries these marks always with it, besides having at the top of each letter useless horizontal bars which have rightly been omitted in Kaithi and other sister scripts of India. Those who know Urdu can denote any long or short vowel with the help of the original three vowel consonants and the corresponding diacritical marks where necessary. S.D.M. or N. further show their ignorance of Urdu script when they think that the words "let and late" can not be distinguished when written in Urdu script.

S.D.M. further denounces the use of silent letters in Urdu script but had he known Urdu he would have found only very rare instances. The words which have the Arabic articles *al* on them in some cases drop the sound in pronunciation. This and a few others are the only rare examples besides the casual cases of Arabic words which might be quoted in the Urdu language. Silent letters have never been the integral part of Urdu script.

Another objection of the same writer is that Urdu script is written from right to left. This is the most slender objection which is altogether without reason. Why should a script be written from left to right or vice versa nobody can demonstrate. If there can be any reason for either way it should be this that, as writing is always carried on with the right hand, a

line should naturally begin from the right and proceed to the left. The Chinese characters are written from top to bottom and probably a Chinaman would object to both the Hindi and Urdu systems and recommend the adoption of his own method. In this connection it is urged that while interpolating Urdu script in the midst of Hindi or English writing one does not know where to begin the right handed script, or when figures have to be written in the midst of Urdu script the same difficulty arises in writing and printing. This may be a puzzle to some but every printer's devil knows his business, in proof of which all the Anglo-Urdu, Anglo-Persian and Anglo-Arabic dictionaries and all the Arithmetics printed in Urdu language and script are voluminous documentary evidences.

I do not say that in Urdu script there is no room for improvement or that it has a perfect system; but at the same time I hold that like Urdu, Deonagri character also has its own defects and is not considered by others as "hall marked gold . . . that precious heritage from our ancient part . . . town script of the gods . . . vehicle of a sacred tongue, etc.," all of which are mere sentiments. Later on S.D.M. asks. "Why should not they (other Asiatics) rather follow our example we, one of the oldest, if not absolutely the oldest of all Asian peoples in civilization and the producers, too, even as the semites of the Arabian Peninsula, of a world religion like Buddhism claiming within its fold one fourth of the human race that look up to this 'Land of Bharat' as their Holy Land, the Land of their Budha,—we more numerous too etc. etc." Are such arguments to be taken as scientific demonstrations or the sentiments of a patriotic Hindu? Are such arguments meant to improve the Hindu Muslim unity or reveal a desire on the part of the majority to absorb the minority in itself. Language and the script could be the only platform on which Hindu and Mussalmans could meet without prejudicing their individual religions and caste system. If our Hindu friends can not tolerate even this much, let the two communities have each their own scripts. Mussalmans do not claim the Urdu script to be "the vehicle of a sacred tongue" and have no desire to enhance the sanctity of another vehicle. They are cosmopolitan Moslem first and then Indian.

It is admitted in History that the Sanskrit and old Persian are sister languages, born of the same Aryan stock. The old Persian—the language of Zind and Avastha—has from time to time immemorial been wedded to the semitic script which has never been found to lack the needs of the old or modern Persian. Why, then, this script should be found defective for the needs of Urdu which is a mixture of mainly Hindi, Persian and Arabic, is for the others to demonstrate.

Then comes the point that Urdu has no punctuation. Here again S D.M. shows his ignorance of the elaborate system of punctuations used in the semitic script (see any printed Qurau) and the principle of their omission like diacritical marks. In fact any alphabetical system of the spoken languages cannot boast of its perfection, e.g., no system can reproduce the tone or intonation of a spoken, however rich its stock of

punctuation might be. As for the gallant attacks on the insignificant "dots abounding in Urdu script," no advocate of Deonagri can consistently speak about, since he has already adopted dots in "perfecting" the Nagri characters to express the sounds of Z, hard K or Q, guttural A etc. etc. By the use of 1, 2, or 3 dots and a small the inventors of Urdu script have lessened the number of the forms, besides producing an ornamental system of a figure best known to those who know the language. It is unnecessary to mention here the brevity of the script due to this system, as our friends of the national script do not seem to care for the value of time.

In disposing of the letters of similar sound in Urdu-script the advocates of Nagri say that there is no difference in their pronunciation and only a pedant can distinguish them. But they forget the two sh's in Hindi which only the learned can correctly pronounce so as to be distinguishable from each other. In fact the common people pronounce the श as ष in upper India. The first three *anunasiks* are commonly pronounced in India as ण besides it being a notorious fact that Bengalis pronounce ष as ण and ण as ष while Uriyas pronounce ष as ण. If these facts do not constitute reasons to get rid of the wrongly pronounced Hindi letters, there is no reason to denounce the semitic character and no objection on the ground of incorrect pronunciation can be valid.

But apart from the question of correct pronunciation I have mentioned above that words written with different letters of similar sounds have different meanings and the removal of any distinction would lead to a chaos which can be cured only by banishing such words from the language and leaving the *lingua franca*, in a primitive nudity.

In his plea for Nagri as the Pan-Indian script, S. D. M. lays down "two essential conditions of a perfect phonetic alphabet" i.e. "first that every letter must represent one individual sound and only one and secondly and conversely (but this is as important) that each sound be represented by one and only one letter." Here the above writer has cleverly worded the second condition, as he ignores the existence of a simple and compound sound which should have been taken notice of when speaking of scientific perfection. In the first five *bars* the second and the fourth letters are invariably compound sounds, i.e. pronounced with the aid of the hissing letter 'h'. Hence the invention of ten additional letters is strictly superfluous as the same purpose could have been served, as in Urdu script, by adding to the simple sounds. This is actually done in the case of ष as pronounced in the word *Kolhan* and *Kolha*. Besides these there are three other compound letters of distinct forms namely ष ष ष which is another revolt against perfect phonetic principles. I have already mentioned the uselessness, for all intents and purposes at present, of the first three nasal terminals which have been invented simply for the needs of the Sanskrit language and also to merge in a line with the remaining letters of their respective *bars*. Then again there being no separate form for *nasal* the letter 'd' has been "perfected" by the

addition of a dot below it and the same misfortune has also befallen the next following letter. It requires the "master minds" of the Vedic period to understand how **ऋ** **ॠ** can be called vowels when the same sound can be produced by adding Hindi diacritical marks to **र** and **ऌ**. I enquired from a Pandit on this point and his explanation was that **रि** has been invented for the sake of later inflection which makes it **रः**. For all this artificial invention he had to admit the phonetic defect of Deonagri character in this respect and further on that the last three of the so called four vowels are never used except in Sanskrit.

In not less than 8 Nagri letters dots are used below them in order to represent sounds foreign to the region of Hindi language. These must have been later inventions in order to "perfect the existing script", as it fell short of the requirement of the country. For all that one artificial **ऋ** represents four letters of Urdu script, the letter **ॠ** represents three, the letters **ऌ** and **ॡ** represent two each. Would not the omission of distinctions in these cases lead to confusion? It is for the advocates of Nagri to prescribe the alternative.

I have no mind to disparage the Nagri script of which I am an admirer for its excellent classification and beauty of form but when a question of comparison comes in, both the sides of the question must honestly be placed before the public. The Deonagari script perfectly fulfils the needs of Sanskrit but times and circumstances have changed since its invention by the Rishis who prospered 4000 years ago and the question is how to supply the temporal needs of the present day. After all, the discussion on this subject is devoid of any fruitful result, since the principle of "survival of the fittest will drive the Urdu script out of India, if it is unfit to supply the requirements of the time and is actually a "doubtful commodity tawdry pinch-beck caste but yesterday" as S. D. M. pronounces them to be. Both Muslims and Hindus are aliens to India and its original inhabitants are the aborigines. The difference is only of a first and second conqueror and if conquest gives any rights of preferment, both have equal.

LONDON LETTER.

London, September 1, 1921.

CESSATION OF STATE CONTROL OF RAILWAYS.

Government control over the railways has ended, and though for months past it has been rumoured that with the cessation of State control, a strike would immediately ensue, nearly two weeks have passed now, and anything approaching a strike looks a long way off. Instead of threatened chaos, a tremendous number of changes for the benefit of all workers and users alike, are in the air. Cheaper fares are expected almost immediately; in fact, one line has already lowered its season ticket rate, and mid-week cheap fares to many seaside places have begun. Several companies are considering proposals for electrifying suburban lines and it is likely that schemes will be

put in hand very shortly for an electric system of trains running a considerable distance out of London. Mr. Thomas, the railway men's leader, in his address to a meeting of railway men said he saw nothing to worry about in the changes that were taking place, although he was speaking almost immediately after a great revolutionary change in railway administration had taken place. Later on, he said that there were those who predicted a great strike immediately decontrol took place, and that the one certain thing that would happen would be a repetition of the miners' strike. But, reviewing the situation calmly and dispassionately he could say that so far as the men were concerned they had no intention to break the agreement, and he refused to believe the railway companies were less honourable than the men. He wanted the railway men to show that they were fully alive to the fact that only by giving of their best were they entitled to demand the best from the other side.

CARE OF THE INSANE.

On the top of all the talk on the care of the mentally afflicted that has been going on in the press for some weeks, a grave scandal has arisen which brings the matter of the care of the insane to everyone's notice. An inmate of an asylum was to have a bath and the nurse in charge told two other old patients to help to prepare the man for it. She then had to go away for something and was absent about five minutes. On her return, she found the man had been stripped naked in the yard and had had a bucket of boiling water thrown over him. The man died a day or two later from shock and scalds. This case and the publicity given to it have created a great stir. The lumping together of patients in varying stages of mental disease has been condemned wholesale. The overworking of nurses, the inadequate nursing staffs, the lack of proper male attendants for male patients, have all come in for sweeping and complete condemnation, and a new and humaner attitude on the part of all people earnestly enjoined. For, it is urged, insanity is a disease due to many and varied causes, and is one to which any person is liable. It should not be looked upon as though it were some horror to be hidden away and smuggled out of sight; but faced calmly and preventive and curative measures tried and discovered. We must learn to appreciate the fact that nervous disorders are very real states of sickness, and, by understanding them in their early stages, try to prevent the more serious developments.

WOMEN AND DOMESTIC SERVICE.

A short time ago a deputation of women waited upon Dr. Macnamara, the Minister of Labour to protest about the procedure adopted, by officers of the unemployed exchanged, in dealing with applicants for domestic service. It was stated that these officials advised young women not to take service unless the mistress complied with rules that they, the officials, laid down unofficially. Sleeping-in seemed to be the big stumbling block to taking service, and since sleeping-in is an essential in most domestic service, it certainly could not be permitted for a few inexperienced men to attempt to regulate conditions under which

domestic work should be undertaken. The unemployed dole was for genuine unemployment and not for people to take and the State to find to please the utopian and arbitrary whims of anyone. The result of the deputation has been that Dr. Macnamara has now issued an order to the staff of the unemployed exchanges, reminding them of the main points of procedure laid down. It is interesting to note how swiftly and emphatically women took up the matter that interfered with their domestic life, and having a real case for protest, they attained their desired end immediately. Domestic service cannot be regulated like a factory, and no woman is going to allow officialdom to stand in the position of authority over her little household. Housekeeping, today, she maintains, is difficult enough without the bureaucratic interference to make it worse.

MINERS' CONFERENCES.

As was fore-shadowed in a previous article, the colliery enginemen and surface craftsmen have broken away from the South Wales Miners' Federation, and are restarting their own organisation. The delegate from the federal executive who was present urged the maintenance of unity, but an overwhelming majority voted for the separate organisation, declaring that the federation stoppage of safety men was a step opposed to the principles of enginemen, and that many were now out of work in consequence.

During the sittings of the Miners' Conference last week, a demand was made for the installation of baths at pit heads, to be installed at mine-owners' cost. Mr. Herbert Smith, who presided, in speaking on the motion, inquired whether, as the men were asking for the compulsory provision of baths, they were prepared to have the use of them made compulsory. Mine-owners were not likely to provide baths if only ten or fifteen per cent. of the men used them. A lot of resolutions were put and many passed, but looking round one fails to see that they are going to have much effect, for resolutions passed by any number of people, without the knowledge, power or will to put them into action are useless. So, though many resolutions may be recorded in the official proceedings, one does not expect to see many changes during the coming year. The Regional Survey Committee appointed by the Ministry of Health to enquire into the question of the distribution and location of houses to be erected with State aid in the South Wales Coalfields has made its report. It recommends the housing of miners outside the valleys and off the coal measures, and suggests fifteen localities as centres for grouped housing schemes to serve particular valleys or groups of valleys. Nearly all the suggested centres are in the vicinity of railway junctions, so that the men could get to and from their work easily. It is specially recommended that the men should be removed from the scene of their labour when work is over, as the monotony of physical outlook tends to create depression and discontent.

HOUSING PROBLEM.

The housing problem has eased itself to some extent; in most parts of the country the situation has improved, although rents remain very high and houses

scarce. Glasgow, however, does not seem to have shared in the general improvement. Her position has not even been stationary but has continued on the downward grade. A total of 57,000 houses was stated to be the immediate needs of the city by the town clerk last year. To meet this demand, the corporation proceeded with a scheme for the building of 4,600 houses. They also contemplate another 4,000, meanwhile the Medical Officer for health has condemned 12,000 houses as unfit for human habitation which are still occupied for want of alternative accommodation and are likely to be used for some considerable time yet. The cost of building is dropping slightly, but until the bricklayer and brickmaker realise that by their own idleness their class suffers most nothing of any importance will be done. It is these men who have done more to increase the cost of building than any other section of the building trade. The queer position arises that though the cost of houses being put up under the old contract of six months ago was approximately £1,000 each, these houses to-day are valued at £800, thus making a loss of £200 on each house now being completed. Of course the loss will fall on the rates through the corporation.

VACCINATION AS PRECAUTIONARY MEASURE.

It is very disconcerting to have to realise that facts and figures often have the habit of destroying our cherished illusions or beliefs, and for the conscientious objector to vaccination, the present small-pox epidemic in Nottingham is a case in point. Nearly all the cases of small-pox reported are among the unvaccinated. Of the 46 cases treated 36 are unvaccinated. It has, however, to be remembered, that the majority of people in the afflicted area are unvaccinated. A campaign of vaccination is now going on and vigorous measures are being taken to keep the outbreak under control and stamp it out. Many seaside places and boarding houses are refusing to take people from Nottingham and a suspected case was prosecuted for medical attention. Last year, when an outbreak took place in Glasgow, Edinburgh as a precautionary measure immediately had 80,000 of its inhabitants either vaccinated or revaccinated, and no cases occurred there. Perhaps the disease would not have gone there anyway, but naturally the medical and health authorities put the absence of it down to vaccination. One thing is clear, that when such a dreaded disease as smallpox breaks out anywhere in the country, most people run for vaccination, and the laxity over it, which has become very pronounced during the last few years since the last Royal Commission reported, dies out, until the absence of the disease again brings security.

TREATMENT OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

A children's magistrate in a well-known city district has expressed himself surprised that the subject of criminality does not provoke a wider interest among the general public especially in connection with juvenile offenders. "It was", he said, "proved beyond all question that the juvenile offender, when not cared for in time, became the hardened habitual criminal". He gave an instance of a boy of nine stealing and being sent to a reformatory for five

years. When the boy came out, work was unobtainable and there was no one to help him, he was already branded, so he stole again. For this offence he was put away for another year. When he again came out into so-called freedom, unable to support himself and having no one to come to his aid, he again stole; and so the story went on. As time passed he became a habitual criminal and spent term after term in prison. At the age of 67 he had spent more than half his life shut away from the outside world, at the cost of thousands of pounds sterling to the State. The conditions of life have altered during the last half century, and such a tragic manufacture of criminals is scarcely possible to-day. But conditions of human life are always in the making and never made, so that there is still ample scope for improvement in the treatment of the child offender. The children's courts are doing much, and women Justices of the Peace a lot more. To-day, if a young person under 14 commits an error punishable by law, the parents in nearly all cases have to pay a fine, as the child is considered too young to be primarily responsible. A young person over 14 brought before a court could be and was fined and from the earnings it was expected that the culprit would pay the fine, easy instalments being arranged to meet the needs of the case. Another method of dealing with the young offender is the industrial school, and these are much better conducted than formerly. But the probationary system has scarcely been worked at all and this should be of tremendous service if worked sympathetically. Above all it is the personal element in dealing with the child delinquents which is so essential to the building up of a strong enough character to resist temptation. If any young person, with all the exaggeration of youth, is allowed to foster the feeling that he or she is fighting long and in a cruel and harsh world, there is nothing for it but to turn such a person into a so-called criminal. This field of labour is essentially a woman's, and belongs preferably to women who had to buy their experience of the child mind by motherhood themselves. When women learn to deal with the problem of the juvenile offender, bringing to bear upon it their knowledge of the impulsiveness of young life, the quickly passing moods that sway the young mind, hardened criminals will really be of the abnormal type, with a probable real tendency to lawlessness that marks occasional individuals all over the world.

SALVATION ARMY

The Salvation Army is a great movement for the social uplift of the masses which every student of social service should carefully study. In the following article, Brigadier Dayasagar gives the reader an insight into its principles, policy and method :

To expect the Salvation Army to be able to continue its gigantic work of Social Reclamation effectively without its Religion, is like expecting a mango tree to continue its beautiful and delicious fruit after being severed from its root. People who object to the Religion of the Salvation Army do so largely on account of prejudice against Christianity or ignorance or both. This prejudice commonly owes its origin

to the unchristian conduct of many so-called Christians, who have experienced no real change of heart and life and whose objects in life and spirit are the opposite to those of Christ. The revered and beloved Founder of the Salvation Army once said the Religion of the Salvation Army could be described in four letters—love.

While on one of his visits to this country he advised non-Christians to study the Religion of Christ at its Fountain Head to read with an unbiassed mind the simple records of his life and teaching with that of his early followers as given in the New Testament. General William Booth described The Salvation Army in the following words:—"What is the Salvation Army The Salvation Army is an organization of men and women irrespective of nationality, race, colour or station. It claims (a.) to have been originated by God, and to be maintained in existence by Him. (b) to be possessed by the Spirit of His Son—Jesus Christ. (c) to be under the guidance of His Spirit—The Holy Spirit.

2. The Salvation Army is an organisation constituted and governed after the fashion, though not in imitation of a military force. It has reached its present formation, not so much by direct creation as by evolution. It is a growth, and is rapidly becoming a very important part of God's earthly Kingdom.

3. The Army is constituted for the attainment to the highest purposes to which human beings can devote their energies, namely :—(a.) to make known to men the existence, character, and will of God, especially in the bearing those great truths have on the well-being of the race. (b) to proclaim to men the laws of God made for their guidance and the plan of Salvation He has designed for their deliverance from sin, misery and hell. (c) to bring men to know, love, obey, and serve God, and to be conformed to His image. (d) to unite those who love God in Christ-like service of their fellows. (e) to strengthen the government, and extend the Kingdom of God upon the earth.

Now, while it is not to be expected that any amount of explanation will cause everyone to think alike on religious matters, it is hoped that this series of articles will do something to remove prejudice by showing the reader what the Salvation Army really is, and why it puts so much stress upon the purely religious side of its operations. The poet Tulsidas beautifully says :

"Agejagamaya sab sabit viragi,
Prem te Prabhu pragatai jimi agi."

I roughly translate thus :

"As fire in wood, so God in all exists,
As flame the fire, so love Him manifests."

The Salvation Army, then, is one of the manifestations of the boundless and fathomless Love of God.

This Divine love constrains men and women to live Christ-like lives. The Christ-like life is a life of unselfish service, a life of self-sacrifice and toil for the good of others, and the Salvation Army is an organization of this great force, for the spiritual and temporal good of the race. This Divine love cannot take full control of any person until such a person has experienced a real change of heart; hence this is made the first condition of Salvation Soldiership.

It is expressed in the Army Rules and Regulations in the following words:—"The Salvation Soldier must be converted or changed by the power of The Holy Spirit from the old, worldly, selfish sinful nature to the new, holy, heavenly nature. He must have The Holy Spirit living in

his heart, possessing it, and working through it to will and to do the good pleasure of God."

Total abstinence from intoxicants, kindness to all animals and simplicity of dress and manner of living, also the insistence upon industrious habits follow as a matter of course, as the tree and fruit partake of the nature of the seed.

Dayasagar.

BENGAL AND WOMEN SUFFRAGE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,
Sir,

The decision of the Bengal Legislative Council in rejecting the motion to remove the disqualification of women for the purposes of voting, does not come upon us as a surprise. No doubt the Bengalees are among the most intellectually advanced races in India, in modern times, as we have been accustomed to measure one's intellectuality by the number of University degrees one possesses. From that point of view, Bengal must necessarily be looked upon as great in as much as that Province turns out a large number of University men year after year. We may also concede that the Bengalees are more advanced people in India just at present for another reason also. And that is, its title to lead the National Congress movement, which loomed largely before the eyes of our educated men. I believe it is Bengal that has supplied the Congress with a larger number of its Presidents than any other Province in India. Above all, Bengalees have been the persons mostly known to the people of other provinces as great speakers. By the reason of such splendid examples of orators like Babu (now Sir) Surendranath Banerji, the late Mr. A. M. Bose and Lal Mohan Ghose and lastly Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, they have been occupying the front ranks among our national leaders. There is yet another reason why Bengalees ought to be considered as an advanced race. And that is, among them were born such great men like Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, Maharishi Dehendra Nath Tagore, Khabeh Chandra Sen, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Vivekananda, Sir J. C. Bose, Sir, P. C. Roy, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and Pandit Jawarachandra Vidyasagar. I don't think there is any other province which can equally boast of such a galaxy of great men among them. This alone makes the Bengalees great, even if they cease to be orators and leaders of the Political movement.

Yet Bengalees are not really advanced in the matter of Social Reform when compared with any other Province in India. This may appear to be strange, especially when we remember that Bengal is the Province where all the great social and religious reformers flourished and worked and the great Brahmo Samaj movement has done a great deal to familiarise the Bengalees with the most upto-date and radical social reforms. With all that, the Bengalees outside the Brahmo Samaj have been the most conservative in the matter of social reform, so much so, that even the most highly educated man and a most revolutionary kind of political agitator, is but a pigmy in the matter of social reform. Personally speaking, a Bengalee has no objection to break any or all social restrictions and, in fact, his greatness is due to this adaptability to changed circumstances. Yet on one point, he has been consistently hostile and that is to extend the same kind of privileges to women in the matter of breaking away the social restrictions unjustly imposed on them by custom. Women is still a caged bird in Bengal. In a country where the great Vidyasagar was born and worked, the great social reformer for which he worked and died, stands discredited. No doubt the Bengalees feel proud of that great man, but they would not consider him great for his advocacy of the

remarriage of widows. So also higher education among women, is a thing with which the Bengalee has not been able to reconcile himself as yet, most of the lady graduates turned out by the Calcutta University being either Brahmors or Christians. Many Bengalee families have been ruined by the reason of the exorbitant demands of the bride-groom *owners* in the name of dowries. Even the sensational suicide of a Snehalata could not provoke the otherwise emotional Bengali into righteous indignation and move the avaricious Bengalee father to his sense of responsibility. Yet they are the most advanced people and who can say they are not? Consummation of the marriage of girls had become too numerous at one time in Bengal that the "Satanic Government" was obliged to interfere so that they might put down the more satanic habit of consummating the marriage of physically undeveloped girls by the passing of the age of Consent Act. Still who knows how many tender girls of delicate constitution are sacrificed in the name of a foolish custom, in spite of this Act! After saying so much about the social mentality of an average Bengalee, it does not come upon us as a surprise that they should vote against the enfranchisement of women. In fact, the unpopularity of the Brahmo Samaj is mainly due to their advocacy of the cause of women, more than their religious iconoclasm. Here is an opportunity for the 'sweet warbler of India,' who by the bye hails from Bengal, to devote her whole attention to this one reform, that of emancipating her own sisters in her beloved Bengal before she runs into ecstasy over a swaraj which will in all probability be a swaraj of conservative men like the Bengal Councillors under whose regime, not only women will not have the privilege of voting but perhaps she may have to confine her activities within the holy precincts of a Zanana. To my mind, Bengalees cease to be great when they have refused to walk in the footsteps of their great men who have a better following in other provinces than their own. Even the so-called benighted Presidency of Madras has been liberal enough to recognise the claims of women for vote. One may in this connection exclaim with the poet: "How are the mighty fallen."

BANGALORE,
10th September, 1921.

E. SUBBUBRISHNAIYA.

BIOGRAPHIES OF PUBLIC MEN IN INDIA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,
Sir,

History is the record of the lives of nations, movements and institutions; and biography is the record of the lives of the great personalities who make history, direct movements and mould institutions. The lives which great men of the past have led would be fruitless indeed if they were not available to posterity for its guidance. It will be ridiculous on my part to expatiate on what will seem to every one to be so apparent. The irony is that what is so apparent and elementary in other countries is neglected in India with a supineness that is very deplorable.

The necessity of the biography of the great statesmen and politicians of a country to the proper development of its public life cannot be too much insisted upon. It is self-evident. Let us look at the history of English public life. The moment a great statesman or politician joins the majority, the nation is supplied with an authoritative biography of his, written by one whose competency for the task will be beyond question. There is not one figure in that superb galaxy of statesmen and politicians who adorn the parliamentary and

public life of the 19th century England, whose life most authoritatively written, is not possessed by the people of that country. Peel, Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Disraeli, Gladstone, Lord Randolph Churchill, Cobden and Bright, to speak of only a few names, are all the subjects of first rate biographies by very competent writers. The fact that the biographies of Gladstone and Lord Randolph Churchill are written by no less personages than Lord Morley and Mr. Winston Churchill, to take two well-known instances, is a clear proof that those who have undertaken the task of supplying the nation with biographies of its worthies are generally most eminently qualified for it.

Now what is the condition of our public life with regard to this aspect?

Indians have been generally accused of the lack of a true historical instinct from very early times. This accusation though sometimes exaggerated or mischievously used to discredit what little of genuine historical literature we possess, is in the main true. Even to-day we are woefully lagging behind. Have we realised the supreme importance of having authoritative lives of those great and eminent Indians of our own time?

Among the great men of modern India those whose biographies are available are religious and social reformers such as Ram Mohan Roy, Kesub Chunder, Swami Vivekananda and Ramkrishna Paramahansa. There is not one great Indian statesman politician or patriot, a true authentic record of whose life has been supplied to the nation. The Grand Old Man of India, the late Dadabhoi Naoroji passed away more than three years ago, but no record of the life of the great man worth the name has yet seen the light of day. The late Mr. Gokhale departed from this world six years ago and no biography of this eminent publicist has yet been written by his followers and friends. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye in a booklet on Gokhale published soon after his death informed us that an authoritative life was being written by Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, his successor in the Servant of India Society and would soon be published. Till to-day it has not been published. Perhaps the gentleman is too busy with his public activities to find time for this task. But it is time that he is reminded, that he has a duty to discharge to his countrymen in writing a life of his master, a duty as important as any of his other activities. Then there is the case of the late Mr. B. G. Tilak, the greatest Patriot of modern India who passed away last year, honoured by his opponents and beloved of his countrymen, and whose death, we have not yet ceased to mourn. A detailed record of the life of this intellectual giant and patriot-martyr is absolutely essential for inspiring his countrymen in their struggle for freedom. All will agree that Mr. Kelkar is the fittest man for the task. Let us hope that he will bring out the desired volume shortly.

Apart from the unquestioned necessity and utility of such biographies, they will indicate the strength and variety of our intellectual, and the virility and alertness of our national life; the significance of such indications can hardly be over-rated-

A. V. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

RETURNED TO HINDUISM.

Mr. Balkrishna Rajaram Sawant Bhonsale had gone into Christianity about two months ago. He has now returned to Hinduism, and was initiated by the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay on Sunday the 11th of September in the presence of members and friends. Mr. Sundarrao B. Vaidya, L. M. E. acted as Acharya, and Mr. Vasant M. Kande acted as Fire-warden.

THE MOPLA TROUBLE.

Mr. N. Lakshmanan, whose article on "Malabar,—a land of Surprises," we printed in the *Reformer* of the 11th September, writes:—

May I remind you that party politicians—officials and non-officials—are all agreed about the agrarian aspect of the rising? My object in writing about the "immediate or exciting cause" was to refer to the indiscretion of Mr. Thomas in having sent his men into the Moplah Mosque with or without boots. I wrote as early as 31st August to the *Reformer* and my subsequent information is not yet enough to come to any decided conclusion about the immediate cause. I am, however, cocksure of the deep-seated agrarian cause. I am trying to find out how far the Khilafat Non-Co-operationists and the official Non-Co-operationists (Mr. Yakub Hassan or Mr. Thomas) are responsible for the conflagration. I am also enquiring as to whether the storm first began in Tirur or Nilambur.

I had suggested that Mr. Evans is likely to keep his head cool. I was right in so far as he went to the scene of the troubles with an open mind and a conciliatory attitude; but little later when he heard rather exaggerated accounts regarding the Moplah fanatics and their cruelties—the version given by the 'Antis', Jennies, and some toadies—the gentleman seems to have changed for the worse and spent much powder and shot, as the Viceroy's reference to heavy casualties makes us infer and corroborate the version I got from private sources. A certain amount of suffering on the part of innocent Moplahs and others is, no doubt, inevitable under Martial Law, but there is some amount of oppression and avoidable cruelty of the Moplah—inocent and otherwise—on the part of the lesser authorities in spite of Lord Reading's strict instructions to the Local Government to take particular care that the innocent are not harassed. You know that a certain considerable number of so called Martial Law prisoners are brought down to the Coimbatore Jail for hours together the young and old are all huddled together in closed, practically air-tight trucks or goods wagons like cattle or sheep or even much worse. This is brutality pure and simple.

Mr. K. P. Kesava Menon of Calicut and others have appealed for funds. There is, no doubt, wide destitution in Malabar and the appeal for funds is quite timely. The A. P. I. messages would have already conveyed to you this news in Bombay.

CIRCUMCISION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have been asked whether the Hindus (men and women) forcibly converted to Mahomedanism by the Moplah-rebels in their recent revolt, were circumcised by them or not? An anonymous correspondent signing himself "Fraternity" has sarcastically written in a leading journal of Calcutta, "we read that the Mahomedan Moplahs are forcibly converting Hindus wholesale to their creed, promoting Hindu-Mahomedan unity by the gentle process of circumcision." T. P. Hughes in his Dictionary of Islam (2nd edition) at p. 57, says, "Circumcision, Arabic *Khitan*, *Khitana*, or, *Khataah* is not once alluded to in the Quran. The omission is remarkable, and Muslim writers do not attempt any explanation of it. It is held to be Sunnah, or founded upon the customs of the Prophet (*Fatawa Alamgiri*, Vol. IV. P. 237), and dating its institution from the time of Abraham (Genesis XVII. Old Testament). In the case of a convert to Islam from some other creed, to whom the operation may be an occasion of great suffering it can be dispensed with although it is considered expedient and proper for all new converts to be circumcised. The circumcision of females is also allowed, and is commonly practised in Arabia. (*Fatawa Alamgiri*, Vol. I. p. 237.)" I am told the Indian Mahomedans do not follow the Arabs' practice of the circumcision of females. Yours &c.,

SALENDRANISHNA DEV,
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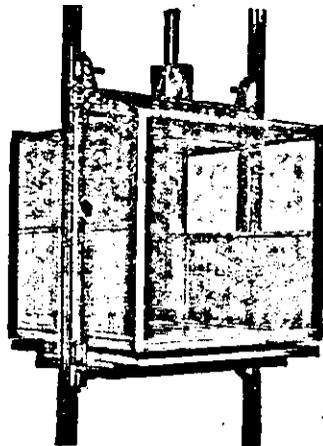
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Vol. XXXII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1921. No. 4

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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The Turkish Peace Treaty: The Greeks have been completely worsted in their fight with the Turks. The messages of victories won and armies captured by them were mythical. The Powers have been awakened to their duty in respect of the belligerents, by an appeal perhaps from the defeated Greeks, and the question is to be considered by the League of Nations or the Allied Council. His Highness the Aga Khan has sent a message to the President of the Khilafat Committee pointing out that the situation has completely changed owing to the defeat of the Greeks, and that stock exchanges and financial circles in London expect early peace. His Highness adds:

As Moslem who has made his life-long special study of this subject, I implore you and through you my co-religionists, whether co-operators or non-cooperators, also our kind, generous and sympathetic Hindu countrymen of all schools, to immediately concentrate and bring full influence to bear on Indian Government that Indian view should be properly represented at whether the League or the Allied Council, and at least one Hindu and Moslem should officially participate. Our great national sacrifices in the World War deserve at least this. Wise political activity needed immediately so that satisfactory peace may come soon.

We cordially support this suggestion. The Governments in India and in Great Britain have now a golden opportunity to right the wrong done by the omission to give due effect to the Prime Minister's famous pledge in the Treaty of Peace with Turkey. All sections of opinion in India, and all communities, are anxious to see this question settled in a manner which would redound to the credit of the British Government and to the peace and contentment of His Majesty's Indian Empire. As His Highness, the Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali and the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastry are on the spot, they should at once be nominated India's representatives. We think there should be two Mahomedans and fortunately there is no difficulty in finding them. It is impossible to think of three more competent Indian representatives to plead the cause of India. There is no time to be lost. All Indian public bodies,

especially those opposed to Non-Co-operation, should impress on the Government the necessity of immediate action.

Reform of the Central Government: We have repeatedly stated that the present constitutional reform scheme began at the wrong end and that it should have started with the reform of the Central Government of India. It is inevitable, under the circumstances, that the first activities of the Indian Legislature should be largely directed to bringing the constitution of the Central Government at least on a level with that attained in Provincial Governments. Not only is it inevitable, but it is most necessary and desirable to do this in order to preserve the unifying influence which is the most valuable influence of the British connection. Even a semi-popular Government is in a position of greater constitutional authority than a non-popular one like the Government of India, and the effect of developing popular Government in the provinces while leaving the Central Government untouched, is sure to lead to unequal tension in the body politic resulting in frequent friction. It is no use saying that the Government of India has voluntarily assumed greater responsibility to the Legislature than the strict terms of the law require. The growth of convention and tradition in the same sense as in England is impossible in a Government which has not sprung, as the English Government has, from the people's consciousness and is not fed by the normal social forces of the country. Tradition and convention can grow only in an atmosphere of complete autonomy, and till that comes, constitutional rights which depend upon the forbearance of Government enjoy but a precarious tenure. We should not be taken to mean that the dyarchy of Provincial Governments is good in itself nor that no better system can be devised to develop and strengthen the Government of India. All that we say is that the Central Government cannot be left as it is without grave injury to the natural expansion of Indian political consciousness, and that very early steps should be taken to put it on a definite constitutional basis.

Non-Co-operation and Students: The Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh Mukherji, has issued an alarming statement to the effect that between 40,000 and 50,000 schoolboys have given up education in consequence of the now-deleted item of the Non-Co-operation programme, of withdrawal of children from Government and aided schools, and that the University will have to close if public support was not immediately forthcoming to make up the deficit resulting from this large defection of students in the Matriculation stage. Nothing of this magnitude has occurred in any other province and, indeed, in most others the withdrawal from schools has left behind no effect whatever. The Mahatma himself has admitted this was a blunder, though with the proviso that it should have been accompanied by the instruction that boys leaving schools should have been put to work on the spinning wheel. Why is it that the schoolboys of Bengal

have rushed in such large numbers where their brethren elsewhere have trodden with wary feet? This is a question which parents and guardians and public men generally in that province, should seriously ponder. Incidentally, we may call the attention of those who would indiscriminately apply the recommendations of the Sadler Commission to other parts of the country, to the contrast between the reaction of Bengal students and that of the students of other provinces to Non-Co-operation, as showing the fundamental difference between the conditions of school and college education in Bengal and elsewhere. The Bengali student is fed upon emotion to a much larger extent than those of other provinces. He wants, therefore, the discipline of the school to be carried to some extent even to the College stage. This is the purpose of the Intermediate Colleges recommended by the Sadler Commission. To miss this fact is to miss the significance of the whole report of that Commission. Bengal has contributed very little to relieve the sufferers in the Punjab whose wrongs were one of the reasons for Non-Co-operation. But the moment schoolboys were advised that they would be serving their country by loafing about the streets, they came out in their thousands as bewailed by the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University!

Midwifery in Indian Medical Education: The Legislative Assembly has bungled the question raised by the British Medical Council's ultimatum regarding the training in Midwifery required of candidates for the medical degree of Indian universities. The members who took part in the debate were indifferently posted up in the details of the question, while the Education Member's speech betrayed absolute ignorance of them. The resolution, as passed, requires provincial Governments and the Universities to make better provision for training in this branch of medical knowledge. What can these authorities do, if Indian women object to be attended by men during child bearing? Is the Legislature prepared to pass a law empowering them to remove pregnant women compulsorily to maternity wards in General Hospitals? Mr. Shafi is reported to have said that it was undeniable that practical training in midwifery in India did not come up to the standard laid down by the British Medical Council. Where does it come up to that standard? In England? More of practical training in midwifery is to-day given in the Grant Medical College, and, we believe, in the other Indian Colleges, and under better conditions, than in London where the medical student is assigned a parish in which to pick up what knowledge he can as best as he may. The British Medical Council has, in this as in other matters of late, constituted itself the mouthpiece of the least reputable section of opinion in the Indian Medical Service, as the manner of the ultimatum, no less than the matter clearly shows. Colonel Gidney did not know what he was talking about when he said that, except in Madras, there was no Medical University which came up to the level of the standard set up by the Medical Council. Mr. Kamat suggested that facilities should be given in England to medical graduates who went there for complete training in midwifery. The most important "facility" for practical training in midwifery is the child bearing woman, and England has not a monopoly of them. The Poona Liberal leader's remarks have, no doubt, suffered in transit. The Indian medical student, as things are, gets, a more complete training in midwifery than his English confrere, and while we should by all means improve it, there is no need to send Indian graduates to England for it.

New India Journalism: We cannot but regard the following which appears in an editorial in *New India* (Madras) of the 26th September, as infringing the limits of journalistic decency:

It has been stated without contradiction that if Swaraj be not established by the time of the next Congress, Mr. Gandhi intends to commit suicide. Surely he could not commit so cowardly an action. Having brought about so much mischief and misery, he can scarcely slip quietly away, and leave others to repair the harm he has done. We prefer to believe that the statement has been put into his mouth by some unscrupulous enemy.

We have not seen the statement referred to by *New India*, made by any one who is, or may be reasonably believed to be in the confidence of Mahatma Gandhi as to his intentions, and it is absurd to assume that every statement, by whomsoever made, regarding a public man's intentions, which is not contradicted, is true. The purpose of this double process of sophistry is evident in the comment which follows. We refrain from adding any comment of our own, because it is unnecessary. A public man's acts, principles and programme are legitimate subjects of comment, but not his supposed intentions about his personal future, even were they of a less uncanny character than that predicated of the Mahatma.

Women's Education in Allahabad: In the midst of the turmoil and unrest of the present day, it is refreshing to read in the prospectus published recently, of the progress the Orsthouse Girls' High School, Allahabad, has made during the last few years. It emerged from the middle school stage in which it long continued, during the able principalship of the late Miss Mankar whose untimely death was a great loss to the institution. It has now been raised to the status of a first grade college. Attached to the School and College department is a training class to enable women to qualify themselves as teachers. The accommodation and conveniences provided in the past for residential students in the School were far from ideal, but this state of things has been improved by the erection of a new hostel. The School is open to all classes of Hindu and Mahomedan girls, also to widows and married women, and the education imparted in it is free in the sense that no tuition fees are charged. We are confident that Mrs. Sarlabai Naik, the present Principal, will prove as efficient as she is experienced, in spreading education and enlightenment among her sisters of the United Provinces.

International Child Welfare Movement: One of the important movements which claims the attention of present day social workers is that which recognises the rights of the child. At no period were the sufferings and distress of the children—the aftermath of the terrible war—so acute as now in Europe. The August issue of the *Record*, the organ of the Save the Children Fund, contains many interesting and informing articles from the pen of eminent men and women, which throw light on what is being done by different nations for the protection of child life. The Save the Children Fund International Union with its headquarters at Geneva, has fifteen national Committees affiliated to it, and constitutes a kind of federation of organisations to help and relieve the sufferings of the innocent victims of war. The appeal for funds to save the suffering and starving children will, we hope, evoke, as it has already done to some extent, in India the response which it deserves.

The Situation in Malabar. The situation in the disturbed area in Malabar seems to be now well in hand. There is great need for moderation in the settlement process, as the least exhibition of over-zeal on the part of the officials entrusted with the task, will only add to the difficulties of their task. We have to say this because we have received from a level-headed correspondent in one of the affected taluks a letter which strongly suggests the need for warning.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 2, 1921.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

Public meetings are being held in many places to celebrate the 52nd birthday of Mahatma Gandhi on the 2nd October. Hindus reckon their birthdays by the position of the stars under which they were born, and there is generally a few days' difference between the two dates. A whole week, therefore, has been left free for the selection of days suitable to different localities for the celebration. Indians of all shades of opinion, and many who are not Indians, will heartily join in wishing many more years of life and health and strength to the Mahatma for service to his people and to humanity. We were asked the other day by a talented Mahomedan lady, an enthusiastic admirer of the Mahatma, what it is that constitutes greatness in man. Undoubtedly, it is the predominance of the universal over the temporal among the inspiring motives of one's life and conduct. Where the universal illumines the temporal, there is true strength, true beauty, true greatness. It is the predominance of the universal in Gandhi's habitual modes of thought and conduct that attracts the masses to him and constitutes his title to be known as Mahatma—a great soul, a soul which lives in touch with the soul of the Universe. But a soul as such cannot function in the material world except in and through its physical environment. Mahatma Gandhi's part in the drama of our national life has thus been in great part cut out for him. If he was to act upon India, he had to act initially through the role of political leadership for which he is fitted neither by temperament nor equipment. We do not say that the Mahatma consciously and deliberately assumed the garb of politics with the object of enticing the populace to higher things. All of us subserve a great world purpose above and beyond that which we believe ourselves consciously to be advancing. To know the world purpose—"the will of the Father"—and to make it consciously one's own, that is the mark of seership—the Rishi, the Buddha, the Christ. Most of us vaguely feel it, in greater or less measure, in moments of insight, and some of us try in the workaday world to give effect to it according to our capacity and our opportunity. To the extent one does this, one is a Mahatma, and because Gandhi does this more habitually than many others, he is rightly acclaimed by his people as the Mahatma.

Religiously-minded Christians have not hesitated to draw comparisons between Jesus Christ and Mahatma Gandhi. Judea in Christ's time was under Roman rule to which British rule in India bears many points of analogy. Religious toleration and the reign of law were the great gifts of Imperial Rome as they are that of Imperial Britain. In one respect, the older Empire gave a noble lead which the later one has failed to follow. The *Civis Romanus sum* absolutely transcended colour and creed. The great Roman Empire-builders would have turned with contempt from

the cowardice of British statesmen in facing the problem of equal citizenship for all who own allegiance to the Empire. But great and tolerant and just, according to the standards of the time, as the Roman Empire was, it still had the taint of all Imperialism—the denial of man personality except so far as it consisted with the exigencies of the State. Jesus Christ's mission was to assert the indefeasible rights of personality to seek its own fulfilment, and Christianity, in course of time, destroyed the Roman Empire. But in the early part of Christ's mission, many Jews joined Him in the belief that the Swaraj—the kingdom of God—which He proclaimed was to be an earthly Jewish State replacing Roman rule. In fact, scholars like Renan hold that Jesus Christ Himself was actuated originally by a political motive and that it was only when He found that Roman rule was far too strongly entrenched to admit of being displaced, that, in order to silence the importunity of his following, He had to explain that the Kingdom He contemplated was not of this world. This damped the ardour, of a large, worldly-minded section of his followers who thereafter ceased to walk with Him. What is Gandhi's Swaraj? The report published of his statements in his interview with the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, has been repudiated, but it is obvious that so clear a thinker as the Mahatma could never have dreamt that it would be possible to establish Swaraj in India, in the sense even of full Dominion Government, not to speak of an independent Republic, within a year. At the same time, he is too transparently honest to think of drawing on people to his camp by the tactics of company promoters. He meant and means something definite when he spoke and speaks of Swaraj within the year. What is that Swaraj? Owing to the printing-press and newspapers, the invaluable privilege enjoyed by ancient thinkers of keeping their thought to themselves until they felt that it was ripe for promulgation, is denied to modern men. We must now think in public and every stage and process of our thinking is recorded and ready for use at any future time. Each such stage and process is pounced upon by admirers as well as critics as a final decision and the result on the one hand, is a heterogeneous following eager to promote its particular interests and, on the other, a regiment of critics pointing out the inconsistencies between the several stages. Mahatma Gandhi has been the victim of this modern disability. Some of his leading followers already speak of giving him a chance to make good his promise of Swaraj before the end of the year. These men surely have misunderstood the Gandhi Swaraj of which an essential condition is the removal of "untouchability"—the crowning crime of caste and the deadly canker eating into the heart of Hindu social life.

It is the stress which the Mahatma lays on the abolition of untouchability as an essential condition of Swaraj, that gives the clue to the meaning he attaches to the word, and that is missed by those who understand him literally. We have called attention more than once recently to the omission of this item from the programme adopted by the

Working Committee of the Congress in Bombay, but we are glad to see that the Mahatma has been emphasising it in his speeches during his present Madras tour. At Dindigul, for instance, he observed in reply to an address from the citizens :

Hindus should put an end to untouchability and embrace their Panchama brethren. I don't want you to eat and drink with them or have intermarriages. But your Hindunism demands you to give an equal right to all human beings. I want you to give the Panchama the same right which any human being has a right to ask of you and which you claim from all the rest. These conditions being fulfilled, I have not a shadow of doubt that we will have Swaraj within this year. May God help us in our attempts.

Those who speak of giving the Mahatma a chance, will do well to ask themselves whether they have done their utmost to have these conditions fulfilled. For our own part, we shall hail with satisfaction the end of the year and the relief of the Mahatma from the political literalists who at present hamper and obstruct his true mission. What is this mission and how is it to be accomplished? That mission is not far different from that of Christ in Judea. It is to strike at the root of the system that rests on the maintenance of a class of panchamas or untouchables, social or political. Hindu society at present is founded on that principle. British rule rests on Hindu society—somebody wrote that the caste system is worth a hundred thousand bayonets to it—and besides, it has its own overweening caste system in its colonies in which Indians have to live in daily fear of submergence. A British General wrote of India containing in its martial races material which, under capable leadership, will shake the artificial society of Europe to its foundations. The same may be said of our depressed classes who, under capable and disinterested leadership, can not only shake our artificial Hindu society to its foundations, but can build upon its ruins a greater, nobler, juster system which will give India spiritual, social and political freedom. The Mahatma's mission lies among these classes. Emancipated from his present thralldom to the political literalists, he will be free to work in this vast virgin field for the complete, the spiritual, the enduring, the true Swaraj which, we are sure, is what he means and wants for India.

THE FERMENT AMONG ADI-DRAVIDAS.

(BY MR. M. R. JAMBUNADHAM.)

Readers of newspapers would have now become familiar with the term Adi-Dravidas frequently used in Madras. An attempt is here made to give a short account of the present ferment among them. Adi-Dravidas (Original Dravidas) is the term preferred by those who are generally classified as Depressed Classes in Madras.

Social workers cannot but be grieved to note the existence of unpleasant relations between the Depressed Classes and the other communities. This has lately taken a regrettable turn which, if continued for some time more, I fear, will lead to serious difficulties.

The state of affairs is such that, if personal opinions are bluntly expressed at present, instead of easing the situation they may tend to make it worse. In the following few lines, instead of giving my own opinion upon the subject, I narrate the events connected with the Adi Dravidas during the last few years. As a social worker who has worked for many years in their midst, I leave the reader to judge for himself and to draw his own conclusions.

In the City of Madras itself there are more than one hundred Paracherries or Panchama hovels or Adi-Dravida hamlets, situated generally in the most unhealthy place, often near burial grounds, on the banks of the river, near factories, mills, etc. Madras Panchamas are generally called Parayas; some of them are cooks in European houses, many of them are labourers in the local mills, factories, etc. A few of them are chucklers; and no doubt there is poverty and ignorance reigning supreme in their midst.

Some ten years ago, apart from missionary organisations, no public attempts by any Hindu Society were made to help these poor, downtrodden people, though there were individual men who were doing earnest work among them. The coming of Mr. Shinde was taken as an opportunity to organise an association to elevate our brethren and an influential committee was appointed. Thus the Depressed Classes Mission of Madras came into existence. Swami Brahmaunda came forward to dedicate his life to the uplift of the Panchamas and he was the first to go to the different Paracherries of Madras, to talk to them on higher ideals of life, cleanliness, health, morality and religion. The first Night and Day School was opened at Vyasar-pady. I can bear testimony to the fact that 5 years after the starting of the school, that place which was once dangerous for wayfarers in the evenings, lost its risky character, though at present I hear that there has been a reversion to old ways. But in those days they acted from ignorance and poverty and directed their hostility towards any wayfarer. But at present they seem to be more educated, and also show signs of respect towards their leaders.

In the beginning, Panchamas themselves were quite reluctant to take advantage of the facilities provided for their improvement. By great inducements they were led to give up this attitude and even the most bigoted, who were dead against this movement in the beginning, began to take interest in it. In course of time many associations were started to work for their amelioration. No doubt there was a healthy competition among them to do better and greater work for them. At this time social workers were always welcomed in Paracherries; Panchamas treated them like brothers, used to enumerate all their grievances to them, sought their help and took their advice and guidance. But the starting of the Home Rule Propaganda, and the Non-Brahmin campaign, changed the atmosphere thoroughly. Social workers also increased and the members of the Depressed classes began to feel that social workers were doing work with ulterior motives. And also they began to put a series of questions to the social workers. Some

of them became so much imbued with the anti-Home Rule and Anti-Brahmin propoganda that they wanted statements from many social workers that they did not belong to the Home Rule Party and that they were not supporters of the Brahmin community. I know also a case where in a big Paracherry a school was urgently needed, and the Panchamas of that place who were incapable of starting and maintaining it themselves, refused point-blank to take advantage of the help of a social worker simply because he happened to be a Home-Ruler. The idea of refusal and repugnance towards these classes was so great among them that the result was a big affray between them and the Brahmins at the Spur Tank, Egmore. At that time there were reports to the effect that it was an attack against Brahmins and there were also police cases connected with it. Non-Brahmin leaders who say now that Adi-Dravidas are provoking the caste Hindus, did not condemn the Spur Tank incident, rather they approved it by their silent attitude. But once these people were encouraged in violence towards a particular community, it spread in course of time even to the leaders of other communities who looked on in silence.

The short period after Spur Tank affray was a most critical time to social workers. The nomination of Mr. M. C. Rajah to the Madras Legislative Council arrested the attention of the educated members of Adi-Dravida community who, leaving their ideas of work towards their emancipation by religious, social and moral means, began to take part in politics. The result was a series of organised meetings more for condemning the indifferent attitude of the higher classes than finding remedies for their own many disabilities. Swami Sahajananda, a member of that community, who has also devoted his life to the uplift of his community and who has done real work, has contributed much to the harmony between the advanced and backward classes. But one Sahajananda is a drop in the ocean, and in spite of his work to elevate them with the help of the other communities also, there are other evil forces at work which, instead of aiming at their progress wishes to pull down the higher classes; and the result is a series of misunderstandings, unfortunate occurrences and the widening of the gap between the communities. The organisation of Labour also, in the beginning tended to unify all these people. Especially the advantages it gave to individual members created a good impression of the higher class leaders among them and Mr. Wadia was really worshipped by these men. I have seen at this same Vyasarpady, many Panchamas who would not allow any man to talk ill of Mr. Wadia.

The starting of the Labour Department and the Depressed Classes Officer had given full opportunity to the leaders of that community to do what they like and no doubt some leaders of that community who are always in touch with that Department are thinking that they are doing their duty in emancipating their brethren. In these circumstances an educated member of that community was nominated as a

member of the Corporation. The appointment of this educated gentleman, Mr. V. G. Vasudeva Pillai, was a rude shock to the local aspirant. A crusade was started on the ground that he was no representative of the community. Protest meetings were held. Mr. V. G. Vasudeva Pillay's programme is not to pull down the higher classes but to go up. He began to visit many Paracherries, to study problems connected with them with friendly attitude towards other communities. He started an association to improve their status. While this kind of peaceful work was in progress, Dr. L. Natesa Mudaliyar brought a bill that Panchamas should henceforth be called Adi Dravidas as the words Paraya, Panchama were not respectable terms. But Mr. V. G. Vasudeva Pillai opposed it finding no reason why they should be labelled as Adi Dravidas, insisted that it might be changed as Dravidas. As there was a difference of opinion, the question was dropped. This gave rise to a most bitter controversy. Those who are for Adi Dravida contend that there should be a particular name to specify that community, which will give an opportunity to have separate representation in the Councils. They fear that if Dravida is adopted, as non-Brahmins are generally called Dravidas, they will be included with them and thus they will have no separate representation in the Councils. Those who are for Dravida, argue that, as they are the original inhabitants, they are really the Dravidas. Anyhow the present atmosphere is an impediment to our progress. It causes much difficulty to social workers. I hope Madras will not fail to rise to the occasion and do the needful.

TREATMENT OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

Among the many proposals of the Indian Jails Committee, the happiest and the one sure to earn the widest endorsement, is that for the introduction into this country of the system of Juvenile Courts and Probation. Both these have behind them the new idea which recognizes a new standpoint for the child-offender, namely that "the child is in court as the result of conditions not of his own making and that he has a valid claim against the state, and is to be saved to it, not punished by it." It is perhaps true that in this country there has not been much of any very strong public sentiment with reference to this and that the present proposal is only an incidental bye-product of the agitation against our system of jail administration. Still, this can be no reason for deferring the present proposals; it will be the first time ever known if any humanitarian proposal should be turned down on the ground that public opinion has not yet asked for it. The only real argument produced against the proposal is that there are not many juvenile offenders in India. The Committee effectually dispose of this by saying that the proposal will be for those children who do go wrong whatever their number. While thus recognizing the existence of juvenile delinquents in India, their extent and distribution must be admitted to be but vaguely defined. The Calcutta children's court in its last annual report gave some figures which

showed that they had to deal with, on an average, over 5 cases daily—scope enough for the court. On the whole, however, taking the country side also, the absence of figures, and of any scientific study into the causatives of delinquency in the Indian child, especially the street-arab is a real difficulty in the way of any exact recognition and valuation of this problem. The factors in the delinquency of English and American children cannot obviously be applied wholesale to India, for though human nature is primarily the same everywhere, many of these are altogether absent or powerless in India—no thanks to illiteracy though—and the cinema though spreading does not seem to have taken such a strangle-hold on our children as it has in England or America. The gang-spirit at any rate in its aggressively adventurous form is not very much evident; on the other hand, we have other complications in the existence of differences of caste, custom, of early marriage etc. Consequently the new court will find itself grappling with many factors that are altogether different.

The probation officer is sure to find it more difficult to obtain every information about his wards. In the West, some of his most important sources of information are the teacher, the pastor and the physician. The Indian child, generally has none of these benevolent agents over him. There remain then, the parents, the neighbourhood, the relatives and of course the child itself. But still, the absence of some degree of general education among the people will by no means render the work easier. These are some of the difficulties that the new system may be expected to meet. It will not be difficult to overcome them provided every care is taken to differentiate the court and the probation officer from the police. It may here be suggested that girls should be excluded from the jurisdiction of the courts for many important and obvious reasons special to this country. The Committee rightly recommend the maintenance of paid whole-time probation officers. Volunteer workers are however to be entertained but will be required to work under the direction of the chief probation officer. This is not only a deserved recognition of the volunteer but also a clearly-needed precaution against the probation department lapsing into a semi-lethargic state, entirely bound by red tape, resulting in superficial, haphazard work. The volunteer will undoubtedly infuse into the department fresh enthusiasm and energy. An exception however is proposed for the 'experienced missionary' in whose case it is said to be 'clearly obvious' that he cannot be subordinated to the chief probation officer. Seeing that this subordination in practice is bound to be more and more nominal in proportion to the status and experience of the volunteer and remembering that the officer will be an Indian, it is to be feared that the 'clear obviousness' referred to is only for those with the mentality of Kenya Europeans. No proposals are made for any special training for the judge or the probation officer. Generally strong commonsense and a broad outlook will be sufficient. But yet as Dr. Healy says, "Perhaps . . . if the intricacies of the human individual were shown to be

as captivatingly interesting as the solution of a case in civil law, judges would enter with more zest and preparation into this field," and "To this end instruction in at least the fundamentals of social adjustment, and the genetics of misbehaviour, needs to be carried back to the law schools." Some such step will not be superfluous in this country.

It is in an almost casual manner that the Committee make a most important proposal, at the end of the section on this subject. This is their recommendation that provision should be made in the law for non-criminal, children in criminal, vicious or immoral surroundings. It is rightly emphasised that there is great importance in thus cutting off these sources of criminal supply; apart even from this, the incidence of such a provision on two of the live problems of the day—that of professional beggary and prostitution is by itself sufficient reason for its being made. An alternative of either giving up their children to the state or their profession, is certain in some cases at any rate to evoke a response for the latter, provided work or rescue homes are provided. It is complained that there are not enough cases for juvenile courts in this country, but giving them jurisdiction over these cases will give more than enough cases. In fact, the problem of the children of these classes is a much acuter one, and for the first few years at any rate, the new courts will have more to do with them than with their real subject, the delinquents. When absolutely necessary, either owing to the character of the child itself or to the nature of his home and environment the courts will have power to send away children, not to reformatories but to cottage homes in the country which are proposed for establishment. It is to be hoped that these will be the objects of private or public endeavour for, 'making the inmates fit for free life' and the provision of 'home influences' are rather large orders for Government. A matron is proposed for every such institution but there is no reason why there should not be more. The more of them the better. The inception and progress of this system in India will be watched with the greatest interest. The essential condition of success—even in a slight measure—is the amount of popularity the probation officer, who is the pivot of the whole scheme, obtains. If he degenerates into a mere spy over the child, disaster will be the result. The position that should be aspired to for him is that of 'friend, philosopher and guide' for the child, and a welcome adviser to the parents.

Presidentship of the 36th Indian National Congress.
The Honorary General Secretary of the 36th Indian National Congress informs us that a meeting of the Reception Committee of the 36th Indian National Congress was held at Ahmedabad in the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee Office at 3 p.m. on the 17th instant to consider the final recommendations by the Provincial Congress Committee for the Presidentship of the ensuing session of the Congress. All Provincial Congress Committees having recommended the name of Mr. C. R. Das, the Reception Committee has adopted the recommendation unanimously. The Executive Committee is authorised to fix the date for the sessions in consultation with the Moslem League and the Khilafat Conference.

THE MALABAR FORCIBLE CONVERSIONS.

NAGPUR MEETINGS.

Dr. Moonje writes :—A crowded public meeting of the Hindu citizens of Nagpur was held on the 18th September at the Town Hall to pass a Resolution publicly requesting the Jagadguru Shree Shankaracharya to arrange for the taking back into the Hindu Religion and in their respective castes those Hindoos who have been recently forcibly converted to Mohamedanism in Malabar. The Honourable Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis presided. The resolution was supported by Messrs. Alekar, Fathaley, Krishna Shastri Chule, Professor Rao Bahadur Sadashivrao Jairam, Daji Shastree Chande and Doctor Moonje and was unanimously passed. The Honourable Sir G. H. Chitnavis will convey the resolution to the Shankaracharya. All the elite of the town and high Hindoo Govt. officers also were present.

Another public open air meeting was held on the 22nd inst. on the Maidan of the Town Hall Nagpur to listen to the decision which Shree Shankaracharya Dr. Kurtkoti delivered on the question of taking back those Hindoos of the Malabar who have recently been forcibly converted to Mohamedanism, into the Hindu religion and into their respective castes. The whole assembled audience including the Hon'ble Sir. G. M. Chitnavis and the elite of the town were in anxious mood to know what the decision was to be. When the Shankaracharya opened his magnificently eloquent speech stating in as clear terms as possible that there is ample provision in the Dharmashastra for taking such Hindus back into the Hindu religion and in their respective castes, a long continuous cheer of relief and satisfaction was raised and the meeting ended in vociferous cheers of Shree Shankaracharya Maharajki Jai. A new leaf has been turned over in the socio-religious history of the Hindus and the credit is due rightly to the great Mahabhogwat Dr. Kurtkoti, the Shankaracharya of giving a progressive impetus to the history of socio-religious progress of the Hindus, hitherto lying stagnant for a long time past. In the same meeting the Shankaracharya has appointed a deputation of Dr. Khare M. D., Mr. Bhawani Shankar Niyogi M.A.L.L.M., and *Dr. Moonje L.M. & S., to go to Malabar for making personal enquiries purely and strictly from the Dharmashastric point of view bearing on the question of forcible conversion and to make a report to him in due time. The whole Hindu community ought to be grateful to him for such satisfactory and reasonable solution of the problem, never yet so seriously and scientifically tackled.

II

To,
The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,
Sir,

I am obliged for your courtesy in giving a place to my communication on this subject in your paper. I notice from certain paper that the Shankaracharya of Shringeri is being approached in this matter. As the point has a constitutional importance affecting the Hindu Society I feel bound to write to you again.

I do not see the necessity of referring the matter to the *Shri Jagdguru* as snob, when it has been provided for in the Shastras. For if this were permissible there would be no end to the trouble which the *Jagdguru* might be put to in regard to matters for which the Shastras make provisions in clear terms. It is one thing that the *Jagdguru* interests himself as a member of the great community to which he belongs and

* Dr. Moonje was specially asked afterwards by Shankaracharya himself to join the deputation.

which he has been called upon to guide in matters religious, and it is quite another thing for him to be asked to trouble himself as a *Religious Head* as such. The *Smriti of Devata* to which has been referred in my last makes enough provision for an event happening like the one in question. Had it been merely the *Puranas* giving instances of conversions and reconversion the matter would perhaps have been different. But when in addition to the precedents chronicled in the *Puranas*, clear Rules are laid down in the *Smritis* which have a binding force there appears to be no necessity for troubling the *Jagdguru*.

The point if correctly appreciated will save much time that may be unnecessarily spent in approaching the *Jagdguru* in getting his sanction and then proceeding with the purificatory ceremonies. Further it has a constitutional importance in that the procedure will unnecessarily introduce the Shankaracharya when the rites prescribed contemplate a direct action. I hope our brethren on the Malabar will appreciate this point and proceed accordingly directly.

Thanking you

Bombay,
28-9-1921.

Yours sincerely
J. R. GHARPURE.

THE ARRESTED SANYASI

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,
Sir,

Your suggestion that the Director of Information should be asked to withdraw his statement and apologise for his more than dubious statement about Shree Shankaracharya is quite right and in the interest of truth; it is hoped he will do it. It may prejudice his trial at Karachi.

I have known him personally for some time and he was staying in the same building with me in Dewas and I had frequent talks and lots of correspondence with him. The Director's information I have not seen nor the *Bombay Chronicle's* leader. But I give you facts below which all show that the above title was practically forced on him by his Guru, much against his will. The Director remarks that Bharati Krishna Tirth has assumed the title of *Shree Shankaracharya* and that his real name is Venkatraman. This is as much as to say that Venkatraman is an impostor, and as an impostor, deserves no sympathy. I don't wish to say anything about the Karachi prosecution. It will stand or fall on its merits. He is not one Venkatraman. He is an M.A. of the Madras University and brought up in Dr. Miller's Christian College at Madras. He was in addition there, a Bille prizeman. After his University career, he had many domestic mishaps. Before he became a Sanyasi—that was within last two years—he stayed in the Shringeri Muth for six years, with the revered old Shankaracharya. He was sought there as a disciple by Trivikram Shastri, Madhavatirtha was the Shankaracharya of Sharda Peet, Dwarka. When he died, he made Trivikram his successor. The Gaikwad, within whose territory Dwarka is did not recognise the appointment of Trivikram as Madhavtirtha's successor and set up, it is believed for political reasons, another Shankaracharya viz., Shantyanand. Even this Shantyanand has got tired of Dwarka for reasons which it is unnecessary to relate here. The Gaikwad went so far as to influence British Judges in Ahmedabad and got the Baroda Political agent to write to Mr. Kennedy, the Ahmedabad Judge to recognise Shantyanand, in an application-matter before the Ahmedabad Judge regarding Shankaracharya's property in Dakore in British territory. The matter came up in the Bombay High Court,

Judges have openly remarked on the grave impropriety of the Baroda Political Agent in trying to influence a British Judge at Ahmedabad. Trivikram, who is a Gujarathi, sought to have a learned successor for himself and besought Venkatraman who is a Madraisi to become his disciple. Venkatraman first refused and then on being again persistently sought, became Trivikram's disciple. Trivikram gave Raman a written authority to go round India and foster religion. Raman who had to change his name to Bharathi Krishna Tirtha on his becoming a Sanyasi, as every Sanyasi has to do, obeyed his Guru's injunctions and went round with the written authority of Trivikram in U.P. and the Punjab, orthodox Hindus, Arya Samajists and Sikhs alike came to his lectures and venerated him. The Sikh Guru prostrated himself before him and so did thousands of his Sikh followers. He pacified the quarrels between Sikhs and Hindus, when he was, in Punjab and appointed an arbitrator by both. He was requested to distribute prizes at Gurakula, the stronghold of the Arya Samajists by Swami Shradhdhanand's son and advisers. He won golden opinions of all. He has lectured in Xaviers and Free Church College in Bombay and secured the attention of Catholic and Protestant professors. He can speak only in Sanskrit or English. He is a master of both. While in Bombay, he was suddenly and urgently called away by his Guru in Kathyawad without any inkling as to the object of this sudden call. When with his Guru, he was strictly enjoined to accept the Shankaracharya-ship at once, the old Guru retiring. Bharathi Krishna refused at first, hesitated and got his friend Amritlal Buxi B. A. L.L. B. pleader Rajkot to dissuade his Guru, but the Guru was obdurate and Bharathi Krishna had to yield. Afterwards he returned to Bombay and went to Dakora for Chaturmasya. There the whole populace turned out in his honour, took him in a palanquin, duly recognised him as the Shankaracharya and carried him in a procession to do the duties in the temples as a Shankaracharya. Does the previous history, character and behaviour of Raman make him out to be an impostor? He joined Gandhi in the resolution of sympathy with the depressed classes at Negpur. It is want of accurate information that induced the Director to suggest that he was an impostor. The sooner he apologises the better.

B.

[We did not suggest that Mr. Venkatram was an impostor, and our correspondent's narration does not prove that he was regularly inducted in the position of Shankaracharya. Ed. I. S. R.]

KHULNA FAMINE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Sir P. C. Roy's opinion that the distress of the famished Khulna will be prolonged much longer than was expected. The blasted district may require aid for at least a year and a half more. C. S. Loch in his "Charity Organisation" at p. 10. says, "We should help the poor to become self-dependent and competent citizens." Charity ought to tend to the social elevation and not to the degradation of the "very poor." For preservation of their self-respect Sir P. C. Roy ought to make an attempt to introduce amongst the distressed people spinning of cotton-threads with *charka* and weaving of clothes by handlooms and try to induce them to adopt the suggestion of Mr. Hoogewerf, Principal, weaving College, Serampur, on the Future Possibilities of Hand-loom weaving in India, which, had recently been published in the newspapers;

and to supply them on hire-purchase system cotton, spinning-wheels and hand-looms. This will at least afford them the means of earning their livelihood, if not, achieving independence.

Yours &c.,

9, Old Post Office Street, SAILENDRA KRISHNA DEBBA.
Calcutta, 23rd September 1921.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION, MANGALORE.

The premier Elementary School at the Court Hill has been raised to the highest grade by opening the eighth class. The teachers of all the D.O.M. schools are very enthusiastic this year, and several activities have been started by them. On Wednesday afternoons the teachers, the senior students and such of the elders of the community as are able to attend, hold informal debates on problems primarily affecting their own condition in life. The debates are very lively, being conducted in Canarese or Tulu whichever language the speakers prefer, and deal with very practical questions. The students keep the minutes of the meeting, and we propose sending these to the Canarese journals whenever important questions are discussed. The Secretaries of the debating society have been advised to place the views of their meetings before the Managing Committee of the Mission, so that the latter may be guided by the experience of the Panchamas themselves in matters dealing with their uplift.

The Panchama teachers have formed themselves into a study group, and arranged for advanced tuition for themselves for better equipment in their work. This very soon led other people in the vicinity, following various vocations like those of peons, carpenters, tailors, etc., to request for opening a night school for them, which was done. Within a few days a number of Municipal scavengers and sweepers came begging to be admitted into the night-school. As the other pupils are not enlightened enough to overcome their prejudices, separate classes will have to be started for them, at least temporarily.

Members of our Mithramandalis rose equal to the recent popular anti-drink propaganda in the district, and did valuable work in popularising effectively the idea of total abstinence amongst their community. Mr. Monappa Thingalaya of the local Jnanodaya Samaj held a Harikatha on 30th July, on the evils of drink, when nearly 300 Panchama men and women attended the performance, and were profoundly impressed by it.

The lack of funds is hampering the work of our Colonies and Industrial section. The handlooms are lying unused. The school boys work at carpentry and the public do generously place their orders at the D.O.M. workshop.

But there are no sufficient stocks of tools and timber to meet the demands promptly. The agricultural Colonies require capital to be developed. The idea is to settle these landless people as peasant proprietors and also train them for a few home industries to eke out their livelihood. This along with the education given in our schools will, it is hoped, considerably assist the alleviation of the present pitiable condition of these people.

The public are earnestly requested to help the efforts of the Mission.

BACK TO HINDUISM.

Mr. Mukut Rao Shreepat Rao Hande Deshmukh had gone into Christianity about five years ago. He has now returned to Hinduism, and was initiated by the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay on Tuesday the 20th of September in the presence of members and friends. Mr. Sunderaro B. Vaidya, L. M. E. acted as Acharya and Mr. Dinkar V. Kenavinda, B. A. acted as Fire-warden.

BRAHMAN WIDOW MARRIAGE IN BOMBAY.

(From a Correspondent.)

We are glad to announce that on Sunday the 18th September 1921 Shreemati Venubai a well educated widowed lady of 24, who was studying at the Grant Medical College, a daughter of the late Rambhau Bobade, a famous pleader of Nagpur was married to Mr. Gejanan Diwakar Dhavale B.A., LL.B., a practising pleader of Nagpur aged 30. The ceremony took place at the office of the Hindu Missionary Society in Bombay. Mr. L. B. Raje acted as Aoharya and Mr. S. B. Vaidya L.M.E. as Fire-warden. May the newly married couple long enjoy a happy and prosperous life.

The following persons were present:—Mr. D. B. Athalye B.A., Mr. S. V. Vartak B.A., Mr. S. B. Raikar B.A., Mr. M. G. Adhikari B.A., Mr. D. V. Kanavinde B.A., Mr. P. K. Patankar, Mr. V. M. Kaude, Mr. Ramayya Babayya and other gentlemen and ladies.

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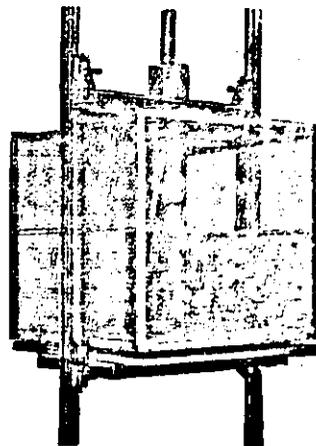
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"I will be as hard as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

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A Khilafat-Non-Co-operation Manifesto: The *Bombay Chronicle* published in its issue of Wednesday a document with the heading "Leaders' Manifesto." The manifesto is issued in the individual capacity of the signatories and consists of three sentences. The first sentence states that it is the inherent right of every one to express his opinion without restraint about the propriety of citizens serving under Government. Many persons, official and non-official, have often deprecated their inordinate longing for Government service and exhorted young Indians to prepare themselves for other and more useful walks of life. No assertion of this right was needed as no one has questioned it. This is quite a different thing from seeking to induce persons in the service of Government to leave their posts, especially in the police and the army. No Government can tolerate attempts to disintegrate the forces upon which, in the last resort, the community depends for protection of property, liberty and life. We are having a vivid object lesson in the Mopla outbreak in Malabar, the omission to make any reference to which in the manifesto does not reflect credit on the candour of the signatories. The verdict of the signatories on British rule will not commend itself to impartial students of history as right and true. It is as sweeping as the opinion of those who hold Non-Co-operationists to be either fools or knaves. British rule has certainly committed serious wrongs but it has also rendered great services to India and her people, the greatest being that of endowing them increasingly with the power to correct wrongs and direct the policy of Government. The irony of the matter is that this verdict proceeds from persons who admire the Turkish Government. The British Indian system is, of course, capable of considerable improvement, and we are not very tender to its faults and shortcomings. But, with all its faults, it is any day immeasurably superior to the Turkish system. A Mahomedan friend of ours who has lived in Turkish territory, is never tired of repeating that, if the Non-Co-operationists lived for a short time under Turkish rule, they would learn to appreciate it and British rule better. The opinion of persons so completely

blinded by political prejudice, as to the duty of persons in the service of Government, will be appraised at its true value by everybody concerned. The manifesto would have been mischievous were it not so palpably absurd.

The Signatories: An analysis of the signatories according to communities and localities yields the following results. The signatories number 48, including 2 ladies. 32 are Hindus, 14 are Mahomedans, and the remaining 2 are equally distributed between Parsis and Christians. By Provinces, Bombay including Sind, contributes 21, Madras 7, the United Provinces and Oudh 6, Delhi 4, Bengal, the Central Provinces, and the Punjab (including Kotgarh) 3 each and Bihar 1. Of the 21 Bombay signatories, 4 are Mahomedans, of the 7 Madras leaders 6 are Hindus, 5 of them hailing from Andhra, there are 2 Hindus (both Nehrus,) among the United Provinces' 6, the Delhi 4 are all Mussulmans, among the Punjab 3 there is no Mahomedan. The presence of some names among the signatories is not less remarkable than the absence of some others.

The Working Committee's Version: The Working Committee of the Congress came into prominence some weeks back by its summary method of disposing of certain election disputes over the head of the President and against his ruling. Mr. Vijayaraghavacharya has since ceased to attend it. Even this obsequious body has found it necessary to qualify the absolute doctrine of the manifesto. In the latter document the signatories in their individual capacity called upon all Government officials without exception to resign their posts and find some other means of livelihood. The Working Committee carefully limits the mandate to those "who can support themselves without Congress assistance." As the vast majority of Government servants obviously can not support themselves otherwise, the Working Committee's resolution practically negatives the manifesto. No one can say that the Committee's caution is superfluous after the manner in which students who withdrew from schools and colleges last summer were left in the lurch. Appeals for assistance went unheeded as more than one student complained to us. We explain in a leading article what we understand by the term religious liberty. The resolution of the Karachi Conference, for which certain gentlemen are indicted, is the subject of a judicial trial, and further what may be harmful in one set of circumstances, need not be harmful in another. The shrewd lawyers of whom there are a good many in the Working Committee, no doubt, knew this well. The challenge sounds uncompromising to the lay mind, which it was intended to do, but it is a safe challenge. Simultaneously with the manifesto, Mahatma Gandhi issued a solemn valedictory adjuration as to what his followers should do, if he were arrested. We have never allowed our opinion

of the Mahatma's political empiricism to bedim our appreciation of his great personal qualities. But we must tell him frankly that he has dragged the country dangerously near the edge of a precipice, and that it is high time that he took counsel with men who are not content merely to be an echo to him. We quite recognise that the course he has followed so far has circumscribed his choice of methods, but he has the strength of mind, if he wishes, to refuse to follow a path which leads and can lead only to chaos.

The Mopla Rebellion: It was thought last week that the Mopla situation had been mastered, but the later news does not confirm the impression. We have received a telegram from a visitor to Calicut stating that there has been a recrudescence of trouble and the situation is still one of much anxiety. The Moplas' guerilla tactics would seem to baffle the operations of the regular troops. Meanwhile, the first impressions of Mr. G. K. Devdhar who is making enquiries with a view to relief operations in the affected areas, contained in a long and detailed message to Friday's *Times of India*, reveals an appalling state of destitution and destruction. The "God-fearing" Mopla did his looting thoroughly, stripping his Hindu fellow citizens of grain, money, clothes, pots, vessels, ornaments, even the married women's *thali* (neck-string) not being spared. Mr. Devdhar estimates that 75 per cent. of Hindus and 50 per cent. of the Mopla women and children need relief in a variety of ways for a period of not less than six months and that a sum of not less than ten lakhs of rupees will be required to meet partially the minimum needs of the people affected. Mr. Devdhar's enquiries showed that the outrages of the Moplas surpassed, in the opinion of the oldest people of the district, in seriousness, if not in extent, the ravages there committed in the days of Tipu Sultan. The greatest need of the disturbed area, it is added, is a larger and stronger military reinforcement, and it is universally believed that that alone will secure the speedier restoration of peace and order and create confidence in the highly agitated public mind. It is worthy of note that the *Independent* of Allahabad from its Non-Co-operation hill-top safely opines that "regard being had to the general Indian situation we doubt whether Government can afford to permit the concentration of large bodies of troops in Southern India." Since the above was in type, we have received a telegram from Mr. Devdhar which concludes thus: "In my several relief campaign experiences, I have never seen distress a hundredth so terrible. Help absolutely urgent. Shall arrive Bombay about 16th instant. Public meeting Bombay very necessary, as adequate relief without help from Bombay and other parts impossible. Bombay must lead." We are glad to learn that the Trustees of the Wadia Charities have led the way by subscribing Rs. 5,000.

Bombay Development: The initial stages of the launching of the Bombay Development scheme gave rise to much just criticism. It was hatched in secret, and the public was left in the dark as to the necessity, urgency or utility of some parts of it. The inter-connection between the parts and the whole was far from being self-evident. The financial aspect of the subject was kept in the background. There were reasons for this reticence, but we must continue to think that they were not such as to overcome the supreme reason for publicity. Because of this, the actions of Government gave rise to a good deal of unnecessary misapprehension and criticism. Everybody recognised that the object in view was most praiseworthy, but the methods savoured of the

ancient regime of the Moghuls, great, small and middling. Many of these defects have now been set right. The public is being kept informed regularly of the progress of the scheme and recently we had a press note giving the estimated cost of different parts of the scheme. Government have profited by the criticisms passed upon their initial action, though they may not have liked them at the time. We think that it serves no useful purpose now to continue the attitude of criticism. Competent opinion is satisfied that the scheme is sound on the whole. Whether it should have been undertaken when it was, is useless to discuss now. For our own part, we take the view that the situation admitted of no delay and that Sir George Lloyd did the right thing when he decided to start it and push it on as energetically as possible. We also think that the decision to do the work departmentally is, on the whole, the best one, all things considered. As for the Development Department being made a transferred subject, while we admit that it would be correct to do so, we see many practical advantages in keeping it as at present, until at any rate Ministers and the Legislative Council are able to establish some stable relations between themselves. A large sum of money has been already spent. His Excellency's term of office has passed its meridian, and it is highly desirable that he should be able to see the scheme, for which he has laboured so hard, well advanced beyond the preliminary stages before he leaves these shores. The need of the population is, above all, acute. For all these reasons, we deprecate further agitation which must retard progress and increase the cost of reform.

Bombay Municipal Amenities: Is it parliamentary to call a member of a public body a monomaniac? Mr. J. A. Wadia twice used this epithet of Mr. N. M. Joshi during a debate on compulsory education on Thursday, without being called to order by the President, Sir David Sassoon. Evidently, a man who has made money has no limits to his vocabulary in the Municipal Corporation as at present constituted. Its narrow, selfish spirit was shown by its repeated refusal to agree to a lowering of the franchise to the same level as that for the Legislative Council. We trust that the Minister responsible for Local Self Government will not be misled by the Corporation's opinion. He will have the full support of disinterested opinion in moving the Legislature to reconstitute the Corporation on a wider franchise. As it is at present, it is a hindrance rather than a help to municipal progress.

The Prince's arrival in Bombay: A Press note says: His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is expected to arrive at the Apollo Bunder at 10-15 A.M. on Thursday the 17th November 1921. Applications for tickets for the space allotted to the general public should reach the Executive Engineer, Presidency, before 25th October 1921. A later Simla communique states that "His Royal Highness wishes it to be widely known that he hopes that the Corporations and other bodies presenting addresses to him will not incur excessive expenditure on costly caskets and that he would much prefer that public bodies who are desirous of spending money in commemoration of his visit should devote it in the alleviation of poverty and suffering or to similar laudable objects of a public nature."

A Correction: The last issue (October, 2) of the *Reformer* is the 5th number of the current year and not 4th. Subscribers who regularly file the copies of the *Reformer* are requested to correct the number of the last issue accordingly.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 9, 1921.

CASTE AND UNTOUCHABILITY.

In the passage which we quoted last week from Mahatma Gandhi's speech at Dindigal he, while pleading for the removal of the bar of untouchability against certain classes, remarked that he did not want caste Hindus to eat and drink or inter-marry with members of these classes. "But," he added, "your Hinduism demands you to give an equal right to all human beings. I want you to give Panchamas the same right which any human being has a right to ask of you and which you claim from all the rest." There is a worse disability than untouchability peculiar to Malabar. The depressed classes there are not only untouchable but they cannot even approach high caste persons and their abodes within distances varying for each separate section of them according to custom. An interview at Quilon between the Mahatma and Mr. T. K. Madhavan, Editor of the *Desabhimani*, and a leading member of the Ezhava or Thiyya community which suffers under the stigma not merely of untouchability, but also of unapproachability, is reported in the *Hindu* of 30th September, and it brings out the Mahatma's views in a clear light. Mr. Madhavan being concerned both personally and as a social worker for the emancipation of his community from self-imposed as well as externally inflicted disabilities, naturally pressed the Mahatma with questions bearing on definite points. He urged that removal of untouchability was an abstract idea, and a discussion ensued as to what concrete shapes it should or should not take. Mr. Madhavan suggested that entry into Hindu temples being prohibited to his class, it would be a good concrete example of the abstract idea if his caste-fellows asserted their right by entering these temples. The Mahatma agreed but advised that, on strategical grounds, they should postpone temple entry and begin with public wells from which they are not allowed to draw water. This did not commend itself to Mr. Madhavan's crusading spirit. He pointed out that the Thiyyas were not in the same position of economic and educational depression as the Pariahs of the East Coast, and persuaded the Mahatma that the main disability of his community was as regards entry into temples which were supported by grants from the Travancore State. The Mahatma agreed that the question was one of civil right, and said that he would certainly advise them to offer civil disobedience, that they should enter temples and court imprisonment if law interfered, but that they should observe strict non-violence and should enter the temples singly and not in masses. Mr. Madhavan asked and obtained on the spot a statement in writing from the Mahatma embodying this advice and also enjoining the local Congress Committee to take up temple entry by Ezhavas as an item of its practical programme. Worse advice in our opinion could not have been offered by the apostle of non-violence. The caste Hindus are undoubtedly foolish in refusing

entry to the temples to their Thiyya co-religionists. Their attitude is as unjust to the Thiyyas as it is injurious to Hinduism. But it is inspired by the superstition, which they honestly hold, that the temples would be polluted by Thiyyas entering them. The attempt of members of this caste to enter the temples is certain to lead to violence, and as they are bidden to do so singly, the result will be disastrous to the daring entrant. You cannot coerce caste Hindus into feelings of brotherhood. If they will not listen to reason, if they insist on following blindly their old superstitions, they should be left to their own course. Hinduism does not require one to worship in any particular temple even at the cost of creating bad blood. The Thiyyas have their own temples and they are entitled to demand that the Travancore State should give the same help to them as to the other Hindu temples. This illustrates how the Mahatma nowadays has often to accept extreme courses against his own better judgment. He is not an autocrat, by any means. He is merely a victim in the grip of circumstances created largely, it is true, by himself.

Encouraged by his success, Mr. Madhavan ventured some questions regarding other aspects of caste.

T. K. M.—Are you for caste, Mahatmaji?

Mahatma.—Yes, I am for caste.

T. K. M.—Are you for caste, Mahatmaji, in regard to inter-dining and inter-marriage?

Mahatma.—I am against both on hygienic and spiritual grounds. Eating is as dirty a business as evacuating, the only difference is, evacuation is a matter of relief. You mix the rice you have to eat with curry. Would you treat it as a clean thing after a few minutes? Would you like to touch it even? It is not good to touch it on hygienic grounds. I will not inter-dine with another and I will not inter-dine even with my son. If one man says he will not inter-dine with another owing to repugnance, I oppose that. You must get rid of that repugnance.

T. K. M.—What is your position in regard to inter-marriage?

Mahatma.—I oppose that on spiritual grounds. Suppose you have to choose your wife among ten million women. You exercise your passion in respect of such a good number. If the extent of your choice is less, you restrict the exercise of your passion to that limited extent. You are benefitted spiritually by curtailing the extent of your choice of women. It is better that you restrict your choice exclusively to your caste.

T. K. M.—Suppose that a man of one caste falls in love with a woman of another caste and that woman reciprocates his love. Will you stand in the way of their marriage?

Mahatma.—I will not stand between them and their marriage on grounds of non-violence. Suppose my son wants to marry my daughter, I will not stand in the way of their marriage. But one thing I will do. I will not allow them room under my roof.

It is probable that the Mahatma's observations have not been correctly reported. The equation between eating and evacuating, and between inter-marriage between two persons of different castes and the marriage of a brother with his sister, is so palpably untenable that we cannot but think that there should be some mistake in the report. In any case, it is scarcely necessary for us to point out the absurdly far-fetched nature of these analogies. Sweeping generalisations of this kind are seized upon by scoffers to throw discredit on th

serious and essential part of the Mahatma's propaganda. We can seek an explanation of these extraordinary statements, if they were made, only in the probability that the Mahatma was led to make them as a counterblast to the exaggerated expectations formed by some persons of inter-dining and inter-marriage as factors in breaking down the barriers erected by race and creed and custom. We prefer for the present to regard these statements as intended to be a startling, and as being a grotesque, presentation of the supreme importance of a change of heart in the individual without which inter-dining and inter-marriage cannot have their full social significance.

The important point missed by Mahatma Gandhi in his pronouncements on caste, is that "untouchability" which he so vehemently denounces, is the necessary consequence of caste, that caste is the root cause of "untouchability." The idea that to touch a person of a particular class causes pollution, is but the last link in the chain of ideas to which belong the ideas that to dine with a person of certain castes is wrong, and that to marry a person outside the prescribed circle of one's sub-caste is unlawful. Propinquity, touching, inter-dining and inter-marriage are but different degrees of social intercourse. There are, as illustrated by the instance of the Thiyyas, different grades and degrees in untouchability itself. Even in the same family there are occasions when some members cannot touch others without causing pollution. There might have been originally some sanitary and hygienic motive behind these prohibitions, which made the restrictions worth inculcating, but nowadays we have more definite notions of sanitation and hygiene and more specific means of ensuring sanitary and hygienic conditions. These general prohibitions are, therefore, not needed for their original purpose, and operate merely as irritating restrictions on social intercourse which undoubtedly promotes fellowship between man and man and between different classes and communities. When a Brahmin, for instance, objects to dine with a Maratha of equal education and refinement, there is no sanitary or hygienic consideration involved. Why should not a caste Hindu dine with a Mahar gentleman in the same circumstances? The Mahatma says he will not dine with his own son. Most Hindus, however, dine not only with their own sons but with the larger circle of their caste people, and they will regard his ultra-exclusiveness as an aberration. As for inter-marriage, while we do not hold with the enthusiasts who seem to think that every man or woman has only to marry a woman or man out of a caste or sect other than his own—the more remote, the better—to bring about the millenium in India, we do hold that legal or customary restrictions, which prevent a person from using his own personal judgment in a matter so intimate to himself as marriage, are in the highest degree detrimental to the growth of a free and healthy social life. The removal of the caste restrictions on inter-dining and inter-marriage, therefore, are as important as the removal of untouchability, in order to promote the strength and solidarity of Hindu society. The existence of the depressed classes is a

direct consequence of our present perverted notions of caste, and so long as we cling to the latter, we cannot expect to make appreciable headway in improving the lot of the former.

THE VICEROY AND THE MAHOMEDAN DEPUTATION.

The Mahomedan deputation which waited on Lord Reading on the 1st instant seems to have had no object except to give His Excellency an opportunity to explain the change of policy involved in the prosecutions recently instituted against Messrs. Shaikat Ali, Mahomed Ali and other Khilafat leaders. The topics touched upon in the address which it presented to the Viceroy were, with a single exception, familiar, not to say stale, ones and there was nothing distinctive even in the manner of their presentation. The Viceroy in his reply merely recalled what he had said in his speech to the Indian Legislature in opening the Simla session some days ago. The one exception was the reference to the necessity of retaining communal electorates for Mahomedans, which the deputation brought in by pretending that there was danger of their being withdrawn by "Non-Mahomedan extremists" in any further development of constitutional reform. The "Non-Mahomedan extremists" will be the last persons, as the members of the deputation are well aware, to take any step that may militate against the Hindu-Mahomedan unity which they have been at great pains to establish and to maintain. They have made great sacrifices—including the needless sacrifice of truth in regard to the Mopla outbreak—to uphold this unity which they regard and cherish, not without reason, as their most important achievement. On the one topic on which the deputation could and should have offered definite suggestions to the Viceroy and the country, it shrank from doing so, contenting itself with a tame paraphrase of the statements of the Khilafat leaders. The deputation asked that Turkey should be re-instated in her pre-war Empire or, if that was impossible, that Thrace and Smyrna should be left in her possession and that the other countries which formed part of the late Ottoman Empire should be placed under Mahomedan rulers in accordance with the precepts of the Holy Koran. It also asked that the British Government should cease from selling munitions to Greece in her fight with the Anzora Turks. The gentlemen who composed the deputation know full well that Turkey can not be re-instated in her pre-war Empire, if only because the Arabs have broken away from her, and have evidently no desire to return to her yoke again. That the deputation should nevertheless have repeated this impossible aspiration in their address, is the measure of its capacity to give a definite, practical lead to Indian Mahomedans and the country. As regards Thrace and Asia Minor, India has demanded the fulfilment of the Prime Minister's pledge with a united voice which is but feebly re-inforced by the pleading of the deputation led by Major Khan,

The address did not refer to the Karachi prosecutions. But His Excellency very properly took the opportunity, afforded by the deputation, to repudiate the imputation made in a section of the press that these prosecutions were intended as an attack upon the religion of Islam. His Excellency felt the imputation so keenly that he enforced his observations regarding the absolute tolerance of all religions in the British Empire by a reference—an inconvenient one since all Viceroys may not be in a position to use it—to his own appointment as His Majesty's Viceroy of India. The notion that the Government of India are hostile to Islam has merely to be mentioned to be dismissed as absurd by every one who has followed the course of Indian politics during the last quarter of a century. As a fact, we do not think that even the Khilafat leaders have ever brought this charge against the Government of India. What the criticisms to which Lord Reading referred, so far as we have seen them, amount to, is this: that the Khilafat leaders being workers in the cause of Islam, to prosecute them is to persecute Islam. If this argument is accepted, it will be in the power of any person to claim immunity from prosecution by finding some text in his Scripture—no difficult task—as the basis of his offence. A Hindu may on this plea claim that he should not be prosecuted for inciting the mob to burn down slaughter-houses, as his religion undoubtedly obliges him to protect cattle, especially cows, from being killed. From this to violence upon people who include beef in their dietary, is but a short step. Every person is entitled to complete freedom of worship as to place, time and manner. But obviously this freedom cannot extend to actions which involve the like freedom of other persons. Personally, we strongly hold that animal sacrifices are a relic of barbarism and that they are incompatible with what Lord Reading called "civilized religion". But would we be justified in raiding Kalighat during these Durga Puja days when numberless innocent lives are sacrificed in the vain hope of placating the Deity? The Government of India is not a replica of the reputed Rama rajya of old, but it is far from being the Satanic Government that Mahatma Gandhi describes it in one of his rare habitual exaggerations. At any rate, it is the Government to which millions of the people of India look for protection against violence, fanaticism and extortion. The power of that Government to protect them requires for its maintenance a certain reserve of physical force to be employed in emergencies. To endeavour by speech or act to reduce this reserve of physical force, is not and cannot be part of any religion and the prosecution of those who attempt it, can by no stretch of reasoning, be made out to be a persecution of any religion.

His Excellency claimed, with reason that great tolerance has been displayed and great liberty permitted to those who, basing their exhortations upon religion had nevertheless preached extreme political opinions. The Government of India has not been

surpassed, he added, in its manifest desire for peace in this direction. This wise policy was fully justified by the fact that Moslem sentiments have been sorely taxed by the happenings in Europe, and at such a time true statesmanship counsels sympathy and forbearance. His Excellency left it to others to judge whether this policy and the more recent efforts made by himself to promote peace have been successful. We have no hesitation in answering this question in the affirmative. Indeed, so conspicuous has been this result to all who can see beneath surface appearances that we confess we were surprised that it has been found necessary to depart from it. We noted some weeks back that there was a turn in the political tide. The extravagances of the Non-Co-operation movement, particularly its latest extravagance, the burning of foreign cloth, had brought about a revulsion in favour of less spectacular methods. The timely and plentiful rainfall had removed the the worst cause of anxiety. The Mopla outbreak had made a considerable section of the public feel that the Khilafat-Non-Co-operation propaganda was being carried too far and too fast for the peace and safety of the country. The speeches of Messrs. Patel and Jayakar were symptomatic of the profound dissatisfaction with their passivity that was gathering head amid leading Non-Co-operationists as the direct result of the policy of forbearance followed by Government. The sober mind of the community was gradually asserting itself and there was reason to hope that the Non-Co-operation movement left to itself would, in the next few weeks, undergo a notable transformation. A small section of publicists, not remarkable for their consistency or foresight, has been egging on Government to adopt vigorous measures, and some of these persons have been, we are afraid, not appraised at their proper rate as forces operating on Indian opinion by those in authority in London and Simla. His Excellency appealed for support and co-operation from all classes in his endeavours to promote the peace and prosperity of the country. We may assure him that the country is as anxious to give him its support as he to get it. Government cannot be embarrassed but by their own mistakes. If reasonable grievances are redressed, there need not be the slightest anxiety as to the effects of unreasonable agitation. In this connection, we must express our deep regret that His Excellency has not yet made up his mind about the Punjab martial law offenders. The public had been led to expect an early decision which has not been forthcoming. Lord Reading knows that a state of suspense is the most fruitful soil for disaffection.

LONDON LETTER.

London, September 15, 1921.

A SOCIALIST BOROUGH COUNCIL.

An extraordinary condition of affairs is happening in Poplar, one of the poor districts of London. The Poplar Borough Council considered the borough too poor to pay the rates demanded of it and refused to levy them. Writs of attachment were issued against the Borough Councillors for failing to comply with

the precepts of the London County Council and the Metropolitan Asylums Board, and these writs were put into execution more than a week ago by Sheriff's Officers. Arrests were made and eventually nearly all the members of the Poplar Borough Council were brought up before a Court and are now in prison. Whether the work of the Borough is being carried on or not no one quite seems to know, and this condition looks as though it can drag on indefinitely. Whatever happens the outcome cannot be a very satisfactory one. The Borough Councils were inaugurated over 20 years ago by the Unionist Party to form a check upon the then more radical tendencies of the County Council. But the possibility was not contemplated, at that time, of the Borough Councils themselves becoming extremely socialistic or communistic. The case made out by Mr. George Lansbury—who is now in prison—is that until the problem of unemployment is tackled by the Government and solved by them, and the equalisation of rates in the whole of London takes place, such a protest against existing conditions as Poplar has made is a necessity. In the district itself a tremendous amount of excitement was caused by the arrest of its Councillors, but at no time has there been any real collision with the police, the Councillors themselves appointing the time and place for their arrest.

RELIEF FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.

Probably, now, most people can see how much better it would be to have a central authority for dealing with such questions as levying rates and outdoor relief, rather than leaving it to a district which anyway could not raise the funds needed for its upkeep. Neither is Poplar's demonstration an isolated case. Other socialist boroughs have sought to put into operation a scheme of relief which it would be impossible for them to pay for, and other districts have simply been rushed by extremists into an endeavour to force their views and demands upon the more cautious Boards of Guardians. The latter have certainly been having a most difficult and strenuous time. Rates of relief are being demanded by deputations of unemployed on a scale hitherto undreamed of. In more than one district they have demanded relief equal to a full working wage. For example, at Shoreditch, another crowded and poor district, the demand was made for a weekly dole amounting to £4-13-6 in the case of a man with a wife and six children. This the Shoreditch Guardians refused, but proposed a generous compromise. The compromise was indignantly rejected, and a further meeting of the unemployed was held the following day. The chief speaker then proposed that they should all go in a body to the workhouse, with their wives and families. He calculated that each family would cost the Guardians about £5 per week, and that then the Guardians would comply with their present demand as being the more economical of the two. The crowd, carried away by the emotion of the moment, decided to invade the workhouse, but the invasion did not take place. Perhaps because of what had happened, in another district the previous night, to a body of unemployed who had been advised

to enter the workhouse as a protest against the refusal of their demands for high doles. Twenty-five of them did so. They were given beds and food, and the following day were given work, as is usual in the casual wards, to pay for the night's lodging and breakfast. This the men refused to do, became very abusive and 21 of them were then arrested, and taken before a magistrate, the other four deciding to do the work demanded of them. When the 21 were before the magistrate, 14 more of them gave an undertaking to return to the workhouse and do the appointed work. The other seven were sentenced to 7 days' imprisonment with hard labour. So the last few days have seen no wild rush to the workhouses.

PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

Perhaps it is well that these demonstrations, compelling us to focus upon the unemployed trouble, should come now. Whatever steps are to be taken must be taken before the winter is really upon us. It is true the number of unemployed has steadily decreased since the mines started working, but it is still tremendous, and these can only decrease now in any numbers, as trade and commerce improve. Such improvement, we know, must come gradually. In the meantime, people in a civilised, organised country cannot be allowed to starve. The only real remedy seems to be for Government to open works which shall be productive, and, apart from the initial outlay, self-supporting. Doles are a palliative, but rather a sinful one, as they are money spent for no return and have a most harmful effect upon the constant recipient, undermining his natural self-respect. The Cabinet has called an emergency meeting and plans for dealing with the unemployed are to be discussed. But one cannot help feeling that now is the time for a really great constructive Labour leader to come forward and make himself felt. The whole responsibility should not lie with the Government. The work of any leaders of a people is not simply to obstruct or destroy or adversely criticise an existing system, but to put their back into creating a better one, and so absorbing the old, that the latter is transformed. The trade depression certainly cannot be put entirely upon greedy capitalists or the Government, but is the outcome of many different factors arising after the war, not least of these being the loss or great restriction of the oversea trade. And if the organiser and the capitalist have to put their best into recapturing trade, the worker has to do likewise, and it is this need for clear thinking in this direction which is so necessary at the present time. Strikes have been and still are denounced by some of the most responsible labour men, but the insistence upon the rank and file doing their best is not loud enough and the good advice certainly has not yet made much headway.

SUICIDE AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN.

In the days before the War, we used from time to time to receive lurid reports of suicides among school children in Germany, as a result of the pressure of the education system upon sensitive and immature minds. The New York correspondent of the Central News Agency reminds us that this phenomenon is not

confined to Germany. There has been a marked increase in suicides in the United States, and a disquieting feature of the statistics is the number of children who have taken their own lives. Many children, we are told, gave school conditions, especially the fear of examinations, as the cause of their desire to kill themselves. During the first six months of this year, according to the semi-annual report of the Save-a-Life League, in New York City there were 448 suicides, 319 being men, and 124 women. This is an increase of 102 over the same period for 1920. The report also notes that whilst 225 children ended their lives in the United States in the first half of 1920, the number has more than doubled this year. The children reported as having committed suicide in the first half of this year were 214 boys and 293 girls. The average age of the boys was sixteen and that of the girls, fifteen. Most of the girls took poison, whilst most of the boys shot themselves. The report indicates that throughout the country and the civilised world there appears to have been a suicide wave. In the first six months of 1920, there were reported to the League 2,771 suicides in the United States, as against 6,509 this year in the corresponding period. This large increase is attributed to business depression, economic disturbances, and the general abnormal conditions of the aftermath of the War.

NEO-MALTHUSIAN MOVEMENT IN JAPAN.

At a time when census statistics are interesting all who are making any study of social progress in highly populated countries, are entitled to take note of the formation of the Society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress, under the aegis of several noted sociologists. Strangely enough, the formation of this Society corresponds with the establishment of a similar Society in Japan, known shortly as the Birth Control League. The moving spirits of the League are said to be Baron and Baroness Tshimoto. It would be more correct to say that the Japanese Society is still in process of being born, for so far the Japanese Home Office has not signified approval of its formation. In the view of the leaders of the movement in Japan, wars are largely caused by populations overgrowing their home resources of food. The food supply of Japan has been developed to the limit. The alternative remedy, according to the neo-Malthusians, is to reduce the population, and this, they say, is only possible by birth control. Japan has a very high birth rate and the highest infantile mortality rate, it is said, of any country in the world. Baron Tshimoto considers the former fact to be a distinct incentive to militarism and an important cause of the high cost of living. The average Japanese family numbers eight, including the parents. Sixty per cent of the family income is spent on food, and this percentage indicates a very low standard of living. Japan is and has for long been overpopulated, and the remedy has been sought in sending emigrants abroad. By reason of their low economic standards, these are far from popular, and the result is seen in international complications. With birth control, it is

supposed that the Japanese economic standards of life would rise whilst the international complications would pass away, particularly as the economic objections would also disappear. The Baroness is likewise of opinion that birth control would result, among other things, in the emancipation of women, who would have more time and money for study, and could prepare for a better position than that of a domestic chattel, which the Japanese woman is declared to be in the eyes of the Japanese law. Doubtless the emancipation of women, due to improved social and economic standards would make the geisha less popular with the class of Dominion European who likes to go to Japan to "amuse" himself, but who protests vociferously against the introduction of the Japanese into the Pacific Dominions because of their lower moral standards.

CHARLIE CHAPLAIN.

So Charlie Chaplain has returned to the land of his birth, and is treated as though he were a hero of the same rank as Foch, Haig, Beatty, or any other who helped to win the great War. Perhaps the crowd is right. Perhaps the mirth maker is just as necessary for the winning of a war and even of a peace, is as necessary as the soldier or the administrator or the legislator or the statesman. Each of us has his place in the scheme of nature, and Charlie Chaplain's great function is to imagine a series of absurd situations, and thereby appeal to the risible faculties of the average man and woman, keeping the balance of sanity at a time when mankind might otherwise be overwhelmed with the gigantic problems of life. He has obtained immortalisation in an appreciative editorial note in the "Times". Who among us ordinary folk can say as much? And, when all is said and done, outside of our speciality, who of us is not an average man or woman? Le Bon tells us that scientists themselves, taken out of their usual orbit, are as unobservant and as much subject to mass psychology as any ordinary man or woman in the street. If, therefore, in his autobiography, we learn that Mr. Lloyd George confesses to having laughed at the laughable antics of this great and universal clown, whose queer genius, palely reflected on the cinema screen, is obviously inimitable, we need not be surprised. For even Prime Ministers must sometimes laugh at something healthier than the follies of their fellow-men. There is probably a great deal of childish laughter in Heaven, and all the children are not under sixteen.

CONFERENCE ON MORAL EDUCATION.

In the city of Geneva, Switzerland, a conference was held on the first two days in September, 1921, in order to lay plans for the Third International Moral Education Conference at Geneva in August, 1922. Previous congresses were held in 1908 and 1912. At the 1912 congress a very popular speaker was the Hon. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary of Calcutta. On the Executive Council, meeting in London, there are members of Swiss, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Belgian, Hungarian, Danish, and American nation-

lities; and the representatives of India are Sir D. P. Sarvadhikary, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, and Mr. K. Natarajan.

At the Geneva Conference, an interesting and philosophical address was given by Mr. L. Kas of Peking. Mr. Kas was present, at the instance of the Chinese Embassy in London, and as a delegate from the Chinese Educational Mission. His address was delivered in the French language.

The chief topics of discussion at the Conference were only two, namely, the International Motive, and the Service Motive. The International Motive applied to such questions as the League of Nations, the more truthful and humane presentation of history-instruction, etc., and a clause in this part of the programme had been specially inserted at the wish of Mr. Yusuf Ali,—“Correlation of civic and nationalist ideals with the spirit of human brotherhood.”

The Service Motive applied to all spheres of education, from the household and Primary and High-school to the University, civics, economics, science, art, and industrial and professional vocations.

The Executive Council feels that it is most important to secure the views of Asiatic educationalists, and Indian sympathisers with the work of the Congress are cordially invited to communicate with the Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. J. Gould (Armour, Woodfield Avenue, Ealing, London, W. S, England). The basis of the Congress is very wide, namely,—“The Congress does not advocate the views of any society or party, but affords to all who are interested in Moral Education, whatever their religious or ethical conviction, and point of view, an equal opportunity of expressing their opinions and comparing them with those of others.”

Sept. 9, 1921.

F. J. GOULD.

“PUSSYFOOT” JOHNSON IN THE PUNJAB.

(By Mr. S. S. BHATTIA.)

It was an eminently successful tour which Mr. W. E. Johnson, “Pussyfoot” had in the Land of Five Rivers. Escorted by Mr. Nandlal, General Secretary, All India Temperance Council, he devoted a week full of work and pleasure to the cause of Prohibition. Arriving at Lahore, the capital of the province, on 16th September he left Simla, the summer capital, on 24th. And yet what a world of engagements were crowded in this one week, lectures, talks with workers, social gatherings, processions, interview with high functionaries. At Lahore where arrangements were in the capable hands of Mr. K. L. Rallis Ram, a member of the Punjab Legislative Council and a Vice-President of the Lahore Municipal Committee, Mr. Johnson addressed two public meetings presided over by Mahatma Hanaraj, ex-Principal of the Dayanand College and the Rev. Dr. J. C. R. Ewing, ex-principal of Forman Christian College and ex-Vice-Chancellor of Punjab University respectively, both eminent educationists, of highest position and widespread influence, and lifelong supporters of the cause. A highly successful dinner wound up the round of engagements. A flying visit to Gujranwala, the birth place of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was followed by a necessarily crowded programme at Amritsar. Here at a large public gathering Mr. Johnson was presented an address of welcome printed

on *Ehadder* cloth enclosed in a beautiful sacket of wood carving, the top of which bore designs of a local Hindu temple, the leading Moslem mosque, the well-known Sikh Golden Temple, a local church and the splendid Temperance Hall, bringing out the solidarity of the sacred cause of Temperance. Mr. Johnson responded to the rousing welcome in a telling speech of over an hour. A run at about midnight to Pathankot at the foot of the hills to see the Hall of that indefatigable temperance worker, Miss Mary Campbell, and Mr. Johnson was back the next afternoon to attend a pleasant social gathering where after refreshments he again delivered a vigorous speech. From the city of the Golden Temple straight up to the Olympian heights of Simla where Mr. Johnson hobnobbed with the high and mighty, lunched with the Viceroy, was a guest of the Governor of the Punjab and later of the Punjab Minister of Excise, Lala Harkishen Lal, besides addressing two meetings for Europeans and Indians respectively in Gaiety Theatre and partaking of the hospitality of Bakshi Sohan Lal, a member of the Legislative Assembly, at the Chelmsford Club. The Financial Commissioner of the Punjab Mr. C. M. King who, as Deputy Commissioner at Amritsar, did good work in cutting down the number of liquor shops and turning them outside the city walls, presided at one of the meetings and the Hon'ble Mr. Sukhbir Sinha at the other. Mr. Johnson had also the pleasure and privilege of addressing the legislators of India at a special gathering held in the Assembly Chamber.

The talk with Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Governor was necessarily of an informal character and their attitude, though sympathetic, was mainly of a non-committal order. But the interview with the Punjab Minister of Excise was of a more businesslike and practical character. He expressed his entire sympathy with the movement and while regretting the slow pace of Government machinery, gave the assurance that the recommendations of the Conference held by him some time ago at Simla in favour of vesting municipal and district boards with power to close two-thirds and one-half of the liquor shops in their respective areas by a resolution of their own, and the remaining one-third and one-half respectively on the result of a referendum to voters at Municipal and legislative council election respectively, would be brought into operation from the beginning of next financial year. All honour to Mr. Harkishen Lal for this assurance and more strength to his elbow. The Amritsar Municipal Committee has already passed a resolution to have no liquor shops within municipal area, as it has excluding the women of ill fame from within the city. But the one is hanging fire as the other so far as the official world is concerned. It is time the officials learnt to respond more quickly to efforts on the part of local authorities to better the lot of the people or to improve their environments.

THE PUNJAB VIDHVA VIVAH SAHAIK SABHA.

Under the auspices of the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore, Punjab, 25 widow marriages took place in the month of August 1921. The total number of marriages held during the current year (from 1st January to the end of August 1921) reaches to 197, as detailed below:—

Brabman	...	...	...	26
Khatri	...	...	...	35
Arora	...	...	...	60
Aggarwal	...	...	...	26
Kaith	...	...	...	8
Rajput	...	...	...	9
Sikh	...	...	...	12
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	21
Total				197

A MARATHA LADY GRADUATE CONGRATULATED.

(From a Correspondent)

Under the auspices of the Bombay Maratha Deshastha Samaj, a meeting was held in the Raghunath Maharaj Samadhi Mandir Hall near the Crawford Market on the 11th inst. at 5 p.m. to congratulate Shrimati Kumari Shantabai Doundkar on her passing her B. A. examination in the last June from the St. Xavier's College. A special feature of the meeting was a very large attendance of Maratha ladies, who sat side by side with men without any purdah. The chair was taken by Mrs. Chandrabai Powar of Ceylon. While speaking on the resolution of congratulation, Mr. Kelusker said Miss Shantabai Doundkar should devote herself to some social work and presented her with a copy of the "Life of Shiwaji" written by himself which she gratefully accepted. Miss Doundkar was also presented a gold-medal on behalf of the Samaj. In answer to the resolution of congratulation Kumari Doundkar thanked the Samaj for having congratulated her on her having passed the B. A. and said that though she could not say exactly what kind of social work she would undertake, yet she was determined to devote herself to some educational work. The meeting was concluded with garlanding Kumari Shantabai Doundkar and the chairman, and a vote of the thanks to the chair. There was pan supari and light refreshment.

THE KERALA RELIEF FUND.

APPEAL FOR HELP.

At a meeting of the Malabar residents of Bombay held last Sunday in the Servants of India Society's hall, it was decided to start a Kerala Relief Fund towards the relief of the acute distress prevailing in Malabar. A Committee of 13 members with powers to add besides a treasurer and a Secretary was formed and printed receipt books are given to members of the Committee to begin the collections. The collections will be sent to such relief agency in Malabar as may be desired by the subscribers. In the mean time, enquiries are being made to ascertain the nature of the relief work now being done in Malabar by the respective agencies at work which would help us to choose the best agency. Information received from various sources all equally emphasize the urgent need for relief measures. It is earnestly hoped that our efforts will meet with the sympathy and support they deserve from the general public. Enquiries or remittances may be addressed to Mr. E. R. Menon, Secretary, Malabar (Kerala) Relief Fund, (Malabar Residents' Committee,) 7, Krishna Building No. 1, Suparibaung Road, Parel, Bombay.

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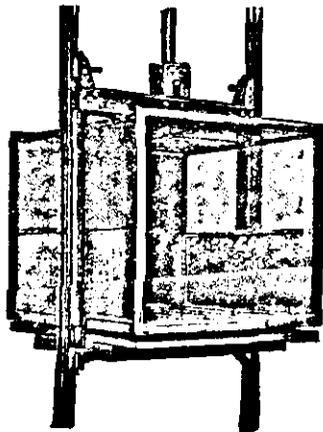
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Montagu-Lytton Letters: The letters exchanged between the Secretary of State for India and his Under-Secretary regarding the rejection by the Legislative Assembly of the vote for the visit of the Indian Student's Committee to India, illustrate the peculiar state of mind which overtakes English politicians when dealing with Indian matters. Both Mr. Montagu and Lord Lytton make out that the visit to India of a Committee whose principal object was to remove the difficulties of Indian students in England, was a part of the original programme. If so, why was it not provided for in the principal Budget, and why was it brought up in a supplementary one after one-half of the year was out? Then, Mr. Montagu raises pious hands in horror at the Legislature vetoing a grant for an enquiry proposed by the Executive Government. He has never known in all his experience such a thing to happen in the House of Commons. But has he ever known a British Government to propose such an enquiry? Lord Lytton's letter naively explains what it was that the Committee wished to learn from the proposed tour in India.

We should, had we visited India, have considered how far the existing deficiencies might be remedied by improving the official organisation there but the evidence we have received upto the present has caused us to believe that the needs of the University authorities and the students can only be met by a new organisation which would mainly be unofficial in character and by establishing much closer relationship than at present exists between India and the British Universities. There are reasons to hope that if the requirements of the Universities here could thus be met they would be more anxious to overcome the obvious difficulties of admitting a large number of Indian students but the organisation required would of course have to start in India, and in some respects the Indian part of it would be more important.

In other words, the main purpose of the Indian tour was to improve the Advisory committees in this country which, Lord Lytton and his colleagues were told, were of no value. The last sentence is

especially significant. The whole system in India is to be overhauled in order that the English Universities may be "more anxious to overcome" the difficulty of admitting some hundred Indian students! As for Mr. Montagu's pained surprise, it is only necessary to mention that the omission of the grant was moved by such a staunch Liberal as Mr. Samarth and supported by another staunch Liberal, Sir Sivaswami Aiyar. The vote, in fact, is indicative of the disapproval with which every party in this country has come to view Mr. Montagu's policy in respect of Indian finance.

How Experts are made: In the course of his speech in the Legislative Assembly opposing the grant of 2 lakhs of rupees for Lord Lytton's Committee on Indian students in England, to visit India, Sir Sivaswami Iyer suggested that it would be better utilising time and money if it went to Germany, America and Japan to investigate what openings there were in the Universities for Indian students to pursue special courses of study. He went on to give an instance of how the interests of knowledge are sacrificed in the case of India to political partiality. Some years ago, when Sir Sivaswami was in the Government of Madras, he suggested the provision of a research endowment for the investigation of diabetes in India, and the bringing out of experts from Germany or Austria, even mentioning the name of one of the most famous of living experts on diabetes, Professor Carl Von Noorden. The Government insisted upon selecting a Beits scholar from Australia who informed them that he was going to Vienna to consult the same Professor Noorden and to take his advice and also to procure the necessary appliances and instruments! Apropos of the same tendency, is the following from the "Letters from Nobody" by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, Finance Member of the Government of India under Lords Minto and Hardinge.

A reputation voce is very easily acquired in India, A youth cribes from a German article on, say, the "beilicosity of blue butterflies," and writes a report thereon. He is at once dubbed the greatest authority on the subject in Delhi, later on in the Punjab; lastly he is pronounced to be the greatest authority on lepidoptera in India, "if not in the world," and no one dreams of questioning his claims to fame. Possibly he is promoted on the strength of them!

Taking Sir Sivaswami's and Sir Guy's examples together it will be no unfair inference to make that quite 50 per cent. of our Anglo-Indian experts are of this bogus type!

A New Non-Party Review: A new arrival in the journalistic world is the *Indian Review of Reviews* two issues of which have already made their appearance. It is conducted by one who has already made his mark in the field of journalism as an independent and impartial commentator on men and things in the columns of the *Karnataka* of Bangalore. The *Kar-*

nataka now ceases to exist by itself but is merged in the new monthly to serve, we trust, a greater purpose and a wider sphere of usefulness. While the cessation of the bi-weekly is a great loss to the public in the State and to people outside who found it a reliable and capable exponent of Mysore affairs, the new monthly, in Mr. Gundappa's hands, should prove a valuable addition to our periodical literature. In outlining its objects and policy, it is stated that it is run on the lines of the late Mr. W. T. Stead's *Review of Reviews*, a better model than which in respect of high standard of excellence and editorial independence, could not have been adopted. Its pages are devoted to politics, literature, education, economics and social and religious reforms; in short, to all things that contribute to the national regeneration of India. The *Review* while promising to perform its duty "without the least touch of partisan or sectional bias" and "seeking to represent with fairness all the different sides in a controversy," claims to have "a distinctive view-point of its own," independent of any political party. We welcome the growing tendency among Indian journals and periodicals to adopt a non-party policy. This is all to the good, although party people are naturally irritated when they find that an editor refuses to be tied down to this or that particular programme. An editor's duty, first, last and all the time, is to give his readers as impartial, informed and unbiassed a view of affairs on their merits as he is capable of, always putting the best construction possible on the views especially of those from whom he may differ.

Hindu Influence in the Philippines: The October number of Asia, "the American Magazine of the Orient," begins a series entitled "the Philippines before Magellan," by Professor H. Otley Beyer of the University of Philippines, the first of which deals with the Hindus in Malayan. There was from the 7th to the 12th century, a great Buddhist Empire whose capital was Sri Vishaya in South-eastern Sumatra and whose influence extended to the Philippines where colonies were established. This was conquered and incorporated in the greater Empire of Madjapahit which sprang from one of the ancient Brahmanical settlements in Java. Mr. Beyer summarising the general character of Hindu influence upon the Philippines, says that Indian culture made itself most strongly felt in the political, social, religious and aesthetic life of the populations among whom it spread. Economic influence seems to have been less important, except perhaps in metal-working and in the art of war, though modes of dress and of personal ornamentations were also greatly affected. The more cultured Philippine languages contain many Sanskrit words. Except recent European culture, sums up Mr. Beyer, the Indian influences are on the whole the most profound that have affected Philippine civilisation. It should be kept in mind, however, he adds, that these influences did not reach the Philippines directly from India, but came probably through Hindus or Hinduized Malays already long resident in Sumatra and Java.

The Fiscal Committee: The terms of reference and the names of the members of the Fiscal Committee have been published. The Committee is asked "to examine with reference to all the interests concerned, the tariff policy of the Government of India including the question, of desirability of adopting the principle of imperial preference, and to make recommendations." The members are: Sir Ibrahim Rahim-tulla, President, Mr. J. M. Keynes, Vice-President, Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar, Mr. Ganeshyandas Birla, Mr. J. C. Coyajee, Sir Manekjee Dadabhoy, Mr. Jambadas Dwarkadas, Sir Edgar Holberton, Mr. R. A. Mant, I.C.S., Mr. Narottam Morarji, Mr. C. W.

Rhodes and Sir M. De P. Webb. Mr. H. G. Haig, I.C.S. has been appointed Secretary to the Commission and E. F. Rogers as Assistant Secretary. The Commission will assemble at Bombay in the first half of November completing the taking of evidence probably early in March 1922. The phrase "with reference to all the interests concerned" in the reference, is a curious one. There can be no vested interests concerned in a country's fiscal policy. If vested interests are not meant, the phrase is superfluous as the Committee cannot obviously examine the fiscal policy without considering the interests affected by it. As for the composition of the Committee, we think that there should be more Indian members selected from a wider field. It is impossible to say till we have the report to what extent it would command public confidence.

Wireless Telegraphy: Wireless telegraphy as a spare-time pursuit is said to be rapidly gaining popularity in England. A couple of cigarette tins, insulated with paper, serves as a condenser. Wire wound round an empty whisky bottle has been used as an induction coil, with excellent results. The only parts which it is necessary to purchase are the telephones and thermion valves and one or two batteries. In one of the London County Council schools, we are told, the science master has had in operation for a year a receiving set made entirely by the pupils. The correspondent concludes by saying that there is no reason why every school in India should not have its wireless set. He does not seem to know that Indian Universities were forbidden during the war to give practical instruction in wireless telegraphy and the prohibition, so far as we know, has not been withdrawn! We think also that it is an offence for private persons, under some law or other, to use wireless appliances. No member of the Legislative Assembly or Council of State has thought fit to move in the matter, and Government, of course, is silent.

Punjab Vidhva Vivaha Sabha. The figures furnished to us regularly month by month of the remarriages of Hindu widows under the auspices of the Punjab Vidhva Vivaha Sabha, attest eloquently to the zeal and energy which the Secretary, Lala Lajpat Rai Sahani, is bringing to the humanitarian task of rehabilitating young Hindu widows in the married state. The institution, as our readers are aware, owes its existence to the munificence of Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram C. I. E. who is unsparing in his generosity to get as many Hindu widows remarried as possible in his life-time. The Sabha is willing and, indeed, anxious to extend its services to ever part of India. The zeal of its founder and its Secretary in the great cause they have undertaken, knows no provincial, caste or language boundaries. We draw attention to the advertisement for a Lady Superintendent for Home published elsewhere.

Mysore Communal Controversy: Dewan Sir Kantaraj Urs made clear, what was rather obscure in the original orders, that there is to be no lowering of qualifications for public appointments in case of non Brahmin candidates and that equal qualifications will be insisted upon for all classes. After this explanation, we hope, the Dewan's earnest and sincere appeal to all parties to join together in a spirit, of comradeship to advance the interests of the State will meet with a ready response. We would, especially, emphasise the Dewan's appeal to the press in Mysore to avoid communal acerbity in dealing with public questions. If newspapers regard it as a point of honour, not to raise communal issues on public questions, we shall see the end of all such antagonisms at an early date.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 16, 1921.

INDEPENDENCE AND DOMINION STATUS.

Our much respected friend, Mr. C. F. Andrews, has again contributed a series of articles to the Indian Press in which he declares it to be his conviction that India's political objective should be independence and that she has no future within the British Commonwealth of nations. His arguments need not be recapitulated as they are pretty much the same as those familiarised by Mr. Stokes' pamphlets and Mr. Andrews' own previous articles on the subject. When about a year ago Mr. Andrews gave expression to similar views, we desired to know whether he meant that independence should be the immediate aim or whether it was to be the ultimate goal. He was good enough to inform us that he did not mean that it should be India's immediate aim and that he would take an early opportunity of making this clear to the public. We are not aware that Mr. Andrews did so, and his present articles seem to show that he means now that independence should be a near, if not the immediate, aim of Indian politics. We can write with some detachment on this question because when Colonial self-Government was first adopted as our political goal after the Surat Congress, we pointed out the incongruity of a country of 300 million people unconnected by race and religion with Great Britain aspiring to be a colony of that country with a population of less than fifty millions. The very idea seemed to us on a par with that of a woman, say, thirty years of age, adopting an octogenarian for her daughter. Mr. Gokhale's answer was that the other party having adopted absolute Swaraj as its objective, the Moderates too had to place some goal before the country and this was the only one that could be thought of. Colonial self-Government of 1908, however, was a very different thing from the Dominion Government of 1921 when Australia sends her own direct representative to the Washington Conference without saying so much as "by your leave" to the British Government. For a fuller understanding of what Dominion Government has come to mean at the present day, we refer our readers to an article in the *Reformer* of May 22, 1921. Dominion Government now means the fullest self-control over the national and international life of a dominion plus the goodwill, to be translated if necessary into good offices, of the British Commonwealth of nations. Mr. Andrews' objective is thus something less and not more than the Swaraj within the British Commonwealth, which is now the accepted policy of Indian constitutional reform. No responsible Indian statesman can hesitate for a moment to choose between virtual independence with the advantage of the connection with the British Commonwealth, and theoretical independence without it and, perhaps, in antagonism to it.

Mr. Andrews points to the position of Indians in the self-governing dominions and the attitude of the Anglo-Saxon and white races generally towards the coloured races, as the conclusive proof that India cannot grow to her full height within the British Commonwealth. The social and political history of India, however, makes us think that he is hasty in his conclusions. India in the past asserted her right of self-development by assimilating many foreign elements quite as alien originally to her as the British. Even in the case of the Mahomedan conquest India, after a prolonged struggle, ultimately resumed the course of her age-long national evolution. As we have said before, the momentum of three thousand years of a history inspired by a single spiritual ideal, cannot be thwarted by any less deep-rooted and less spiritual force. Further, notwithstanding serious differences of castes and sects in India itself, we have never let go our faith that there is such a thing as Indian unity. The British Indian problem differs from the problems which India has successfully solved in the past and is engaged in solving at the present only in degree. Indians who take this view are not necessarily wanting in faith or imagination. The practical issue raised by Mr. Andrews is: Whether Indians should concentrate their efforts on the pressing problems of internal consolidation, or whether they should leave these problems alone for the present and concentrate on the overthrow or annulment of the British connection. Purely as a matter of practical politics, we think that the first is the more urgent task of Indian statesmanship. Political speculation based on analogies and metaphors can never provide the basis of national policy. The vision of resuscitation of the legendary rural India as soon as the British connection is withdrawn, is unfortunately out of focus with things as they are and have been for many centuries past. Freedom, Mr. Andrews says, rests ultimately in the mind, but immediately it is very much a question of objective realities. It may be that our imagination is rather stunted, but we fail to see how India is to be secured from foreign invasion if she becomes independent immediately. Mr. Andrews forestalls any such question by saying that he leaves to the men of action to settle whether Indian independence is really practicable. We do not see any gain to public life by offering as a goal something the practicability of which is to be tested by men of action. Men of action can only act where the thinker and the statesman show the way, and we should be much surprised if many of the latter class who are acquainted with international politics at the present day, will agree with Mr. Andrews. Our own view is that dominion Swaraj within the British Commonwealth is a sufficient and practical object of Indian aspiration in the present world conditions.

When a high-minded Englishman like Mr. Andrews says that independence is the only true goal for India, it seems craven for an Indian publicist to maintain that not that but evolution within the British connection is the right policy for her. It looks much like hugging the chains to which one has become

inned. Nevertheless we feel it our duty to point out that Mr. Andrews' prescription will not prove the remedy that the country needs for her many ailments. His and Mr. Stokes' conviction is the outcome, first, of their sorrow for the falling-away from Christ's ideal exhibited in the establishment and maintenance of British rule in this country, and, next, of their indignation at the treatment of Indians in the self-governing British colonies. Very questionable methods have undoubtedly been employed, but we look around and we do not see any great nation of which the same may not be said. Even the United States of America are not without their evil heritage of Red Indian extermination and Negro oppression. In our own country, we have the untouchable classes and other dark spots of social life. Moral principles are, of course, supreme but the fact remains that no nation has a record which will stand the test of strict moral scrutiny. It is not because statesmen have no morality but because statesmen realise that the interests of morality are best served by pursuing the course of gradual improvement upon, in preference to a violent wrench from, an existing order of things, that they have often to incur the charge of want of patriotism for resisting revolutionary counsels. India has large arrears of social and national consolidation work to achieve, which she can only do in the security from foreign invasion which British rule ensures for her and which it alone can ensure for her in the present world conditions. True, she has had to pay a heavy price for this service and she is entitled to ask as she is asking that she should be treated as an equal partner in the Empire. This claim has been theoretically admitted and its practical acceptance is to a large extent becoming independent of the choice of any British party or Government. Even as a student and thinker, Mr. Andrews should indicate to what sources India may look for security from foreign invasion until she is able to put her own house in order, when she has broken away or has been allowed to secede from the British connection. No country has achieved independence under such conditions without foreign help. The United States were helped by France, Italy was helped alternately by England, France and Germany, Greece was helped by England, France and Russia. The practical question for Indian politicians is whether India stands to gain most in the shortest time by working steadily for Dominion government in the British comity of nations or by inaugurating a campaign against Great Britain in India and in foreign countries. The only other alternative is that Britain should voluntarily grant independence to India and then watch over her until such time as she is able to complete her organisation for internal peace and external defence. We can not see in what essential respect this differs from Dominion self-government. In either case, there would obviously be restrictions on the international position of India.

THE DHARWAR CASE.

On the first of July last there was a collision between the police and a crowd at Dharwar resulting in three of the latter being killed and thirty-nine

being wounded by the police firing. On the thirty-first of the same month the Working Committee of the Congress appointed a sub-committee to enquire into the circumstances connected with the firing by the police, consisting of Messrs. Abbas Tyabji, Setlur and Niyogi. The sub-committee had finished its report some days ago, but it was not published pending the conclusion of the prosecution of a number of persons alleged to have been concerned in the disorders. The Sessions Court pronounced judgment on the 8th instant convicting all but four of the accused persons and sentencing them to various terms of imprisonment. We have now before us the Congress sub-committee's report and the summaries of the proceedings in the Sessions Judge's Court as also of his judgment as reported in the daily papers. It may be added that the accused, although all of them were not non-co-operators, thought it fit to abstain from calling witnesses for the defence and from cross-examining those for the prosecution, alleging want of confidence in the authorities of Dharwar district. This, however, did not prevent some of them from making before the Court lengthy general statements repudiating the charge and making allegations against the Police and others. This was the worst line that persons in the position of the accused could have taken. If they had maintained an imperturbable silence throughout the proceedings against them, they would have impressed the public by their resolution. But to profess to abstain from participating in the proceedings and to indulge in long harangues prompted by impulse or inclination at the last moment, converts what was meant to be the solemn tragedy of innocence going uncomplainingly to the stake into a melo-dramatic performance of no serious significance.

The Congress Committee's report opens with an account of the position in Dharwar when the incident occurred. There was acute dissension between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, mostly Lingayats. The Mohamedans sided with the Brahmins from whom the Non-Co-operation and Khilafat movements derive many non-Mohamedan supporters in Dharwar. It is further alleged that owing to the actively hostile attitude of the Collector of the District towards Non-Co-operation and picketing near liquor shops, the relation between the executive authorities and the Non-Co-operation leaders was one of acute antagonism. This general review of the situation is intended to support the sub-committee's conclusion which is, in effect, that there was no disturbance of a kind to justify the firing resorted to and that it was chiefly due to Mr. Shivalingappa, the local sub-inspector of police, who as a Lingayat was actuated by hatred of Brahmins and as an executive officer by antagonism to the Khilafat and Non-Co-operation Movements. The sub-committee base their conclusion regarding the wantonness of Mr. Shivalingappa's action on the fact that only a small number of the crowd before the liquor shop, which was the centre of the disturbance, was actively hostile and that the larger part of the crowd consisted only of passive spectators. This argument ignores crowd psychology. A larger crowd will not

lock on passively on the demonstrations of a smaller crowd unless those demonstrations are in the line of its own sympathies. It will either turn away in disgust from or intervene actively to stop such demonstrations. If it does neither, its passive attitude is likely not only to operate as an incentive to the smaller crowd by providing it with a gallery to play to, but may, under a sudden stress of emotion, be transformed into the thing it looks on. All the arguments in the sub-committee's report, however, are not of this character. The discrepancies pointed out by it in respect of time, the damage done at the liquor shop, and other incidents, are serious enough to merit consideration. The fact that one of the accused persons was detained for over twenty days under arrest, bail being refused on the ground that there were seventeen witnesses to prove his presence in the crowd, and had to be discharged later because the Police report from another town mentioned him as having attended a function there at the time of the Dharwar disturbance, shows that the police in making the arrests were not strictly swayed by considerations relevant to the disturbance. The casual manner in which the Judge dismisses this point does not add to the weight of his judgment.

While we cannot agree with the Congress sub-committee that Sub-Inspector Shivalingappa got up the whole gruesome affair out of his Lingayat hatred of Brahmins and his opposition to the Khilafat and non-co-operation movements, we are forced, from his own evidence, to the conclusion that he lost his head from fear of encountering at the hands of the mob a fate similar to that of the Sub-Inspector at Malegaon. When once fear for his own life entered into his estimate of the situation, it might have been reinforced by his other prejudices. This view is entirely compatible with and is indeed borne out by the following passage in the Session Court's judgment :

It is not even suggested that there was any violence on the part of the police before the arrival of Shivalingappa, but on the contrary it is in evidence that they did all they could to persuade the mob to disperse, and though stones were thrown at them not a single witness mentions any act of retaliation on their part. The evidence shows that after Shivalingappa's arrival, there was an outburst of fury and the shouts of the mob and the references to Malegaon, showed clearly that a murderous assault was contemplated and this was followed by an attack on the police with stones and tiles which resulted in one constable being knocked down unconscious and others receiving injuries.

It was the shouts about Malegaon that unnerved Shivalingappa. The Congress Commissioners totally disbelieve the allegation that there were shouts of Malegaon but they give no reasons for their disbelief except that if the crowd had intended to do harm to Shivalingappa, it had enough time and opportunity to do it in before the firing commenced. This again betrays ignorance of crowd psychology. An excited crowd is like a child going into a dark room. Its bravado shouts are meant to conceal its own fear. If the crowd really wanted to do harm, it would not have shouted—it would have done it. The

shouts really meant that the crowd wanted to give Shivalingappa a severe fright without doing him any serious injury. The judgment on the whole leaves behind an uneasy feeling that all the persons convicted might not have been guilty of the offence charged against them. In paying a tribute to the forbearance of the Police, the Judge ignores his own estimate of the situation before and after the Sub-Inspector's arrival. The Judge himself does not seem to be quite sure of his own ground. The attitude of the accused during the trial can only be described as perverse but that does not make any difference to the validity of the principle that no one should be punished for an offence of which he is not proved indubitably to be guilty. We take it that in the vagueness surrounding this incident, Government will, as a matter of course, appoint an independent committee to investigate the circumstances in which firing was repeatedly ordered.

THE CASTE SYSTEM.*

I

(BY MR. T. RUTHNAM.)

This is one of the difficult and most important problems the country has yet to solve. It has engaged my attention for over ten years and in my investigations to trace its origin, I followed the methods of the average social reformer and sometimes the Western denouncer, studying the scant literature and history on the subject, and in consequence my conclusions never much differed hitherto from either. All of us invariably traced its origin to the conceited Aryan intruder and got no further. The most plausible and reasonable theory we have been able to deduce from history, legends and tradition is that the Aryans having assumed a monopoly of all the learned pursuits insinuated themselves into the community as dictators and inculcated the caste system with that of religion, obtaining a static condition of social and commercial solidarity. This theory and like theories may be true to some extent, but do not cover the whole ground of the origin of caste and therefore, our attempts to break the system without reckoning the stratum the foundation is built upon, are like treating a patient for cough and fever while the case is one of consumption. In the following lines I will endeavour to state as clearly as possible what the stratum is on which the caste system is built, and also the only possibility of unbuilding it.

To the student of history the caste is not a system confined to India only, but existed in all other parts of the globe in some form or other. Especially in most European countries the divided labour was a hereditary profession, handed from father to son. Palgrave says that the colleges of operatives which, inscriptions prove to have existed in Britain during the Roman period, were practically castes because by the Theodosian Code the son was compelled to follow the father's employment and marriage into a family involved adoption of the family employment. In contrast

* A paper read at the Y. M. C. A., City Branch, Poona.

with the English, true castes were existing in Military Association (Genossenschaften) in early German history which arose from the older classes of *Dietmannen* in which every member, page, squire or knight had to prove his knightly descent. Castes were also existing in France, Portugal, Spain and Rome. Fortunately the European caste system was without the "untouchability" clause as it were, and that made all the difference between India and Europe. The Aryans who divided themselves between the East and the West were of one great family and this system appears peculiar to the race as the only method of dividing labour for the good of the community at one time, but their modes of life, habits and thinking widely differed from the philosophies they evolved for themselves under widely different environments and conditions of life. The Western Aryan subsisted on flesh in the absence of discovered vegetable food and evolved for himself a theory eliminating the soul in other animals, thus justifying his "struggle for existence", and he still struggles for a luxurious existence. This theory made his conscience easy for all time and his ethical relations are not extended beyond the bounds of his own species. His civilization, sympathy and the humanitarian law of sacredness of life are not, therefore, altruistic. A murderer in European community is a villain, looked down upon as an untouchable reptile. No person knowing one as a murderer would ever consent to associate or enter into matrimonial relations with such a one. So much for the Aryan of Europe for the present. Now we see his brother entering India, a land of perpetual sunshine. He finds himself in a totally different atmosphere, accommodates himself to the new conditions of life, the mixed diet of abundant vegetable and scant animal food of the original inhabitants and evolves a philosophy in conformity with more visible nature and hospitable environments.

For a considerable period there appears to have been no such caste except that corresponding to the "Noble, Squire and Page", of Europe, for, otherwise, the matrimonial alliances with the original inhabitants could not have been possible as had been the case. We can therefore, safely infer that the inserting of the "untouchability" clause was a special measure of a later period warranted by some very extraordinary issue which made all the difference we are trying to adjust. Proceeding on this inference, we discover that the civilization of the Indian grew superior under a benevolent nature and hospitable environments while the state of his European brother on the other side, still continued chaotic and savage. We, therefore, find the Indian first in the field to explore the constitution of human nature and the nature of the human mind with their relations to the external world, seeking to know the ultimate grounds of being or what is that which really exists, a research covering almost the whole of psychology and ontology. We know psychology is the science of the human mind, so also ontology seeks to explain the nature of all things or existence treating of whatever does or can exist. Both these sciences are called metaphysics in the English terminology and are comprehensible to

us in *Tatva Gama*. This is what is known to the world as the culture of the East with regard to which Mr. Bach, M.A., the learned author of "The Spirit of Ancient Hindu Culture" says "A Hindu will place metaphysics first and ethics afterwards. Moral life, therefore, is only an episode in the career of the soul. It is a mediocre life after all. It is merely earthly perfection, it has nothing of Heaven in it. It is dull, life-less and unelevating; the spark of spirituality of higher illumination of philosophic thought is necessary to convert dross into gold.... The philosophical concepts like Karma, Maya, Moksha, Atman, are more prominent in Hindu thought than purely ethical concepts. It is for the East to put soul everywhere to inspire the right mental psychosis. The East looked inwards and emphasized the need of obtaining mastery over self and developing the soul powers of man." This was exactly the case with the ancient philosopher, and that is Indian culture which recognised an immortal soul in all animals including man; and it is perhaps from this time onwards that the Indian philosopher declared killing non-human beings amounted to murder, refused to eat flesh, took to vegetarian diet and constructed his ethical relations on more liberal basis. The observance of all animal life as sacred does not seem to have been confined to the philosopher alone, but on the other hand, it has been made universal, as a religion, under the theory of transmigration of souls—*Punar Janma*. If all the people had followed the philosopher implicitly in this new theory, there could have been no necessity to bring untouchability in, but apparently the Kshatriyas having become sufficiently powerful as a fighting and ruling class appear to have refused to desist from hunting and abstaining from eating flesh and thus rendered themselves contemptible in the estimation of the philosopher.

FORCIBLE CONVERSIONS IN MALABAR.

I

Mr. Devdhar writes from Calcutt:

I would like to make one point clear about which we all on that side are more or less in the dark and that is with regard to the question of re-admitting in the Hindu Caste again those who are perforce converted to Islam. It must be noted in the first place that the Nambudiris and the Nayars of Malabar do not recognise the religious authority of the Sankaracharya. The only authority they recognise in this matter is that of the Vaidhyans or Vaidikans, who really are the religious heads in these parts. The sanctions which the Sankaracharya are announcing in regard to the readmission into their caste of persons converted to Islamism may go to help these people partially by creating public opinion in its favour but will certainly not count for anything substantial; and I am glad to say that a Vaidyan with whom I had a talk is prepared to support re-admission on the part of a converted person provided the necessary expiation ceremony is undergone.

But this is really a small matter, because the Mopla, fanatic and rash as he is, will never tolerate the existence of a man or a woman who, even though forced, had accepted Islamism, if he or she propose to go back to his or her old faith. To kill such a person is, therefore, in his eyes the

most glorious and meritorious act, even more than that of converting a kaffir, that is to say a non-moalem, to Islam. This changes the whole aspect of the case. Unless, therefore, the converted person, anxious to be readmitted into the original caste, leaves his place and removes to quite another place and does not too much advertise his or her going back again to Hinduism, he or she would not think it safe to go back to the old religion. Therefore, it is no use advocating re-admission of the converted during these troublous times without extorting entirely those people from their present surroundings. It is no doubt a very sad and unfortunate position in which the forcefully converted find themselves in, but for some time at least there is no help but to wait. Mr. Thomas, the Collector, who was speaking to me very feelingly about this point, asked me to be very clear in my mind and also to make it clear to our friends outside regarding the position of the converted Hindu at the present moment. But pressure of work prevents me from doing it at this moment. More in my next and when we meet.

II

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I find in all the correspondence and even the editorials published so far in your esteemed paper *re* the re-conversion of the 'forcibly converted' one important principle is completely lost sight of. None the less the principle is as important as it is obvious, only it would seem the principle would not become readily apparent to many, until the Mahatma in a manner so like him drew attention to it in one of his Madras speeches. It might be put like this: 'Forcible Conversion' is no conversion, at any rate in this enlightened age when it would seem that the definition of religion as a matter of the personal conscience is well nigh universally accepted. *Ergo* there could be no question of the reconversion of the 'forcibly converted.' For so long as the forcibly converted have not themselves voluntarily come to believe in the creed of their 'converters,' they are as good as their unconverted brother of the native fold.—Now while it is significant as a sign of the progressive nature of Islam that Mussalman divines and leaders should have come forward and declared the so-called converts made by the Mopla fanatics to be inadmissible into Islam with its motto, "There is no compulsion in religion," the leaders amongst the Hindus including even the recognised custodians of their ancient faith (like the Sankaracharya Dr. Kurtkoti) have so far owned up by their actions their inability to shake off their heritage of hide-bound prejudice, for they talk of *prayaschitta* ritual and monetary expenses therefor, even quoting chapter and verse from some effete old Smriti, Purana or the like. I would have no objection to these tactics provided they were avowedly meant as a concession (but only temporary) to unreasoning and suicidally conservative orthodoxy, but the pity of it is that our ecclesiastical dignitaries and their secular advisers should together be blind to the truism that there can be no *prayaschitta* to talk of—much less needed—for a 'sin' for which one is neither voluntarily nor morally responsible.

Yours etc.,
S.M.S.E.

Karwar, 8th Oct.

HYDERABAD SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

The Secretaries of the Reception Committee, Hyderabad Social Conference write:—

At a meeting held on the 7th October 1921, the Reception Committee, Hyderabad Social Conference, resolved to hold the fourth sessions of the Conference at Hyderabad (Dn) on the 11th and 12th November 1921. Members of the Reception

Committee and Delegates shall pay Rs. 3 and Rs. 1, respectively. Delegates and visitors attending the Conference from the outside will be provided with board and lodging on payment of Rs. 2 only per diem. Persons interested in the cause of social reform are cordially invited to attend the Conference. All communications should be addressed to the secretaries.

BOMBAY BOY SCOUTS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

We the undersigned respectfully bring to your notice the appeal for funds made by His Excellency the Governor as Chief Scout of this Presidency in aid of the Boy Scouts Association organised in India. The aim of the Boy Scouts Association is to help Indian Boys irrespective of race, creed or caste to become good citizens of their Motherland and of the Empire, reverencing God, living as loyal subjects of the Imperial Crown, subordinating personal interests to the needs of the Country and of the Empire; to form their character by training in them habits of observation, obedience and self-reliance; to teach them services useful to the public and handicrafts useful to themselves and promote their physical development and health. His Excellency the Governor wishes to invite your hearty support and co-operation in the raising of a sum of money which will be worthy not only of a splendid cause but also of this important and influential presidency. It would be interesting for you to know that the Executive Committee which was appointed to carry out the work of organising Boy Scouts have already sent six Indians to England for thorough training under the care of Mr. A.C. Miller the organising Provincial Commissioner. On their return they will be placed in charge of a camp for training Scoutmasters, the yearly cost of which will be over Rs. 20,000. A central Library for Scout Literature, a Headquarters building and Central equipment store and a Scout Magazine are other necessary items of expenditure. Moreover, poor boys must be helped financially in order that they may receive the same benefit as their more fortunate brothers. It is hardly necessary to inform you that H. R. H. the Prince of Wales who takes a special interest in the Boy Scouts is shortly to visit India. One of the items in the programme of his tour in this Presidency is to afford him an opportunity to see for himself the progress of the Indian Boy Scouts movement. In order to achieve the desired object it is necessary to get subscriptions at an early date and the undersigned would be very grateful to you if you would extend your generous hand and send a handsome donation for this cause which the Indians have all at heart.

Yours faithfully,
Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla.
For self & others.

MOKSHA IN THE KURAL.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

Immediately on seeing your editorial note regarding "the view about the omission of Moksha in the Kural" which I controverted in my letter of 26th July 1921, published in the *Indian Social Reformer* of July 31, I wrote to the veteran Tamil Pandit Mahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha Ayyar Averal, referring the point to him and requesting a lucid reply, which I promptly received this morning in Tamil, of which I give you the purport in English.

"Though *mukti* (Moksha Freedom) is not separately treated in Tirukkural, its sadanes are treated in "Tiravarral-Iyal" and farther, the subject is one which really transcends mind and speech and so incapable of being done justice to by lay mind and in words. Hence its omission is proper in principle, is the opinion held by Great Souls. The commentator's opinion as well as mine agree in this with the above view. Of *Mukti* it is said: "Those who have seen (realised) have not spoken of it (because unspeakable); and those who have spoken of it have certainly not found it (i. e. realised it truly)." This is the saying of great men. That Moksha-Vidya is a sacred preserve for Brahmins is not the commonly accepted view will be clear from Vyasa Bharata and other ancient works of authority. And that is the truth is borne out by Perim-hachagar, the great commentator of Tirukkural: *vide Uraip-payiram* of his commentary."

This is the view of those who are competent to speak on the subject from an intimate and accurate as well as acceptable knowledge of the same.

Lalitalaya,
Mylapore, Madras. }

C. V. S. AIVAR.

INDIAN UNITY.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

It had been a matter of great consideration to me as how to bring about unity between the Hindus and non-Hindus. I have come to the conclusion that the best way to bring this about is just allowing other religionists free scope to become Hindus without any religious instruction. It is an advice to our brother Sanatan Dharmist to allow a free ingress to the Mahomedans and other religionists of India to become Hindus. There can be no better way of securing unity between one religionist and another.

The demand for unity between several sets of religionists is being deeply felt in India. Nothing is achievable unless this be brought about. If one religion wants to do a thing the other is a trammel to the first and thus disables it from doing what it desires to achieve.

There is no loss to a Sanatan Dharmist if he allows, by performing certain ceremonies, a non-Hindu to become a Hindu. This is a great reform that the present condition of India wants. It is not against Manu's orders and mandates, but it is quite in harmony with the latitude which he gives to a Hindu to make changes in the law whenever expedient.

Towards this direction certain efforts have been made, for example this was before the mind of Dayanand Saraswati when he brought about the passing of the rule that Hindus may freely admit Mussalmans, Christians and other religionists to come into the fold of Hinduism. In my opinion, a pious Sanatan Dharmist though I am, no more substantial work has been done than what Dayanand has done in this direction. May his life have bliss and eternal bliss!

One should unavoidably think and try to think as to what is the cause of unity between several religionists in Japan. They live quite in harmony with each other although they belong to different religions. What reason will you assign to this? The answer is quite obvious. It is that, circumstanced by time the Buddhist law of religion arising in its infancy from India herself, allows that a Mussalman, a Christian or other religionist can adopt Buddhist religion at any time he likes. It is by the unity produced from this circumstance that every thing is capable of being performed by them in union. Remove this law from their country and you will

see that the condition of Japan deteriorates to what is the present condition of India.

It is on these reasons that the writer wants every Hindu to just allow with an open mind every non-Hindu to become a Hindu without any restriction whatsoever.

BAI BHUBARI SINGH C. A.

SLAUGHTER-HOUSE HORRORS!

APPEAL TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

I beg to draw your attention to the sad fact that, as editorially stated in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 26th July, poor animals are cruelly killed in the Bandra slaughter house.

When the slaughter-house of even far-advanced Bombay is a "horrid torture house," and "the scandal of the Bandra slaughter house continues unabated" to such an extent that "many Europeans in Bombay, who have come to hear of the administration, are becoming vegetarians," how much worse things must there be in hundreds of slaughter-houses (*Hells upon Earth*) in small towns and villages?

I pray that Christian Missionaries in India may kindly realise the above fact, may become vegetarians, may preach to the people the physical as well as spiritual advantages of the vegetarian diet, and thereby earn a multitude of blessings.

Vegetarian literature may be had from the Secretary, Bombay Humanitarian League, 309, Shroff Bazar, Bombay.

Yours respectfully,
LABHSHANKAR LAKSHIDAS.

THE NEXT INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, AHMEDABAD.

CLASSES AND RATES FOR VISITORS' TICKETS.

The number of visitors' seats has been limited to 8000; the classes and rates decided by the Reception Committee are as follows:—

First Class...Rs. 5000	Fifth Class...Rs. 50	for persons having domicile in Gujarat.
Second Class...Rs. 1000		
Third Class...Rs. 500	"...Rs. 25	for persons not having domicile in Gujarat.
Fourth Class...Rs. 100		

Indian States in Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar are included in the Province of Gujarat. Rates of fees for lady visitors are the same as above; but separate seating arrangements will be made for them.

The rates of fees for joining the Reception Committee are as under:—

(1) For a person having domicile in Gujarat—Rs. 25 if he is a member of any Congress organization in Gujarat. Rs. 50 if he is not such a member.

(2) For a person not having domicile in Gujarat—Rs. 100. Applications for registering for visitors' tickets or for Reception Committee membership forms should be made to the "General Secretary, 26th Indian National Congress, Ahmedabad". Applicants should send postal stamps for reply.

Office of the Reception Committee,
26th Indian National Congress,
Ahmedabad.

G. V. MAVALANKAR,
Hon. General Secretary.

INDIA AND THE KHILAFAT.

The Khilafat question is as much outside Indian politics as the question of the secular power of the Grand Lama or the Pope. We have both Buddhists and Roman Catholics amongst our countrymen. They are as good Indians as the Mussalmans or the Hindus. Indian nationalism is concerned with them as citizens of India, not as members of any creedal brotherhood which may be within her borders or extend beyond them. True, when any section of the national body is injured, the whole is injured. But it must be remembered that injury must be found directed against the Indian citizenship, not the membership of a church universal. The absurdity of the claim put forward will be evident if we imagine a political situation created by the armed hostility of the Khalifs, the Grand Lama and the Pope, one against another. Not an unthinkable situation altogether. With whom will then the Indian Swaraj side, the Moslems, the Buddhists or the Catholics? With all our sympathy for the Turks, and condemnation for the breach of pledges to the Indian Mussalmans by the British ministers, we are against dragging Indian nationalism to the level of religious antagonism. The Khilafat question may now be a good stick to beat the Britisher with but there is no knowing that it may not in time prove the *Afushal* to Indian nationalism.

The Indian Messenger. (Calcutta.)

ULLAL RAGHUNATHAIYA MEMORIAL FUND.

AN APPEAL.

In memory of the late revered Ullal Raghunathaiya, it was resolved at the general meeting held in the Brahma Samaj Mandir, Mangalore, on 14th August 1921 to open a public library and reading room just adjacent to the premises of the local Brahma Mandir in commemoration of the valuable services rendered by him in the cause of the Mangalore Brahma Samaj, reforms and the Mangalore Depressed Class mission and silent charities. The cost of the building has been estimated at Rs. 8,000. It is earnestly requested that the friends and sympathisers of the movement will contribute generously to the fund.

G. KRISHNA RAO.

Mangalore,
28rd September 1921. Honorary Secretary to the Fund.

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H. P. STRINGFELLOW,

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A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

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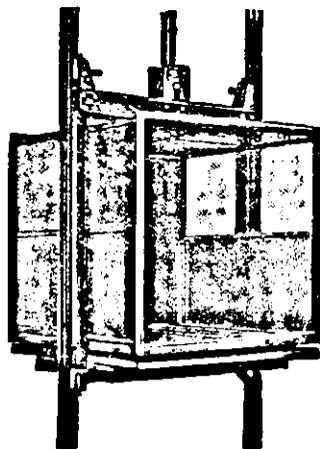
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Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0. (Foreign) one pound sterling.

Vol. XXXII.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1921.

No. 8

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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Lord Lawrence's Statue.	The Poet's Protest.
The Corporation and the Prince's Visit.	The Dharwar Case.
Some Indian Publications.	Right of Secession of the Dominions.
The Labour Gazette.	The Caste System.
The Malabar Relief Fund.	London Letter.
	The Malabar Relief Fund.

NOTES.

Lord Lawrence's Statue: At a meeting of the Lahore Municipal Council held on the 8th instant, Mr. Santanam moved that the statue of Lord Lawrence should be removed from its present site in that city. He said, according to the report in the *Tribune* of the 11th instant,

That the proposal to remove that statue did not imply any disrespect to Lord Lawrence's memory, but was meant to protect their own honour. The speaker had nothing against the character of Lord Lawrence. Their objection was to the inscription underneath the statue which said:—"Will you be governed by the pen or the sword." These words were offensive; and the statue, therefore, ought not to be allowed to remain at a prominent public place.

Another member, in supporting the motion observed:

That words inscribed on the statue were extremely offensive and wounded the self-respect of every Indian. The form of the statue was no less offensive, in that Lord Lawrence had a sword in one hand and a pen in another. Such a statue could not be allowed to remain at any public place.

We are surprised that it does not seem to have occurred to any of the members that the offensive element in the statue could be easily expunged by having the inscription effaced and by inscribing in its place some motto, more appropriate to Lord Lawrence's real disposition than the ridiculous Swash-buckling on the statue, such as "Not the sword but the pen". Lord Lawrence was a great and good Viceroy and nobody had less faith in the sword as an instrument of government than he. We earnestly hope that the question will be settled satisfactorily in the way which we have ventured to suggest.

The Corporation and the Prince's Visit: We are glad that the Government of Bombay have rectified the omission to include the President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation among the high officials to be presented to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on his landing in Bombay. It is explained that the omission was due to the general

rule that the President should be with his colleagues of the Municipal Corporation in the place allotted to that body, but His Excellency recognises that there are occasions when it is necessary to mark the importance of the City of Bombay by giving to the President of its Municipal Corporation a position of special and marked consideration, and, therefore, on the occasion of the arrival and departure of His Royal Highness, the President will be invited to be one of the small group of the highest officials to be presented to His Royal Highness by His Excellency immediately after his arrival.

Some Indian Publications: We have received from Messrs. Ganesh & Co. four books, *Bharata Shakti* by Sir John Woodroffe, *The Secret of Asia* by Prof. T. L. Vaswani, 'To the Nations' by Paul Richard and 'Drink and Opium Evil' by C. F. Andrews. 'Bharata Shakti' and 'To the Nations' are only revised editions. The new edition of *Bharata Shakti* has gained by a new chapter, "Postscript" from the pen of Sir John. He says while condemning the excess of legalism, "if as much energy were spent on sanitation and general betterment as is expended on law, the country would not only be free of much of its suffering, but many of its people would be less poverty-stricken." He also speaks highly of the herbal and other remedies and says, "one of the things I most regret is the neglect of Ayurvedic teaching, and the loss of valuable remedies."

The Labour Gazette: The first issue of the *Labour Gazette*, a monthly published by the Labour Office, Bombay, contains a foreword by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, in which the aim and function of that Department are defined. "The new Labour Office has been engaged now for several months past upon an energetic investigation of the economic situation in Bombay and upon the preparation of statistics set forth in simple form enabling not only employers and employed but the press and the public to take a better-informed interest in labour problems and to render them less dependent upon the catch words of the crowd or the well-meaning sentimentalities of mere idealists. The aim of Government then by means of Labour office will be to develop this field of investigations until it can furnish up to date and accurate information regarding the realities of the labour world."

The Malabar Relief Fund: We print to-day the proceedings of the preliminary meeting convened by Mr. Devdhar on Thursday to form a Committee to organise a fund for the relief of distressed persons in the parts of the Malabar district affected by the Mopla rebellion. The movement is entirely non-political and non-sectarian, and relief will be given to all sufferers irrespective of sect or creed. We wish the movement every success.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 23, 1921.

THE POET'S PROTEST.

Rabindranath Tagore's searching criticism of the Gandhi cult in the current number of the *Modern Review* has stung the Mahatma to the quick. His reply to the Poet in *Young India* departs noticeably from the general level of his writings, in tone and temper. There can be no doubt that the Mahatma would have much liked to have the Poet's support, and that he is much pained to have him so uncompromisingly opposed to his methods. The opposition of the Poet is the more disconcerting because it is combined with a deep appreciation of the Mahatma's greatness as a man. Says the Poet:

Mahatma Gandhi came and stood at the cottage door of the destitute millions, clad as one of themselves, and talking to them in their own language. Here was the truth at last, not a mere quotation out of a book. So the name of Mahatma, which was given to him, is his true name. Who else has felt so many men of India to be his own flesh and blood?

The Mahatma has given the country the vision of a new truth—sacrifice not for saving our souls hereafter but for advancing a whole people here and now. But for the task of translating this vision into the various moulds of practical, everyday life, other qualifications are needed than those that he possesses in such abundant measure. Says the Poet:

The science and art of building up *Swaraj* is a vast subject. Its pathways are difficult and take time. For this task, aspiration and emotion must be there, but no less must study and thought be there likewise. For it, the economist must think, the mechanic must labour, the educationist and statesman must teach and contrive. In a word, the mind of the country must exert itself in all directions. Above all, the spirit of Inquiry must be kept intact and untrammelled, its mind not made timid or inactive by compulsion, open or secret.

The Poet is hard on the political literalists who think of "utilising the Mahatma as a secret and more ingenious move in their political gamble." He illustrates the short-sightedness of these men by a striking parable. It is foolish, he says, to whip the political horse into a gallop when the carriage it is drawing behind is of a ramshackle description. He observes:

For such a thing as is our country—a mere collection of jointed logs, that not only have no wholeness amongst themselves but are contrary to one another,—for this, to be dragged along a few paces by the temporary pull of some common greed or anger, can never be called by the name of political progress. Therefore, is it not, in our case, wiser to keep for the moment our horse in the stable and begin to manufacture a real carriage?

We cannot keep the horse in the stable altogether, it must be taken out and given sufficient exercise every day. But the carriage undoubtedly requires to be strongly put together before we can trust it to take us to our destination with reasonable safety. Our ultra-political friends seem to think that if you drive the political horse down a steep road at a break-neck pace, the *Swaraj* carriage will without any

further effort upon our part evolve itself behind it. They, indeed, hold that that is the only way of building up *Swaraj*.

The Poet's condemnation of the gospel of blind obedience to the Mahatma, as the shortest route to *Swaraj* is as scathing as it is just. He likens it to the faqir with his gold-making trick. The goal is kept purposely vague to enhance the fascination of the mystery. The whole thing, to the poet, seems dangerously akin to the belief in magic which has been the bane of religion. To the cult of the *charaka*, the poet retorts that it is as easy to be stunted by small machines as by big ones. "Mind is no less valuable than cotton thread." The burning of foreign cloth, excites his indignant protest. He writes:

The command to burn our foreign clothes has been laid on us. I, for one, am unable to obey it. Firstly, because I conceive it to be my very first duty to put up a valiant fight against this terrible habit of blindly obeying orders, and this fight can never be carried on by our people being driven from one injunction to another. Secondly, I feel that the clothes to be burnt are not mine, but belong to those who most sorely need them. If those who are going naked should have given us the mandate to burn, it would, at least, have been a case of self-immolation and the crime of incendiarism would not lie at our door. But how can we expiate the sin of the forcible destruction of clothes which might have gone to women whose nakedness is actually keeping them prisoners, unable to stir out of the privacy of their homes? We must refuse to accept as our ally the illusion-haunted magic-ridden slave-mentality that is at the root of all the poverty and insult under which our country groans. Here is the enemy itself, on whose defeat alone *Swaraj* within and without can come to us.

The Poet concludes by bearing witness to the new spirit which he has seen dawning in the West—"a real anxiety and effort of their higher mind to rise superior to business considerations." He has condemned the Indian Reform Councils. But even in these he finds signs of the Time-Spirit which is moving the heart of the West. He writes: "Although the present form is unacceptable, yet there is revealed an aspiration which is towards the truth and this aspiration must not be condemned."

Mahatma Gandhi's reply is in effect that the Poet has no business to meddle with politics and that he would do well to keep to his stars and woods and skies. This would be all right if the Poet, as happens in this case, was not a religious, social and educational worker of much longer standing than the Mahatma.

THE DHARWAR CASE.

The primary issue of public interest arising from the tragic incidents which occurred at Dharwar on the 1st July last, is connected with the firing upon the crowd by the Police. Was it necessitated by the attitude and actions of the crowd and was it impossible for the Police to have dispersed it without recourse to this extreme step? The Abbas Tyabji Committee was appointed by the Congress Working Committee to deal with these issues. If it had strictly confined itself to it, and left the readers

of its report to form their own inferences and conclusions as to the motives and attitude of individual officers, its report would have greatly gained in weight and authority. It is the rigorous restraint on wayside reflections in the report of the Congress sub-committee on the Punjab tragedy that stamped it at once as the most authentic account of the happenings in that province. Nevertheless, the Abbas Tyabji Committee's report on Dharwar contains valuable material for forming conclusions on the issue stated above, though it is not always easy to sift it from its setting in the body of the report. The appendices at the end of the report is free from this difficulty and they are, therefore, the most valuable part of it. In appendix IV, we have a statement of persons wounded and killed during the firing, according to caste, sect and religion. The number of killed was 3 and that of wounded 39, making a total of 42 casualties. By caste and religion, 21 of these (including 3 killed) were Mahomedans, 8 were Lingayats, 6 Marathas, 3 Brahmans, and the remaining 5 were non-Brahmin Hindus of different castes. In view of the allegations made on both sides as to the general political atmosphere at Dharwar at the time of the incident, this classification of the casualties is of great importance. There are conflicting statements as to whether all the persons tried by the Sessions Judge were or were not in the crowd but there can be no doubt that all the killed and wounded were in the crowd. Here we have one solid fact to afford us a firm foothold, assuming, of course, that the classification is correct.

The value of this fact is enhanced by the clue that it gives to the composition of the crowd. There is a sentence somewhere in the Tyabji report, which implies that the Police or Military in firing upon a crowd, are entitled to discriminate and mark down particular persons in it. We think that this is wrong. The firing should be directed so as to disperse the crowd as quickly as possible, and the Police and Military are, we think, forbidden to shoot at individuals whether on the ground of their being leaders or on any other ground. The reason of this prohibition is obvious. Not only is it beyond the province of the Police or Military to adjudge the share of each individual in a crowd but, without such a prohibition, private vengeance may wreak itself in the guise of public duty. The Tyabji Committee has laid stress on the Brahmin-non-Brahmin differences in Dharwar as a circumstance leading up to and elucidating the events which culminated in the firing of the 1st of July. The fact that there were only 3 Brahmans, while there were 8 Lingayats and 10 other non-Brahmin Hindus, among the wounded, shows that, however else the Brahmin-non-Brahmin differences might have effected the situation, it did not enter into the firing ordered by Sub-Inspector Shivlingappa who, by the way, is not, we understand, a Lingayat as his name led us to think, but a non-Brahmin Hindu.

We shall, therefore, not be far wrong if we take the distribution of casualties as a rough index to the distribution of the crowd before the liquor shop

at Dharwar on the 1st of July. That is to say, quite 50 per cent. of it were Mahomedans; nearly 24 per cent, Hindu non-Brahmans; nearly 19 per cent, Lingayats and 7 per cent, Brahmans. The Mahomedan population of Dharwar Town is less than one-fourth of the total population, and its predominance in the crowd is, therefore, significant. This strongly confirms what appears incidentally from statements in the Tyabji Committee's report, namely, that the picketing of liquor shops in Dharwar was mainly carried out under the auspices of the local Khilafat Committee as a part of Khilafat propaganda. The Non-Co-operationists and Congressmen were largely Brahmans and the relatively fewer casualties among them may be due partly to their being a small minority, and partly, also, perhaps, to their being content to look on from a distance on the scene before the liquor shop. The considerable proportion of wounded non-Brahmans and Lingayats shows that there was a considerable proportion of spectators actuated purely by curiosity in the crowd as there is in every crowd. But, as we said last week, this does not make a crowd from the Police point of view any less undesirable to gather before a liquor shop that was being picketed by Khilafat volunteers supported by a band of hooling and howling youngsters. We have searched the Committee's report carefully without success for evidence that the the Khilafat volunteers or Non-Co-operationists among the spectators made any attempt to persuade the crowd to disperse. The Police and the crowd stood looking at each other, according to the report, for two mortal hours, from 6 to 8 p.m. We consider the following passage in the report to be a tribute to the Police before the Sub-Inspector's arrival.

It is also clear from Mr. Sannis' evidence as well as of those who had gone to the shop earlier than him that the crowd in front of the liquor shop had been irritated on account of the fact that one Police Constable who had got drunk behaved mischievously by throwing toddy, bits of earthen pots and some stones from behind the liquor shop. We feel pretty certain that it was by reason of the knowledge of this incident that the Police did not take any serious notice of the conduct of the crowd. Had the crowd been pelting the Police guard with stones as alleged, they, during those two hours, would certainly have made an effort to arrest some of the leaders.

The italics are ours. It is not clear from the report what the conduct of the crowd, short of throwing stones, was of which the Police should have taken serious notice but for the irritation caused by the antics of their drunken comrade. The Indian police is not a perfect police. Its defects are patent and they are largely the defects of the community from which it is drawn accentuated by the combination of poor pay with disproportionately large powers. It is, therefore, all the more incumbent on the public to mark its appreciation of every instance which shows the possession by these men of more than the average of patience and judgment.

Sub-Inspector Shivlingappa's arrival brought about a dramatic change in the situation. He had got two Khilafat volunteers convicted for having recovered a fine of thirteen annas from a bhangi for having got drunk against the rules of his Jamat

Both the charge and the sentence of six months' imprisonment passed on those two men, strike one as gross instances of executive officiousness and of want of judicial proportion. It is quite obvious that the prosecution was not undertaken in the interests of the poor bhangi, but as a measure of official displeasure against picketting. Shivlingappa was probably only an instrument in this ridiculous affair, but as such he had incurred a good deal of popular odium. The crowd gave vent to its feelings on his approach but that it had no serious intention of doing him physical harm is clear from the fact that he found no difficulty in going through it to join the Police drawn up at the liquor-shop. On this point, the Tyabji Committee's remarks seem to us to be conclusive.

He (Shivlingappa) was able to push his way through the crowd and tell people to disperse. Had the crowd been in a mood to do any such harm as the deposition of Shivlingappa would make it appear, he could not have remained alive for a moment. The people through whom he passed would not have suffered him to pass along without giving effect to their alleged threats.

We differ from the Committee in thinking that the crowd might have uttered the threats, for the reasons given in our article last week. But we agree that the attitude of the crowd, as proved by its allowing him to pass through it, is in favour of the Committee's view. It becomes, therefore, necessary to ascertain by an independent enquiry into the circumstances whether the firing was justified, whether due warning was given before firing, and whether it was strictly limited to the necessities of the occasion.

RIGHT OF SECESSION OF THE DOMINIONS.

(BY MR. A. V. SUBRAMANIA AYYAR.)

Have the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire the right of secession from the Mother Country? Does the question, open the Mother

The Post is herde Dominion status include this right in theory? The question is a very interesting one and deserves a careful study. It is true that it is not of much practical importance so far as the existing Dominions are concerned, since they have not expressed any desire to secede. But the problem has been brought into the fore-front by the Irish negotiations. It won't do for the British statesman to fight shy of it. They must face it with courage and imagination. Some satisfactory understanding, though not a statutory decision is absolutely essential. Otherwise there is every likelihood of the solution of the Irish problem being endangered.

It will be remembered that the difficulty that stands in the way of an Irish settlement is Britain's insistence that Ireland shall always be linked to her. Mr. Lloyd George's proposals to De Valera emphasise this aspect of the matter and maintain that so far as foreign policy, navy and external defence are concerned, Britain must be supreme. The Dominion status which Mr. George has offered to Ireland is in reality a condition of subordinate alliance to Britain in all matters except those of internal administration.

Now, Mr. George's proposals, whatever the extent of freedom they may confer on Ireland regarding its internal administration do not recognise what the Irish have been fighting for, viz., the right to full Nationhood and Freedom. The British as yet are not prepared to recognise that the Irish Nation is entitled to sovereign power. Herein lies the whole crux of the Irish problem. The Irish are not prepared to be unconditionally linked to Britain as a subordinate partner of the British Empire or in other words they dispute the right of Britain to say that Ireland shall not secede from the United Kingdom. Ireland by this does not want to secede from Britain now. It is Mr. Lloyd George, who, by insisting on Ireland's willingness to be permanently bound to Britain as a necessary condition for any settlement, has provoked the Irish National sentiment which is very intense. The South now definitely maintains that connection with the United Kingdom should not be compulsorily forced on her, but be decided by mutual agreement, the unqualified right of Ireland for which should be recognised by Britain. It is this aspect of the Irish situation that has undoubtedly brought the question into prominence.

What is the real status of the Dominions? For one thing they are not recognised sovereign powers though in practice they have almost all the authority of sovereign states. Constitutionally speaking, all the Dominions are the creatures of the British Parliament. They have to trace their status through definite Acts of the British Legislature. So the Dominion Parliaments are not bodies with an inherent right of sovereignty; they are derivative & subordinate institutions. Secondly, the right to make war or peace with other countries, which is the essential attribute of sovereignty is absent. The dominions have to adopt the foreign policy of Britain whether they like it or not and cannot on their own motion declare war or enter into alliances with any other states.

It has been said that constitutionally and theoretically the Dominions are not sovereign states. Against this position it may be urged that their power though limited by Law has grown to be almost sovereign in practice. In the constitution of the Empire there is no provision for the Dominions to glide into independence if they so desire except through an Act of the British Parliament. Regarding the second point it may also be held, that of late, the Dominions have been consulted by Britain about the foreign policy and questions relating to war and peace. As for the Imperial Conference which is said to enable the Dominions to participate in the making of the foreign policy of the Empire, it must be remembered that it is not a statutory body but only a consultative one to advise the British Cabinet. The fact that the decisions of the Imperial Conference are given the greatest weight and acted upon does not alter its status, which pertains not to the Law but to a Convention of the constitution of the Empire.

It can now clearly be seen that as things are at present the right to secede does not form part of the Dominion status. The alliance of the Dominions with

the Mother Country is not in the nature of a treaty or voluntary agreement between sovereign peoples. The British Empire is a Commonwealth of autonomous peoples but not a federation of sovereign states.

What will happen if the Dominions want to secede? What can Britain do if that contingency arises? These are plain questions capable of only one answer at this hour of the day. It is open to the Dominions to declare independence and secede from the British Empire without that act being treated by Britain as an infringement of her rights. Political ideals and moral consciousness of the human race have so much advanced that any resentment on the part of Britain will incur an amount of moral obloquy of the world which it will be impossible for her with all her might to face. If on the other hand, Britain takes such an act on the part of the Dominions to be a hostile one she will be powerless to do anything effective. It is a lurking apprehension of the growing secessionist tendencies, which are, for instance found in no small measure in South Africa, that made Britain draw the Dominions closer and take them into full confidence with regard to the many vital Imperial problems of Defence and Foreign Policy. The Imperial Conference however gloriously it may be boomed, is in reality a makeshift intended to give the Dominions what they do not, now, of right, possess and to make them not to feel that they lack any attributes of sovereignty for being within the Empire.

Such makeshifts, however successful they may be for the present, cannot provide a satisfactory solution for a problem that will some day or other arise so far as the existing Dominions are concerned, though in the case of Ireland it has actually arisen. Speaking generally, there is no Nation which will not desire to be a sovereign one if it can do so. The Dominions have to merge their sovereignty in the Empire only if they have to depend upon Britain for certain advantages. Now, they are attaining a stage when they no longer require Britain's assistance. Therefore the problem is a real one that is sure to crop up at some time or other.

The best thing for Britain would be to make a satisfactory settlement of the question now since it has arisen in the case of Ireland. I have already said that when Ireland wants the right to secede it desires only a recognition of its right of sovereignty to be made thereby and not to actually secede now. This insistence of Ireland is due to the intensity of her National sentiment and there is no use in pretending to discard it.

How can the proposed settlement be effected, it may be asked, without disturbing the Imperial structure? In an exceedingly well-written article on the Irish Peace, the *Nation* in its issue of July 23rd writes that the Dominions also may guarantee to Ireland that the freedom she may get by accepting Dominion status will not be interfered with by Britain in whom Ireland has no faith. The writer forgets that the problem is wider and may arise even in the case of the Dominions themselves since the right to secede means the recognition, both theoretical and practical, of the unqualified sovereignty of the people. The

first essential condition of a suitable settlement, therefore, is the statutory recognition and affirmation of the sovereignty of all parts of the British Empire, including even such of them as are not fully self-governing now. Once this affirmation is made by the British Parliament and acted upon there will be no difficulty in negotiating terms for an agreement on a basis of equality for an Imperial Federation that may finish and embellish the imperfect structure of the present British Empire. No part of the Empire should have any rights or privileges that are not agreed to by all. If this is done the question of the right of the Dominions to secede will lose its meaning and the Empire also will have a more stable foundation.

THE CASTE SYSTEM.

II

(By MR. T. RUTHNAM.)

Now let us examine the Western Culture with regard to which Mr. Henry S. Salt, the author of "Seventy years among Savages" says, "The seventy years spent by me among the savages form the subject of this story, but not, be it noted, seventy years of consciousness that my life was so cast, for during the first part of my residence in the strange land where I was born, the dreadful reality of my surroundings was hardly suspected by me." With regard to the above passage, *The Review of Reviews* says, "By most of Mr. Salt's fellow savages the "dreadful reality" of their surroundings has not been suspected at all. For the region described in his book is not Papua or Christmas Island, but Great Britain. Until he was thirty, he thought, as most of them think, that he lived in a land blessed by civilization and religion. He awoke through reflection—on diet, and from that was led on to look, with open eyes, at the other relations of the barbarians among whom he lived". With regard to war Mr. Salt does not think, that Westerners have relapsed into barbarism but that they never emerged from it. That is western culture. We have paid much importance to it but western culture like western complexion is only skin deep. Now let us compare this western culture with that of India, with regard to "killing".

Ere now I represented, how a murderer stands in the estimation of the Aryan of Europe—an untouchable reptile a villain unworthy of human association and marriage with such a person as abominable. Well, killer of animals, and flesh eaters, stood in no better estimation of the Aryan of the East, and here arose the momentous problem of placing the Brahmin on the horns of a dilemma as to how he may render himself and his people immune from the imminent contamination of the innocent blood! The continuation of the social compact hitherto existed was impossible and his separation threatened his very existence and the harmony of the community generally, and he was a philosopher indeed who devised a scheme which split the people into castes, on independent and contributory lines made the castes interdependent, rendered the split exceedingly conducive to civilisation and progress holding a divided nation in harmonious relation

thus securing his own independence congenial to his philosophy. This must have occurred about 700 B.C., reaching the height of corruption during the life of Manu each caste begetting sub-castes, until it assumed a form of religion in itself as we have it today. The evidences that go to convince one's belief in the theory that caste was the result of recognizing a soul in every animal and killing of animals amounted to murder is unmistakable. The Brahmin up-to-date finds the Vaisya's (Vegetarian's) association more congenial than the Kshatria's, while the carnivorous Kshatria and Sudra, being dissociated by the first and third castes are boon companions in many respects except perhaps with regard to inter-marriages.

The touchability between the four castes is intermittent (not constant) in accordance with certain principles and rituals involving *Shudi* (cleanliness). To a Brahmin, the touch of a Kshatria or Sudra is more polluting than that of a Vaisya while still that of the fifth class is regarded as extreme and there is no question of untouchability between the second and the fourth. From all these one gathers that diet has more to do with caste than the vocation one follows and that *Soul* is the stratum on which the whole system stands.

Behind the system and the soul is the philosophy, and philosophy wants unity, with regard to which I quote Mr. Buch again "Unity, it should never be forgotten, is the very goal of philosophy.... in religion the possession of all other realms by the god-idea is the most superb possession; in philosophy the conquest by the Absolute of all other principles is the highest." Thoughts want unity, conduct wants unity, facts want unity," and I say, *Society wants unity*.

Ours is a land where philosophy and soul are through and through. Great souls come into existence from time to time; greater soul is the Mahatma Gandhi who is manifesting the soul, demonstrating to us and to the world at large, the power of soul at this very moment. All big souls see souls in others and every one of us should see soul in every other animal; caste must break—must inevitably break. If one must follow the Hindu philosophy one must either recognize the soul in all other animals or recognize *Caste* as established by the philosopher.

LONDON LEITER.

London, September 29, 1921.

THE SECOND WOMAN M. P.

During the last three years, women voters have been steadily on the increase, while men voters in England and Wales have decreased. The increase in the number of women voting shows an increased capacity for public affairs, and an increased desire on the part of women to be an understanding factor in the making of new conditions. The fact of the increase in women voters has been recently made prominent by the election of Mrs. Margaret Wintringham, the Liberal candidate at Louth. After her election, some one looked up the statistics of the polls generally and found that women in increasing numbers take their franchise seriously. Mrs. Wintring-

ham secured a majority of 791 votes, and is the second woman M. P. in this country and the first really British one, as Lady Astor is of American birth. Both women, however, have succeeded to their husbands' seats, and both had a strong Labour candidate in the field against them. Mrs. Wintringham has been well known for years in public life, and although a fluent and experienced speaker, she refused on account of the recent loss of her husband, to enter the arena of a political electioneering campaign and did not make a single speech in favour of herself or her party. For this reason she was called the silent woman in the papers here, and her election came as a surprise to her. Louth is largely an agricultural centre, and agriculturists, male and female, cling to old established ways, sex prejudice in administrative matters being very strong with them, and it was thought that this feeling would prevent anything like success to a woman standing for election, even though she stood for what is ordinarily looked upon as a Liberal constituency. However, it has been acknowledged on all sides that no better qualified candidate could have been put forward than Mrs. Wintringham whose general administrative experience and whose knowledge of agricultural matters and the present difficulty between the Government and the Agriculturists rival that of most men. She has made herself an authority on these subjects in her part of the country.

HOSTELS FOR WORKING WOMEN.

The sub-committee in connection with the Housing Advisory Council has just laid its report before Sir Alfred Moad. In it, it lays the greatest stress on the need for women's hostels. For some time past there has been a growing demand for accommodation schemes for working women. Such organisations as the Young Women's Christian Association and the Girls' Friendly Society have done their utmost to cater for women in this respect. But their resources are limited and more and more women are in the big towns needing and demanding suitable accommodation. It is claimed by the sub-committee that Government must subsidise the building or conversion of houses suitable to accommodate about 20 women in each with the necessary domestic staff. After they are once in running order they will be self supporting, and it is in the interests of the community at large that women should be looked after in this matter.

PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

The Labour Mayors of London paid a visit to Scotland to see the Premier in connection with the unemployed problem which has now reached, we believe, its crisis. The case put forward by the Mayors was to the effect that the problem of unemployment was a National one and should be shouldered by the Central Government. Detailed figures were given by them of unemployment in various districts, and emphasis was laid on the great burden imposed upon the rate-payers in the poor parts of London. A number of important schemes and proposals were submitted. In his reply, Mr. Lloyd George stated that he had given his earnest consideration to the statements put forward by the Mayors but, he said, the Central Government could

not shoulder the burden alone. There must be co-operation between all parties, local authorities, manufacturers, traders, bankers, and organised labour. The period allowed for the coal subsidy is drawing to a close, and some anxiety is felt as to possibilities' but it is not thought any serious trouble, such as we had a few months ago, will ensue. In Scotland, the position of the unemployed is more serious than it is in England, for Scotland has no Boards of Guardians and until a few weeks ago, the parish councils, who have hitherto had to deal with the needy, had no authority to relieve the able-bodied. There is less extreme thought among the workers in Scotland, but they, too, are now making the demand that Government shall deal with the problem of unemployment and find immediate means of relieving distress.

RESOLUTION OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

The view that appears to be taken, in some quarters in India, regarding that feature of the resolution of the Imperial Conference which contemplates direct negotiations between the South African and Indian Governments, is in strong conflict with that held in well-informed quarters in this country. Here it is generally recognised that, in the first place, a distinct advance has been made in isolating South Africa, and in securing the moral condemnation, by Great Britain and the remaining Dominions, of the Union Parliament and people, as regards the treatment of resident Indians. Whilst, it is true, Great Britain has always in theory maintained the principle of equal citizenship for Indians, she has been compelled to diverge from the standard of equality in the case of the Dominions, with whom she could not interfere and whom she was constitutionally precluded from controlling. But latterly, as we all know, from the case of Kenya, the Imperial Government itself had apparently made itself responsible for a racial policy in those areas of the Empire over which it had direct jurisdiction. We know that the India Office, of its own initiative and under the stimulus of public opinion in India, through the Government of India, had strongly objected to and protested against this new policy, but it was quite uncertain whether, in the long run, the British Cabinet might not rather lean to the Colonial Office than to the India Office point of view. The resolution has made it clear that, in formal terms, the Milner policy has been rejected by the Cabinet, and that the only part of the Empire that cleaves to a policy of racialism is the Union of South Africa. In the second place, it is quite incorrect to say, as have done some of the critics, that the resolution enables Great Britain to shuffle out of her direct responsibility in regard to South Africa. It has to be remembered that Great Britain has no longer, and for a long time has not been able to exercise, the right to compel South Africa to accord what India very properly requires, namely equal citizenship to Indian residents in South Africa. Any attempt upon Great Britain's part to force a policy upon South Africa, in an unconstitutional manner, would result unfailingly in the disruption of the British Empire, no matter how ethically correct her standpoint might be. The case of Lord Elgin and the Natal Government is still fresh in our memories. But what has

happened is that, as General Smuts himself pointed out in his letter to Mr. De Valera, a Dominion or a country within the British Empire enjoying the *de facto* status of a Dominion, having a dispute with any other member of the Empire enjoying a similar status, not excepting Great Britain herself, is entitled to bring the dispute for adjudication before all the other members of the Imperial Conference, all of whom have the moral obligation of helping to solve the matter in dispute in the interests of the Empire as a whole, and without doubt, in this matter the Indian representatives have, by an act of statesmanship that ought to be better recognised than it has evidently been, succeeded in getting the Indian case before the Conference in such a manner as to secure in advance the general sympathy of every other State-member of the Conference. The fact that India and South Africa will be in direct negotiation upon the subject involves, besides a saving of time and energy, the freeing of India from the trammels that might otherwise have been put upon her freedom of negotiation by the Imperial Cabinet, thereby incidentally recognising the further advance in status that, in fact, India has now gained in the Imperial councils; and it also implies that, in the event of both Dominions' failing to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of a long standing and embittered dispute, all the other parts of the Empire are constitutionally bound to interest themselves in endeavouring to reach a solution, and that they are committed in advance to the principle embodied in the Indian point of view. How, in the face of these facts, it can be suggested that no advance has been made in the direction of solving a problem whose solution cannot reasonably be looked for in the relatively short time during which it has been seriously tackled, is a little difficult to understand. Certainly, bitter impatience, though not unnatural in the circumstances, does not help very much, and is likely to give rise to unreasonable and unjustified criticism of a damaging kind.

THE MALABAR RELIEF FUND.

RELIEF MEASURES IN BOMBAY.

A meeting of the sympathisers of the sufferers in Malabar on account of the Moplah rebellion was held Thursday evening (20th October) in the hall of the Servants of India Society, Sandhurst Road, for an informal discussion to decide the line of action to be taken so far as the work in Bombay and outside was concerned, and to appoint a provisional committee for arranging the details of the programme for carrying out this object. Proposed by Sheth Narottam M. Gooldass and seconded by Principal John Mackenzie, Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy presided.

The following persons were present at the meeting:—

1. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart.
2. Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey.
3. Sheth Narottam Morarji.
4. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.
5. Mr. S. T. Shepherd, Editor, *The Times of India*, Bombay.
6. Mr. K. Natarajan.
7. Mr. G. K. Devadhar.
8. Mr. S. G. Vaze.
9. Rev. J. F. Edwards of the *Dnyanodaya*.
10. Rao Bahadur A. K. Pai.
11. Mr. Vithaldas Damodar Madhavji Thackersey.
12. Mr. Radhakant Malaviya, Marer Buildings, Horaby Road.
13. Dr. T. D. Velankar.
14. Mr. G. Malaviya.
15. Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas.
16. Dr. B. N.

Ranisa, 17- Prof. S. H. Gokhale, 18. Shet Shantikumar Narottam Morarji, 19. Principal John Mackenzie of the Wilson College, 20. Mrs. Mackenzie, 21. Mrs. Sriram, 22. Miss K. Natarajan, 23. Miss B. Chothani, Javerbhai's Chawl, Andheri, 24. Mrs. T. Desai, Javerbhai's Chawl, Andheri, 25. Miss B. Natarajan, 26. Mr. S. S. Mehta, 27. Mr. G. B. Trivedi, 28. Mr. C. S. Doole, 29. Mr. G. B. Kadam, 30. Mr. S. V. Sohoni, 31. Mr. B. F. Bharucha, 32. Mr. R. B. Naber, 33. Shet Hanaraj Pragji Thackersey, 34. Shet Madhewji Govindji, 35. Mr. S. K. Naik, Mohan Buildings, Girgaum, Bombay, 36. Dr. S. G. Panandikar, Topiwala Building, Sandhurst Road, 37. Mr. V. H. Barve, 38. Mr. P. V. Gokhale, Gandharva Mahavidyalaya, Girgaum, 39. Dr. V. K. Dongre, Lamington Road, 40. Mr. B. N. Motiwala, 41. Dr. Khandwala, Santa Cruz, 42. Mr. J. Natarajan, 43. Mr. S. K. Mehta, Editor, *Bharatsavak*, 44. Mr. B. S. Vaidya, 45. Mr. K. M. Tambankar, *Lokamanya*, Office, 46. Mr. J. V. Patel, 47. Mr. B. F. Dinshaw, 48. Mr. V. R. Samarth, 49. Mr. M. V. Menon, 50. Mr. U. K. Trivedi, 51. Mr. Narayan Pandurang Navle, 52. Mr. H. B. Chandra, 53. Mr. G. M. Vaidikar, 54. Mr. Jayadish Natarajan, 55. Mr. D. V. Ghanekar, 56. Mr. P. B. Kulkarni C/o. Marathi Navajivan Office, 57. Mr. Gopal Nair, 58. Mr. G. V. Ganu, 59. Mr. A. K. Nimbkar, 60. Mr. C. S. Wariar, 61. Mr. R. S. Paddidri, 62. Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki.

Sir Jamsetji called upon Mr. Devadhar to make a statement with reference to his visit to Malabar.

Mr. Devadhar in explaining the object of the meeting thanked them for the ready and prompt response to his invitation only issued the day before and tendered his apology for it. He was helpless but his friends advised him in calling the meeting even at twenty-four hours' notice. He thought there were many who sympathised with the object of their meeting although they were absent. He did not desire to give them details of what had happened in Malabar, but they must have known the sufferings of both the rich and the poor. Some of them, he said, must have been affected by the harrowing stories of sufferings published in the newspapers, and he did not want, on that occasion, to sadden their minds by giving them any more. He went on to describe how he was asked by his Society to visit Malabar and find out the extent of the distress and the relief to be given to the sufferers, and how his proposals for such relief were acceptable to the committee there. The object, therefore, of the meeting was to appeal to them and through them to the public of Bombay as also all over the Presidency, to enlist their whole-hearted support of the committee to be appointed, as it was necessary to have gratuitous work done in Bombay which was the central place. The committee would have nothing to do with the causes that led to the sufferings, but would have to carry out the work thoroughly in uncontroversial manner for which it was directly responsible and to give relief to the sufferers as it was the need of the hour. He had estimated rupees ten lakhs for gratuitous relief, but that was not only to be raised in Bombay, for he would appeal to the country for it is the name of humanity. He then said that the population of the whole district was three millions, out of which two millions were Hindus and one million Mahomedans (Moplahs) and one-third of the area was affected and the relief was necessary for at least six months, before peace and order could be restored. He then described the work the committee would have to do.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were carried :—

Resolved that in view of the distressed situation at present prevailing in Malabar as described by Mr. Devadhar, a Provisional Committee of the following ladies and gentlemen with

power to add to their number, having sympathy with the objects of the meeting, be formed in Bombay to undertake the work of (a) collecting subscriptions and other suitable help such as rice, cloth, oil, medicines, foods for children, etc., etc., in Bombay, (b) organizing sub-committees in different wards in different bazars and markets of the city of Bombay to secure the above-mentioned help for the relief of the sufferers from the present Moplah rebellion in Malabar; (c) sending the assistance in cash and in kind thus collected to the Malabar Central Relief Committee in Calicut; (d) taking all such measures as may be deemed necessary to promote and carry out the objects for which the Committee is appointed; (e) arranging public meetings; (f) organizing, with the help of local friends, district collection committees in the various districts and Native States connected with the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, co-ordinating their efforts with those of the Bombay Committee and to pool together these various funds thus started in the districts and the Native States with the Bombay fund; and the Bombay Committee to supply them with all necessary help by way of literature on the subjects, posters and such other help and information as may be necessary in the interests of this work (all those who were present at the meeting were requested to be members of this provisional committee).

Proposed by :—Mr. K. Natarajan.

Seconded by :—Mr. Radha Kant Malaviya.

Resolved that the following ladies and gentlemen be requested to serve as office-bearers of this fund in Bombay as shown below :

President : Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Bart.

Vice-Presidents : (1) Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, (2) Sir Dinshaw E. Wacha, (3) Sir Sassoon David, (4) Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey, (5) Sir Dorab J. Tata, (6) Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, (7) Sir Hormusji A. Wadia, (8) Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoj, (9) Hon. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, (10) Sir Prabhakar D. Patteni, (11) Shet-Narottam Morarji, (12) Sir M. Visvesvaraya, (13) Shet Moolraj Khatan, (14) Mr. M. A. Jinnab, (15) Mr. S. T. Sheppard, and (16) Mr. F. E. Dinshaw.

Secretaries : (1) Mr. K. Natarajan (correspondence), (2) Mr. G. K. Devadhar, (general organisation), (3) Mr. G. B. Trivedi, B.A. M.L.C. (collection), (4) Mr. Vithaldas Damodar Govindjee (collection), (5) Mr. D. G. Dairi, M.A. L.L.B. (Dt. Organization), (6) Rao Bahadur A. K. Pai (Small collections), (7) Mr. Radhakant Malaviya (Despatching help to Calicut), (8) Mr. Mahabadas Vasanji Khimji (Collections), (9) Mr. E. G. Pearson, (10) Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas, B.A., M.L.C. (11) Rameshwarlal Birla (collections), (12) Mrs. Jaiji J. Petit (Organisation of Women's Section), (13) Dr. Miss Nowrange, B.A., L.M. & S., (Organisation of Women's Section), (14) Miss K. Natarajan, B.A., (Joint Secretary to Women's Sub-committee), (15) Mr. Shantikumar Narottam Morarji.

Treasurers. (1) Shet Hanaraj Pragji Thackersey, (2) Shet Damodar Govindji Madhavji, (3) Mr. Vaikuntha L. Mehta, B.A.

Proposed by :—Mr. S. T. Sheppard.

Seconded by :—Principal Rev. John Mackenzie.

WORKING COMMITTEE.

Resolved that a Working Committee be formed with Sir Vithaldas Thackersey as its Chairman The Hon. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas as Vice-Chairman and all the Secretaries and Treasurers as its members to transact the business of this fund, the Presidents and Vice-Presidents being ex-officio members. The meetings of the Working Committee will ordinarily take place on Tuesdays and Thursdays at 6. p.m. in the office of Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey, the quorum for a meeting being five.

Proposed by :—Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas.

Seconded by :—Sheth Mavji Govindji.

Resolved that the Working Committee be empowered to arrange for a Sheriff's meeting or, failing that, a public meeting in Bombay at an early date and that His Excellency the Governor of Bombay be requested to preside over the said meeting.

Proposed by:—Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey.

Seconded by:—Shet Hansraj Pragji Thackersey.

Resolved that the Working Committee be empowered to enlist suitable ladies and gentlemen as volunteers to collect subscriptions in districts assigned to them by the Secretaries with the authority of the Working Committee.

Proposed by:—Mrs. Mackenzie.

Seconded by:—Dr. B. N. Ranins.

Resolved that the Working Committee be empowered to approach grain merchants, cloth merchants and mill-agents to secure help from them in kind in addition to their contributions.

Proposed by:—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Seconded by:—Sheth Narottam Morarjee Goculdas.

Resolved that the Working Committee be empowered to approach the charitable trusts in Bombay for help and other local organisations to co-operate with this fund in the work of collecting small contributions.

Proposed by:—Shet Hansraj Pragji.

Seconded by:—Dr. T. O. Khandwalla.

Resolved that the Working Committee be empowered to form a special ladies' sub-committee with Miss K. Natarajan as one of its Joint Secretaries.

Proposed by:—Mr. G. K. Devadhar.

Seconded by:—Mr. U. K. Trivedi, B.A. L.L.B.

Resolved that the Working Committee be empowered to employ the necessary establishment of an accountant and clerks to help the treasurers and the secretaries in the discharge of their duties.

Proposed by:—Mr. G. B. Trivedi.

Seconded by:—Mr. R. R. Nabar.

The following two resolutions were moved from the chair:—

(1) Resolved that the office of the Working Committee be located in the office of Sir Vithaldas Thackersey.

(2) Resolved that an account of this fund be opened in any bank approved by the Working Committee on behalf of the Malabar Relief Fund, Bombay, in the name of the Chairman of the Working Committee and the Treasurers and the same be operated upon by any two of these after always leaving at the disposal of the Chairman a sum of Rs. 1,000 at a time.

Resolved that the contemplated public meeting be requested to confirm the appointments of office-bearers and the Working Committee, making additions of new members and office-bearers, if necessary.

Proposed by:—The Revd. J. F. Edwards.

Seconded by:—Mr. K. Natarajan.

Mr. Devadhar then announced donations of Rs. 5,000 from the Wadia Charities, Rs. 2,500 from Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey as the first instalment, Rs. 2,500 from Mr. Ruttonsey D. Morarjee and Rs. 2,500 from Mr. Narottam Morarjee Goculdas and five bales of cloth, three of which were given by the agency of Messrs. Thackersey Moolji and Company and one from the Crown Spg. and Wg. Co. and, one from the Diamond Mills. He further announced subscriptions to the fund of Rs. 1,538 from Poona and Rs. 500 Allahabad.

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman proposed by Sir Vithaldas Thackersey and seconded by Mr. Nabar the proceedings terminated.

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Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnagar.
Rao Bahadur Gunajirao R. Nimbaiker, Sur Subha, Baroda State.

Bhaskarrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ltd. Baroda.

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subha, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

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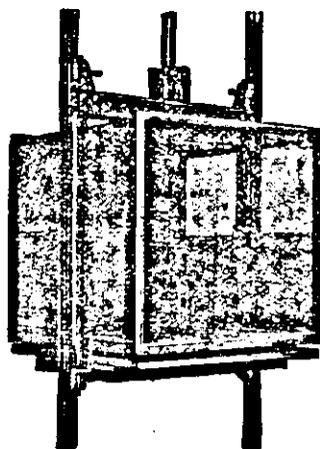
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will no excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Malabar Relief: We earnestly hope that it will be found possible to co-ordinate the movements to carry relief to the distressed and suffering people of the areas in Malabar affected by the Mopla rebellion. The first and last object of every such movement should be to relieve suffering of the existence of which there is unfortunately no doubt. The utmost that combined official and private efforts can do, can but partly alleviate the miseries and hardships which the people there have undergone and are undergoing. There is need of the utmost economy in organising relief measures in order that they may be of the greatest benefit to the largest number of sufferers. This can only be ensured by strict co-ordination of and co-operation between the several relief movements. Want of co-ordination will inevitably lead to waste, and worse than that, to demoralisation. We have not the least doubt that the promoters of every one of them are actuated by the very best of motives and are anxious to do their utmost for the afflicted people. Let us all put aside our political predilections in one grand effort to enable the fair land of Malabar to regain in the shortest time possible her normal prosperity. We do not mean that we should give up our political opinions. Far from it. There are other platforms and occasions where they can have full scope. We are bound to say while on this subject that nothing can be farther from the truth than to say, as has been done, that Mr. Devadhar's scheme has left the sufferers among Moplas out of account. On the contrary, Mr. Devdhar has given a prominent place in it to the relief of Mopla women and children deprived of their natural protectors. We may add that any relief scheme which leaves the Mopla sufferers out of account will not be worth the paper on which it is written. Not only that, but it is absolutely necessary that we should look ahead and provide for the easy resumption of their normal industrious life by those sentenced to imprisonment on their return. Whatever the immediate sins of the Moplas may be, society as a whole cannot be absolved for keeping them in a state of backwardness in which they became ready victims to a fanatical impulse. No sensible person would wish to see the Mopla-Hindu feud perpetuated, and the only way in which it can be effaced, is by making the misguided section of the Moplas feel that, while

aggressive fanaticism will not be tolerated, there is the most anxious desire on the part of all that no stone should be left unturned to smooth their path to progress and prosperity. At the same time, is it not rather ridiculous to make out that the greatest sufferers by the rebellion are the Moplas and that the relief of the despoiled non-Moplas is a secondary matter?

Moral and Social Hygiene: We invite attention to the letter which we print to-day from the Association of Moral and Social Hygiene, which is the British branch of the International Abolitionist Federation founded by Mrs. Josephine Butler in 1875. The report of the Society for last year, which accompanies the letter, is a valuable summary of the work done by it last year and the Society's programme. The Society is doing valuable work. The problems with which it is concerned are problems which have become acute in Bombay, as Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas' able speech at the Poona session of the Legislative Council clearly shows. What is true of Bombay is more or less true of other places. The careful investigations and reports of the Society have made accessible to reformers much valuable material without which there is very great risk in dealing with these problems that any remedies suggested may prove worse than the disease to be cured. To take one instance. We have had with us for some weeks past a booklet by Professor R. D. Karve (late of the Gujarat College) explaining and advocating the extensive use of appliances to prevent venereal infection. The Professor justifies his taking up a subject which does not lie in his sphere of Mathematics on the ground that the books in which such information is given are far too costly for the average reader. He foresees that he will be accused of preaching immorality, but he contends that his notion of morality is that it is best to take no chances where the danger is great especially to other people. As against this view, it is interesting to note that seven eminent medical members of the Special Committee on Venereal Disease, of the British Birth-rate Commission, declared, not only on moral grounds, but on definitely medical grounds that the public advocacy of self-disinfection for the civilian population would fail to arrest and might increase the prevalence of venereal disease. We note from an advertisement in Mr. Karve's book that there is an agency in Bombay which makes a speciality of all articles mentioned in it.

The Dominion Status: General Smuts' remarks on the representation of the Dominions at the Washington Conference, emphasises the vital change that has been made in the status and meaning of Dominion self-Government following on the war. Reuter reports that

General Smuts in a speech at Pretoria, referring to the composition of the Empire Delegation to Washington, said that he gathered from the Press that the Dominions had not been invited to the Conference. He added that if the Pacific Dominions attended without a direct invitation from America

being sent through the British diplomatic channels, a serious setback would be given to the status of Dominion nationhood achieved at the Paris Conference where the United States alone remained outside the general recognition of the status of the Dominions. If South Africa appeared at the International Conference it would be in her own right and not by cover of the International right of the British Government.

What has happened seems to be that, when Australia declared she would send her delegates direct to Washington, the British Government offered to include the Australian delegates among her own, and thus warded off the raising of the issue which General Smuts raises. His reference to Dominion Nationhood achieved at the Paris Conference, deserves to be pondered over by publicists who preach that India has no future as a component of the British Commonwealth.

India and the Washington Conference: We are glad that India will be represented at the Washington Conference by the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry. To discuss the Pacific question (and disarmament) without India being represented at the Conference, would have been an anomaly. India's place will be by the side of Japan as regards the colour question, and we trust that the attitude of the British Dominions especially Australia, will be such as to make it compatible with Indian national self-respect to support it.

The Casting Vote. On what principle should the President of a Legislative assembly give his casting vote in the case of an equality of votes for and against a proposition? We have read of a Speaker of the House of Commons, who confronted by such a situation, got so unnerved that he got up, fumbled for words and sat down without saying anything. In the last session of the Legislative Assembly at Simla there was a tie between two candidates for the Deputy Presidentship. Mr. Whyte gave his vote in favour of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy. We do not know if he had before him any general principle in doing so, but if he had one, it might well have been that of the two candidates, Sir Jamsetjee and Dr. Gour, the position of Sir Jamsetjee in public life stands more clear of political controversy. In regard to resolutions relating to public questions as apart from persons, the President of the Bombay Legislative Council has had to give his casting vote twice, and on both occasions he followed the practice of the Speaker of the House of Commons of giving his vote so as to enable the House to have another opportunity of deciding the question for itself rather than take into his own hands the final decision and settlement of the question. On the last occasion, there was an equality of votes on Rao Bahadur Chitale's motion for a committee on the separation of Judicial and Executive functions, and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar before giving his casting vote obtained an assurance from the Government member that he would make a statement to the Council on the subject next session. This principle was endorsed by the Presidents' conference at Simla last month. The President's casting vote will be given (a) so as to ensure further discussion of the subject at a future date and (b) as the guardian of the *status quo*. The President of the Legislative Assembly who presided, explained that the principle was that a proposal to change existing conditions had not received sufficient support of public opinion, if the support of only one-half of the members in the Council could be secured for it.

Oudh Talukdars and Liberals: The Liberals of the United Provinces and Oudh have risen greatly in public estimation by the resolution passed recently by a meeting of Zemindars of Oudh, denouncing the alliance between them and the

Liberals on account of the opposition offered by the latter in and outside the Legislative Council to the Oudh Rent Bill. The position of tenants in Oudh is perhaps the worst in all India. Prior to 1886, they were entirely at the mercy of the landlords who "freely used their powers of ejection," but in that year an Act was passed which prohibited the enhancement of rent more than once in seven years! The late Mr. G. V. Joshi in an informing paper, which is printed in his collected writings, rightly described this as a very near approach to the cottier system of Ireland and its moral paralysis. No legislation which does not remedy this state of things can command the support of thinking Indians. The Liberal members of the Legislative Council are prepared to go far to find a compromise, but the Talukdars are obdurate, and Sir Harcourt Butler would seem to have given an undertaking to them that no improvement would be made in the status of their tenants unless it had their approval! His Excellency must have had his reasons, probably political, for giving such a preposterous undertaking, but the country cannot allow a Governor to bargain away the elementary rights of the cultivators for any consideration whatever. We congratulate the United Provinces Liberals on the plucky fight they are putting up against the extraordinary attitude of the "Talukdar of Oudh," to use Lord Chemsford's shrewd and significant epithet, who is at the head of the administration. It will be an evil day for the British Connection with India when it espouses the cause of the wealthy and powerful to perpetuate the serfdom of the cultivating classes who, after all, are the mainstay of the country which can get on without Talukdars, but not without cultivators.

Non-Co-operation its own Antidote: Any one who gives a little thought to the subject must realise that, given sufficient time, Non-Co-operation must destroy itself. The first phase of this self-destructive quality has declared itself in a majority of members of the Working Committee resolving to non-co-operate with their own President for the year, Mr. Vijaya Raghav Acharya. The same process will be gone through with Mr. Acharya's successors and ultimately with Mahatma Gandhi himself. Mr. Vijaya Raghava's fault is that he insists on taking the paper constitution of the Congress as a binding statute, while the dominant party in the movement regards it as having a binding force only when it suits its purpose that it should. Unfortunately, Mr. Acharya is too old to begin to learn the art of drafting grandiose constitutions, on paper, and following in practice the good old rule, the simple plan, of the exigency of the moment. The venerable and nominal President can use his time better than by citing Blackstone to his recalcitrant colleagues. We have had recently the *Gita* solemnly cited as endorsing the *charaka* cult, and in a battle of quotations, Mr. Acharya cannot achieve anything so remarkable. The fact is when you are sure of your audience you can say anything that comes uppermost to your lips or pen without fear of contradiction. Pandit Motilal Nehru sweeps aside Mr. Acharya's authorities with the remark that the Congress is a law unto itself, which being interpreted means that whatever the Pandit says is law unto the Congress for the time being. When a publicist has worked himself up to this state of mind, it is idle to argue with him, and he must be left to the operation of the law of Non-Co-operation which ordains that those who rise by it shall fall by it. One of these days, it will be ordered that those who wear more than a loin-cloth are not fit to hold office in the Congress hierarchy, and those who now exult over Mr. Acharya's ineffectual constitutionalism, will have to mourn their conventional adherence to clothes beyond the allotted minimum.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 30, 1921.

BIRTH CONTROL.

In one of his recent letters our London correspondent, a close student of social movements all over the world, recorded the starting in London of the "Society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress" under the auspices of several noted sociologists. He remarked on the coincidence of this movement in England with the establishment of a similar Society in Japan, known shortly as the Birth Control League. The September number of the *Birth Control Review*, the American organ of the movement, contains the announcement that an International Birth Control Conference is to be held at Geneva in October next year. A list of sixteen countries, in which there are organizations for promoting this movement, is given, and they include all European countries except Russia, Turkey, Greece and the Balkan states. It is obvious that the movement has received a great impetus as a result of the war. Though the Governments of the countries whose adult male population has been depleted by the war, are making strenuous efforts to make good the loss by offering every incentive to parenthood, the people themselves, and more especially women everywhere, are not responding to them with any enthusiasm. In fact, in Germany the women's protest against having to bear children to be killed in war or broken in factories, has taken an organized form as a strike of motherhood. What is more, advanced social thinkers urge that unrestricted multiplication of population is the main cause of war and predatory internationalism. In the same number of the *Birth Control Review*, Baroness Ishimoto, the founder of the Japanese Society, places in the forefront of her reasons for espousing the movement, the international menace which unrestricted increase of population involves. She writes:

But what was the real cause of this great war? It was neither the ambition of the Kaiser, nor the skillful diplomatic aim of Great Britain to dominate the world. It was the mutual economic oppression of the peoples of Central Europe. They had simply grown into a mutual menace by the uncontrolled increase of population. Within the last fifty years, more than 100,000,000 people were added to Germany, Austria, Russia, and the other countries of Central Europe. Every one who visits Europe can understand that if Columbus had not discovered America, the great war of 1914 would have occurred 200 years previously—in the seventeenth century, by reason of the unlimited increase of population without the possibility of emigration to the new world. Really the discovery of America played the most important part in solving many of the disastrous problems arising out of the unlimited increase of population.

Another reason which the Baroness gives is that the modern capitalist and industrial system can not be essentially improved so long as population increases without limit. The last reason she gives is that the full development of women, through which only finer children are possible, is obstructed by unlimited child-bearing. In Japan to-day, she says, women spend

their time mostly in pregnancy, in delivering children, and in incessant household cares. They do not get time for self-culture. They often break down in health. Week after week, the *Birth Control Review* publishes "Mothers' Letters" pathetically depicting this aspect of the question. Here is a typical one:

I am a frail little woman of 104 lbs., have three children, youngest 14 months. I am 26 years of age and was badly lacerated at birth of last baby. My husband is a good man and kind to me; is 10 years older and I realize that he will never make any more wages than he makes now. We can only struggle to try to raise and educate the children we have, it would be a tragedy to have more.

The movement to control births by contraceptive means is known as the Neo-Malthusian movement, though the discoverer of the so-called law of population, a pious clergyman, would have been horrified if he had known that his discovery would lead to it. The difference between it and orthodox Malthusian doctrine, is that while the latter advocated as means of restricting births late marriages and "moral restraint", the former, as the more practicable alternative, advocated early marriage and limited parenthood "by means of the deliberate and scientific prevention of conception." Malthus' law rests on the "constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it." This tendency and the "law of population" which he built upon it, have been attacked from a purely scientific stand-point in "The Law of Births and Deaths" by Mr. C. E. Pell, recently published by Mr. Fisher Unwin. It follows that Mr. Pell does not approve of the Neo-Malthusian school. His conclusion seems to be that the birth-rate for whole communities cannot be increased or decreased by artificial means, that it depends mainly upon environment, and that the real fault lies in the unsound economic basis of Society. He writes:

So long as Society is run upon the principle of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost, so long will the principle manifest itself in the problem of the birth-rate. Whether the decline be due to contraceptives or to natural causes, it will be equally useless to exhort the abler sections of the community to produce a number of children adequate to maintain the numbers of the population unless there is some economic guarantee that they shall not be hopelessly penalised in the race thereby, and if they should break down in the struggle, be left to starve in the gutter.

The movement to limit the birth-rate has not been without influence in India. Plague and famine are among the positive checks to population in Malthus' doctrine, and these and others scarcely less efficacious in killing off human beings, have been in full operation in this country since practically the beginning of this century. Malthus' prudential or preventive checks were summed up in late marriages and "moral restraint." The spread of social reform ideas and other causes have led to a slight increase in the marriage age, but owing to the illiteracy of the masses, the caste system and the difficulty of passing and enforcing social legislation, the evil of too early marriages and excessive birth and death rates, with their inevitable consequences in the stunting of

women's life and health and intelligence, has not been appreciably reduced. The need for restricting births in India is felt as a necessity by many from different points of view. Mr. Wattal, of the Indian Finance Department, now a member of the Bikaner Council, wrote some years ago a pamphlet in which he advocated the diffusion of a knowledge of contraceptive methods as a solution of the social and economic problem. Mahatma Gandhi's attention has also been directed to it from another stand-point. He is opposed to contraceptive methods as immoral, and his own solution is stated thus in his "Guide to Health," translated into English from the Hindi original, by Mr. A. Rama Ayer and published by Mr. S. Ganesan, Triplicane, Madras. He writes :

The law of nature is that *Brahmacharya* may be broken only when the husband and wife feel a strong desire for a child. Those who, remembering this law, violate *Brahmacharya* once in four or five years, cannot be said to be slaves to lust, nor can they appreciably lose their stock of vitality. We are as yet free from this sin (the use of contraceptives) but we do not shrink from imposing the heavy burden of maternity on our women, and we are not concerned even to find that our children are weak, impotent and imbecile. We sing hymns of praise and thanksgiving to God when a child is born of a boy-father and girl-mother! Could anything be more dreadful? Verily we are, in this respect, far worse even than the lower animals; for the bull and the cow are brought together solely with the object of having a calf.

We do not know that the bull and the cow come together solely from the conscious desire for a calf, and unless they do so there does not seem to be much point in the comparison. The bull at any rate seems to have no notion of limiting his progeny and many of them have no other occupation until they become unfit for it. Further, it is rather a perilous undertaking to seek for a solution of our social problems in the ways of the animal world. The sexual relation undoubtedly connotes a far deeper and more intimate relation between cultured men and women than among cattle. It is or ought to be essentially a spiritual relation. Even in the Mahabharat, there are instances of women's instincts revolting against the practice of becoming bearers of children for their deceased husbands by any shaggy and scraggy Rishi selected by their mothers-in-law for his piety and holiness. The institution of marriage, as we understand it, is obviously impossible in a society where the relations between men and women are regulated on the habits of the bull and the cow. The Mahatma's idea of *Brahmacharya* is not the whole of the ancient Hindu idea. It means absolute celibacy only in the case of unmarried persons and widows. For married couples, it means continence in marriage. The Mahatma is right when he thinks that many of us treat the marriage relation as if it were legitimised debauchery. But his recipe of 'once in a quinquennium', like some of his other recipes for national salvation, is impracticable, and even if it were practicable, it would be harmful. By comparison, total prohibition would be less difficult of realisation. To regard the sexual relation as essentially

sinful and then to license it as occasionally permissible, is the wrong way to approach the problem. The right way is to regard it as the consummation of a spiritual relation to be kept undefiled by any thought of self-indulgence. Wherever this is the case, every birth will be a pledge of felicity.

REFLECTIONS ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

A valued friend writes :—

In spite of the differences and occasional mutual recriminations between representatives of the Moderate and the Non-Co-operation parties, I do not despair of a settlement, provided an earnest effort is made. The distance between the two camps does not seem to be so great as it is generally made out to be, *considering only the demands of the two parties*. In respect of the methods for the attainment of their respective objects, they, doubtless, differ by the whole diameter of being. But a method after all is a subsidiary consideration—the attainment of the object is the whole thing. It is only because the older method has not met with success, commensurate with the amount of labour, hard strenuous work and time put into it, that some people feel driven to the other methods. While the demand of the Non-Co-operators is Immediate Dominion status, the speeches of the Moderate leaders and the resolutions adopted at the Liberal Conference show unmistakeably that the Moderates would not be satisfied with less than immediate grant of full provincial autonomy, combined with diarchy in the central Government; full Dominion status (minus control of an imperial army and foreign relation) being at the same time guaranteed within a definite period of three to five years. Mrs. Annie Besant goes a long step farther and says that, even with the present Reforms Act full Dominion Home Rule can be secured at once by some voluntary readjustments. She clearly points out that if Indians were well advised they would agree to such readjustments and secure full Dominion status. How this is to be done, she does not take the trouble to explain and I for one do not share her delectable optimism. But the fact I wish to emphasise is that of her opinion that India deserves the grant of immediate Home Rule of the type of the Dominions of Canada etc. As you know, Rai Bahadur, J. N. Mozamdar has already given notice of a resolution which he wishes to move in the Legislative Assembly asking for immediate Provincial Autonomy, diarchy in the Central Government within two years and full Dominion status within eight years.

Now, if the Liberals would press their demands a little more earnestly than they have done, if they would make it clear to the Government that delay in the satisfaction of their demands would mean (as it certainly would) loss of their position as advocates of popular rights I am sure the Government would see more clearly than they do at present the imperative necessity of conciliating public opinion and coming to a settlement agreeable to all parties. It is simply because the Government does not take the Moderates'

demands seriously enough that they do not seem to realise the gravity of the situation.

The Non-Co-operation movement may succeed or it may fail, but the Government will have lost the game in either case. This is one of those cases where failure will be worse both for the Government and the people than success. But the best thing will undoubtedly be restoration of the old conditions of mutual good will, trust and regard between the British Government on the one hand and the Indian people on the other. This can only be assured by one large, courageous act of generous statesmanship on the part of the Government. Delay in meeting the public demands, or making concessions in dribblets will alike fail in their object of conciliations and future hearty co-operation of the people in the administration of the country as a willing and grateful member of the British Empire.

I appeal to you as an old friend and a leading exponent of advanced liberal views, to use your great influence in bringing about a settlement. Small beginnings should not be ignored by statesmen. I can clearly discern some thought-ripples which indifference should not allow to coalesce into big waves. Ideas are, as you know, the hardest things to kill. The only way to set them at rest is to remove the cause and source of them. The people's faith in British justice and the theory of "trusteeship" has been rudely shaken by recent events to which the U. P. Liberals have referred in as strong and sincere words as any Nationalist has done. The King-Emperor has recognised Swaraj within the Empire as the legitimate political goal of India. Let it come with the grace of gift and not as a result of a violent or a non-violent agitation. This is not too much to ask or expect of a nation that gave self-government to South Africa. But the depressing thought comes: the same nation has made inglorious blunders and perpetrated grievous wrongs nearer home. I clearly remember some Irish leaders hipping at an Irish Republic in 1880 or 1881 soon after the failure of the first Home Rule Bill. It was a very mild thought at the time, just as some of our politicians are today speaking of Swaraj with British connection, if possible; without it, if necessary. It is a suicidal thought, I admit; but there it is a part of the tremendous "psychological revolution" which has of late taken place in India.

My hope lies in the fact that all Nationalists regardless of parties or politics are demanding Swaraj with a united voice—the only difference between the two parties being as to the length of the time within which it is to be attained. The Moderates no longer want this time limit to be either long or indefinite. They have clearly defined their position, viz that while they ask for immediate Provincial Autonomy they would not be satisfied with less than a promise of full Swaraj within three to five years, with reservation in respect of an imperial as distinguished from a provincial army, and foreign relations including relations with Native States.

Is settlement so very difficult? What are the Moderates going to do if the Government does not listen to their supplications? We know what has been the fate of all our Congress resolutions and petitions for 35 years. Are the Moderates going to wait indefinitely? Or, are they prepared to tell the Government: "give us what we have been pressing for otherwise our position would be so weakened that our support would not be worth much to you". To my mind this is the acid test of the earnestness of the Moderates' demands; as also of the sincerity of the Government in trying to rally the Moderates round them. A frank and courageous front on their part may possibly save the situation and may even win some adherents from the ranks of the N. C. O. to their side. The difference between the demands of the Moderates and the N. C. O.'s is, in some ways, so small, that the Government might agree to an intermediate settlement in order to avoid the continuance of widespread agitation which is obviously not good for the prestige of England as "possessor" of India. At the same time, it will save India much misery and suffering which will not leave a more readily effaceable impress on the souls of the sufferers and their children and their children's children because the misery and suffering were of their own seeking and borne with patience and eyes cheerfulness.

I am sorry, I have made this letter so inordinately long. Do kindly pardon me for the length and for the substance of the letter if you do not agree with me. I know, you will do whatever you can to ease the tension of the existing political situation. How much do we miss the sage counsel of a man like Rapada or eyes Gokhale at the present time. The only way to disarm the N. C. O. is to pacify the Moderates by granting their demands, and if the Government is prepared to grant their demands they might as well climb down one further short step and arrive at some sort of settlement which might pacify the Non-Co-operators as well. The solution of the situation thus lies in a sense in the hands of the Moderates. If they do not press their demands at the present time or are satisfied by promises, the public will have just cause to blame them for temporising. You know, as well as I do, what certain high administrators in India, not excluding Viceroys have thought of such sacred document as the Queen's Proclamation which India has regarded through continued disappointments as the Magna Charta of her liberties. Only the other day, a leading English publicist pleaded that Mr. Lloyd George's declaration of Self-Determination and his pledges to Islam were only "opportunist cries". Can such writers increase our respect for England?

THE LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA.

(By MR. S. V. PHADNIS.)

Without at least the partial solution of what may be called the problem of National education, it is idle to hope to realise the ideal of National Freedom. Hence I purpose here to discuss in brief the problem

of National Education. Reserving other items of the problem to another occasion, I shall in the present article devote my remarks to the medium of Education, the language of national intercourse. Two different solutions have been suggested by two different schools of thought. The predominantly emotional school advocates Hindustani; while the rational school goes in for English. All things considered, I endorse the latter solution as being more scientific and less disadvantageous.

In the first place, I am alive to the supreme truth that full attention must be paid to the various Indian languages, and secondly, that rapid development is only achieved by teaching the different subjects in the mother-tongue of the student concerned. I agree, *in toto* with a large section of Indian nationalists and educationists in increasing vernacular degrees as hall marks of learning. I am perfectly certain that our Tukarams, Kabirs, and Tulshidasas will alone help us to preserve the cream of our oriental culture, tradition, and civilization. It must be borne, however, in mind that mere preservation, renovation, and revival of what belonged to ancient India is not sufficient for us to subsist on as a nation in the modern world. The world is increasingly getting more compact every day and there is no need—as some persons make out, for emphasizing the antithesis between Asia and Europe as separate and distinct entities. These antitheses are only apparent; they must fuse into a workable synthesis. I hold that the only conceivably rational and practical ideal for the speedy regeneration of India would be some sort of healthy fusion between East and West. The present day sons of India are called upon, let us believe, to serve their motherland in a twofold manner, firstly, by learning the message of the West themselves and secondly, by giving their message to the West. English, therefore, should be taught as a living language is taught; and when thus taught, it can be learnt quickly and better than it is now.

Our solution, thus, amounts to a double solution, in conformity with the twofold character of our Nation-making. Firstly, an immense impetus has to be given to the study and cultivation of the different Indian languages in their respective provinces; secondly, we do hold, notwithstanding anything said to the contrary, that universal development of English is necessary to enable India to play her role properly in the near future.

The great Mahatmaji and his school, however, do take exception to the latter part of our thesis on the ground of "infatuation and enslaved mentality". I on my part, do not think that this objection is in any way valid, unless—it is meant to subserve temporarily the ends of the agitation that is going on. The non-Co-operation agitation has a psychosis behind it and with reference to its psychosis, I confess, the objection is justifiable. I cannot conceive of any justification in reality other than the one I have set forth. If English is Swarajya-retarding and conduces to enslaved mentality, may I put it to pro-Hindi people as to how they can consistently insist upon the English-educated community (e.g. lawyers and undergraduates

of the Indian University) to join the N. C. O. movement and lead the masses quite innocent of English? Can the enslaved and the infatuated lead the unenslaved?

Further, I claim that if English has not done anything else, it has at least engendered, what we call, the national self-consciousness and awakening.

To assert the claims of English as the common national language of India is neither enslavement nor infatuation but a veritable working of the principle of giving the devil its due. Next the intensification of the nationalisation as is seen in an all-round growth of the vernaculars of India, would not have been possible without the spread of English. I am strong in this belief and hence I request our pro-Hindi friends to study the growth of any vernacular literature after the introduction of the English language. The solution of the language problem must neither be swayed by an "a priori" politics nor by narrow patriotism. It must be co-ordinated and harmonised with the actual political condition obtained in the country and her educational problem. Even from a purely political reason, the English language will serve, as has been the case in the past, far more effectively a weapon against our political opponents and against the drawbacks of European culture than poor Hindustani.

At this stage, I have to sound a word of caution. I do not entertain the slightest idea, however, of making English an eternal lingua franca of our country. Far from that, what I am emphasizing is only that no language of India, at the present stage of its growth, is competent to play the role of the lingua franca without detriment to the nationmaking of India. To conceive to-day of any Indian language as lingua franca is, from my point of view, merely utopian. Hence, leaving this question alone, many patriots as the late Lok. Tilak did direct their attention to a less controversial point of having a common script for the languages of India.

Before I conclude, I owe it to the public to say a few words on what I consider to be the place of Hindustani. In the near place, I fully appreciate its esperanto character among the Indian languages, barring the Dravidian stock. As such it has been very widely used by travellers, pilgrims, naturalized Anglo-Indians and others. The inter-provincial message-agitator may equally find it useful. In view of these reasons, among others, we regard Hindustani as an auxiliary national language in this period of transition.

The Bombay Municipal Corporation and the Prince's Visit: We made a mistake last week in stating that Government have rectified the omission to include the President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation among the high officials to receive the Prince of Wales on landing. The omission and rectification were on the occasion of the Duke of Connaught's visit. The omission will, we are sure, not be repeated and there will be no need to rectify it thereafter.

Misdirected Protest: The public meeting to give expression to the feeling against some of the features and methods of the Bombay Development Depart-

ment held on the 22nd instant, passed three resolutions. The first insisted on the handing over of the Department to a Minister instead of being, as at present, administered by a Member of the Executive Council. There can be no doubt that the Reform scheme makes Development a transferred subject, and there is actually a Minister for Development in Madras. In our first article on the scheme, we called attention to this Bombay anomaly. While adhering to this view, we are not able, from such experience as we have since had of the working diarchy in this Presidency, to support an attack on the Department on this issue. The second resolution related to the constitution and functions of the Advisory Committee. It was, in fact, inconsistent with the first resolution because the Committee was avowedly intended as a special provision to make up for its not being placed under a Minister. We think that this object is not fulfilled by the present Committee which does not advise the Member in charge but only the departmental head, Sir Lawless Hepper. The third resolution passed by the meeting advocated the wholesale adoption of the provisions of the Town-Planning Act instead of those of the Land Acquisition Act. This resolution stamps the proceedings as not inspired by consideration for the masses. The delays of acquisition after notification, and of payment of compensation after acquisition, under the latter Act, are serious grievances, and ought to be promptly put an end to. But the provisions of the Town-Planning Act, besides involving most of the inconveniences of Land Acquisition, often operate to victimise the poor holder in favour of the sowcar. Under the Land Acquisition Act, the small holder gets the value of his property with an additional percentage for the compulsory acquisition, while under the Town-Planning Act, he may lose half and the best half of his house or holding, and may be further called upon to pay part of the enhanced value of the other half or to sell it on disadvantageous terms to the nearest land-grabber with ready cash.

Bombay Boy Scouts Fund. The Director of Information sends us a list of subscribers and subscriptions to the Bombay Boy Scouts' Fund. The total sum up to the 24th instant, was Rs. 50,706-3-0.

Dharwar Riot Case. We called attention last week to the distribution of casualties during the firing on the crowd by the Police at Dharwar on the first of July; as an index of the composition of the crowd. Of 39 wounded, 3 were Brahmins, 18 Mahomedans and 18 non-Brahmin Hindus including 8 Lingayats. Besides these, there were 3 Mahomedans killed. The contrast between these proportions and those of the men accused of being present in and partaking in the offences of the crowd, is noteworthy. There were 29 accused of whom 15 were Brahmins, 13 Mahomedans and 1 non-Brahmin. The Brahmins, according to this distribution, would seem to have taken the largest part in making the disturbance. How is it then that only 3 of them were among the wounded, while no less than 18 non-Brahmins suffered on account of the offence of a single casual non-Brahmin in the crowd? As we said last week, there can be no doubt that those who were wounded were present in the crowd, and unless the Police directed their fire at the most innocent point of the crowd, it is not easy to account for the vast difference between the numbers wounded and accused of Brahmins and non-Brahmins. *Prima facie*, the wounded men were all guilty of the offences charged against the unwounded, and yet only 2 of the wounded were among the accused. Were they not put on their trial as the wounds they received were deemed sufficient punishment for their offence? In that case, why should the same consideration not have been extended also to the two who were accused?

IN THE DARK NIGHT OF THE SOUL.

(By MEREDITH STARR.)

We wander in a land accurst,
To us more desolate than death;
And only thou canst quench our thirst,
Lord of the life that quickeneth.

Speak Thou, and in this desert land
The rose will blossom, and the spring
Gush forth; the sad forsaken sand
With the sweet tramp of angels' ring.

Speak Thou, and all our grief is past,
And all our hearts, reviving, sing,
O Spirit of the Eternal Vast,
And Promise of the Eternal Spring!

85, Lancaster Gate
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THE STATE AND THE SOCIAL EVIL

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In sending you our annual report of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, for 1920-21, we would ask you to read carefully pages 7 to 37, bearing in mind that to do the work so briefly outlined in these pages necessitated sending out nearly 15,000 letters, many of which were individual letters involving considerable research.

We are glad to record two gains not mentioned in the report, (1) the passage into law of an Act for the suppression of brothels in Burma which will abolish the great segregated vice area in Rangoon, and (2) the placing out of bounds to British soldiers, from August 1st, the recognised brothels in Egypt.

With deep disappointment and no little indignation we have to record a defeat by the deliberate wrecking of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill after it had passed its third reading in both Houses of Parliament. A considerable part of the last four years' work has been devoted to amendment of the Criminal Law, and we now propose to demand that the Government shall itself introduce and be responsible for the next Criminal Law Amendment Bill through all its stages.

In addition to promoting a new Criminal Law Amendment Bill, the Association has for its immediate programme three main pieces of work, and for these it would beg your most generous financial assistance—

The Association's campaign against Venereal Prophylaxis i.e. the teaching, at public expense, of self-disinfection after exposure. (See Report, pages 12-17).

The campaign for the abolition of regulated prostitution within the British Empire, and to obtain a better moral and social environment for His Majesty's Forces. (See Report, pages 20-24).

Abolition of the existing Solicitation Laws and the substitution for them of a law equally applicable to all persons who molest others in public places. (See Report, page 10).

A number of our supporters subscribed last year to the "British Empire Campaign." This campaign has necessarily forced upon us the need for giving sympathetic consideration to the rightful human needs of the men in the Services, and we hope and believe that one result of pressing for a better moral environment for our soldiers will be an improvement

in the material conditions of their lives, and an increased sense of responsibility for their welfare among British people both at home and abroad.

We tender our sincere thanks to all those friends who have helped this work in the past, and trust that they will continue and, if possible, increase their support, and that new friends will be interested in our Report and come forward to help.

Yours faithfully,

THOMAS B. FRANKS, Hon. Treasurer.

CHARLES J. TABBING, Chairman.

P.S.—The issue of this Report and postage have cost the Association six pence a copy. We should welcome even that six pence from those who receive a copy.

SALVATION ARMY RESCUE WORK IN BOMBAY.

(By BRIGADIER DAYASAGAR.)

I remember the Salvation Army Rescue Home as a properly established Institution so far back as 25 years ago, but do not remember how long it had been in existence before that time.

All this time a steady work has been in progress with good results although our efforts have been hampered through want of funds and suitable premises.

Seeing the Salvation Army has for so long a time been paying for the upkeep of this work from its general funds, I think it now merits the help of the people of this City to enable it to carry on the work on a larger scale and more efficient manner.

The pamphlet issued by the Bombay Purity Committee should be sufficient to convince any fair minded person of the need of such an institution and I consider the figures given as understated.

Were it a case of physical leprosy spreading in this city to the same extent would not every doctor of ability be called upon to combat the disease? Who would be so wanting in humanity as to ignore his utility because they disagreed with his religion or had a dislike for his caste?

We are now seeking to combat moral leprosy resulting in great mental agony, not only in the case of the victims but all those related to them, and in a physical disease as loathsome and perhaps more painful than leprosy.

The time for trifling is past and now it behoves us to unitedly, wholeheartedly and intelligently attack and wage continual war against this great evil.

Notwithstanding the fact that our work has been hampered as I stated before, the report for the first half of this year shows progress.

On January 1st 1931 there were 10 inmates in the Army's Home. During the period of six months ending June 30th admissions numbered 17 while 18 left during the same period.

For reasons which all will understand I refrain from speaking of the present inmates but as samples of what has been done I will refer to some of those who have lately passed through our hands.

1. A little girl under 14 yrs. of age was led astray. She had been given a good education. When her friends got to know of her condition they cast her off, and the mean wretch who got her into trouble did nothing to assist her. She was sent to the S.A. Home with a baby a month old.

Shortly after, her uncle appeared and asked to take her away and was allowed to do so. He made such a slave of the girl that in order to save her child she left him and walked a long distance back to the S.A. Home. The baby proved to be too ill to be saved and though everything possible was done it passed away to a better and a kinder world.

The poor girl was thoroughly repentant of her wrong-doing and was soon after permitted to work outside as an Ayah, while still remaining as an inmate of the Home. She was such an exemplary servant that she obtained very high testimonials from her employers. After spending some years in the Home she was happily married.

A young girl who was a trained nurse was victimized by a doctor, and for sometime sought in vain for someone to befriend her. She was eventually sent to our Home and her baby was born soon after her arrival. For a time the doctor sent donations for her support, but after a while informed her that he had changed his address and from that time ceased to write to her or send any assistance. She eventually obtained employment in a Hospital while still lodging at the Home and after eleven months her relatives came and took her away as she had proved that her reform was permanent.

The Home Officers, though busily employed with the care of the inmates of the institution, find time once a week to visit the brothels and talk to the poor victims of lust. It is interesting to note that they have visited besides other places every house in "Safed Gally" (Khurshedji Sukhlajee st.) the most notorious street in Bombay.

What is Needed. It is very desirable that S.A. Rescue Officers should be made Police-women; One S.A. Officer in Calcutta has been made a Police-woman already and I see no reason why Bombay should not give our Rescue Officers the same powers. At present they are hampered in their work of rescue as they can only visit the brothels in private capacity.

The S.A. in Bombay is in need of a large triple institution for a Rescue Home. It is undesirable to put all kinds of women and girls together in a Home. There should be a receiving House where the new arrivals are dealt with. There should be apartments for those who though fallen are not hardened in vice; and there should be another part of the institution for those who have been professional prostitutes. This building should be surrounded by a garden and not too far from the city. Gardening might well be one of the industries of the Home.

In addition to this there should be a large Hostel as a preventive measure. This should be adapted for single women and widows with children, and should be near the business centre of the city. The S.A. has many such institutions in all parts of the world. Many a young woman is ruined because her salary will not permit of her paying the present high rents and because of being compelled to live in undesirable neighbourhoods.

I suggest that the Bombay Improvement Trust give this matter their serious consideration and that the S.A. be asked to submit plans and estimates of the cost of running such institutions. The closing of the brothels would make it necessary to provide for those desirous of living an honest life.

In conclusion I would say that we cannot rectify the moral and spiritual machinery of man without the aid of the Maker of Man.

BOMBAY RECLAMATION.

We have received a copy of the preliminary plan of the layout for the Back Bay Reclamation prepared by Mr. W. R. Davidge, F.S.I., A.R.I.B.A., Consulting Town Planner. The Governor in Council is desirous of emphasising the fact that the layout shown on this plan is only a preliminary one. The opinion of the public bodies in Bombay, which have been invited in regard to certain matters connected with the layout, will be considered when revised plans are being prepared.

A PARSI-HINDU MARRIAGE.

A correspondent writes:—

Under the auspices of the Hyderabad (Dn.) Arya Samaj, Miss Bhikoo Bai Rustomji, an educated Parsi Lady of Secunderabad, aged 28, was initiated—after Shuddhi—into the Vedic Religion, in the evening of Monday, the 10th October 1921. She was, later on, the same evening married, according to Vedic rites, to Dr. Ramchander, a leading medical practitioner, also of Secunderabad, who is a Shree Vaishnava Brahmin aged about 32 and a younger brother of Mr. K. Tatarbar B.A., M.L., of the local bar. Mr. Baji Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L., of the local bar officiated as Purohita.

The Dampati gave a donation of Rs. 50 to the Samaj in honour of the occasion and a Dhakshana of Rs. 70 to Mr. Baji Krishna Rao, the Purohita and his 2 assistants, which they, in their turn, gave away to the Samaj.

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Land and Labour in a Deccan Village. Study No. II. By Dr. Harold H. Mann. Bombay University Economic Series. This is volume II published this month. Those who have studied volume I have long awaited this further study. Paper Rs. 4. Cloth us. 5/8.

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Rambles and Recollections of an Indian official, by Major General Sleeman. Annotated by V. A. Smith. 8s. net. On Oxford India paper 7s. 6d. net.

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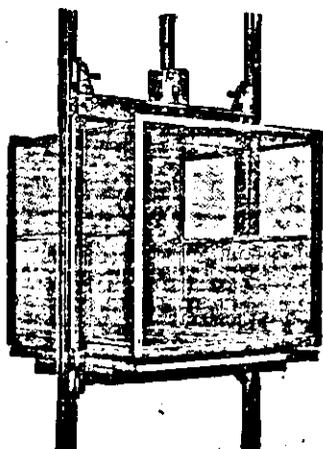
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Karachi Prosecutions. The Karachi prosecutions have resulted in the conviction of all the accused persons but one, on one of the minor charges, and of Moulana Mahomed Ali on an additional minor charge. At the outset of his able and lucid summing up, Mr. B. C. Kennedy, the Judicial Commissioner in Sindh, told the jury:

The principal charge against the accused are those of conspiracy. It is on the main question of conspiracy that you are asked to give your verdict. It is on the conspiracy that you must make up your minds, and the issue between the accused and the Government, which is to be decided by you, is whether the accused were guilty of the conspiracy referred to in the first two charges.

After a consultation of over two hours, the jury found all the accused not guilty of these first two charges of conspiracy to seduce His Majesty's troops, and the learned Judge accepted the verdict and acquitted all the accused. The offence of which all the accused, except Bharathi Krishna Tirthaji, were found guilty, was publishing a statement, viz., that it was unlawful for a Mussalman to serve in the British army, which was likely to cause Mussalman officers or soldiers to fail in their duty. Moulana Mahomed Ali was also found guilty of abetting an offence by more than ten persons, and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment to run concurrently with the sentence of two years for the other offence. We do not think that a prosecution would have been launched on these minor charges had they stood by themselves, and are obliged to conclude that the Government have been ill-advised in undertaking these prosecutions. While the independence of justice has been vindicated by the result, the general opinion of the circumspection of Government has been subjected to a severe strain. Moulana Mahomed Ali pointed out in the course of his statement that, while the resolution of the Karachi Khilafat Conference regarding the declaration of a Republic, had been commented upon in many newspapers, none had noticed the resolution relating to troops, on which the prosecution was launched. This is true. The fact is that no importance was attached

to this resolution which was taken to be merely an impressive admonition to Government to redress the public wrong of which the Conference complained. Government have done the right and the wise thing in withdrawing the further charges of sedition against Moulana Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. They cannot now withdraw the two minor charges on which conviction has been obtained but they can and should, we think, in consideration of the religious feeling which has somehow got mixed up with the question, and which the Jury very properly felt precluded from considering, exercise generously their power to modify, mitigate and remit the sentence. It will show that, although under legal advice they had no alternative but to start the prosecutions, they do not care for the minor offence when the major counts have been held to be untenable by the highest Court of Justice in the sub-province of Sind. We ought to add that Mr. Kennedy's summing-up is a literary and judicial achievement, and that, under extremely trying conditions not of his own making, he has acquitted himself in a manner worthy of the high traditions of British justice.

A Retrograde Plea. The Jury expressly stated that they had not taken the religious convictions of the accused in their verdict which entirely turned upon the facts and the law. The claim of the Maulanas that they should be judged according to the Koranic law is as untenable as would be a claim that a Hindu should be dealt with according to the Code of Manu. The Koranic law evidently makes a deep distinction between Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans as the Code of Manu does between Aryans and Mlechhas and between Hindus of different castes. Both these ancient Codes—we are speaking of them from the juridical stand-point as distinguished from their scriptural authority—are, therefore, strangers to the equality of all subjects in the eye of the law, which is the corner-stone of modern jurisprudence. When India has full responsible Government, she must abide by this modern principle and she cannot in her penal or civil law recognise distinctions of creed or caste. A plea which raises the presumption that she would or could do otherwise, demands prompt repudiation from those who are most earnest about hastening the advent of *swaraj*. A man is bound scrupulously to abide by his religious convictions, but he should also and in addition obey the law of the land which regulates the secular relations between subject and subject and between subject and the State. The Legislature should be careful not to impinge on the sphere of religion and religion likewise should respect the sphere of the secular State. Social reform among us has been much obstructed by the mixing-up of religion so-called with social customs that grew up according to social exigencies from time to time. Nobody nowadays will defend the ban on sea-voyage or enforced widowhood or the prohibitions relating to interdining or adult marriages on the ground that they are enjoined by Hindu scripture. Not does religion gain much by

being thrust into matters which ought to be determined by the secular reason. We cannot help regarding a plea which mixes up religion and politics or religion and social reform, as calculated to retard progress.

The Labour "Gazette": We have received the October number of the *Labour Gazette*, published monthly by the Labour Office, Secretariat, Bombay. A section of public opinion seems to regard this enterprise as a useless waste of money, but we think that the *Gazette* has a place to fill among our periodicals, though we cannot say that it can do so unless it is something more than the scrappy, gumpot-and-scissors affair than it is. The *Gazette* at present seems to be without a central idea to give unity and purpose to its contents. This is a defect which is inevitable in all official periodicals, and the *Gazette* can never be wholly free from it. The absence of any reference to the charkha and khaddar movement in this or the last issue, is inexcusable in a *Labour Gazette*. We do not mean that the Editor should have tilted at the Non-Co-operation movement, but he could surely have placed before his readers a review of the position of the hand-spinning and weaving industry in the country, its relation to the mill industry and to the import trade in cloth, the progress made by it so far as it can be ascertained, and the progress it will have to make for it to supplant the mills and foreign cloth. There is a large marginal section of the public which can be influenced by a reasoned exposition of facts, and the reason for the existence of the Labour Department, as explained by His Excellency the Governor in the last number, is to make a constant supply of reliable facts continuously available to this, which in the last resort is the deciding, section of the public. An exposition of the statistics of prices two months old is of scientific as well as of antiquarian but not of current interest. And that, too, is done entirely without reference to wages, whereas the exhibition of prices and wages in relation to each other is necessary to make the matter of interest to Labour. The Editor's short "Month in brief" does not require a special *Gazette* to find publication.

Overcrowding and the Death Rate: The only other article of any originality in the October number is that by Dr. J. Sandilands on the relation of death-rate to overcrowding. He takes three districts in Bombay City, Umerkhadi, Parel and Chaupati, and their average annual death-rate during 1913-17 (selected as the only quinquennial period in recent times when there were no major epidemics), and comparing the respective percentages of population living six or more persons to a room and the annual death-rates in these areas, he concludes that he has established the relation between overcrowding and the death-rate. We do not see that he has. Unless it can be shown that the communities inhabiting these localities were in every other respect, than as regards the numbers inhabiting one room, of identical composition, mere juxtaposition of the two sets of figures does not prove proposition. Mr. Sandilands himself says that the Chaupati population consists of "better-class" residents. Umerkhadi is a typical slum of the poorer classes, and in Parel a considerable number of mill-hands dwell. Can he say that relative wealth and poverty have no influence on the death-rate, and that being more than six in one room is not only one of the incidents—the worst—of poverty? He has not even taken the trouble to compare the death-rate in the same locality among those who actually live more than six in one room and those who do not, though this would have been a better test! Dr. Sandilands' way of getting round inconvenient corners is admirable

The low death-rate in Parel from tuberculosis as compared with that in Chaupathi and for Bombay City, would seem to constitute it a sanatorium, though Parel is largely inhabited by mill-hands who work in dusty mills, and Chaupathi by "better-class" people. The Doctor merely gives it up with the remark that "no end would be served by further comment." That is because he set out with a ready-made conclusion, and facts which do not fit in with it are of no use to him. Some one should analyse the death-rate from tuberculosis in the two districts by sexes, and we should not be surprised if it be found that more women die of the purdah in ozone-laden Chaupathi than men and women of overcrowding in Parel. Dr. Sandilands' method of dealing with infant mortality without any reference to birth-rates is very original. His own figures show that the rate of infant mortality in three room tenements is actually less than that in four room tenements, but he seems to think that a different hygienic law operates in the case of tenants of four rooms. Over-crowding does affect health and vitality, but Dr. Sandilands' way of proving it is not the most convincing.

The Indian Institute of Science: We are glad that the Government of India have decided to appoint a Committee of enquiry to examine the working of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore during the last ten years, and to make recommendations for its management and future policy and the lines on which the Institute should be developed. But we do not see the need of obtaining the services of Sir William Pope from Cambridge to preside over the Committee. There are two or three Indians one of whom can guide its proceedings far more effectively than any one from an English University, and it is high time, after our experience of English Universities and the British Medical Association, that we stood on our own feet and gave up hanging on to the coat tails of English educationists who do not understand our problems and who suggest reforms which inevitably lay the foundations of another similar enquiry in a year or two. The Chairman of the Committee need not be a scientist but he must have a large outlook on the country's scientific needs. We do not wish to imitate the prevailing method of making recommendations insidiously or bluntly for a post. Mr. Shaffi knows where to look for the right Indian, if he can divest himself of the hoary superstition that an English educationist alone is competent to preside over such a Committee of enquiry. We hope it will be a strong Committee and not made up of nominees of this or that complexion in Indian politics, as Committees nowadays appointed by the Government of India have a tendency to be. A good party politician is not necessarily the best man to sit on Committees which deal with subjects demanding study and application.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimatoola's Successor: We do not, as a rule concern ourselves with official appointments, but in view of the statements made in the Press and of the peculiarity of the political situation at present, we feel it would be unfortunate if it is not found possible to get a competent Mahomedan to take Sir Ibrahim Rahimatoola's place when he joins the Fiscal Commission shortly. We fully realise that the Parsis are as much entitled to official preference as any others, and no Parsi so far has become a Member of Council or Minister. The earliest opportunity should be taken to remedy this omission, but at present it is essential that Government should have the benefit of the advice of an able Mahomedan of high character and independence in its inner councils. It needs some looking-for to find out such a candidate, and newspaper assistance in the matter is useless and a mistake. At any rate, we do not propose to offer any by way of suggestion,

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1921.

SIR PHEROZESHAH MEHTA.

We are glad that the anniversary of the death of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was celebrated last week by various public bodies. He was a great Parsi, a great Indian, a great statesman and a great man. A considerable section of his own community was inclined to regard him in his life-time as rather unduly subordinating its communal interests in his view of Indian politics. This was true in a narrow sense, but far from the truth in the larger and truer sense. Sir Pherozeshah was never the man to run his head against the stone wall of fact. He realised that numerically the Parsis were an insignificant drop in the multitudinous ocean of Indian humanity and that it was on the quality of their contribution to national life that their right to an equal place with the larger communities could be most securely based. For this it was necessary that they should never separate themselves from the other Indian communities. It was Sir Pherozeshah's insistence on this on various occasions that made him rather unpopular with the masses of the Parsis. But he was so convinced of the importance of this to the community that he never swerved from it in the face of the strongest opposition. As an illustration of his firm adherence to this principle, he opposed the proposal to enroll Parsi volunteers in Bombay—as in Poona—although even Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was inclined to favour it as a stepping-stone, unless all Indians were included in it. At the same time no one more boldly and firmly asserted the right of the Parsis to be a leading factor in Indian life on the ground of their great innate public virtues. A complimentary banquet was given to him by the Ripon Club on the conferment of the K.C.I.E. upon him in 1904, and in his speech on that occasion he gave some rare glimpses of his inner being. Speaking of the future of the Parsis, he said:

It is an historic fact that the seed of good citizenship was sown in this Presidency by the Parsi community. It may be that, owing to their numbers, our Hindu and Mahomedan friends will, nay must, pass us in the race; but I will ask them to remember in the hour of their success that it is the Parsis who sowed the seeds of which they reap.

We are sure that the community which gave India such leaders as Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, and, still happily with us in his hale old age, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, will never find its claims overlooked by any Indian party and community.

Sir Pherozeshah next to being a great Parsi was a great Bombay man. The Municipal Corporation was for nearly half a century his most cherished sphere of work. In the Bombay University for a nearly equal length of time his influence was dominant. He left his powerful impress on the Bombay Legislative Council. His patriotism thus flowed from centre to circumference. Even when engrossed in great all-

India problems, he was particular not to miss a meeting of the Corporation or of the University. He knew, and every one of us should learn from his example, that the springs of national progress lie most of all in the good administration of the city, town or village, and in the upbuilding of a sound and solid system of education. He would never have cared to impress the masses as being one of themselves by the manner of his dress or diet or speech, but the poor had no stouter champion than he in the City, the University and the Legislative Councils. Non-Co-operators may indeed claim that Sir Pherozeshah set the example of Non-Co-operation when he walked out of the Bombay Legislative Council in protest against the Land Revenue Bill of 1901, which he thought did not go to the root of the indebtedness of the ryots. Official opinion to-day endorses, we think, the view which Sir Pherozeshah then took of the Bill. Having registered his protest in this emphatic, because unusual, way, Sir Pherozeshah did not think that he should for ever more renounce all co-operation with the Council. He was not an one-idea'd man, with a single recipe for all national diseases. He practically retired from his legal practice in order to devote himself fully to his public duties, though he would have snubbed severely any one who ventured to say that he had thereby made a great sacrifice. His sacrifices were not for parade, and he would have resented any imputation of extraordinary altruism to himself. He was a man of tremendous convictions, unshakable as a rock, and the person who aimed the shoe at him at Surat in 1907 knew that Sir Pherozeshah and not any one else, not Mr. Gokhale nor Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, was the implacable barrier that stood between his party and the Congress. It is an open secret that he disapproved of Mr. Gokhale's compromises with Government on the one side and with the Tilak party on the other. The evolution of Bombay and Indian politics from 1907 to 1915 is a chapter which cannot be adequately written without a careful study of the play and counter-play of two such varied temperaments as Sir Pherozeshah's and Mr. Gokhale's. It is as good as certain that Sir Pherozeshah would have stood against the compromise relating to communal electorates as he did against the Press and other repressive Acts and as he did against the compromise which re-admitted the Surat insurgents to the fold of the National Congress with results which he foresaw. He was totally opposed to the Gandhi compromise on the South African question, which he shrewdly prophesied was no solution, only an aggravation of the problem. The fact was that himself a master of phrases, he knew exactly what words meant and insisted on tangible facts.

It was but another side of his tremendous grip upon fact that he refused to indulge in long speculations regarding the future. He closed his great presidential address at the Calcutta Congress in 1890 with the lines from Cardinal Newman's moving hymn: "I do not ask to see the distant scene, one step enough for me," which embodied his deep political as well as religious

feeling. For he was essentially a spiritually-minded man, though he wore his idealism no more than his self-sacrifice upon his sleeve. But in the speech at the Ripon Club to which reference has been already made, he permitted himself a little self-revelation on both these aspects of his being. He said: "Gentlemen, in these days we are somewhat materialistic. We sometimes think that we have got nothing to do but to accumulate wealth for our own enjoyment. Gentlemen, that is not all that we have got to do in this world. Life requires something higher and nobler for its full satisfaction. We cannot be content without aspiring at something more than self-indulgence." He proceeded to quote, apologising for it as permitted by the postprandial character of the occasion, the noble lines from Tennyson's "Two voices" as conveying his own ideal of a public career:

At least, not rotting like a weed,
But, having sown some generous seed,
Fruitful of further thought and deed,
To pass, when life her light withdraws,
Not void of righteous self-applause,
Nor in a merely selfish cause—
In some good cause, not in mine own,
To perish, wept for, honour'd, known
And like a warrior overthrown;
Whose eyes are dim with glorious tears,
When, soil'd with noble dust, he hears,
His country's war-song, thrill his ears:
Then dying of a mortal stroke,
What time the seaman's line is broke,
And all the world is rell'd in smoke.

It may be truly said that Sir Pherozeshah died the death which he coveted. He did not, alas, live to give the new reforms shape, but his quick, intuition, no doubt, told him that the war had made an end of the bureaucracy with which he waged life-long battle. The field was won.

THE POPULATION PROBLEM.

It is an oft-noted fact that the birth-rate and death-rate in a community rise and fall together. It has been sought to be explained on the ground that infant mortality being always much higher than adult mortality, where births are numerous, deaths too are necessarily numerous. But nobody has explained why infant mortality must always be high and why adults should live longer because fewer children are born. Mr. Charles Edward Pell in his very suggestive book, "The Law of Births and Deaths" (Mr. Fisher Unwin), maintains that the birth-rate and the death-rate rise and fall together because they result from the same cause in a given community. A high mortality represents a great deficiency of "nervous energy" in a community and a high birth-rate does the same. By "nervous energy" should not be understood the energy implied in a well-developed liking and capacity for work. The Chinese peasant is well-known for his plodding industry, but he is not conspicuous for nervous energy. "An individual may be of a very indolent disposition," Mr. Pell observes, "and yet possess a highly charged nervous system. Such an individual will usually have a strong aversion

to drudgery, but yet be capable of great exertions when stimulated by interest or necessity." He adds that this temperament is often associated with genius, and cites Dr. Johnson as an example. The conditions favourable to the development of such nervous energy among nations and individuals, are stated to be a moderate amount of physical exertion, a plentiful diet rich in nutriment in proportion to its bulk and rich in proteids, a bright and bracing climate, and a bright and cheerful environment generally, with plenty of mental stimulation. Mr. Pell's thesis is that a high development of such nervous energy in individuals and communities, has the effect simultaneously of lowering the birth-rate and the death-rate. He expounds his thesis by a wealth of illustration drawn from vegetable and animal life. But we confine ourselves here to the evidences from human society.

The first piece of evidence is a negative one. It is the futility of all efforts in ancient and modern times to decrease or increase the birth-rate by administrative measures. Pharaoh's drastic measures to put down male births among the Jews in captivity failed. So did those of the Emperor Augustus to increase the birth-rate among the Romans, and Mr. Pell points out with almost indelicate irony, that the Emperor might have known from his own example—he himself obtained only one child from a sequence of three wives—that it has not for want of will that the Roman birth-rate declined. The conditions of life among latter-day Romans favoured a high development of nervous energy which led to the steady decline of the birth-rate. Mr. Pell pokes some gentle fun at the members of the British National Birth-rate Commission of two years ago who, with an average number of children per family among them of only 1.75—sixteen out of the forty-one members being absolutely childless—brought in a verdict that there was no evidence of a decline of fertility due to natural causes! His own explanation of their case is that it was just because they were conscious, in each individual case, that their childlessness was the result of natural causes that they consented to sit on that Commission. Had infertility in their case been due to anything but natural causes, he adds, they would have avoided that Commission. The small success of the efforts of the French Government by means of large bonuses to encourage large families is another illustration. In this connection, Mr. Pell points out that if the fall in the French birth-rate was due, as alleged, to the extensive and habitual use of contraceptives by the masses, it would have necessitated a trade, of which there is no evidence, in contraceptives comparable in magnitude with that in such common necessities of daily life as mustard and salt. Indeed, Mr. Pell's argument is that the very idea of contraceptives appeals only to communities in which the birth-rate has already begun to decline from the operation of the natural law which ordains that when the conditions of social life among a people exceed a certain optimum point, they tend to become longer-lived and coincidentally they tend to produce

fewer children. In proof that the lower birth-rate in Western countries is not due to an absence of desire for children among married couples, Mr. Pell cites such an institution as the National Children Adoption Association of England which has received 1500 applications from all classes ranging from miners to millionaires. He observes :

Curiously enough, these are not all from childless couples, but frequently come from people who have one child and want another. Perhaps, they have a boy and want a girl, or vice versa. Girls, it seems, are in much greater demand than boys. This demand for children for adoption is symptomatic of a much larger desire for children, since for every couple who are prepared to adopt the children of strangers, there will be hundreds of couples who keenly desire children of their own, but hesitate to adopt children of doubtful heredity.

Parturition has become more difficult in civilised communities, as shown by the enormous increase in the number of cases in which instrumental aid is given to women in the Rotunda Hospital since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Mr. Pell suggests that this is due to the increase in the relative size of the child's head, due to the development of the brain in response to the increasing complexity of the environment. Still the female pelvis among civilised races is conspicuously wider than that of the average savage woman, and Mr. Pell does not seem to think that the increased pain and risk of parturition may be a factor in inducing many women to avoid child-bearing.

Malthus assumed that the potential rate of increase of the population is geometrical and that the rate of increase of the food-supply can only be arithmetical. Mr. Pell states the position thus :

Food is produced by the labour of the population. Hands will increase in the same geometrical proportion as mouths, and there will be a corresponding increase of the food supply until the resources of the country are taxed to the utmost. Organisation, invention, scientific discovery and foreign commerce would modify the progress of events, and would for a time lead to an increase of the food supply greater than the increase of population. But as the resources of any country are limited, these factors would only postpone the ultimate result, for in an amazingly short time there would not even be standing room.

Malthus, therefore, quite logically from the facts known to him, advised that the birth-rate should be kept down, "that the mass of the people should abstain from sexual intercourse, leaving that as a privilege for the rich." But Nature provides a means by which the catastrophe contemplated by Malthus will be obviated. The birth-rate automatically diminishes as a community grows in prosperity and helps to maintain the equilibrium. Mr. Pell, therefore, concludes that Malthus' idea that the evils from which society suffers are necessary to keep down the numbers of the population, is the reverse of the truth, and that these evils are themselves the cause of a high birth-rate. Even in Malthus' time, Doubleday pointed this out, but he went to the other extreme. While Malthus imagined population to be always pressing on the means of subsistence, Doubleday pictured it as tending to increase the more the

less the means of subsistence available to it. He illustrated this by many historical facts showing that exceptionally prosperous periods were accompanied not by over-population but by de-population. The introduction of the factory system in England lowered the standard of comfort of labourers, but increased the birth-rate among them, while the growth of Trades Unions, the passing of Factory Acts, and the spread of education since, have steadily tended in the opposite direction. Doubleday's theory erred in suggesting as an absolute proposition that the less the amount of nourishment the greater the degree of fertility, while the truth is that unduly insufficient as well as excessively sufficient nutriment is alike the cause of infertility. Mr. Pell regards the decreasing birth-rate in progressive countries as a serious problem, but not one to be solved by the use of contraceptive inventions which may benefit individual cases but cannot influence a whole community. The problem is one to be solved by statesmen whom he calls upon to investigate it along scientific lines and grapple with it in a scientific spirit. The pith of the matter seems to be that we must find some formula which, while protecting a people from the physical hardships of poverty, would ensure to them the moral stimulus arising out of the constant need to exertion. The sinister formula which links work to wages and wages to work must be broken. Every person must be assured of the means of living and every person must be wedded to work which he can do with most benefit to the community. Perhaps the caste system was originally invented as a means of meeting the dilemma. In a caste, the poor and the rich, the worker and his work, are never apart, as in a class system.

LONDON LETTER.

London, 13th Oct. 1921.

INDIA AND THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

The Washington Disarmament Conference is looming larger upon the horizon almost daily, and public opinion is becoming increasingly oriented towards the United States in the hope that wisdom may come, if not from the East, then from the West. America having made it clear that, though she regards the British Empire as a single unit, she will welcome the presence of representatives of the British Dominions at the Conference, will doubtless be looking forward with some degree of pleasurable anticipation to the inclusion of British statesmen from the outer Empire, who, many of them, at any rate, will be fairly likely to appreciate the American point of view with more vividness, perhaps, than stay-at-home Britishers are accustomed to do. Being new countries themselves, they will doubtless look upon the great new nation of the Western Hemisphere with sympathetic helpfulness. The British Empire delegation is expected to leave England for the United States about the end of the present month, in order to be present at the opening sittings of the Conference, which are to be held on or about Nov. 11, Armistice Day. I learn that Mr. Sastri has been asked to represent the Government of India in the delegation, and that he

has consented to do so. The importance of the appointment is two-fold. In the first place it is an indication, by those who are best fitted to appraise the value of his services to India at the Imperial Conference and at Geneva, that a man of his ability and clear-sightedness is eminently fitted to represent his country in the grave deliberations that are about to be held at Washington. In the second place, the fact of his inclusion in the British Empire Delegation implies a decided change in the view of the highest authorities in this country, who were formerly of opinion that India had no direct interest in a settlement of Pacific problems. How they came to that conclusion it is a little difficult to understand, but it is satisfactory to see that they have arrived at a common-sense decision.

THE LYTTON COMMITTEE.

Whilst people here are not disposed to question the constitutional right of the Assembly to refuse supplies to enable the Indian Students' Committee to complete its work by visiting India and conferring with experts on your side, nobody quite seems to understand why the Assembly should have taken the action that it has done. The general opinion among those who have inside opportunities of studying the Indian student problem here is that its serious importance is not fully appreciated in India, where British conditions are not always understood, and that it would have been of the greatest value if Lord Lytton and his colleagues had had the opportunity that, Mr. Montagu evidently thinks, it was originally intended by the Indian Legislature they should have, of studying the Indian side of the problem on the spot, so that Indian public men should be able to get a bird's-eye view of the situation here in making up their minds as to the best way of tackling a very awkward problem to the best advantage of India. Perhaps, when the facts come out, and the matter is quietly discussed, it will be found that, after all, the best means of dealing with it will be for some sort of inquiry to be held in India and its results collated with those discovered by the Lytton Committee.

SITUATION IN GERMANY.

Lieutenant-Commander Kenworthy contributed an interesting article to the *Westminster* on his return from Germany just recently. In it he said:—"Among the upper classes a good deal of Monarchist feeling remains, but not many of them appear to want the ex-Kaiser back. On the other hand they admit about 80 per cent of the population are frankly Republican, and opposed to a restoration of monarchy, with which they associate conscription. . . . Disarmament is nearly complete as far as it can be carried out. The Allied Commissions have been busy breaking up cannon, military transport gear, and aeroplanes. The country is well cultivated and there are tremendous numbers of women working in the fields. Prices are terrific; they are thirty times as great as pre-war prices in Germany. For an Englishman, with the rate of exchange, 400 marks to the pound, Germany is a cheap country. For a German, however, it is almost impossible. People living on fixed incomes,

investments, and pensions are almost starving. The workmen are not so badly off, as his average wage to-day is about 1,000 marks a month. His standard of living is lower than before the war, and prices are rising again so that he is becoming restless. Berlin is filled with foreigners, Dutch, English, American, Japanese, Chinese and Egyptians. These fill the hotels and make large purchases. The housing shortage is rather severe, as house building by private enterprise has completely broken down."

All these items of information are interesting, and one can see from them how Germany is reconstructing her life. Commander Kenworthy makes no mention of starving thousands and though, as he says, the whole standard of life is lower, there seems to be no chaos, but a determination, wherever possible, to adapt oneself to the day's needs, and overcome the most pressing difficulties slowly but surely. The terrible unemployed question that is ravaging other countries also does not seem to be of such disastrous dimensions in Germany, and to turn from Commander Kenworthy's sketch of that country to the appalling figures of unemployment in America is rather staggering and shows that there is a different psychology in Germany from that of America. According to the New York correspondent of the "Times", between 3½ and 5 millions are unemployed, with many more persons dependent upon them. Several emergency measures for dealing with the problem were announced at the National Conference which has been discussing the question under the direction of the American Secretary for Commerce.

A PRACTICAL SOLUTION OF THE UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM.

Our own unemployed problem is occupying an equal position with Ireland at the present moment. Many important statements from many eminent people appear in the press giving solutions for the present problem. But general statements, however high sounding and however true, are useless unless their foundations are sure and the details of building for any scheme are practicable. We all know that a revival of trade would cure the evil of unemployment, and that the revival is largely a matter of international co-operation, but it is just the working of these two things that we find so difficult. On one point, however, Government, Press, Labour Party and the Public are in perfect agreement, namely, that doles must cease, and that productive work must take its place. Since, in a so-called civilised country such as this, no-one must be allowed to starve to death, it means that the necessities of life must be provided for all, and it is better in every way, that public works needing to be done, such as road-making, should be put in hand, so that men may decently earn that which must of necessity be given to them.

EXTREMISM RAMPANT.

The farming world seems to be in a state bordering on chaos. It was expected that the Conciliation Committees would be able to find bridges over difficult places between the farmer and his labourer. But the drastic cuts that have taken place in the labourer's

wages have made him angry, and he no longer cares much about the Committee, for he does not believe in its efficacy so far as he is concerned.

Since the Armistice, extremism has had a greater innings in this country than it ever had before, and as a consequence, has never been so honestly condemned as it is to-day. Mr. J. Havelock Wilson, in his presidential address to the Annual Conference of the National Sailors and Fireman's Union held in London a few days ago, said; "There are some men who do not want things to get better. They want more unemployment and starvation, they want turmoil from one end of the country to the other and then, they say, we will have the glorious revolution. How they can construe that into helping the working people of this country I cannot understand. I want to see a revolution in the conditions of the people, which can only be obtained by getting trade and commerce started, and by keeping our organisations intact. But this is not what the extremists mean by revolution. They want things to become worse. Their ideas are those of fools and madmen, and in no way reflect the feeling of the working classes in this country."

NATIONALISM:—THE CURSE OF EUROPE.

Many right-minded men think things, but it is given to the wise man to put such thoughts into words, and when the words are thrown to the world they nearly always cause great commotion. Such has been the effect of a letter appearing in a big London daily from Lord Hugh Cecil, in which he said "Nationalism is the curse of Europe... National aspiration is not by itself a sufficient ground to justify physical violence; above all, Nationalism does not justify assassination, whether of an Austrian Archduke or an Irish constable, for all the nationalities in the world are not worth a single murder. These propositions, and more like them must be driven home by all those whose function it is to teach morals to the world." The whole of the letter, which is a long one, is so filled with good things that it is difficult to take a small extract and give any idea of its value. Unfortunately, we know the time has not come yet, when men in any large numbers will hear, understand, and act upon its teaching. Yet its teaching is very old—"To love one's neighbour as oneself" being the essence of it. Hitherto, we have sought in the teaching of patriotism "to love one's country as oneself." This was an enormous step from the loving of self and one's immediate dependents to the absolute exclusion of all others. But the passion of love for one's country has bred the expressions of hate and antagonism towards all other countries. And this, too, must be grown out of, if humanity is to continue to advance towards brotherhood. Evidently there are some men who have learned the great lesson through the awful years of war, and they must be the torch-bearers and a beacon for those who shut out the broad light of the Universe by trying to place a wall of iron round their own country.

INDIA AND WAR REPARATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I remember sometime back you wrote some trenchant editorials re India's share in the war reparation amounts

received from our late enemy countries. Adding facts and figures to prove that whereas India's share in the late war contributions in men and money was the largest of all the countries not directly implicated in the war, her share in the reparation was ridiculously but significantly, enough the smallest possible; you recommended an interpellation thereon to be put in the Indian legislature. Well, the suggestion has been carried out (no matter whether independently or otherwise of your action) as you will find if you turn to the Council of State proceedings of date Sept. 15. It is thus reported by the A. P. I. from Simla:

"Replying to the question of Mr. Raza Ali regarding war reparation Mr. Moncrieff Smith stated that India had received less than Australia and Canada as she was less out of pocket."

Now, Sir, what do you make of that? To my mind the rather colloquial phrase 'out of pocket' has been preferred for its deliberate ambiguity. Obviously it might mean either of two things: viz. 1. that our country is less in need financially than the other parts of the Empire mentioned, and 2. that she has suffered less loss in men and money or either—even relatively speaking—than the latter countries. Now sense (2) is falsified by your own unchallenged finding on the subject. As to Mr. Moncrieff Smith's statement in sense (1) it must be a surprise to the blindest optimist. Well, sir, even granting (1) as a matter of fact, what is the implication? Manifestly that in distributing awards regard must be had not to services rendered in their quantity and quality, but to the 'pocket' or financial condition of the recipient at the moment of the adjudication of his share! And indeed the same principle might be extended to the administering of justice in general, so that the ancient maxim 'Thou shalt be no respecter of persons' shall have to be replaced by its contrary, "Thou shalt have no other than respect of person in judging between man and man as regards the 'pocket,' colour &c. of each!"

Karwar,

6-10-21. }

Yours &c.,
S. D. NADKARNI.

[We give below the official report of the question and answer.

"The Honourable Saiyid Raza Ali: (a) By what standard has the Imperial Conference agreed to apportion the reparations receipts among the various members of the Empire in the manner recently announced by Reuter? (b) How is it that India is to receive only 1.2 per cent of the total receipts, while Canada and Australia and even New Zealand are to receive much more?"

The Honourable Mr. A. Moncrieff Smith: The standard of apportionment adopted at the Imperial Conference was based on the actual sums by which it was estimated that the States of the Empire would eventually be out of pocket under the headings for which Germany agreed to pay reparation in the treaty of Versailles. India is to receive less than Canada, Australia or New Zealand because she will be less out of pocket than those countries under these headings. The Government of India are not yet in a position to give detailed information of the figures for the various parts of the Empire on which the apportionment was made."

It would not have been amiss if Mr. Smith had informed Mr. Raza Ali what the particular "headings" were for which Germany had "agreed" to make reparation. The right of supplementary questions is a valuable one, but the putting of them is an art which the members of our Legislative Councils have yet to cultivate. It is the official's cue to give as little information as possible, and Mr. Smith was true to his tradition. Mr. Raza Ali might have asked if the losses on account of men, money and material—in fact, the major losses in a war—which India had suffered more than any other country not directly concerned in the war, were excluded from these "headings" and whether the Allies had "agreed" to such exclusion, if Germany had not. On the face of it, it would be preposterous, if that had been the case, and as a

matter of fact "the reparation clauses" of the Treaty are so comprehensive and elastic that there are few things that they do not cover. Short of actual invasion, India has shared all the losses and hardships of the war, and as for invasion, Great Britain and the Dominions are in the same case with her. The simple fact is that there was nobody to look after Indian interests in the Reparations Commission, and that is why India has the privilege of enduring much irreparable loss.—Ed. I. S. R.]

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE AND INDIA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

India has been invited to take part in the Washington Conference. But whether it is really a great rise in the status of India and whether it is a matter for congratulation, one doubts. The first question that arises is, whether the Government of India was asked whether it was willing to take part in the deliberations of the Washington Conference and to send its duly accredited representative, or whether this inclusion of India was decided off-hand in London itself. If the former, it is necessary to know what the Government of India's views are on the topics that would come up for discussion in the Conference and whether it has submitted any memoranda. Here it should be said that the personnel of the delegation does not matter except for the previously and perhaps unguardedly and inconsiderately expressed views of the members of the Indian Delegation. The Washington Conference is concerned primarily with two questions, Disarmament and the settlement of outstanding problems in the Pacific. As for disarmament, it has always meant Naval disarmament and the Conference will decide whether the only three great Naval powers, England, the U.S.A. and Japan are to enter into an agreement to reduce Naval expenditure and to stop the competition in ever-growing naval strength or whether those powers are again to enter into an era of increased Naval rivalry. The Pacific problems are about White America, White Canada and White Australia policy as against the demands of Japan and also about the commercial and political entanglements and rivalries of these three Powers in China. Such being the case, we do not see how India comes in here or how she is interested in this Conference. The impending harm does not stop here. Mr. Sastri declared at the Geneva Conference that India was not in a position to join in any scheme of general disarmament owing to the condition on her frontier. There may be some truth in it but does he need to be told that 'disarmament' is at present applied to Naval expenditure only? It is a piece of inexcusable ignorance to say that India is not yet ready for disarmament when her charges on account of the Army are double what they were in 1913-14. What would be the outcome of the meeting of the Sub-Committee of Imperial Defence of which Mr. Sastri is a member, and how have they received the recommendations of the Military Requirements Committee here, composed of men like Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer? It is clear that Mr. Sastri committed a mistake by confusing Naval disarmament which is now the point at issue between the Powers with the Land Forces—which mistake is no doubt duly exploited by the shrewd diplomats and Imperialists at London. So then, is Mr. Sastri well advised in representing India in a Conference in which she has no concern? Again, she is certainly not interested in the Pacific problems in which the selfish and exclusive policies of Canada, Australia and America are not only sought to be maintained for ever and ever as against Japan but also the latter's ambitions in the continent of Asia

are also to be curtailed. The cat is out of the bag regarding the real nature of India's representation in the Conference by the following telegram:

IF IT FAILS.

The *Daily Express* understands that the British and Dominion Governments agreed during the Imperial Conference that if the Washington Conference failed to result in an understanding regarding the Pacific, it would be necessary to establish a new powerful Far Eastern Fleet with its strategic headquarters at Singapore. The *Express* adds that the new fleet, if it comes into existence, will be a joint concern of the Dominions and Britain.

They have till now kept this resolution secret. Mr. Sastri said in a speech that India would be willing to bear her share in the Imperial Navy. Now that his views coincide with theirs, it will be a miracle if he is not exploited or utilised for Imperialistic purposes. The only result of India's part in the Conference, minus the personal and National honour, prestige and status, will be that India will be mulcted to the extent of 4 or 5 millions £ as her contribution to protect Australia and Canada in their All-white policy and to hold Japan under some form of threat. What little saving India is expecting in her Army expenditure will be taken away towards the new Naval expenditure. What dubious and costly honour?

It only remains to know whether Mr. Sastri is playing off his own bat in the views he has expressed or whether he is representing correctly the views of the Government of India or the Moderates. It behoves the unofficial Moderate leaders to declare whether they agree with Mr. Sastri and whether they are prepared to support such demands on India for purposes not her own.

VOX POPULI.

[We do not agree with our correspondent that India has no concern in the Washington Conference. India's concern is as great as that of America or Australia, and greater than that of any other country. Great Britain's concern is itself because of India and Australia. We are glad that Mr. Sastri will represent India at the Conference, and as for what he may do, it is only fair to await the publication of the official report. Isolated sentences from one's speeches are no criterion of one's attitude on any special question.—Editor, I. S. R.]

CASTE AND UNTOUCHABILITY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer,*

Sir,

I have read with much interest your article of the 9th October on 'Caste and Untouchability.' You are perfectly right when you say 'Untouchability is the necessary consequence of caste, that caste is the root cause of untouchability.' Behind all the Hindu castes there seems some peculiar ideal of social purity working and splitting us into so many castes and divisions. Some people even today claim that their caste is purer than that of other fellows. Because they have no divorce, no widow-remarriage which the others have. I often hear some non-vegetarian hill-tribes of Jowhar, claiming superiority over some other forest tribes, because the latter eat rats, which the former don't. Thus two standards of social purity creep out from the popular mind. The first is the divorce and widow-remarriage bar and the second is the freedom from flesh-eating. Fish-eating is the falling-off one step, beef-eating is falling-off the whole ladder of social gradation. You will be amused to know that some over-zealous vegetarians at the top don't eat even tomato because it resembles flesh and blood. Caste has produced narrow-mindedness. It is certainly detrimental to

the growth of a free and healthy social life. From the present day society I can give a practical illustration. On account of commerce and service, many Hindus have to go away to distant towns far off from their caste-men. When their children grow up, they can not intermarry with the other castes of those towns. They must look to their 'vilayat' and they must marry men and women of whom they know nothing. If such marriages prove unfortunate, treacherous, instead of blaming the system under which they are crushed, they calmly resign themselves to fate and say they suffer for "the sins of past lives." Allow me to say here that even God has no right to punish us for the sins of our past lives, when we are determined to go by the right path. I fear, I am going astray from my subject. Let me say in short, caste does stand in our way of social, healthy life. Those who have eyes can see it.

But the fact must be admitted that the feeling in favour of caste is even now high. And it is impossible to kill caste today. The untouchables are humiliated, and their progress is hampered. They badly want light and free air. So we must look at the question, from a different stand point. Interdining and intermarriages are social matters. Religion is higher than these. Religion teaches us that we are all equal before God. God makes no distinction between a Mahar and a Brahmin. A scavenger with a real devotion is as welcome as a Brahmin. The saints of the Bhakti school, have popularized Hindu Gods amongst the untouchables. The untouchables long to worship them. It may be a superstition but are the Brahmins even free from it? The untouchables are Hindus. As Hindus they have a right to go to these temples. To keep them on the list of Hindus and to deny them any entrance in the temples is cheating God. Our religious bureaucrats must know that these Gods are above pollution. They have no right to close them against their sincere devotees. God does not care for caste. He wants devotion and faith. The untouchables have both. If we are sincere friends of the untouchables, we must send a deputation to these religious authorities, to induce them to open, in the name of God, the closed doors of the Hindu Temples to the untouchables. If such deputations fail we must non-co-operate with them. We must quarrel to unite.

Yours sincerely,
KARRAR, K. G.

[While we approve of our correspondent's strictures on the exclusiveness of caste-Hinduism, we think that depressed classes should be taught that temple-worship is not an organic part of Hinduism, that it is really a sort of religio-social kindergarten intended for "women and sudras," and that they should cultivate the spiritual religion, and not trouble themselves about effecting entry into temples. Few educated people who have an unquestioned entree right into the inner sanctuary of temples, care to use it. Let our brethren of the depressed classes concentrate their efforts upon realities. Temple-worship is an illusion.—Editor, I. S. R.]

SLAUGHTER HOUSE HORRORS.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Your correspondent Mr. Labbhankar Laxmidas appeals to missionary gentlemen, who are foreigners, to cease eating animal food because animals are not always killed at the slaughter house which is presumably under supervision, and which they are not likely to visit.

Surely, we Hindus should put our own houses in order before we make appeals to strangers of whatever religion. Here in Calcutta last week hundreds of goats were publicly hacked to death at the different temples; which apart from the cruelty must be very demoralising to the minds of all who beheld it. It does not follow that it is necessary to be cruel in taking life and the whole argument of your correspondent seems to me based on wrong ground.

Calcutta,
19th Oct, 1921.

Yours respectfully,
K. CH. DASS.

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Capital Called up	" 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	" 70,00,000.

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Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does amount to Rs. 8 per half year.

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Manager.

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Capital Paid up	" 20,00,000.
Reserve Fund	" 14,00,000.

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Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth Baroda.

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M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ltd. Baroda.

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subha, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

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CALLED UP CAPITAL	"	69,78,100
PAID-UP ON 31-12-20.	Rs.	59,68,715.

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10. Rear Axle shafts R. H.	19323	82	0	"
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12. Exhaust Valves	19369	7	8	"
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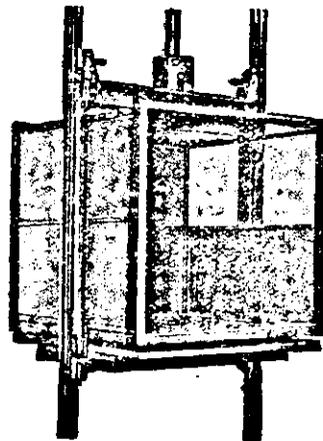
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Vol. XXXII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1921. No. 11

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will no excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Turkish Situation. While the British Government has been waiting events, the French Government have come to terms with the Angora Government. The negotiations leading up to the Franco-Turkish settlement seem to have been carried out as a blot upon nationalism. (2) In the event of mass civil disobedience, a district or Tahsil should be treated as a unit and there in a vast majority of the population must have adopted full Swadeshi and must be clothed out of cloths hand-spun and hand-woven in that district or Tahsil and must believe in and practise all other items of non-co-operation.

Provided that no civil resisters should expect to be supported out of public funds and members of the family of civil resisters undergoing sentence, will be expected to support themselves by carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving or other means. Provided further that upon application by any Provincial Congress Committee it is open to the Working Committee to relax the conditions for civil disobedience after it is satisfied that any condition should be waived.

About 200 members are said to have attended, but Madras was practically unrepresented. Mr. C. Vijaya Raghava Charya, the ex-officio Chairman, did not attend, and his place was taken by Lala Lajpat Rai. The resolution was moved by Mr. Gandhi who laid stress on the seriousness of the step they were taking and emphasised the supreme need for a strict observance of the conditions laid down in the resolution if it was not to lead to disaster. Amendments were moved having for their object the relaxation of the conditions, and the last clause empowering the "The absurdity of any condition from a Provincial Commission tests that have been put forward by the Governor of Kenya for acceptance by both European and Indian settlers in that Colony appears, at last, to have struck the Colonial Office, who have apparently begun to realise that they have made fools of themselves in the ridiculous tests that they have endeavoured to set up and which, amongst other things, will cast a slur upon the whole of Indian indigenous culture, and would result in the division

of families. I believe that, with the coming of a new permanent head at the Colonial Office, the whole matter is being reconsidered in the light of solid common sense."

The Council of Princes. Judging from the attendance at the opening of the Council of Princes on Tuesday, there does not seem to be appreciable increase in the enthusiasm with which the institution is regarded by those most concerned. The Rajputana and Punjab Princes were well represented. The reasons given by His Excellency the Viceroy for the scant attendance do not seem convincing, considering the important subjects which are on the agenda of the Council. These are, the fiscal policy of India, the reorganisation of the Imperial Service Forces, and the substitution of some measure of protection of Indian rulers in place of the Press Act about to be repealed. Unless the mention of fiscal policy in the Viceroy's address was a sudden inspiration, we cannot account for the omission to appoint one or two representatives of the important Indian States on Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola's Committee. There does not seem to be any uniform principle followed in relation to the Tariff policy of the States. The only right policy is complete Free Trade within India with a proportional payment to each State of the duties accruing on the traffic into or from it. The reorganisation of the Imperial Service Forces is an urgent need, and when this is carried out, as His Highness of Alwar proposes, in close co-ordination with British India, the result cannot but be beneficial to both sides. As for the Press, we trust that Their Highnesses will declare themselves against any special protection on their behalf. They may and should trust to the soundness of their administration to be their best protection against misrepresentation. We await the result of the deliberations of the Council of Princes on these questions with great interest.

Crime in the Nizam's Dominions: In their review of the administration of the Hyderabad City Police during the last official year, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government remark that the most outstanding feature of it was the decrease in the bulk of crime in City and State as compared with the previous year, notwithstanding the very unfavourable general, sanitary, and economic conditions which accounted for a considerable rise of crime in the neighbouring territories. They point out that the rise during 1919 in Madras Presidency and the City of Madras was respectively 13 and 16 per cent, in the Bombay Presidency and the City of Bombay, 20 and 18 per cent, in the Central Provinces 30 per cent and in Mysore 9 per cent, but in Hyderabad City and State there was a fall of 9 and 23 per cent respectively. They have apparently a lurking doubt about the accuracy of the returns, but assuming their accuracy, they observe that

the only cause to which this enviable and unique result in Hyderabad can be ascribed is its practical freedom from unrest due to the efficient steps taken by the City and the District Police to nip it all in the bud and their promptness in showing the door to undesirable foreigners. Further the restrictions on export and import of foodstuffs which account for a large number of cases in British India, were so exercised in Hyderabad as to have no practical effect on the crime Chart.

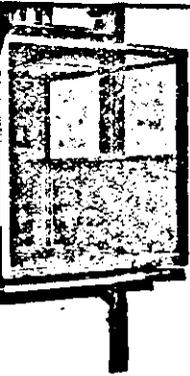
We were told last year when there was an epidemic of crime, that there was a large number of the criminal classes from Hyderabad just then in Bombay City and, perhaps, the other provinces might have said the same. That may be a reason for the reduction of crime in the State coincidentally with a rise of it in the neighbouring provinces. We may take a hint from the above and cultivate more promptness in showing the door to undesirable foreigners. The last observation is cryptic. We are not aware that there was any restriction on the import of foodstuffs in British India. We are glad to read in the review the recognition that "prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs is another great remedy (for crime) which is coming more and more within the pale of practical politics".

Lord Sydenham's Damp Squib:—Our London correspondent writes under date the 27th October: "I do not think that anyone need take seriously the House of Lords discussion, initiated by Lord Sydenham on the eve of the departure of the Prince for India. Indeed that, apparently, was the view humorously taken by Lord Sumner, who admitted some difficulty in believing that the patient and placid contentment of India went so far as to take an interest in the Debates in the Lords, when, in fact, nobody in this country ever paid any attention to the words falling lightly from their Lordships. Perhaps Lord Sumner was unduly self-deprecatory. Nevertheless, it is a fact that, although in many matters there is a greater breadth and independence evident in Debates in the Lords than one discovers in the Commons, yet on the whole, the country pays relatively little attention to the views expressed by a body of gentlemen who have no sort of direct responsibility to the constituencies. If people in India would realise that the House of Lords emphatically does not represent public opinion here, something of the sting would be taken out of the painful impressions sometimes conveyed by reports of discussions in that august assembly. Your readers will doubtless have read extended summaries of the proceedings in this Debate and they will be interested to note that nothing more serious occurred than the provision of an opportunity for Lords Sydenham and Amphill to pour forth their vials of wrath upon the devoted heads of those at present responsible for the administration of Indian affairs. A vastly more important speech was, however, delivered by Lord Cnelmsford, who, in a careful analysis of the situation, pointed out that the situation in India did not stand alone but was merely one aspect of the great race problem involved in the challenge by the coloured races of white racial supremacy."

The Late Principal Patwardhan: By the death of Principal Patwardhan of the Fergusson College, Poona, the world of education and scholarship loses a great personality, and Indian social reform one of its most effective advocates. It is a little over a month since this writer had the privilege of meeting Principal Patwardhan in his College and he hardly thought that that would be the last time he would see him in the flesh. Verily, in the midst of life we are in death. In a sympathetic appreciation of Principal Patwardhan's career in the *Times of India* by a writer signing himself "R. P.P."

we came across, somewhat as if in a dream, an ancient word that we had almost lost sight of for at least twenty years past. The late Principal, we learnt, was an "agnostic." "Agnostic" is a word which was coined by, we believe, Huxley and used to be applied in our college days to Mill and Spencer. Nobody speaks of "agnostics" now. The stream of tendency is now all the other way. As it happens, we first came to know Principal Patwardhan as a sympathiser with the Theism of the Prarthana Samaj and as such, an exception to the Agarkar school of social reformers.

The Two Consenting Councillors: It did not require the revelation of the Calcutta paper to know that the Home Member and the Law Member of the Government of India were the two members whom Sir Thomas Holland consulted in regard to the Munitions case. These were the two Members who were most likely to have been consulted by a colleague in Sir Thomas Holland's position, and not the Member for Revenue or Education or Finance, nor the Commander-in-Chief. It seems that Dr. Sapru, the Law Member, submitted his resignation to the Viceroy when His Excellency disapproved of the withdrawal of the case, but His Excellency did not see his way to accept the resignation. We are glad to know that Dr. Sapru took such a sensitive view of his responsibility and are content to accept the Viceroy's judgment that his resignation was not called for in the circumstances. Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, does not seem to have thought that even a formality of this kind was necessary. The matter is now closed and no public advantage is gained by trying to re-open it either by way of attack or defence.



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Bombay Municipal Franchise. We have received a copy of a memorial signed over 1000 tenants residing in different parts of Bombay City, and addressed to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay praying that the right of voting at the Municipal election should be extended to tenants paying a monthly rent of Rs. 10 and above as in the case of the Legislative Council.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1921.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

On the 4th instant at Delhi, the All-India Congress Committee passed the following resolution :

"Whereas there is not much over one month for the fulfilment of the national determination to establish Swaraj before the end of the year, and whereas the nation has demonstrated its capacity for exemplary self-restraint by observing perfect non-violence over the arrest and imprisonment of Ali Brothers and other leaders, and whereas it is desirable for the nation to demonstrate its capacity for further suffering and discipline sufficient for the attainment of Swaraj, the All-India Congress Committee authorises every province on its own responsibility to undertake civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes in the manner that may be considered the most suitable by the respective Congress Committees subject to the following conditions.

(1) In the event of individual civil disobedience, the individual must know hand-spinning and must have completely fulfilled that part of the programme which is applicable to him or her; e.g., he or she must have entirely discarded the use of foreign cloth and adopted only hand-spun and hand-woven garments; must be a believer in Hindu-Muslim unity and in unity between all communities professing different religions in India as an article of faith; must believe in non-violence as absolutely essential for redress of Khilafat and Punjab wrongs and attainment of Swaraj; and, if a Hindu, must by his personal conduct show that he regards untouchability as a blot upon nationalism. (2) In the event of mass civil disobedience, a district or Tahsil should be treated as a unit and there in a vast majority of the population must have adopted full Swadeshi and must be clothed out of cloths hand-spun and hand-woven in that district or Tahsil and must believe in and practise all other items of non-co-operation.

Provided that no civil resisters should expect to be supported out of public funds and members of the family of civil resisters undergoing sentence, will be expected to support themselves by carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving or other means. Provided further that upon application by any Provincial Congress Committee it is open to the Working Committee to relax the conditions for civil disobedience after it is satisfied that any condition should be waived.

About 200 members are said to have attended, but Madras was practically unrepresented. Mr. C. Vijaya Raghava Charya, the ex-officio Chairman, did not attend, and his place was taken by Lala Lajpat Rai. The resolution was moved by Mr. Gandhi who laid stress on the seriousness of the step they were taking and emphasised the supreme need for a strict observance of the conditions laid down in the resolution if it was not to lead to disaster. Amendments were moved having for their object the relaxation of the conditions, and the last clause empowering the Working Committee on application from a Provincial Committee to relax the conditions was evidently added as a concession to this demand.

We reprint a selection of opinions from representative Congress and other journals in the several provinces on the resolution. Reading between the lines, it is easy to see that few of them are very enthusiastic about it as

a practical proposition. The *Tribune* of Lahore which, while exercising discrimination, is anxious to put the best interpretation upon the resolution, points out an initial flaw in its wording. It observes :

What is mass civil disobedience? Mahatma Gandhi is reported by our Special Representative to have defined it as disobedience of all laws and all orders. We are almost certain there is a misunderstanding here. Mahatma Gandhi cannot mean that the non-co-operators are to violate such laws—and they form the great bulk of the Penal Code—as seek to punish offences against moral laws. By the very nature of their creed it is impossible for them to violate these laws. The only laws that Mahatma Gandhi can possibly have in view are laws which define and seek to punish what are called offences against the State and the only orders he is probably thinking of are orders which it is possible to violate without being guilty of the breach of any moral law.

Our contemporary is clearly wrong. Civil Disobedience implies the rejection of the authority of the Courts not only in political matters but in all matters. Non-Co-operators may themselves not commit crimes which imply moral obliquity, but it is obviously part of their doctrine that the existing tribunals have no authority to try any offences, whether or no they imply moral obliquity. The Courts cannot exist for one set of crimes and be abolished for another. The tests qualifying an individual for "civil disobedience" are, except in the single item of hand-spinning and the use of hand-woven garments, subjective and vague even at that. What does belief as an article of faith in Hindu-Muslim unity and in unity between all communities mean? Does it mean that they are all one already or that it is the aim to make them all one? What does belief in non-violence mean? Maulana Shaukat Ali has repeatedly said that non-violence is not an article of faith with him, only an experiment. As regards untouchability, no one can know precisely what is meant by showing by personal conduct that one regards it as a blot upon nationalism. Then, again, as regards both individuals and masses, who is to see that the tests are satisfied, and what is to happen if those who but imperfectly satisfy them, disobey some law of their own choosing? The difficulty of laying down an exact ruling on these and other points, no doubt prompted the suggestion that all others should await a practical demonstration which the leader of non-cooperation proposes to give in about a fortnight of civil disobedience.

It is impossible, therefore, to attach any importance to the conditions. As the *Independent* of Allahabad, almost the only Congress journal which eagerly supports the resolution, observes, the conditions are bound to break down in the working out. Further, the Working Committee has but recently given proof of its readiness to relax any rule, or even to condone its breach, in favour of influential members and the power of dispensation vested in it by the resolution can serve no purpose except to ratify accomplished facts. There is some law or other which is to the interest or inclination of some one or other to violate, and this resolution will be widely interpreted as a sort of charter for general lawlessness. The cry "Gandhi-ki-Jai," has been raised ere now by various kinds of men on various

occasions unconnected with the redress of any public wrong. The *Independent*, as the *enfant terrible* of Khilafat-Non-Co-operation, promises that in the districts where the resolution is put in force the King's authority will come to an end as surely as it is non-existent in Mopla-nad, with a difference that may be obvious to it but not to many others. It is, therefore, the duty of Government and the public to be prepared for a general outbreak of lawlessness in the name of patriotism. This step, according to the preamble to the resolution, has been adopted with the object of obtaining *Swaraj* within the next few weeks as scheduled in the Non-co-operation time-table. If there was a chance of this coming to pass, that chance has been but dissipated by this resolution. Madras has broken away from the Congress. Maharashtra has nearly done the same or is on the point of doing so. The Karnatak has played her last card and Sind warned by her experience of Afghan hospitality is to-day the calmest division of this Presidency. Bengal, judging from the severely analytical attitude of the *Servant*, the Congress daily of Calcutta, is likely to agree with its verdict that, so far as she is concerned, the resolution is "premature." Are the United Provinces likely to be as eager to reproduce the conditions of Mopla-nad as the Allahabad organ of Khilafat-Non-Co-operation is within their borders? Bihar was complimented as having set the best example in the matter of hand-spinning, but she is not among the communities expected to take the lead in Civil Disobedience. The Central Provinces are in the same case as Maharashtra on the one side and the United Provinces on the other; Berar may find herself included in the Nizam's Dominions before she has a chance of practising Civil Disobedience. Lala Lajpat Rai is ploughing a more or less lonely furrow in the Punjab which is far too near the North-Western Frontier to afford to experiment with anarchy. The only two areas where Civil Disobedience may be supposed to have a chance are Gujarat and Andhra. Gujarat is naturally proud of her great son and will sacrifice much to uphold him, but she is also the most business-minded of India's provinces and Civil Disobedience has never been in her line. Andhra gave Gujarat her Vaishnavism, and has acclaimed with fervour the austere gospel of the *charka*. But she has, after long years in the wilderness, just now ascended to the seats of power and she may feel it hard so soon to be called upon to go into the wilderness again. Moreover, as an article in the *Janmabhumi* of Masulipatam, the Andhra journal of Non-co-operation, shows, her disbelief in untouchability has not attained the required consistency.

While no part of the country is thus ready for Civil Disobedience, large sections of the people are getting alarmed at the light-heartedness with which programmes have been proclaimed and put aside in favour of the latest novelty in the course of the non-co-operation movement. The pre-amble to the Civil Disobedience resolution avers that the calm with which the country has received the result of the Karachi prosecution is a measure of the longing of

the country for Civil Disobedience. There are people in the very inmost circle of the Congress party who know that this is true in a sense the very reverse of what the public are expected to understand by it. The promoters of this new plan know well that they must produce some impression on the country to make up for their blunders and failures, within a very short time, or they would be totally discredited. As we have shown above, there is no probability of the movement spreading widely anywhere in the country. But we have to guard against three things: unpreparedness, precipitancy, and euphuism in the redress of real grievances and the fulfilment of genuine national aspirations. In Malabar, Government was caught napping. Preparations for a determined rebellion could not have been made in a hole and corner manner. If the Government had been prepared, there would, perhaps, have been no rising or it would have been nipped in the bud. Precipitancy is also a danger that should be avoided. Jhallianwala is a solemn warning for all time. The last but not the least item in the scheme of the country's peaceful evolution is the redress of grievances and the fulfilment of aspirations. Thanks to the astuteness of France, Great Britain need only hold her hands now to have her Prime Minister's pledge fulfilled. She would be putting new weapons in the hands of her detractors if she upholds the Sevres treaty against France's statesmanly attitude of discarding the wretched diplomatic principle of not allowing the Cross and the Crescent to prosper side by side in Europe. We call attention in this connection to Mr. Bhurari's observations in his article which we publish. The Government of India do not seem to realise the acuteness of public feeling throughout India at the inadequacy of the measures so far adopted to express Government's repudiation of the excesses of the Martial regime in the Panjab. Why is the Viceroy still delaying his decision regarding the martial law prisoners? Why have some officers guilty of such excesses not been suitably dealt with? This is all that the country wants and Lord Reading has disappointed its hopes by his procrastination over these simple matters. As regard the aspirations of the country, we are emphatically of the view that Dominion status in the British Commonwealth is our proper, sufficient and honourable goal. To those of our countrymen who do not understand the full implication of this status, we commend a little book entitled "Dominion Home Rule in Practice" by Prof. A. B. Keith, the great Sanskritist and constitutional authority on colonial self-government, published recently by the Oxford University Press. This status has already been indicated in several ways as the object of British policy in India, and not merely in words. Write Professor Keith:—

The new status of the Dominions is confirmed by the covenant of the League of Nations, under which not merely is the British Empire a member but so also are the four Dominions and India, the position of the latter being motivated by the fact that she has been assured in due course self-government on the Dominion model.

Those of us who hold that this is the true line of Indian political development are bound to oppose any propaganda which menaces its possibility. Civil Disobedience is such a propaganda. But our power of effectively combatting it will be assured only if the "motive" be translated into a definite, tangible, act. The forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales offers a suitable opportunity of doing this with the greatest grace and with the most impressiveness.

A MOSLEM VIEW OF THE SITUATION.

(BY THE HON'BLE MR. G. M. BHURGEL.)

The great State trial of the Ali Brothers and other Khilafat Leaders has ended. I wrote a few days before their arrest and prosecution of the unwisdom of such a course, not on the merits of the case itself, but on higher grounds than even the formal vindication of the established law of the land, penal or criminal. My contention was twofold. I showed that the harm arising out of that step,—whether in the case of the very vindication of the law and the maintenance of the authority and prestige of the Government or of coping with the situation and restoring calm and quiet in the country,—would outweigh all other considerations combined together. And therefore, I submitted, that way did not lie the solution.

I now write after the great trial has ended to examine briefly, not the judicial findings of the Judge and the Jury, but the position of the Government with respect to the Khilafat and Non-co-operation movements, during and after the trial. I have carefully watched the proceedings and tried to study the effect of those proceedings on the public mind from day to day of the progress of the trial upto the verdict of the Jury and the Judge, and finally the very partial conviction of the six learned Maulanas, and the acquittal of the Shankaracharya.

The very first question that I would like to ask the supporters of the prosecution is, Have the proceedings in the courts, both the lower and the sessions, added to the prestige of the law-courts and the majesty of the law, or shaken that prestige and brought the ridicule and jeering of the man in the street at that majesty of the law which it was intended to vindicate?

And then what is to be said of the verdict of the "not guilty" of the Judge and the Jury on the main charge of criminal conspiracy and attempt to seduce troops to safeguard against and prove which the whole prosecution, I understand, was prompted. Even where the verdict of the majority of jurors and the judge is "guilty" what is the case? The Government by the prosecution of the seven leaders have incited anybody and everybody in the Khilafat and Non-co-operation movements to issue manifestos or hold public meetings to proclaim and repeat the very resolution which was the sole contention of the subsidiary charges and conviction, and thus defy the Government in their face, and the very law it was intended to vindicate by the prosecution. Has that,

I ask, added to the prestige of the Government, and helped to vindicate the majesty of the established law, or undermined that prestige further and flouted the very law it was intended to vindicate? Let the supporters of the prosecution once again answer after due reflection.

What then is the sum total of the result of the whole trial? Has it abated the fury of our Non-co-operating friends and made them relax their programme? Or, has it been a fresh moral and political victory for the Non-co-operator, and an impetus to him for further drastic action? Has all that brought the solution of the great problems confronting the Government and the well-wishers of the country nearer or, has it made the issues more complex, more bitter, and the situation graver and graver?

And yet I am not quite without hope. I see that there is yet a way to bring peace and harmony in the country so far as the Khilafat and the Turkish Peace terms are concerned on which mainly rests and which fosters the great Non-co-operation movement.

Let the Government of India and through it all its supporters and the well wishers of the country say to the British Government, "Vindicate your pledges to the peoples of India, the pledge which Mr. Lloyd George gave the Indian Mussalmans in 1918, before it is possible for us to vindicate the law in its reality and restore true peace and harmony in the country". That is the great truth which the Government of India themselves have to realise first, and then openly to press it before the British Cabinet. The Government of India are fully aware of the intensity of feeling on the subject of Khilafat and the Turkish Peace Treaty among not only the Mussalmans of India, and the entire Indian community, but also other Asiatic Powers principally Muslim. It will serve no useful purpose, at the present moment, to go into the rightness or otherwise of this feeling. The fact remains that nothing short of an honourable peace, consistent with the dignity and integrity of Islam would satisfy this feeling. The Government of India themselves have from time to time expressed their fullest sympathy with the people of this country on this subject. They and that great champion of the Muslim cause, the Secretary of State for India, have been putting forward the Muslim view before the British Cabinet from time to time. But the reason why their efforts have not brought due recognition from the appreciation of the Indian community is that these efforts have led to *little or no appreciable results* so far as the early prospects of the honourable settlement are concerned. On the contrary the unfortunate course of events that have followed leading to and in the development of the Turco-Greek War has created a very strong impression in this country that the British Cabinet, though apparently observing neutrality, are flouting the Muslim sentiments by permitting the private supply from England of arms, ammunition and money loans to Greece and thus equipping the Greek Armies with what the Angora troops so badly need but are unable to have.

In this connection it is worth noticing what the attitude of the Prime Minister was, till very lately. He was emphatic in his reiteration of the statement which he first made when approached on behalf of the Angora Government and the Mussalmans of India to intervene in the Turco-Greek war, that the policy of his Government was to leave the issue to be decided between the Greeks and the Turks themselves. His recent statement, after the first reverses sustained by the Greek armies that "the proper moment for intervention had not yet arrived," has, however, given rise to another suspicion that the present refusal may be made the pretext for an intervention of another sort, when the Greeks are completely beaten: Should this suspicion rightly or wrongly gain ground and should an intervention take place at a later stage when the Greeks are actually completely beaten, it would lead to disastrous effects not only so far as the movements of Khilafat and non-co-operation are concerned but also as the various Mussalman States in Asia go. It would be going against the very vital interests of, nay, it would be a death blow to, the British Empire in Asia.

To show that I am no alarmist, that this is not my view alone, but also of those who represent the Government of India, I may be permitted to point out what the Honourable Mr. Bray, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India said in the course of his speech on my motion of adjournment of the Khilafat movement in the Delhi Session of the Council of State:—

"There is a great belt of Islamic countries stretching unbroken from the south of the straits of Gibraltar far away into Northern China. One block of India itself stands within that belt—that great frontier buttress on the north-west made up of the North-West Frontier Provinces and Baluchistan. But it is even more relevant to my present purpose that within that Islamic belt are included nearly all the foreign countries with which India is most closely concerned. It is thus palpable that from an external point of view alone the welfare and goodwill of Islam must in the very nature of things be of paramount importance to India and the British Empire. This fact is in itself a powerful reinforcement of the cause which Muslim India has at heart."

Kenter informed us the other day that the Afghan armies were fighting by the side of the Turks against Greek armies. A later telegram announces the conclusion of a defensive and offensive alliance between Afghanistan and Persia. These are also signs which portend that the problem is assuming larger dimensions and prejudicing friendly relations between England and various Islamic powers which are at present neutral. For the reason that England, being the most important and influential of the Allies wielding the largest influence in the Conferences and Councils of the Allies, is, as I have stated above, suspected at this moment of befriending Greece against Turkey, whereas France and Italy are said to favour the conclusion of the Treaty with Turkey, more or less on the lines laid down by Mr. Lloyd George in January 1918.

I have already pointed above how the recent prosecutions and convictions have given a fresh lease to the grave-discontent and excitement already prevalent

in the country. Add to this the further excitement due to the confiscation of the Ulema's *Fatwa*, and also all kinds of rumours of Mahatma Gandhi's and other leaders arrests, should they resort to civil disobedience or acts of that kind. It is only desirable that the Government, not out of their weakness but strength, should pacify the discontent and excitement as far as it reasonably should be, before it is too late.

The only way by which, it appears to me, the Government of India can do so, and thus avert both the external danger of an anti-British Alliance by Foreign Muslim Powers and internal discontent, riots and bloodshed is for the Government, for Lord Reading himself, and for various Governors and Governments of Provinces to use their personal and official influence with the British Cabinet and move it now and at this stage to conclude an honourable peace with Turkey without waiting for the results of the Turco-Greek War, on the lines laid down by the Prime Minister on behalf of the whole Empire on 5th January, 1918, viz. "not to deprive Turkey of their Capital and the rich and renowned lands of Thrace and Asia Minor".

This surely cannot be characterised as anything like or approaching the 'impossible' demand of *status quo ante bellum*. What it in fact amounts to is that Turkey should not be treated worse than other enemy powers, that she should retain those provinces which were admitted even by the British and Allied statesmen to be predominantly Turkish, that the Arab Provinces should be granted full autonomy, and finally that the Holy cities of Mecca and Medina may remain under the suzerainty, however nominal, of the Khilafat.

Is this too much to ask of the Indian and the British Government? Will they be so blind or stubborn as not to see facts in their true perspective, and resort to proper remedy at the proper moment? No, I still retain my optimism, my faith in the statesmanship and farsightedness of Lord Reading and his Government, and hope that they will take time by the forelock and press on the Cabinet the necessity of immediate action in the direction referred to above.

THE POONA SEVA SADAN.

(By Miss C. B. POOVIAH, B.A.)

I had often heard of the splendid work that the Seva Sadan Society is doing at Poona and wished to see things for myself. I had the fortunate chance of doing so in August when I was on my way from Jallandur to Coorg, owing to the kind courtesy of Mr. Devadhar. I was three days the guest of the Seva Sadan and had ample opportunity to observe details; the magnitude of the work being carried on there exceeded even my most sanguine expectations. The Seva Sadan is a small colony by itself with nearly a thousand students deriving benefit from the practical instruction imparted there.

There are several distinct branches in it. There is a big Training College for Women where quite a fine number of students, widows mostly and a number of married women and girls as well, are trained to be

come teachers. — There is a big school attached to this where the students of the training college teach under the eyes of their instructors and thus acquire a thorough practical training. Then there are very efficient sewing and weaving departments. The most striking feature of this institution is the "Child Welfare Centre." Here every morning at a stated time milk is supplied to poor needy little children from outside. It is a touching sight to watch them coming with eager expectant faces carrying their tiny mugs to receive the milk in. A lady doctor with a calm sweet face and willingness to help—a fine product of the Sadan itself—is ready there to give her services free to her poor suffering sisters and their children who come there from outside for medical help.

Attached to this institution are four boarding houses. Of these two are situated elsewhere outside the main Seva Sadan buildings, and are reserved for medical students. In one, the students who are undergoing a course of nurses' training at Sassoon Hospital and "King Edward Memorial Hospital (?)" reside, and in another, the students studying for Sub-Assst. Surgeon's Course. These boarding houses are pretty, neat and cosy, each in charge of a matron, and students are very well looked after. Tennis and Badminton courts are provided within the hospital premises for the medical students to enjoy a bit of healthy outdoor games when they are in a mood to do so. There is a neat little furnished house very close to the main Sassoon Hospital buildings romantically and appropriately called "the nest" for the nurses to rest when off duty. These considerate arrangements made to ensure the comfort of the students in every way reflect great credit on the workers of the Seva Sadan. In the other two boarding houses within the premises of the main Seva Sadan, reside the students of the Training College and of other departments. Here too nothing is wanting as regards sanitary cooking, sick-nursing and other arrangements. The only defect is the buildings are becoming overcrowded and there is no suitable playground. Mr. Devadhar told me that they are negotiating to secure a big building with fine grounds near about the Sadan, and I do hope their attempts will be crowned with success. Students are often taken on excursions to interesting places, which are sure to have a great educative value. The aim of this institution is not to provide educational facilities to the rich and well-to-do girls who want to go in for high school and college courses, but to provide practical and useful instruction to poor and peedy women, and it is doing splendid work in that direction. Our iniquitous social system turns out thousands of young widows for whom the future is blasted for ever. They naturally consider themselves as unfortunate beings born under unlucky stars, and life henceforth could not hold any charm for wretched beings like themselves. To put courage into their drooping spirit and infuse into them a love of service, and train them up to earn an independent and honourable livelihood is a noble task and the Seva Sadan is doing this service towards hundreds of young widows. This institution has become a great

success owing to the unceasing efforts and enthusiasm of a band of noble and unselfish workers and their helpers. That patriotic wife of a patriotic husband, Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, has devoted her life-work to this Sadan and still is its guiding star. Its immense success is not a little due to the great organising abilities and practical brain of Mr. Devadhar of the Servants of India Society. Among other workers I should not omit to mention the names of two ladies who have served the Sadan for many years and are still doing invaluable work, senior Mrs. Bhatt and junior Mrs. Bhatt. It has really been a great pleasure to me to become acquainted with this band of brave and silent workers.

Social work is generally a thankless job and has not the romance, glamour and excitement of political work to attract able, aspiring and ambitious spirits. But nevertheless the work of building up a solid social structure is equally important if not more, for it will be the back-bone of the country. Thanks chiefly to a brave movement launched by a daring patriot—I mean the Non-Co-operation movement—the country is politically awakened. It has made every true Indian heart feel a keen sense of self-respect and has spurred on the most daring among us to a tremendous soul fight to gain our full political emancipation. But social progress is not keeping pace with our political advance. No strong and sustained attempts are made to do away with much of the abuses and evils of the meaningless caste system that we have in our country, which is still a great barrier towards real healthy progress of the country, for it perpetuates numerous divisions and consequent ill-feelings. It is true, Mahatmaji is crying against the curse of untouchability but that is not enough. If the members of the higher castes condescend to touch the members of the lower castes and do not consider it a pollution, but refuse to eat or drink or mix with them in social functions, refuse to intermarry with them and treat a few who had the courage of their convictions to do so as social outcasts, the question remains where it is, the problem remains unsolved creating perpetual bitterness of feelings.

Then there is the separate question of women's problem to face. Child-marriages are still going on and girls of 12 or 13 are found to accept motherhood, in so many cases the girls are married without their consent and without any consideration to their feelings and in many castes before they reach their age, as it is generally the case with the Brahmins in the South. As a consequence of these early marriages thousands of child widows are still manufactured, so to say, who become marked as unfortunate beings, and life has few pleasures to offer to these poor girls. Women's education in general is still in a very backward condition. The cruel purdah system prevents our Mohammedan sisters and many of our Hindu sisters in the north from being educated, and narrows their outlook by shutting them out from seeing God's world around them.

For a society devoted to social work and chiefly to the upliftment of women, like the Poona Seva Sadan Society, there are vast possibilities open in these

directions. Women, because of their ignorance, are the chief supporters of many evil social and religious customs which mean great harm to their own sex. A society like this could do much in the direction of imparting a general education to women to broaden their minds and outlook; it could train up women workers to go out to the streets and villages lecturing on sanitary arrangements, child welfare, first aid and reform of religious and social customs, and work among them and teach them to put those lectures into practical use. India is a poor country subject to frequent famines and pestilence of various kinds and trained women relief-workers would be a veritable blessing to suffering women and children. Because of poverty thousands of our women—women of that sacred land which gave birth to Seetha, Savitri and other immortal women of yore—are obliged to go to places like the Fiji islands to earn a living, and are forced to lead a degrading and sad life. If we could provide such poor women work in our own country and train them to earn an honourable and independent livelihood, such calamities could be prevented from taking place. There is the question of prostitutes. Every big town in India has a den of women given up to leading such a life and this problem stares us in the face as a national disgrace. Gandhiji with his usual sympathy and sincerity of feeling has often dwelt on this problem of fallen women, but the remedy he suggests is inadequate to cure this evil completely. He advises them to take to charka but spinning alone will be scarcely sufficient for a bare living. Women-workers must be ready to tackle this question and they alone could induce their fallen sisters to abandon their infamous mode of living, and train them up to earn an independent living by teaching them different branches of useful industry, by training them to become nurses and such like. Societies like the Poona Seva Sadan ought to be founded in every part of India to train up women workers to tackle these social problems successfully.

I dream of a day when every big town and district in India will have a society like this to carry on social work especially among women in these directions, and which will stand up as guardian of women's inherent rights as human beings and see that they are not oppressed but are allowed to have a free growth, are allowed to have the right of self-determination, so to say. I dream of a day when these societies will form an inter-provincial union to discuss the modes of work, exchange views in friendly co-operation, and carry on work in healthy competition with one another for the upliftment of the country in general and of women in particular. I pray for strength to contribute my little bit towards the fulfilment of these dreams.

SANYASIS AND POLITICS.

Bharati Krishna Tirtha, who was acquitted in the Karachi case, said at a public meeting held to congratulate him that he intended henceforth to devote himself to the Khilafat cause more than before. In view of this statement, the following from a leading article in the *Hindu Message* (Srirangam) of the 29th September, will be read with interest:—

Attendance at Khilafat Conferences and National Congresses are certainly not among the prescribed duties of Shankaracharyas who are bound by the strict letter of the law of their office to adhere to the duties which long-established tradition has attached to it. This adherence to *paramparagata sampradaya*—long-established tradition—should be religiously and scrupulously observed without even the slightest deviation if the dignity of the office is to be kept unimpaired. The religious veneration of the Hindus centre round principles and not persons and hence any the least violation of the acknowledged rubric (*vyavastha*) brings in its train complete loss of prestige and position. Similarly in the present instance when Swami Trivikrama Tirthji heard of this violation of *sampradaya* on the part of his disciple, His Holiness wrote to the Secretary of the Bharata Dharma Mahamandal as follows:—“That I entrusted my disciple Swami Bharati Krishna Tirtha with the responsibility of the Gadi was due to no other reason than that I did so for the sole cause of my being extremely ill I did not assign to him this position that he might eventually take part in politics. He should not, in my opinion, have mixed in party politics. There is no one but has a wish that his country may improve and his people be free. If the King be a righteous soul then verily has the Lord said “I am king among men.” In the king steadfastly devoted to his own duties reside Indra and other gods and consequently the relation of Sanatan Dharma to politics must needs be very close. But the parliamentary system which is being introduced into India is based on the politics of the West. It is its principle that like temporal heads the spiritual heads must not take part in any case in party politics. The Gadis of the four Sankaracharyas in the four quarters of India are unique spiritual centres, the heads of which should keep their dignity secure.” His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of the Govardhana Mutt also says that His Holiness never recognised Swami Bharati Krishna Tirtha as the Sankaracharya of Sarada Peeth, that His Holiness never gave him consent to mix in party politics of the national or any other party, and “that His Holiness thinks that the parliamentary system of Government of the West is now gradually being introduced into the country and as the four Gadis of Sankaracharya are recognised spiritual centres of Hinduism in the four corners of India, the Heads of these four Peethas like the temporal Heads should not in any way meddle with party politics. The Dharmacharyas *i.e.*, spiritual Heads should always remain above party politics to preserve the dignity of the Gadi.” The Head of the Sringeri Mutt also, in reply to the edict issued by His Holiness of Govardhana Mutt when he found that some were taking advantage of the present political situation of the country and meddling with party politics in the name of the Order, signifies his unqualified approval to each and every item of His Holiness's impressions and suggestions contained in the said edict and further commands his agent “to communicate to Sri Bharata Dharma Mahamandal his firm conviction that the followers of Sri Sankara Bhagavatpadacharya are at full liberty to take every possible step against the Sanyasis who transgress their *asra-nadharmas* and thereby render themselves incompetent to remain in that sacred *Asrama*.”

Under the circumstances we can safely assert that Swami Bharati Krishna Tirthji, though duly installed therein by his Guru, is not acknowledged as the Head of the Dvaraka Mutt by the Sanyasis of Govardhana Mutt and Sringeri Mutt and that both these Swamis, as also his own Guru Swami Trivikrama Tirthji, consider him to have transgressed the limits of his Order, the consequences of which he will have himself to reap without anybody feeling the least pang on that

account. The Order of Sannyasa is not only the highest but also the most rigorous of all the Orders and one can never be too careful to preserve it. The least violation of its laws brings untold disaster both here and hereafter and the Order always commands universal respect simply because of its member's scrupulous observance of the extremely hard and rigorous laws. Such being the case it is just in the fitness of things that those who are recognised as the leaders of that Order should act as exemplars in observing the regular sampradaya and shine as beacon lights for the guidance of others leading them on to higher and yet higher spiritual planes ignoring altogether politics and other things mundane.

MALABAR CENTRAL RELIEF COMMITTEE,
CALICUT.

A MISCONCEPTION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

With a view to fully convincing the public of Bombay and outside and disillusioning the minds of some of our Mahomedan friends of all doubts in the matter, I seek the hospitality of your columns to give publicity to the following statement:

The *Malabar Central Relief Committee at Calicut* is entirely humanitarian and non-sectarian in its mission of relief, and the only object of our work is to alleviate the sufferings of the poor refugees by giving them first the necessary protection, and then affording them every possible help to tide over the present troubles. We are thoroughly free of all sectarian bias of every kind, and all those who are in need of help and come to us are sure to get the necessary facilities at our hands. Let me specially assure some of my Mahomedan friends who still have vague notions about it that on account of this policy of ours, no difference in the treatment between Muslim and non-Muslim refugees could possibly be made, and none whatsoever is actually done. Our path is very clear to us, of giving relief to all needy refugees, and this we do to all as best as we can without any regard to their caste or creed. I am sure that those who have been following the reports of our work which, from time to time, I have sent to the Press will be convinced that our work bears out our intentions. I will specially call the attention of my friends to a deputation of the leading Moplah gentlemen of Calicut who assisted by some of the prominent Hindu members of our Committee waited upon Mr. E. F. Thomas, the Collector of the district, and the sympathetic hearing he accorded to them and the encouragement they received at his hands. As a result of this step the Committee was enabled to carry out its plan of helping the poor women and children of the Moplaha who needed such assistance, as soon as this need became apparent. Besides, the Committee is thoroughly representative in character, comprising as it does, of Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians and Europeans. The attitude of the Government, then, on this matter is very clear as also the policy of our Committee, and there is no reason to imagine that our Committee's efforts in this direction of affording relief to the Muslim refugees of which I had specially referred to in my last report will be different.

I remain,

Yours Sincerely,

G. K. DEVDHAN,

Vice-President.

Malabar Central Relief Committee, Calicut.

INDIAN PRESS OPINIONS ON CIVIL
DISOBEDIENCE.

The Tribune, Lahore Daily, (Congress).

But whether the struggle be localised in a small area or assumes a general character, there is not the smallest doubt that it will be a serious thing for both the Government and the people.

Here is a warning both for the Government and for the people; for the former because it is clearly to its interest that it should do everything in its power, while there is time, to prevent things coming to a head both by avoiding the blunders of England in Ireland and by following a policy of conciliation, of which justice and freedom shall be the twin note; for the latter because it is not only to their own best interest but to the best interest of their country to do everything in their power to avoid the sinful quagmire into which things have drifted in Ireland. As we said the other day, an Ireland in India would be an incomparably more serious problem to the British Government than the actual Ireland. But let us not forget that it would be an equally more serious problem to the people. The chaos, confusion and disorder that have made life in Ireland a veritable hell to peace-loving men would assume a much vaster proportion in India, and the misery and suffering that would follow in their train would be proportionately greater. Some of us may think that the price would be fully worth paying for freedom. Others may think that freedom and anarchy are incompatible terms, and may also believe that there is a better way of achieving freedom if only we can get rid of our notion that all will be over if freedom does not come by a particular day. Both must agree that before things are allowed to assume such a character, it is our duty no less than our interest to know what we are about, and to proceed with our eyes wide open that not a step should be taken in ignorance or without fully counting the consequences.

The Hindu, Madras Daily, (Congress).

The All-India Congress Committee has passed an important resolution on the question of Civil Disobedience. The discussion on the subject was animated and thorough with a clear grasp of all the realities of the situation. Mahatma Gandhi has been in this instance the focus to which the influences from all the ardent spirits in the country were directed, and he has been successful, it must be said, in withstanding the pressure from all sides and to reducing the problem to reasonable dimensions. He has put his position clearly not only in the summarised report of his speech wired to us but also in the issue of "Young India," dated the 3rd instant.

Mr. Gandhi has also promised to show by an example in his own Province of Gujarat how to bring about the practice of civil disobedience. From all this it is clear that the Mahatma is more acutely conscious of the dangers, pitfalls and impediments in the way of adopting civil disobedience than many of the impetuous advocates of that course. He fully realises that it is not an immediately practicable question in many parts of India. The conditions attached to the resolution have also to be clearly borne in mind before embarking on such a line of action. While we do not think that the adoption of civil disobedience in many parts of the country is expedient, practicable or imminent, the passing of such a resolution at the present time by responsible public men is a significant indication of the temper of the country, and of its electrified atmosphere.

The Servant, Calcutta Daily, (Congress.)

We are in perfect agreement with Mahatma Gandhi in holding that we have absolutely no right to launch out on

the campaign of general civil disobedience until we have indisputably established our capacity to perform at least one united action. Though civil disobedience is the natural goal of non-co-operation, and though nothing would please us better than that the country should be ripe for it, we do not understand this anxiety on the part of some earnest spirits amongst us to rush to general civil disobedience when there is already enough scope for courage, sacrifice, suffering and determined action in the programme of non-co-operation that has been before the country for some time. Readiness to suffer is all right, but what is the meaning of this insistence on any particular form? Have we all given up law courts or used our influence with all whom we know to make up our quarrels amongst ourselves? Have we been able to take the education of our children into our own hands? Have we been able to make sufficient headway in the temperance movement? And last, though not least, the production side of Swadeshi has everywhere come in for so little attention that we have no hesitation in pronouncing it premature in the extreme to risk the defiance of all the demoralising laws of the land.

The Independent, Allahabad Daily (Non-Co-operator).

This then is the heart of the matter. Civil Disobedience is now launched. It includes the non-payment of taxes. It is subject to many conditions—conditions which are bound to break down in the working out. The breach of laws and the consequent filling of the jails, if the penalties are enforced, are part of the programme. A Calcutta critic thinks that non-payment of taxes would be the final term of the case. We do not think so. We hold that the breach of specific laws would matter more. But that is a detail. What is really important is the firmness of will behind the endeavour. We publish elsewhere Mr. Gandhi's own notion of the conditions of the struggle. Swadeshi, Hindu-Muslim unity and the readiness of one to die (if need be on the gallows) without shedding blood. We agree, but with this note:—Swadeshi is a symbol of patriotic determination, the things that count in the middle of the fight being Hindu-Muslim friendship and disciplined courage. We know there are various areas in India which can fulfil these conditions—Gujrat and elsewhere. If such areas undertake the campaign of Civil Disobedience, it is no literal quibbling to say that they would have Swaraj. There may be no visible House of Parliament, there may be no executive official clothed with the symbol of authority; but such areas would nevertheless be free and the King's authority will come to an end there as surely as it is non-existent in the Mopla-land (but with the difference obvious to anybody).

The Bombay Chronicle, Daily, (Congress).

The Indian people do not want to sever the connection with Britain, nor do they want a single Britisher now in India to leave the country or to suffer in any way. But as they love their honour above everything else, they are determined to remain in the British Empire, only on terms of the completest equality with its component parts, and to see that the Britisher in India, remains, not as their exploiter or master, but as their equal. The resolutions passed at the momentous meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, which has a greater volume of public opinion behind it than that enjoyed by any Parliament in the world, will, we hope, make Lord Reading realise, if he has not yet realised, the earnestness and determination of the people. The fact that there was a strong element in the Committee which demanded the relaxation in the conditions which Mahatma Gandhi and majority deemed essential for the exercise of civil disobedience should bring home to him how far the people are prepared to suffer in order to win their birthright.

The Bengales, Calcutta Daily, (Liberal).

The failure of the non-co-operation movement in its bearing upon educational institutions, the law-courts and the programme of arbitration has been deplored by Mr. Gandhi himself. The grog-shop has not been closed, the foreign cloth has not been tabooed, indigenous manufactures do not swell our markets. How then Mr. Gandhi can persuade himself to resort to the last step without caring to make the intermediate stages effective is something that passes our understanding. We do not know what form the first act of civil disobedience will take. But the chances are that non-payment of tax will be the course determined upon. We trust Mr. Gandhi will bethink himself beforehand what a small place land-revenue occupies in the scheme of taxes in British India and how the public exchequer is replenished by revenues from other sources. In the meantime, we wait and see how the ball is set rolling by him from Guzerat. Are we to take it that Guzerat has fully carried out the Swadeshi programme and realized all the items of the non-co-operation movement? It cannot be that the resolution on civil disobedience will be practised on a large scale, regard being had to the fact that only individuals and the Provincial Congress Committees are charged with the duty of making it an accomplished fact. We need not, therefore, take the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee seriously but follow the Aquithian policy of wait and see.

The Leader, Allahabad Daily, (Liberal).

Very few individuals can conscientiously say that they possess these high qualifications. But who is to judge whether an individual who takes to civil resistance possesses the subjective qualities which have been laid down? There are thousands who call themselves non-cooperators but who have no right to style themselves as such in the true Gandhian sense. The result of the sanction accorded by the Congress Committee would be that a number of individuals who do not fulfil the conditions prescribed will take to civil disobedience in a spirit not of love but of hatred, not of self-restraint but of mere license. The condition prescribed for mass civil disobedience will also be found difficult of fulfilment, except in small areas. A district or a tahsil is to be treated as a unit. Nothing has been said about the units in towns. The condition is that a vast majority of the population must have adopted full Swadeshi and must be clothed out of cloth hand-woven in the district or tahsil in which it is to be inaugurated. They must also believe in and practise all other items of non-co-operation. There may be people who may be in favour of *charkha* and *khaddar* but who may be strongly opposed to civil disobedience. Such people will, after the passing of this resolution, have to give up both, for they may feel that by encouraging them they will also be promoting the cause of civil disobedience. We are afraid that the Congress Committee by coupling Swadeshi with civil disobedience and by making the success of the former one of the main reasons for the adoption of the latter, had rendered a disservice to the cause of true Swadeshi. We are grieved that the two should have been so vitally connected together.

The Servant of India, Poona Weekly, (Liberal)

The All-India Congress Committee's resolution, with Mr. Gandhi's gloss on it, amounts to this, that Mr. Gandhi will commence civil disobedience in Guzerat and that workers in other provinces will watch the result for some time. It should be noticed that the civil disobedience campaign which Mr. Gandhi will now initiate is not a "conscience movement" like the one which Thoreau and Tolstoy preached. It is not proposed that those laws should be broken which offend against the conscience, but all laws which it may be convenient to break, however consonant they may be in themselves

with the dictates of conscience. Mr. Gandhi says in *Young India*, that "those only can take up civil disobedience who believe in willing obedience even to irksome laws imposed by the State so long as they do not hurt their conscience or religion," but we doubt whether Mr. Gandhi intends to observe this condition himself. We feel sure rather that the movement of civil resistance will not be limited to laws which hurt conscience or religion, but will be extended to all laws which Mr. Gandhi may think it expedient to break. It exemplifies what we have said before that it is on expediency rather than on principle that the movement of non-cooperation is based.

SATRAP AS A SANYASI.

Sir N. D. Beatson Bell, the Ex-Satrap of Assam, after his retirement has settled in a place near Calcutta as a Christian hermit (Deacon) devoted to the service of suffering humanity. The deep humanity which was the deep undercurrent of his life through all his activity and lent such a charm to his personality has come out now that he has thrown off the huge panoply which crushed the soul and has freed himself from all the paraphernalia of high office. It is the just atonement for the support he gave to *Kaifia* case. We offer our homage to him in his new role. May the blessings of the common Father of all be on his devoted head and on all his work of humanity!

The Indian Messenger (Calcutta).

A WIDOW MARRIAGE.

A correspondent writes: Srimathi Chandravathi Bai, daughter of Dr. Kasargode Krishna Bhat was married on Tuesday the 1st instant to Mr. M. Manjunath Rao M.A.L.T. in Mangalore. The bride is the niece of Mr. V. P. Rao I. C. S. District and Sessions Judge, Tellichery and is aged 25. She had become a widow in her 12th year. The bridegroom is a Professor in Brennan College, Tellichery, and is aged 28. This is the seventh widow marriage in the Saraswat Brahmin community of the Sri Chitrapur Mutt. Rai Sahib K. Ranga Rao officiated as Purohit in the ceremony and it was registered under Act III of 1872.

That Bauble: We hope we are not wanting in a due share of historic feeling, but we confess that the information that the Empire Parliamentary Association has resolved to present a mace to the Indian Legislative Assembly left us in no very reverent mood. What does it matter if a mace is presented from England or is made in India? Why have a mace at all? There are various Indian designs of ornamental staves and, if one is considered indispensable, why not have one of these made of Indian ivory or ebony in preference to a replica of the one which Oliver Cromwell had removed from the British Parliament as a meaningless bauble?

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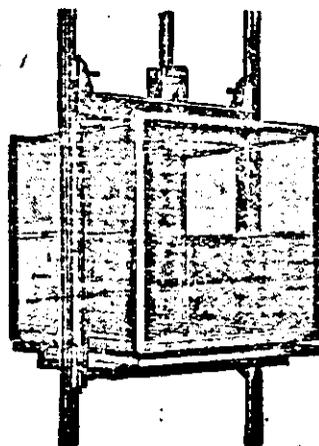
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

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Mob Violence in Bombay: The agitation of the Khilafat and Congress parties to boycott the Prince's visit has had the most unfortunate and deplorable result of leading to a serious outbreak of mob-violence in parts of Bombay on Thursday and Friday. Municipal lamps in the area were smashed, men and women not wearing the Gandhi cap or khaddar cloth molested, liquor-shops and a Police station burnt down and the Police assaulted. The Police and Military had to resort to firing both on Thursday and Friday. The number of casualties cannot yet be definitely stated, but it is considerable. What added to the anxiety of the situation was that the mill-hands struck work and the mills had to be closed. A sinister feature of the outbreak is the racial bitterness engendered by it. Parsis, men and women, have been among the victims of mob hatred for no conceivable reason. Europeans and Anglo-Indians, every one wearing European clothes or even hats, were the objects of mob fury. Mahatma Gandhi's statement, which we print in another column, sets forth briefly but clearly what he himself saw. The only course open to him now is definitely to abandon the methods which have had such disastrous consequences, as he recognises. We take it that whatever may be the decision of the Working Committee of the National Congress, which is to meet next week at Surat, his decision that civil disobedience is out of the question, is irrevocable.

An Unfortunate Blunder: Whoever is responsible for persisting in the face of protests in keeping the paintings of Hindu gods and goddesses on the wooden pillars in the streets through which the Royal procession passed, deserves to be boycotted by the authorities until he develops a little sanity. The question is not, as it has been made out, whether such exhibitions are in accord with custom and practice. It is whether, when a section of Hindus, rightly or wrongly, object to their objects of worship being exhibited in a manner and in places not employed in the case of similar objects of worship in other religions practised in Bombay, it

is commonsense to persist in a course which, in these times of tension, no sensible person should have thought of. There is a class of public men grown up in Bombay during recent years, who unfortunately have an undue amount of influence in high official circles. They have made money and their only rule of life is, "he who pays the piper, can call the tune." So long as they limit the application of this principle to matters which concern themselves, no harm is done, but they are utterly out of place as advisers on subjects which are beyond their ken but which enter into the deepest sentiments of the people. We have heard Hindu gentlemen of light and leading remark bitterly on this ill-advised feature of the decorations. We should add that this is not noticed here as a cause of or reason for the disturbances.

The Mulshi Petha Trouble: The Tata Power Company's statement, which we publish, is a frank and full explanation of their attitude on the question of according compensation to the ryots whose lands are required for the lake in which water is to be stored for the hydro-electric project. Their proposals must, we think, strike as fair and even generous to every one who does not hold that under no circumstances should land be acquired for a public purpose except by private negotiation which is cumbersome and impossible when a large area parcelled out into several small holdings has to be taken. No irrigation project can be undertaken and few other considerable projects whose benefits extend to large communities, if this principle were to be accepted. We hope that those who are in a position to advise the ryots concerned will realize that it is not to the interest of the latter to reject the liberal terms now offered by the Company.

Railway Finance: We take the following from a message in the *Bombay Chronicle*: "The personnel of the Railway Finance Committee which the Legislative Assembly agreed to appoint during the last Simla session to report on the Financial proposals of the Acworth Committee is now almost settled. The Hon'ble Mr. Hailey, Finance Member, will be its President with 16 members appointed from both houses of the India Legislature. The Committee sits in Calcutta from 5th to 10th December." It is hardly likely that this sort of piecemeal examination of the Railway Committee's Report will yield satisfactory results. The report should be taken and discussed as a whole by the Legislative Assembly, and such discussion may be prejudiced by dealing with the report in detail.

To Our Readers: Owing to our Press being located in the centre of the disturbed area, we have not been able to get out the paper on the usual day for the first time in twenty years. This issue goes to press on Monday.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1921.

THE PRINCE IN INDIA.

The Prince of Wales landed in Bombay on Thursday and was accorded a loyal and dutiful welcome. His Royal Highness's first public utterance in India, was the delivery of a message from the King Emperor, which breathed in every line the anxious solicitude of affectionate parents for the success of the visit of their son and heir to this country—the brightest jewel in the British Crown. His Royal Highness' own speech in reply to the address presented by the Municipal Corporation bore ample testimony to his deep desire to get into touch with the thoughts and aspirations of the Indian people. It fully bore out the declaration of Lord Reading to a deputation of Oudh Talukdars last week, that neither His Excellency nor his Government had ever had the faintest intention of using His Royal Highness' visit for political purposes, and his emphatic repudiation of the allegation that they intended to exploit it as a means of disguising from the British public and the world the real feeling and attitude of the Indian people on political questions. All may not agree with His Excellency's view that to have advised against the Prince's visit at this time, would have inevitably produced in the minds of the British public and of the peoples of the Dominions, impressions that would have reacted very unfavourably in them, or even that the Government were right in allowing any consideration except that of the state of the country to sway their judgment. In fact, His Majesty's message delivered by the Prince shows that no extraneous considerations of this oblique kind had a share in prompting the King-Emperor's decision that the visit should take place as originally intended. But we appreciate His Excellency's assurance that he fully acknowledged that there were many matters of public policy upon which serious and even acute differences of opinion obtained in this country. We are sure that full opportunities and facilities will be provided for His Royal Highness to learn and understand at first hand what these differences are.

The Throne is above all parties and politics. This does not mean, however, that the occupant of it is a negligible quantity. It does mean, no doubt, that the Sovereign can have no policy at a given time apart from that of his responsible Ministers. But no one who has read the published memoirs of Sovereigns and Ministers, can fail to see that the former exercise a vast deal of influence, all the more effective for its being hidden from the public view, on the policies which their Ministers pursue. A simple fact explains much of the real authority which the Crown possesses. Ministers come and go, while the Sovereign remains the sole constant and co-ordinating factor in the life of the State. In a hereditary ruler, this advantage is further strengthened by the force of tradition which none but sciolists can deny. We think it therefore, a welcome circumstance that the Prince at an early and impressionable period of his life visits

the country of which he will be the future Sovereign so long as India remains within the British Commonwealth. That the British Commonwealth can endure as a single entity without the cementing strength of the Crown, is to us unthinkable. Even as Prince of Wales, His Royal Highness' influence in moulding the policy of the Empire, is not inconsiderable, but whether, it is so or not, it is a good thing that he has the opportunity to learn for himself that India is neither an ancient myth nor a modern fable.

The people of India are men and women of flesh and blood like to those of every other land, and they resent wrongs especially those arising from racial assumptions and cherish the same aspirations to regulate their own administration as those of Great Britain or Ireland. His Royal Highness will note before he is very long among us that, except for the racial factor, the problems of Indian politics differ in no essential respect from that of other countries with which he is more closely acquainted. Whatever, by a lent example rather than by solemn precept, His Royal Highness can do during his short sojourn among us to show that he regards that racial arrogance as the cardinal sin against the British Commonwealth, will be so much immediate service to the cause of India's national development in harmony with the rest of that Commonwealth. We do hope and trust that the Prince's intercourse will not be confined to persons who are sufficiently intimate with the staffs of Government Houses to hail individual members by their Christian names or to the sons and nephews of Indian Chiefs who have been appointed to ornamental posts about him. He must insist on meeting persons whose names may shock official prudens, because India as a whole has never more completely rejected the official code of what is right and respectable. The less the public feel that His Royal Highness is tied to official leading-strings, the more interesting to himself and fruitful of good to India is his visit likely to be.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN TRAVANCORE.

A Legislative Council for making Laws and Regulations was first constituted about 34 years ago in Travancore. The maximum strength of the Council was eight of whom two were to be non-officials nominated by Government. Twelve years later, the maximum strength of the Council was increased to 15 of whom not less than two fifths were to be non-officials. Though the new Regulation allowed election no rules were framed for such election. Some fifteen years later, the members of the Popular Assembly representing a particular division were asked to recommend a member for that division. This Regulation further detailed the subjects about which the Council could not pass any law. Twenty years later, the maximum strength of the Council was fixed at 25, not more than two fifths of whom were to be non-officials. The Council constituted under this Regulation consists now of 24 members of whom 13 are officials and eleven are non-officials. Of these latter 7 alone have been elected. Thus from 1863 up to now the Council had an official majority. Under

the two previous Regulations the Council's power was only to frame laws. They are not allowed the right of interpellation and also of discussing the Budget, though they are not allowed to divide on the budget. These two were privileges conferred together with the right of election. The elected members are returned directly by the people and no sanction of Government was necessary for them to take their seats. This reform was adversely commented upon in that His Highness' Prerogative of independent legislation was explicitly reserved and that the Regulation itself was passed by His Highness directly and not through the Council. In a memorial presented to His Highness the Maharaja early this year this point was again emphasised and objection was also taken to the removal of the subject of coinage and legal tender from the purview of the Legislative Council. The memorial also prayed for an amendment of the regulation to provide for:—(1) a non-official majority, (2) the asking of supplementary questions, (3) the moving of resolutions, and (4) the liberalising of the rules relating to budget discussion. Mr. Raghaviab, the Diwan, in replying to the memorial, promised a sympathetic consideration of the last four points, but pointed out the untenability of the position taken with regard to the prerogative of the Sovereign in the matter of coinage and of making laws in his capacity of Sovereign, and the equally untenable position of a non-sovereign Legislative body seeking to enhance its own powers instead of obtaining them from the Sovereign.

In accordance with the above, a new Regulation has now been promulgated by His Highness the Maharaja. The strength of the Council has been raised to fifty of whom only 15 are to be officials. The remaining thirty five or seventy per cent. are to be non-officials and of these twenty eight will be elected by the people. Looking at it from another point of view there will be 28 elected members and 22 nominated members. The result of this constitution will be that there is not only a substantial non-official majority but a substantial majority of elected members as well and that no measure that has not received the general wishes of the people can be enacted. This is the first item of real popular power conferred by this Regulation, for, till now no law could be passed if it did not meet with the approval of Government. It might, however, be contended that under Section 13 of the Regulation the Diwan may vote against any Bill introduced into the Council or pass any Bill against the wishes of the Council. The action itself will show how restricted is the power thus vested in the Diwan, the exercise of it being limited only to the extreme cases where the safety or tranquillity of the country necessitates such exercise. The provisions of Section 13 follow closely the provisions of sub-section (2a) of Section 67 and (1) of 67 B of the Government of India Act which vests such powers in the Governor-General. The Council is under the new Regulation allowed not only to discuss the Budget but also to vote on the Budget, except with reference to matters that are referred to in sub-section (4) of Section 16. This is the second

item of real popular Power conferred by this Regulation on the people of the State, viz., the power of the purse. The Legislative Council in which the popular element is represented by a substantial majority has under this Regulation power to give or refuse grants with which to carry on the Government. Certain items of expenditure and certain matters have no doubt been excluded from the purview of the Legislature, but an analysis of them will show that they relate either to the Prerogative of the Sovereign or his relations with the Paramount Power or to the Military the existence of which concerns the State vitally. In regard to almost all else, the control will hereafter be with the Legislature. This is the power which the British Parliament has so recently conferred on the Reformed Governments in India, a power which the people of Travancore are first among the inhabitants of Indian States to get. As for the exceptional power reserved in the Diwan and Government it is intended as in the case of enactment of laws to be exercised only in very exceptional cases. Similar powers are reserved to the Governor-General under Section 67 (a) of the Government of India Act. In short, the powers conferred upon the Council are similar to those conferred upon the Imperial Legislature of India and their virtue lies in the fact that they convert the Legislative Council from a purely advisory body into a Governing body. The number of questions that may now be put is unlimited and supplementary questions are allowed. Members are now given the right to move resolutions and the rules published under the Regulation have conferred the additional privilege on members of moving for an adjournment of the House to discuss matters of public interest. The new Regulation does not prohibit the appointment of a non-official Deputy President. These are additional privileges conferred by the present Regulation. From every point of view the present Regulation is a marked improvement and gives to the people of Travancore a substantial share in the administration of their country.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent).

London, October 27th, 1921.

EDUCATION FOR SOLDIERS.

The Thomas Atkins of the future is to be a man of brain as well as brawn, for it is foreshadowed that at a fairly early date, the fitness for army enlistment, shall not be only to pass a medical test, but an educational one also. The boy who in the past owing to circumstances beyond his control, has no schooling, or who played truant from school and positively refused the discipline of civil life, will no longer find an outlet for his energy in the army, for the army is no longer to be a trade for the educationally unfit. Many of the youths who have joined since the Armistice must have felt a shock of surprise when they realised, after going through strenuous physical exercises

and hopping about like frogs, that they had to sit at desks and learn to read and write and do arithmetic, and their spirit of adventure or mental inertia must have been severely troubled. Yet so important has this aspect of education become to the army sheep, that, even during the recent rising in Mesopotamia and the active service condition in Ireland, instruction in the elements of education has never ceased to be given in the units stationed in these places. This educational experiment in the East and in the British Isles has demonstrated the fact that such training can coexist with military duties, and that the value of a man as a soldier is not lessened but, it is claimed, enhanced. The latter part of the war and especially since the armistice and demobilisation, the fact has been driven home to the State that the business of life is to fit men for conditions of peace and the Army has to come into line with this. Every man to-day is expected to learn some trade that shall fit him for life as a useful citizen, so that when his period of service is over, he can take his place with other men as a qualified worker. Some extremely good work has recently been done by the men trained at the two big training centres in England, which might be looked upon as the finishing school for manual labourers whose period of army life is drawing to a close, and practically all the men who have passed through this training have found good places.

WOMEN IN CAMBRIDGE.

Cambridge has decided against admitting women to full membership of the University by a big majority. Feeling ran very high, and both sides mustered their forces to the fullest extent of their respective powers, but the conservative party won the fight, and so Cambridge is to remain essentially masculine. But women are not content to accept this ruling of Cambridge, and have threatened to appeal to a Royal Commission that is now sitting; and probably even if the Royal Commission does not help them, they will continue to agitate and worry until, either from conviction or weariness the opposing section gives way. Perhaps if they do appeal to the Royal Commission, thus going beyond the Senate House of Cambridge, it may do a great deal to injure their cause with their own masculine adherents, as it would savour of possible future disloyalty to the University. The University certainly wishes to be master in its own domain, and to attempt to bring in an outside force to compel it to any action may retard, rather than hasten, the day of full membership with its accompanying responsibility.

REFORM IN THE CHURCH.

The Church Congress is sitting and it is trying to prove by its catholicity of subjects for discussion that the Church is not divorced from present-day needs. Scarcely any important subject has been left untouched, and the Prime Minister's blunt suggestion a little while ago that the Church should keep out of practical affairs seems to have stimulated it to greater activity in them, rather than compel it to sit with its hands folded as if in prayer and its eyes

lifted Heavenwards. The Common Prayer Book has come in for much discussion, it being thought a fit time now for a revision of many of its prayers and ceremonies. The Burial Service was condemned as being "too pagan and mournful", the marriage service "contained expressions which were offensive to modern ideas and could be removed without detriment to its solemnity." The international note needed to be struck, as well as prayers for all those in charge of the commonweal and not almost exclusively for the Royal Family.

CONDITION OF RUSSIA.

The condition of Russia continues to agitate us. In fact we are now linking it with trade depression and unemployment, and are told that if we would save ourselves we must save Russia. Appeals are put forward in big type to save the famine-stricken people, and collections are made, quite big ones, to this end. Then another school of thought loudly declaims against sending money, food and clothing to a country far away, when our own people are in such dire need. And yet others are warning us that our money and food will not reach its destination, but be diverted to the maintenance of the Red Army; and thus while we are pouring assistance into Russia the Russian Government may be pouring money out in order to foment sedition among ourselves. The public are therefore torn with conflicting emotions of sympathy and anger. But all emotions are fleeting, and solid building rests upon solid foundations of thought, and the absolute knowledge that is being driven home to-day is that no nation can stand alone, a truth that will produce the driving power needed to exert ourselves to save Russia. When we fully realise, as we are beginning to do, that Russia's labour and Russia's market are needed for our well-being, we shall probably work out some policy of mutual benefit. Before the war nearly half the food Europe needed to import came from Russia. This supply is now closed and America is looked to, to make up the deficiency. But America does not need our manufactured goods and Russia does so that though the two problems of Russia's starving millions and our own workless seem far removed from each other, yet in reality they are very near together; and therefore, prudence, apart from humanitarianism, will dictate such full help as we can give to save Russia. Were Russia taking our manufactured goods, the work-people now idle and on the verge of starvation would be employed in making the things Russia needs and would take, and so we should see daylight through our dark labour night. If Russia's wheat market were again open, we in this could be able to buy from her much more cheaply than we do from America so that not only would trade revive and unemployment grow less, but the cost of necessities go down. All-round self-interest prompts us to take Russia seriously and earnestly, and if possible help her in her hour of extreme need to save her people from starvation, disease, despair, and death, and in saving herself internally, help her to regain her position in the community of Nations.

FROM A WAYFARER'S NOTEBOOK.

The special correspondent of the *Hindu* reports that *nautch* was one of the items of amusement at a garden party at Tanjore, given in honour of the visit of Lord and Lady Willingdon to that historic town in South India. It is not at all likely that their Excellencies, in the course of a gubernatorial tour, would have chosen to disregard the trend of public opinion about a much-debated and thorny social problem if they were already aware that officials and non-officials, ladies and gentlemen among the two races—Indian and British—have in the interests of personal and social purity relegated the institution of "nautch" to the limbo of oblivion. It is, by the way, a fresh illustration of the opinion held in certain quarters that an Englishman's desire or curiosity, on first arriving in the country, to understand and appreciate the strange customs and manners prevalent in his land of adoption is only short-lived and that prolonged residence in India does not serve to augment his knowledge of or insight into, the mainsprings of thought and activity in this great sub-continent. It is a matter for regret that the host in question did not sufficiently realise the delicacy of the situation nor appraise in full measure the nature and number of the issues involved in including, in the item of amusements, nautches by nautch-women as fit subjects for the delectation of distinguished guests of a different nationality. Space does not permit me to chronicle at length the progress of the anti-nautch propaganda, suffice it to say that the movement which began at Madras about thirty years ago has now spread all over India. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and Dewan Bahadur R. Venkatratnam Naidu are among those who have all along supported this movement by precept and practice.

It will be within the recollection of your readers that the *Englishman* tried to set the Hugi on fire when, some years ago, a prominent English dancer proposed to give a public performance at Calcutta. When in this connection the question of dress and decency was discussed, it was broadly hinted that a reaction from excessive fondness for dress was only inevitable. Mahatma Gandhi's "Langoti-argument" is a powerful though extreme affirmation of the popular desire to give up prudery about dress in tropical India in the face of an imperious but self-imposed necessity to observe severe economy in the use of clothing during a period of transition. Necessity is very often the "tyrant's plea" but in this case the Mahatma, as a true tribune of the people, as one who knows where exactly the shoe pinches has faithfully given expression to the voice of the people—the "thousand-headed Demos." As professor Keller says, "it is a common place of history that customs and institutions arise, attain strength and vogue, finally to yield to other ways of procedure and to disappear. For the explanation of this rise and fall we do not look to the individual or to the limited group of individuals, except as he or they stand forth as the leading agency or exponent of the societal change. This is the only way in which the sociologist can view the "great man

in history" he may sign an Emancipation Proclamation, but he does it only as a delegate or representative. For the causes of alteration in the code we look to more massive factors which have to do with the life of the society as a whole, as, for instance, economic change or the rise of a religion". ("Societal Evolution" p. 55). In the India of today the "massive factor" is essentially economic. This is the secret and the significance of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa's saying that you cannot expect any man to listen to a sermon on religion and religious life when he is hungry.

It is obvious that Rabindranath Tagore is not the poet to give to any party what is meant for mankind. In critically examining some of the methods of the non-co-operator he has given a piece of his mind to his admiring countrymen and has also taught how to think aloud. "Thou shalt obey" has been the refrain of the Indian *mantra* for ages; hence the great need for the Mahakavi to say: "If nobody follows thee, go thou forward alone," for, man does not live by bread alone. While the poet's protest is a timely one, it is amusing to note the desperate attempts made in certain quarters to emphasise the lines of cleavage or magnify the points of difference between Tagore and Gandhi. The illuminating remark of the *I. S. Reformer* that the Mahatma represents the Indian heart at its systole, and the Mahakavi at its diastole should serve as a necessary corrective to all "men of formula."

What will posterity think and say of two of the greatest Indians now living? If Mahatma Gandhi were to continue in his present role as a political priest the answer is plain. Herbert Paul in his "Life of Gladstone" says that when the Prime Minister and the Poet-Laureate went to Kirkwall, the former made the most graceful of his occasional speeches, contrasting the perishable nature of the statesman's fame with the immortal renown of the great poet. Morley has quoted this speech in his "Life of Gladstone." On the day when India wins "Swaraj" even the Mahatma will cheerfully admit that the song that nerves a nation's heart is in itself a deed.

The Tamils have lost a poet of light and sweetness in the passing away, at an early age, of Subramania Bharati. During his exile at Pondicherry he renounced politics, and, in the company of that great Indian, Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, worked in a higher field with the result that this Tamil bard, as Gladstone said of Tenyson, "Has written his own song, on the hearts of his countrymen, that can never die." When I met Bharati at Madras some months previous to his death he looked the shadow of his former self—such was his grinding poverty. It is once more the sad story of a good and great man leaving his mortal coils for want of bread and his admiring countrymen walking penitently to his grave with a polished stone to perpetuate his memory.

The Rev. Mr. H. A. Popley wrote some years ago in the *Christian College Magazine*: "I have read as many of the recent Tamil poetical productions as I could come across, searching for the man, who, like the poet Laureate of Bengal, (of Asia) could weave to-

gether clean words and high thoughts in the Tamil language into a sweet mystic music, as Thayumanavar, Pattinathar and many others have done," and the new book of Tamil poetry by Mr. T. Lakshmana Pallai B. A. of Travancore made his heart rejoice as he found it was full of clear, crystal gems of verse and thought. Mr. Pillai has been called an Orpheus in music, for he has composed numerous inspiring and melodious "Kirtanams" of a non-sectarian character which are sung by all classes of people. It is said that the music lessons he gives free to all comers have developed a love of music in many a person in Travancore. The *Empress* magazine of Calcutta has described Mr. Pillai as the Rabindranath Tagore of South India, and in his Protestant Hinduism and wide tolerances and sympathy with young and old, his Buddhistic love for animals, his literary attainments and musical accomplishments, his austere simplicity of life and philosophic outlook, the life of this gifted poet presents a striking resemblance to that of the Sage of Shantiniketan.

A WAYFARER.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S STATEMENT.

The following is the text of a statement issued by Mahatma Gandhi to the Press on Friday :—

The reputation of Bombay, the hope of my dreams, was being stained yesterday even whilst in my simplicity I was congratulating her citizens upon their non-violence in the face of grave provocation, for the volunteers with their captain were arrested during the previous night for pasting posters under authority on private property. The posters advised the people to boycott the welcome to the Prince. They were destroyed. The Swaraj Sabha's office was mysteriously entered and the unused posters, so far as I am aware, not declared unlawful, were also removed. The Prince's visit itself and the circumstances attending the ceremonies arranged and the public money wasted for the manufacture of a welcome to His Royal Highness, constituted and unbearable provocation. And yet Bombay has remained self-restrained. This I thought, was a matter for congratulations. The burning of the pile of foreign cloth was an eloquent counterdemonstration, to the interested official demonstration.

Little did I know that at the very time that the Prince was passing through the decorated route and the pile of foreign cloth was burning in another part of the city, the mill-hands were in criminal disobedience of the wishes of their masters employing them, first one and then the others by force, that a swelling mob was molesting the peaceful passengers in the tramcars and holding up the tram traffic; that it was forcibly depriving those that were wearing foreign caps of their head-dresses, and pelting inoffensive Europeans. As the day went on the fury of the mob, now intoxicated with its initial success, rose also. They burnt tramcars, a motor, smashed liquor shops and burnt two.

I heard of the outbreak at about one o'clock. I motored with some friends to the area of disturbance and heard the most painful and the most humiliating story of the molestation of Parsi sisters. Some few were assaulted, and even had their ears torn from them, no one among a crowd of over fifteen hundred who had surrounded my car denied the charge as a Parsi with hot rage and quivering lips was with the greatest deliberation relating the story. An elderly Parsi

gentleman said, 'Please save us from this mob rule.' This news of the rough handling of Parsi sisters pierced me like a dart. I felt that my sisters or daughters had been hurt by a violent mob! Yes, some Parsis had joined the welcome. They had a right to hold their own view free of molestation. There can be no coercion in Swaraj. The Moplah fanatic who forcibly converts a Hindu believes that he is acquiring religious merit. A non-cooperator or his associate who uses coercion has no apology whatsoever for his criminality.

As I reached the Two Tanks I found two liquor shop smashed, two policemen badly wounded and lying unconscious on cots without anybody caring for them. I alighted. Immediately the crowd surrounded me and yelled 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai.' That sound usually grates on my ears, but it has grated never so much as it did yesterday, when the crowd unmindful of the two sick brethren choked me with the shout at the top of their voices. I rebuked them and they were silent. Water was brought for the two wounded men. I requested two of my companions and some from the crowd to take the dying policemen to the hospital. I proceeded then to the scene a little further up, where I saw a fire rising. There were two tram cars which were burnt by the crowd. On returning I witnessed a burning motor car. I appealed to the crowd to disperse, told them that they had damaged the cause of Khilafat, the Panjab and Swaraj. I returned sick at heart and in a chastened mood.

At about five a few brave Sindhi young men came to report that in Bhandi Bazar the crowd was molesting every passerby who had foreign cap on and even seriously beating him, if he refused to give up his cap. A brave old Parsi who defied the crowd and would not give up his Puggie was badly handled. Maulana Azad Sobhani and I went to Bhandi Bazar and reasoned with the crowd, told them that they were denying their religion by hurting innocent men. The crowd made a show of dispersing. The police were there, but they were exceedingly restrained. We went further and on retracing our steps found to our horror a liquor shop on fire. Even the fire brigade was obstructed in its work. Thanks to the efforts of Pandit Makram Sharma and others, the inmates of the shop were able to come out.

The crowd did not consist of hooligans only, or boys. It was not an unintelligent crowd. They were not all mill hands. It was essentially a mixed crowd, unprepared and unwilling to listen to anybody. For the moment it had lost its head. And it was not a crowd, but several crowds numbering in all not less than twenty thousand. It was bent upon mischief and destruction.

I heard that there was firing resulting in deaths and that in the Anglo-Indian quarters every one who passed with khadder on came in for hard bunting, if he did not put off his khadder cap or shirt. I heard that many were seriously injured. I am writing this in the midst of six Hindus and Mussalman workers who have just come in with broken heads and bleeding, and one with a broken nasal bone and other lacerated wounds and in danger of losing his life. They went to Parel led by Maulana Azad Sobhani and Muzam Ali to pacify the mill hands, who it was reported were holding up tram cars there. The workers however were unable to proceed to their destination. They returned with their bleedings to speak for themselves.

Thus the hope of reviving mass civil disobedience has once more been dashed, in my opinion, to pieces. The atmosphere for mass civil disobedience is absent. It is not enough that such an atmosphere is to be found in Bardoli, and therefore it may go on side by side with the violence in Bombay. This is impossible. Neither Bardoli nor Bombay can be treated

as separate, unconnected units. They are parts of one great indivisible whole. It was possible to isolate Malabar. It was also possible to disregard Malegaon. But it is not possible to ignore Bombay.

Non-co-operators cannot escape liability. It is true that non-co-operators were ceaselessly remonstrating everywhere with the people at considerable risk to themselves, to arrest or stop the mischief and that they are responsible for saving many precious lives. But that is not enough for launching out on civil disobedience or to discharge us from liability for the violence that has taken place. We claim to have established a peaceful atmosphere, i. e., to have attained by our non-violence sufficient control over the people to keep their violence under check. We have failed when we ought to have succeeded; for yesterday was the day of our trial. We were under our pledge bound to protect the person of the Prince from any harm or insult. And we broke that pledge inasmuch as any one of us insulted or injured a single European or any other who took part in the welcome to the Prince. They were as much entitled to take part in the welcome as we were to refrain. Nor can I shirk my own personal responsibility. I am more instrumental than any other in bringing into being the spirit of revolt. I find myself not fully capable of controlling and disciplining that spirit. I must do penance for it. For me the struggle is essentially religious. I believe in fasting and prayer and I propose henceforth to observe every Monday a twenty-four hours' fast till Swaraj is obtained.

The Working Committee will have to devote its attention to the situation and consider in the right thereof whether mass civil disobedience can be at all encouraged until we have obtained complete control over the masses. I have personally come deliberately to the conclusion that mass civil disobedience cannot be started for the present. I confess my inability to conduct a campaign of civil disobedience to a successful issue, unless a completely non-violent spirit is generated among the people. I am sorry for the conclusion. It is a humiliating confession of my incapacity, but I know that I shall appear more pleasing to my Maker by being what I am, instead of appearing to be what I am not. If I can have nothing to do with the organised violence of the Government, I can have less to do with the unorganised violence of the people. I would prefer to be crushed between the two.

THE MOPLAH RIOTS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The *Indian Social Reformer* has the well-deserved reputation of being an independent, dignified and impartial critic of men and matters and I have learnt to attach much weight and importance to all opinions expressed by you as its distinguished editor. Hence it has pained me considerably to read the comments you have made from time to time on the unfortunate and highly regrettable happenings now going on in my unhappy country, Malabar. Sir, you have erred in having in the first instance attributed the Moplah rising to the activities of the Congress and Khilafat party in Malabar. You have absolutely nothing to gain by unjustly accusing the congress people in Malabar of crimes they are not guilty of. You have written very often on the riots now going on in Malabar. You know perfectly well that during the last 50 years there were over 40 Moplah risings and may I enquire in which particular way is the present outbreak different from its kind of the past? Have the circumstances that made Moplah out-breaks possible in the past materially

changed? What steps have been taken by the Government and the Hindus of Malabar to remove the grievances of the Moplah population? Even the *Modern Advocates* of Calicut which is undisputedly an anti-Congress organ and which, unlike some of its contemporaries in Malabar, can rightly claim to be consistent in its views, of whatever nature they may be, in the course of a recent well-written leading article clearly states that agrarian discontent supplied the fuel for the present conflagration. Allow me in this connection to respectfully draw your attention to an article that appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 27th September last in which an attempt has been made by the writer to set forth at some length the agrarian aspects of the riots. What has been done during all these years to remove this fuel as the *Modern Advocate* terms it? Was any attempt made to reform the wretched condition of the Malabar peasantry? If the Congress and Khilafat propaganda had been responsible for the outbreak, I ask, why was there no trouble in Tellichery, Calicut, Ponnani Town and other Moplah centres which were the hotbeds of non-co-operation and Khilafat agitation? I do not want to disguise the fact that certain well-known mischief makers had got into the Khilafat Committees and in spite of the plea of the Congress leaders in Malabar that they know nothing about these and that they could not check the membership register as their free-movements were interfered with, I am not prepared to acquit them of all blame for this. But I ask you, Sir, in all seriousness whether it was a mere accident that the trouble broke out in those parts of the district where section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code had been rather liberally applied? It may have been only an accident; but undoubtedly the theory of accident is not unquestionable in this case.

I wish I could trace here the course of events that, in my opinion, led to the rebellion. But the limitation of space stands in the way. In the latest issue of the *Reformer* you speak of the "more responsible leaders of the non-co-operation-Khilafat movement" having candidly acknowledged that the movement has received a "serious blow" as a result of the rising. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that these "more responsible leaders" whoever they may be, are as ignorant of Malabar conditions as the worst critics of the Congress party. They are at perfect liberty to make any acknowledgements they like. But in a matter so intimately affecting Malabar, they ought to have heard what the Malabar leaders have to say on the matter before making such declarations. I do not believe that Mahatma Gandhi or any one else are possessed of supernatural powers and I am of opinion that they are lamentably wrong in having made a definite declaration on matters chiefly concerning Malabar without consulting the Malabar leaders. I do not exactly know in which way the rising had been a blow to the Congress movement. But if this acknowledgement of the "more responsible leaders" implies that the rising was due to the activities of the Congress party in Malabar, I have not the least hesitation in saying that they are totally wrong. I might mention for the information of the Congress leaders all over India that the Malabar Congress Committee stands in danger of coming into discredit if it stops relief work for want of funds and the duty before them is not to wail about imaginary blows but to send sufficient money to Mr. Kesava Menon, one *Kayfi* per day from whose hands would be far more preferable to many of my suffering sisters and brothers in Malabar to all the comforts that may be in the power of any other relief agency to provide them with.

Turning again to the causes of the rising, how often have some of us told the Madras Government to treat with equal

seriousness the appeals of the poor peasantry of Malabar as the 'advocates of the rich farmers, birthday and new-year rajas and other big persons? They may wipe off the last trace of the Congress influence from Malabar; they may appoint Special Commissioners and frame special laws in plenty. But so long as the present agrarian situation remains unchanged, there are possibilities of future troubles. I repeat what I wrote full two years ago in the course of a series of articles in the *Hindu* of Madras on the Malabar Tenancy question that Malabar cannot and will not have peace so long as the agrarian laws remain unchanged.

V. MADHAVAN NAIR.

[We have always distinguished carefully in our comments on the Mopla outbreak between Khilafat non-co-operation on the one hand, and Swadeshi and other non-co-operation, and the Congress. We have ourselves said that Government and the public must bear the ultimate blame for the ignorance and fanaticism of the Mopla community and that the true prevention for similar ebullitions is to provide for its education. Any agrarian grievances which they may have should certainly be remedied. But the immediate duty of Government and all responsible persons is to stop the murders and worse outrages and to give relief to those, whether Hindus or Moplas, who have been rendered destitute by the outbreak. We have not said a word of criticism against the Congress relief arrangements, and we have, therefore, from considerations of space, omitted our correspondent's vindication of them. Similarly, we have nothing to do with what other journals might have said, and we have not out his criticism of them. Our correspondent does not contradict our statement that responsible leaders have acknowledged that the outbreak is a severe blow to Khilafat Non-Co-operation. These gentlemen surely know what they are talking about. *Ed. I S. R.*]

INDIAN PRESS OPINIONS.

The Citizen, Madras Week'y, (Liberal).

Civil disobedience was bound to come, in any case at the last string in the non-co-operation bow, but the cases against the Ali Brothers and other prominent Khilafat workers have advanced its emergence before its time. Mr. Gandhi has been frankly stating his opinion that the people were not yet ready for it, that there was not yet that atmosphere of non-violence needed for its advent and that self-sacrifice and discipline had not been practised to a sufficient extent to warrant the unfurling of the new flag. If, after this emphatic opinion, repeated over and over again, he himself proposed the resolution about civil disobedience, including the non-payment of taxes, at the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee the result should be attributed partly to his being egged on by his followers to exhaust the one item that had not yet been put into force, partly to Mr. Gandhi's belief that no violence would result if it is practised by the persons specified and in the manner defined by him and partly to the use which it might be intended to have as a bluff by some of his supporters. It is not possible by any means to foresee what the exact effect of the new programme will be on the course of events, but one thing is certain. There are quite a lot of young men, sincere, self-sacrificing, patriotic and brave who are now camp-followers and who are full-fledged non-co-operators. The conscience of these courageous men will force them to resort to civil disobedience with the inevitable consequences. Mr. Gandhi's injunctions and prayers and threats notwithstanding, this depletion of the ranks of many of the true men will lead to public panic and demonstration and other popular outbursts and blood-spilling may very probably follow, though not necessarily rivers of blood. Mass civil disobedience is practically out of the question owing to the restrictions imposed and the authorities would feel quite able to deal with individuals and even particular tracts. The indirect consequences of this deliberate violation of law will be even more serious than those which have followed from the non-co-operation propaganda in embittering the people and in instilling hatred of the Government into them.

The Sind Observer, Karachi Daily, (Liberal).

The novelty of civil disobedience will also wear out like the novelty of several other short cuts to Swaraj. But it is in the hands of the Government either to make the movement formidable, which like a tidal wave will sweep the country, or to allow it to die on account of its own inherent defects. Non-co-operation has up to now shown that it carries within itself the elements of its own destruction. In some talukas of Gujarat and elsewhere it may go up like a rocket at the beginning but its fall is sure and certain. We were amazed at the spectacle of hundreds and even thousands of boys in Calcutta and other cities coming out of their schools to swell the ranks of non-co-operators but most of them have gone back to their schools on account of non-interference on the part of the authorities. In the beginning there will be a great response, especially when the Mahatma himself is prepared to break the law. Only repression and suppression will spread the movement like wildfire. If Lord Reading allows civil disobedience to burn itself out, he will be wise in his generation.

The Hitavada, Nagpur Weekly, (Liberal).

People have therefore now to consider how far they accept all the implications contained in this statement and how far they are prepared to go with Mr. Gandhi. He himself has advised all who would be his followers to wait and see what he will do in a small Tahsil in Gujarat and profit by his experiment. For ourselves we consider it a piece of mere madness in spite of a certain method which is its characteristic. The resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee regarding civil disobedience under the influence of Mr. Gandhi is hedged round by the many restrictive conditions, that if these limitations are strictly borne in mind there is no untoward consequence likely to result in the immediate future. But it is exactly here that all mass movements fail and whatever apprehensions we have on the matter are simply due to the fact that excesses might be committed which is bound not only to lead to but justify repressive policy. We can only watch and wait, for we dare not hope that Mr. Gandhi will abandon his course. It is evident that Gandhi's only hope now is in doing something which must force the hands of Government. Verily the future is on the knees of the Gods.

The West Coast Spectator, Calicut Tri-weekly, (Liberal).

Some months ago, when one of the Provincial Congress Committees betrayed an eagerness to precipitate the civil disobedience stage of the Congress programme, we took occasion to animadvert, as strongly as we could, on the very grave unwisdom and danger of going forward, whether precipitately or leisurely, with a weapon, the use of which would inevitably involve the country in still more strife and violence, following that which had already resulted, in not a few portions of the country, from the propagation of a movement which, though meant to be non-violent, cannot possibly be other than one of violence and disorder. If, months ago, attempts to rush forward to the stage of civil disobedience constituted a menace to the peace and progress of the country, who that witnesses events which are at the present moment happening in several portions of the country, principally our own unhappy District, and endeavours to see where these profoundly significant happenings are likely to lead the nation to, would have the temerity to declare that the hour has now struck when civil disobedience could be entered upon as a safe and sure step towards the goal of national liberty, advancement and genuine prosperity? Mr. Gandhi himself, as is abundantly evident from the appealing speech which he made the other day at Delhi, at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, is most gravely diffident and

apprehensive as regards the consequences which would ensue upon a premature enforcement of the principle and practice of civil disobedience, which with characteristic unambiguity, he defined as a civil revolution, which, wherever practised, would mean an end of government authority in that particular area and open defiance of Government and its laws. We, in Malabar, are in a most exceptional position to appreciate the aptness and accuracy of Mr. Gandhi's definition of the most important and formidable weapon in his Non-Co-operation armoury. The Ernad Moplah was advised and egged on to go in for civil disobedience, for revolutionary propaganda and for open defiance of the laws and authority of the Government. He was not slow to act upon the advice offered to him, and the result, as a manifestation of non-violent Non-co-operation, is positively staggering humanity. Mr. Gandhi appears to have made no allusion to the startling effects which have attended precipitation of the successive stages of non-violent Non-co-operation in Malabar, but it would not be rash to assume that the lesson of Malabar has not been entirely lost upon him.

THE MULSHI PETHA LAND ACQUISITION.

We have received the following statement from the Tata Power Company Ltd. explaining the principles and the procedure they have followed in acquiring land in Mulshi Petha:

If in England the cry of "Back to land" is raised, it is because roughly eighty per cent. of the population have turned to industrialism, and England depends for corn and produce mainly from abroad. In India, the conditions are precisely the reverse; and agriculture is the occupation of eighty per cent. of the population. Agriculture alone has never enriched a country and in the modern world a country's progress is always retarded as long as agriculture remains its chief pursuit. A greater diversity of occupation is required to relieve the pressure on the land.

If it had not been for the success of the Cotton Industry sufficient capital would not have accumulated in the country for the initiation of such large industries as the manufacture of Iron and Steel and for the other large schemes that have now been launched in India. The uplift of the masses has never been attained through agricultural pursuits, because the standard of living of the agricultural classes is low, their resources inadequate and the diffusion of ideas impossible where the people are spread over a large area. It is true that industrialism brings with it certain evils. But these can be met and cured in course of time. The great benefits of the rising wage, of increased intelligence, increased industry and superior efficiency all conduce to the benefit of the country and are all therefore for the national good.

If India is far too agricultural in its pursuits, the diversion of some of its land to higher uses must be looked on as a national good. The Government of Bombay take this view and have accorded their sympathy and help to the Hydro-Electric Schemes of the Bombay Presidency which will form the basis of all increased industry between Kalyan and Bombay.

Among the benefits to industry which Hydro-Electric power confers are its smoothness of drive, cleanliness of plant, ease of manipulation, and most important of all the decreased cost. By supplanting coal as a source of energy, as has been pointed out in a previous statement, the full development of 160,000 H. P. of the Tata Power Scheme will save 525,000 tons of coal every year. It has been suggested that this is only a small portion of the total output of India. But it should be remembered that the tonnage of coal referred to is of first class or good second class quality, which is the only quality which can be of any utility to the industries in Bombay, very distantly situated as they are from the collieries, since the cost of freight makes it impossible to use any coal of lower grade.

The wild assertion by those who oppose the scheme that Government have undertaken to acquire land for it because it will enable a conservation of coal for the British Navy

can be answered outright by the fact that the best Welsh coal is just now being sold in Bombay in composition with Indian Coal.

Apart from that the saving of this volume of coal means the freeing of 26,250 wagons every year on the Indian Railways for other national needs, making it possible to distribute foodstuffs more evenly through the country and enabling Railways to meet other trade demands more easily.

Another benefit to the country is the fact that the numerous factories which will be converted or worked by electricity, will scrap their steam engines and boilers and will cease to import the large number of spares required for their maintenance. Those who are familiar with the cost of spares or maintenance of steam power will readily realize that the money which goes towards their purchase will be kept in the country. New factories will not import Engines and boilers at all.

The company will also supply power to the Railways for suburban electrification and to the Tramways. This will increase and accelerate communications in Bombay, enable the city to expand, and thus help to relieve the existing congestion, and the insanitation, disease and mortality arising out of it.

It is true that when the acquisition of large areas of land took place for the first Hydro-Electric Scheme, Government valued the land at about twentyfive times the assessment, which was a rough and ready means of fixing market value in places where a ready market for the land did not exist owing to their being far away from any cities of importance. When the Andhra Scheme was initiated, Government were the first to draw attention in 1917 to the fact that acquisition on such a basis was not fair to the evicted population. The Company readily and heartily concurred, but in so far as Government's intentions were to spend a higher contribution from it on works of general utility, the Company endeavoured to secure the benefits of such increased contribution directly and adequately for the evicted Maylas themselves. The settling of these questions of policy, and later, the collection of facts and figures as to the actual yield on each class of land, did not bring these negotiations to a close till March 1921. The figures obtained by Government of the yield on each class of land were, it may be mentioned based on actual experiments on site, and on the average net income of the landowners for a series of years.

The long delay in the solution of the question how compensation should be paid, brought about however an unfortunate circumstance. The Andhra works were carried on with all the speed that only industrial control is capable of, and many lands were submerged before Government had declared its decision on the compensation to be paid. Records of lands and buildings so submerged were, however, carefully kept. In any case this delay in settling the compensation was a serious matter, which the Company has made every endeavour to avoid in the case of Mulshi Petha. There both Government and the Company have taken every precaution to expedite acquisition by the appointment of more than one Acquisition Officer, and strict orders have been issued to expedite the matter. The investigation into the Andhra and the Mulshi Valleys were carried on almost simultaneously so that the figures for the Mulshi Valley were declared by Government within a month or two after the compensation figures were declared for the Andhra Valley. The two previous mistakes of inadequate compensation and very belated compensation will therefore have both been avoided in the Mulshi Scheme.

We shall now explain how the compensation was fixed. The Government officials went into the records of a series of years to arrive at the average yield to the land owners on each class of land. In several villages, actual experiments were made to ascertain the amount of corn that was threshed on a number of plots. This actual average yield was then valued at the price corn prevailing towards the end of 1920, when prices were at their very highest. The income in money was then capitalised. Since Government paper fetches a secure and steady income at six per cent, it will be understood that capitalisation at eight per cent for land extremely liberal in so far as even in Mulshi Petha which has never known famine, the yield from the land falls very often as low as an eight anna crop. It will then be seen that in arriving at

these figures every latitude and margin has been allowed by Government. To this the Company have added a bonus of 15 to 25% for all land owners who willingly sell their lands, so that the best rice lands will be paid for at the rate of Rs. 622 per acre, including the extra amount paid by Government for compulsory acquisition and the bonus which the Company offers to all owners who settle amicably.

It may be mentioned that in the Andhra Valley, the compensation was considered so satisfactory that every one of those who had applied for lands in exchange withdrew their applications and took the money compensation instead.

Turning to some misstatements which have been spread far and wide, it has been asserted that the whole of Mulshi Peta with its 40,000 acres will be laid waste by the formation of the Mulshi Lake. The Mulshi Lake will actually submerge only, 10,000, acres out of the 40,000 and more acres of Mulshi Peta. It has been urged that the lake being in the lowest portion of the valley will submerge all the rice lands. Official figures show that the lake will submerge only 3,583 acres of rice land out of the 18,251 acres which produce rice in Mulshi Peta.

Rumours have been set afloat that outside the lake area lands will be acquired wholesale for afforestation purposes. The Company has already notified in Mulshi Peta that no such acquisition was ever contemplated. We believe Government also do not contemplate afforesting any of the lands round the lake.

Every effort will be made to complete the acquisition within the next few months so that compensation will have been paid out to all land owners very early.

The construction of the Mulshi Dam is such that raising the foundations to ground level alone will occupy about two years, so that hardly any land will be submerged during the next two years. Lands will then be gradually submerged so that the bulk of the area is not likely to go under water for the next five years. And the Company has notified land owners that they will be permitted to raise their crop free of rent during such time. This will be, to a very large number of land owners, an appreciable addition to the compensation and the bonus given by the Company. Thus the full income from the land free of rent for several years is assured.

Income from agriculture is always small. The establishment of the Mulshi Works will be able to give the labourers who choose to come and work on the dam nearly four times the income they could get from cultivation. Those who wish to continue their agricultural pursuits will be able to do so for several years to come as shown above. By that time, in the neighbouring valleys, the extension of the irrigation works of the Nira Right Bank Canal will have progressed sufficiently for Government to guarantee enough water for rice cultivation at the usual rates for about 3,000 to 4,000 acres to such of the Mavlas as choose to settle in the irrigated area. The Government have assured the Company that such help will be possible as a special case for such of the expropriated Mavlas as choose to settle in the irrigated area. The number of rice lands in the Poona District will, therefore, not in any way be decreased by the Mulshi Works, nor will the Mavlas find their agricultural occupation gone.

The Company have anxiously done, and will do all it can for the Mavlas. The Company, having paid full compensation and done everything for the benefit of the Mavlas, will arrange by every means in its power to enable them to settle along the Nira Canal in the next few years so that they may take advantage of the assurance given by Government. In this work such of the leaders of the Mavlas as have their true interests at heart can also substantially help.

It will thus be seen that the Mavlas who may be expropriated from their homes can be settled in their ancestral occupation in the neighbouring valleys, should they so desire.

In the acquisition of land for a Hydro-Electric Scheme it is essential that an absolutely perfect title should be assured to the Company. This is only possible through the Land Acquisition Act. This is our only answer to the demand of some of the public that the Act should not be availed of. The public complaint that the Land Acquisition Act does not secure adequate compensation has been fully answered above, by the action of the Company in securing ample money compensation. So confident is the Company as to the adequacy of the compensation, that it is quite willing that the valuation be made the subject of arbitration by arbitrators appointed by the Company and leaders of the Mavlas in equal number with, in the event of a difference arising, a Sar panch or Umpire of undoubted standing, acceptable to both parties, to decide between them.

It may be pointed out that arbitration is only possible under two conditions. The acquisition of land is a matter entirely within the purview of the Government, and it is only when Government have acceded to our wishes by allowing the valuation to be decided by arbitration that the Company is now able to make this offer. Secondly, arbitration would be of no avail unless the Company feels sure that the leaders of the Mavlas have a sufficiently powerful following amongst them to accept the valuation as unreservedly as the Company is prepared to do.

The Tata Power Company trusts that this explanation based on official facts and figures which can be substantiated from records will satisfy the public as to the bonafides of the Company putting through a scheme of un doubted benefit to the Nation as a whole.

It might be pointed out that well over a crore has already been spent towards the execution of this great Scheme, so that the hardship to the shareholders (amongst whom will be found a large number of people of small means) at such a stage by the abandonment of the Scheme would be infinitely greater than the hardship to a few Mavlas in the Poona District for whom adequate compensation and other facilities have been provided.

It has been urged that the Tatas are pressing this Scheme because of the enormous benefits which they are to derive therefrom. The Tatas, as in all other Schemes, consider themselves Trustees of Public moneys entrusted to them, and their own holding in this particular Scheme is not more than about 550 shares out of 45,000 shares issued. The 60 per cent. of the total capital subscribed before the scheme was thrown open to the public was almost all subscribed for privately by such of the public as approached, through brokers or directly, the Agents and Directors of the Company, so that the whole of the Capital should be considered as having come from the public.

The Scheme itself, being one under a license from Government, has its maximum rates, to be charged to the public, fixed by Government, and the experience of the previous Hydro-Electric Schemes has amply proved that though the income from investment in one of these is assured and steady, such income is small. The Tata Hydro-Electric Power Supply Company upto date has not been able to pay more than 7%, and it is only after much time and patient development that the scheme will be made to pay more. So that the shareholders have to take the risk of the development of the Company during the period covered by the license granted by Government, and should the Company at the end of that period have established itself on a satisfactory basis, it will be open to the Government—which will soon be more and more the Government of the people—to take over the concern as in the case of the Railways. The Scheme is, therefore essentially one which is nationalised, as it will be available to the Nation after all the pioneering difficulties have been surmounted by shareholders, and that too, for a low return through the early years of the Company's existence.

Finally it may be mentioned that among the list of forty large consumers of power now actually on the writing list of this company there is not a single industrial concern which has not been capitalised in this country.

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Rao Bahadar Gunajirao R. Nimbalker, Sur Subha, Baroda State.

Bhaskerrao Vithaldas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court Bombay.

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A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

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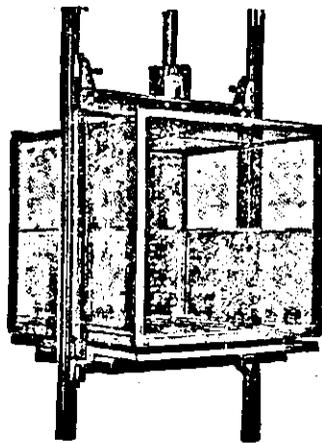
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will no excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Malabar Tragedy. The Government of Madras has had its reputation seriously eclipsed by the terrible tragedy reported from Malabar of 64 Mopla convicts having been asphyxiated to death in an iron goods waggon in which they were conveyed to Bellary where they were to have been incarcerated. Complaints had been published in the Madras papers regarding the callous treatment of Mopla rebels, and attention had been called in the *Reformer* by Mr. Lakshmanan, writing from Coimbatore, to the specific practice which has led to the tragedy. This gruesome occurrence goes to show that the complaints were not without foundation. The unfortunate victims seem to have bitten each other in their agony of suffering. We think that the enquiry which the Madras Government ordered is utterly inadequate. Mr. Knapp, the Special Commissioner in Malabar, is himself the official ultimately responsible for the administration of the affected tract and he is, therefore, not the proper person to investigate this terrible scandal. An independent Committee of Judges and non-officials should be appointed, as in the case of the anti-plague serum tragedy, to enquire into and report on the affair. Those found responsible for such callous negligence of common precautions should be promptly and severely punished.

The Ulemas on Forced Conversions. The resolution passed after a full discussion by the Ulama Conference which met recently at Delhi, should be translated in Malayalam and read in every mosque in Malabar. The resolution runs:

The Jamiat-ul-Ulema Conference does not admit the truth or falsity of the statements published in newspapers regarding the forcible conversion of the Hindus by the Moplas and the other atrocities committed by them on the Hindus as there has been no proper investigation but if the reports are true then the Ulama condemn all such action of the Moplas as the Koran never sanctioned forcible conversion to Islam.

Unfortunately, there is no doubt about the fact that forcible conversions have been effected, and if the Ulemas' resolution leads to the prevention of these unfortunate victims of the Moplas' misguided zeal being further molested on return to the religion of their fathers, it will not have been passed in vain.

Punjab Martial Law Prisoners: It was announced early last week that out of 86 persons serving their terms under sentences imposed by the Punjab Martial law tribunals two years ago, His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to order the remission of the sentences, of seven years and less, on 20. The delay in coming to a decision and the small number of prisoners benefitted by the Viceregal clemency, have caused disappointment which is voiced by the *Tribune* of Lahore. Our contemporary points out that a policy of clemency was announced in regard to the martial law prisoners two years ago by His Majesty the King-Emperor and a large majority of them were released in pursuance of it. When the Viceroy undertook to go over the papers of the remaining prisoners, it was, therefore, understood that His Excellency's intention was to do justice and not clemency. As a matter of fact, however, the present action is stated to have been taken on grounds of clemency, and the *Tribune* asks how, on this ground, the differentiation between the 20 who have been released and the 66 who are not to be released, could have been made. The records of the trials by the Martial law tribunals were incomplete and unsatisfactory and the probabilities are that the graver the offence charged against a prisoner, the more were these rough-and-ready courts swayed by the excitement of the moment.

The Police Magazine: We welcome the *Police Magazine*, the organ of the Madras Police Sub-Inspectors' Association, Vellore, which is a very readable number. The proceedings of the Sub-Inspectors' Special Conference, which occupy a prominent place, are interesting and instructive, especially the presidential address of Dewan Bahadur Parankusam Naidu, the first Indian to act as Commissioner of Police of Madras City. The Dewan Bahadur gave weighty advice, speaking from his own experience of the duty of policemen to win the respect of the public on the one hand, and the confidence of the authorities on the other. The creation of a pride in their profession among the officers of the Police, is the first step towards improving the quality of their work. We are glad that the *Magazine* has placed a high ideal before itself, and we wish it every success.

Mrs. Besant's Tribute to Mr. Gandhi. We are pleased to read the following in *New India*: "Mr. Gandhi, in facing self-inflicted death for the sake of winning peace, has won a far greater triumph than if his hartal and boycott had been successful. That accepted martyrdom, not hartals, boycotts, and the stirring up of hatred by furious denunciations, is true Passive Resistance. He conquered the hatreds he had generated by sacrificing himself in silence, and by love made hate to cease. That is the real "soul-force," in which the Inner God shines out triumphant." Amenities like the above sweeten public life and make it worth pursuing.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1921.

THE RIOTS AND THEIR LESSONS.

On Monday the disorders which began on the previous Thursday ceased, and Bombay woke up on Tuesday to pursue the even tenour of her life as if nothing had happened to disturb it. The suddenness of the resumption of the normal life of the city was as striking as the suddenness of the outburst. This may suggest to some minds the deliberate manoeuvre of a disciplined organization acting on the word of command. There was an organization concerned in the matter, but it is not its discipline but its want of it that led to the outbreak. There is not the least doubt that the originating cause was the attempts of the Non-co-operationists, Congress and Khilafat, to prevent people from going to witness the arrival of the Prince of Wales on Thursday, and their insulting interference with those who were returning after witnessing the Prince's procession. The meeting and bonfire of foreign clothes at Elphinstone Road was obviously designed as a counter-attraction. It was inevitable that when the crowds excited by the orations and the sight of burning heaps of clothes, met the crowds returning from the demonstrations at Apollo Bunder and the Prince's route from there to Government House, there should be collision. The Khaddar wearers' arrogance has been denounced by the more thoughtful leaders of Non-co-operation several times during recent months. They indulged in jeers and shouts at those returning from Fort, and, as was to be expected, the verbal limits were soon overstepped. The Parsis went in large numbers to have a view of the Prince's arrival, and that is the only reason, so far as we can judge, of their being specially marked out for opprobrium. They were jeered at, abused and insulted, and some ruffians went to the length of molesting Parai women by tearing off their *saris* from their persons. This led to reprisals and it is highly probable that some hot-headed Parsis did not stop to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty in their wild efforts to avenge the wrongs of their co-religionists. Something similar happened in Byculla where Anglo-Indians retaliated in somewhat random fashion for the rough treatment to which wearers of hats were subjected by the Khaddar wearers and their camp followers.

Mahatma Gandhi had not intended to come to Bombay but he was urgently called here by his followers with the view, no doubt, of ensuring the success of their boycott of the Prince's visit. The outbreaks on Thursday, it is clear, came upon him as a thunder-clap at the ears of a person in sound sleep. It was reported that he broke down and wept and told his immediate lieutenants that they had betrayed him and that he can no longer continue to lead them. The first-published manifestoes and the rigid fast imposed upon himself, bear on their face of it the impress of this deep disappointment. Stung by their leader's remorse and cast, his followers set about the work of pacification. And it is but bare justice to them

to say that they worked hard and spared no pains in the task. It is not right to say that the whole credit of pacification belongs to them any more than to say that no credit whatever belongs to them for it. We are sorry that attempts have been made to fasten the blame of the outbreak on the Police and Government, and it is our duty to state it as our deliberate opinion, formed after seeing the happenings of last week somewhat at close quarters, that while it is possible that individual officers and men permitted themselves to be swayed by partisan motives, the general policy pursued and observed was one of admirable patience and restraint under exceedingly trying conditions. This calm, confident attitude of Government had an excellent effect on the public mind, and to it should be attributed partly at least the rapid resumption of the normal life of Bombay after the most violent disturbance that it has experienced in recent years. The loss of life, the damage to person and property, the suspense and anxiety of the four dark days, were serious in all conscience, but much worse is happening in Belfast to-day and has happened in other great cities. It is the exceeding peace and order of our normal life that makes such outbursts as those of last week so poignant to us. Now that the worst is over, the best thing to be done is not to indulge in unnecessary recriminations but to examine with candid and impartial minds the weak points that have been disclosed in our social and civic and political fabric and activities, and to set ourselves strenuously and honestly to strengthen them at these points. On this point, the suggestion which Professor Patrick Geddes makes in another column, deserves consideration.

The first duty that the outbreak has brought home to us in a very forcible manner, is that we should not delude ourselves and one other into the belief that unity between our several communities is achieved by talking about it on public platforms and writing about it in the Press. Such talking and writing when unsupported by steady, persistent endeavour in the invisible strata of social life to efface deep-lying lines of cleavage, actually do more harm than good. If we talk less about unity, we would perhaps feel the necessity to work more for it. Flowing from this consideration, is another scarcely less important. We cannot produce real unity between the different communities on the basis mainly of a common antagonism to the existing Government. In every country the springs of a people's life lie largely beyond the reach of Government and it is far more so in India. Unity can be securely effected only by operating on the springs of a people's life. With much respect to Mahatma Gandhi, this is where he makes his most serious mistake. Political grievances will be redressed or be forgotten, and a unity built upon them can be kept up only by discovering, inventing or manufacturing fresh grievances, no difficult task under a bureaucratic administration. Also, apropos of the same aspect of the late troubles, is the truth that was indicated by the Mahatma himself when he wrote in one of his manifestoes that Hindu-Mahomedan unity has become a menace to the security of the smaller minorities. Parsis, Christians, Jews, Anglo-Indians and others cannot be expected to contemplate with satisfaction a state

of things in which their right to live free from molestation could be ensured only by frequent or occasional admonitions by the Mahatma or Sheth Chotani. The Mahatma realises that the acid test of our fitness for *swaraj* is that these small minorities should feel complete confidence in the certainty of their enjoying as of right and not by anybody's sufferance, full freedom of citizenship as much as the two major communities, and that these two communities will guard the rights of the small minorities as jealously as their own. The recent outbreaks have seriously imperilled this confidence. Years of comradeship have been expunged from our history by this mad outburst. We cannot build it up again by alluring shibboleths about unity and *swaraj*. The Non-Co-operation movement has failed, and it is high time that its leaders revised its programme radically in the light of Malegaon, Malabar and Bombay.

MR. JAYAKAR ON NON-CO-OPERATION.

The presidential address which Mr. Jayakar delivered at the third Thana District Political Conference, voiced the opinion of the most intellectual among the supporters of the Non-co-operation movement. After referring with appreciation to the awakening of the people due to the movement, Mr. Jayakar reminded Government that Mahatma Gandhi could not have created it but for the favouring soil created by the unredressed grievances of the people. He dwelt on the disappointing results, so far, of Dyarchy, and then proceeded to appraise in a severely critical manner the results of the Congress programme. He pointed out how the main items of this programme had failed. The boycott of schools and colleges had not only failed but, in the opinion of many loyal supporters of the Congress, had done more harm than good.

"50,000 boys are out in idleness, says Sir Ashutosh Mukerji. Some may glorify in this catastrophe, but there are many who regard this disruptive event with sad dismay. We have experimented too much in youthful sacrifice. Our youth have reciprocated with more love and tenderness than we have shown for their welfare. The few good institutions which Congress workers have created, are suffering from our neglect and apathy and dragging a weary existence. The shadow of a name has, very often, been pursued, to the abandonment of the substance, and we now find a large number of boys in the country, who are practically loafing in the streets, with a vague ambition "to do something patriotic."

The ban on lawyers has also been a failure. Litigation has not gone down; in Bombay, on the original side, it has very much increased. The prestige of British Courts, in civil suits as between Indian and Indian, has not been destroyed. The few courts of Justice, created by Non-Co-operationists, are a mockery. This is not the worst. Mr. Jayakar observed that this part of the Congress programme has created "a foul atmosphere of hypocrisy, intolerance, imposture and conceit in the Congress Camp in which modesty, self-respect and honesty of tentimes find it hard to hold their place." For a movement which calls itself one

of "self-purification", this is a terrible indictment by one of its most capable and earnest adherents. That Mr. Jayakar's views are widely held by the more thoughtful Congressmen is evident from the observations of the *Tribune* of Lahore on the riots in Bombay. Our contemporary writes:—

It is because Mahatma Gandhi has not made these allowances that he has so often made calculations which the event has falsified. He has made no secret of his own disappointment or that of others at the response which the nation made to the first four parts of his programme, the renunciation of titles and honours, the boycott of councils, the boycott of courts of law and the boycott of schools and colleges. Nor has he made any secret of his disappointment at the inadequate response made by the nation even to such parts of his revised programme as those relating to temperance, the removal of untouchability, and Swadeshi, parts in regard to which the country is far more united than it was in regard to the other four. And now the greatest disappointment of all, one which goes to the root of all others, has come.

Our contemporary proceeds to point out that these failures are due solely to mistakes

First, in fixing a date for the attainment of Swaraj without adequate regard either to the subjective or the objective difficulties, and secondly, in relying exclusively upon one single method for the realisation of that end, and that method involving a maximum instead of a minimum of sacrifice both on the part of the average man or woman and on the part of the average worker. Every single failure or disappointment the movement has met with, is due to one or other of these causes. To the first is directly traceable the fact that Mahatma Gandhi has not been able to try any of the earlier items in his programme sufficiently long, and has had to jump from one to another with the speed of lightning. The original understanding was that if and when one part of the programme was fulfilled and yet the bureaucracy did not yield, the next step would be taken. In reality the next step was invariably taken long before the earlier part was even a substantial success, and long before the question of the bureaucracy yielding or not yielding could arise. It is to the same cause that we owe the decision to start the civil disobedience movement itself. Mahatma Gandhi made it perfectly clear in his speech at Delhi that he did not consider the country fit for civil disobedience. Why did he, then, start this part of the movement? For the simple reason, as stated in the preamble to the resolution, that only a month and a half remained for the realisation of the promise made at Nagpur. In other words, just because a promise was made which ought not to have been made, a step must be taken which Mahatma Gandhi himself considers premature.

Our contemporary demands that a halt should now be called and that the whole programme should be thoroughly recast. It avers that the happenings in Bombay "have disillusioned those who, until a few days ago, were thinking that it would be time enough to bring about peace in the country after Swaraj had been attained in January". The *Tribune* writes:—

They will see that Swaraj itself must wait, until the atmosphere has become free from the present spirit of strife. And they will see by and by that for this it is essential both that the date-fixing habit should be given up and that the basis of the movement should become substantially wider. It is because we look forward to this great good resulting from the recent occurrences that, while deploring them like every one else, we do not take a wholly pessimistic view of them, but consider them a good in the guise of an evil.

There is no question of the movement for Swaraj receiving even a temporary check. Civil Disobedience may go. Some of us think that it ought not to have come when it did, even if it was necessary for it to come at all. The Congress programme itself may be drastically revised. Some of us think it ought never to have been the exclusive thing it is.

Mr. Jayakar's address does not touch upon the Bombay riots. It was evidently prepared before they took place although before it was delivered, Mr. Jayakar himself had personal experience of their virulence. Nevertheless, he also demands a complete revision of the programme including the elimination of the time-table. That programme, he points out, is set at naught by many in practice. We trust that these earnest exhortations will receive the attention they deserve. The omissions suggested by Mr. Jayakar virtually amount to the abandonment of Non-Co-operation as at present understood. He observes:

Why cannot "Non-co-operation," in its proper sense, be practised in the Councils? Sir P. M. Mehta, when he left the Council Hall with his colleagues on a memorable occasion or when he, face to face with the then Home member, mercilessly unmasked the preposterous pretensions of the bureaucracy, was fighting with weapons and a spirit which many non-co-operators of the true and accredited brand may envy in these days. If non-co-operation is an *attitude* of the mind, as its eminent author conceives it, and not so much a programme or a creed, a Council Hall is as fitting a place for its display as a mass meeting in Marwadi Vidyalaya.

MY TWO BILLS ON HINDU LAW.

(By Mr. T. V. SESHAGIRI IYER, M. L. A.)

I owe it to the kindness of the Home Member and of the Law Member that I was able to introduce two of my Hindu Law Bills in the Legislative Assembly this session. It was not my choice that the exclusion from Inheritance Bill was first in the agenda and ran the gauntlet of an adverse vote from the Assembly. It was pure chance. The second Bill had a smoother passage. The other Bills had to be given up for the time being, owing to the congested state of public business in the Legislature. In passing, I may remark that the procedure of balloting for Bills and resolutions on the same day is not conducive to legislative activity. If separate days are set apart and if different ballots are held, the situation may become easier. I have reason to think that the Law Member is in favour of this suggestion.

On the occasion of introducing the first of the two Bills, I thought I noticed in the pronouncement of the Law Member a somewhat restrained note of benediction. No doubt, he said that the attitude of Government was one of benevolent neutrality; but those that read his speech on the motion for the codification of Hindu Law and compare it with his present utterance could not help noticing a slight change. On the first occasion while deprecating the suggestion that a roving commission to examine all the departments of Hindu Law should be appointed, the Honourable Member hinted at facilities being afforded to those who were prepared to grapple with some of the pressing problems. On the second occasion a warning was conveyed against attempts at piecemeal legislation. It

may be that the two positions are reconcilable. It may also be that my "fine radicalism," to use his language, detects differences where none exist. Or it may be that the particular measure that had the good fortune or misfortune to come at the top of the agenda was not favoured by the department. Anyway we must realise that the Government may not be prepared to extend freely the right-hand of welcome to attempts like mine. Their final attitude, as was fore-shadowed, would depend on the degree of support which the outside public is prepared to give to the measure. It is therefore to that public that I address myself in this communication.

Those whose voice counts can be roughly classed under three heads: (a) the orthodox party, (b) the rationalist, and (c) the fence expert. I shall dispose of the last class at once. They are more unorthodox in their ways than the rationalist. They pay but scant heed to the injunctions of the Shastras as to eating, etc., yet they are more loud voiced than the truly orthodox people in speaking of the inviolability of the ancient Smriti writers. Their opposition comes neither from conviction nor from reason. Many factors operate with them. Personal, clanish and other considerations less honourable actuate their speeches and votes. I am not afraid of them. On the floor of the Assembly and outside, I can deal with them effectively enough. The other two classes of people attract more serious thought.

The orthodox party have this in their favour. Their practice and precept coincide. Their outward actions are a real index to their inmost convictions. Such men however much one may differ from them, command respect; their position should, therefore, be examined with care. I do not know whether Mr. Ramachandra Aiyar who presided over the Varnashrama Conference in Tanjore represents fully the views of this party. Very likely he does. I have read that speech with attention. I confess I do not quite appreciate the arguments. One argument is that the deceased from beyond the waters would certainly desire that the Dayadi should come before his son's daughter and sister. This thought-reading about the dead is beyond me. I have a crude idea that the disembodied spirits, if they exist, are actuated by the same likes and dislikes which guided them in this earth; another argument seems to hint at the unorthodoxy of commentators like Vignaneswara who have introduced a qualified principle of consanguinity as the test of heirship: well, until some one more respected than the author of *Mitakshara* is recognised by the community, smaller men like me must be prepared to act on his theories. It may be that Mr. Ramachandra Aiyar thinks that the law as we find it should be allowed to drift on as best as it can and that it would be irreligious for the legislature to attempt to remove the defects. Now take Manu's stanza about exclusion from inheritance. The very first category of excluded heirs is that of outcastes: yet more than 50 years ago, the Government legislated to remove the disability therein created by enacting the Removal of Caste Disabilities Act. We have submitted to it. Should the legislature supposed to contain the representatives of the

people have less power in this behalf? If so, why? Again Judges have held that portions of that stanza are obsolete. We obey these decisions. Is a popular legislature less competent to promulgate the same view? Different meanings have been assigned by different commentators to the text; and the word "from birth" has been shifted from place to place by judicial interpretation. The term "incurable disease," an addition by Yagnavalkya to Mann's toll of exclusions has given Courts no end of trouble. Is the standard of *incurability* to be measured from the point of view of Yagnavalkya or from that of the advanced bacilli expert of to-day? Whether recrudescence at stated intervals is a sign of curability or not? Are orthodox Hindus content to leave the law in its present state? I would far rather have Mann in its pristine purity than leave the law where we find it to-day. Move for the repeal of the Removal of Caste Disabilities Act if you dare, and to abrogate judicial decisions passed by the Judicial Committee downwards; but do not be under the impression that you are serving religion or orthodoxy by leaving matters where they are.

Take again the Bill relating to the status of some of the female relations near and dear to us. It is a serious argument to say that the laws are based on the theory of funeral oblations? The merest tyro in law knows that this is only a half truth. I would not waste ink upon proving this. The *Mitakshara* system of inheritance succession is certainly not based solely on that principle. Here again I would draw the attention of the orthodox party to the conclusion reached by the Bombay High Court on the same materials. Would it be presumptuous on the part of the Legislature to try to bring the law into conformity with the views of these eminent Judges—views which reconcile natural love and affection with reason and law. I want the orthodox party to take note of the movement of the times. I am not against their endeavour to conserve all that is best in our traditions and civilisation; but I would warn them against attempts which tend to stop the current of the new life which is coming to us. Admiration, love and respect for the giants of old are not incompatible with respectful but firm demur to precepts and formulas which are unsuited to the conditions of life now around us. On one matter I join issue with them with all my strength. I am not interfering with the religion of the land in introducing these measures. It is a meaningless and puerile charge that is levelled against me. You do not touch religion in the least by giving your son's daughter a nearer place than to a distant Dayadi. Such a suggestion is preposterous. For all these reasons, I appeal to the leaders of the orthodox party—more specially to the men of sanctified lives and of clean habits who are responsible for "*The Hindu Message*"—to deeply ponder over the problems and to give their considered views.

I now turn to those who are generally in agreement with my views. It is characteristic of Madras life in these days that the lawyer element has retired to the back benches on matters of national importance.

Time was when the legal profession monopolised the platform and guided all political movements. In other parts of India, they are still to the fore. Not that I discount the appearance of leaders from other walks of life, but I do feel regret that those belonging to my own profession whose forbears did so much to awaken the national conscience are not in the brunt of the battle. There are notable exceptions—but the rank and file are apathetic. May I ask them to take the lead at least in effecting legislative reform on the lines indicated by me? Would it be too much to ask of the lawyer in the city and in the mofussil to give a few hours to a dispassionate consideration of the bills now before the Legislative Assembly? It is not much of a sacrifice that I ask them to make. Already one of their class, Mr. Palaniandy, has while paying a left-handed compliment to me personally predicted their adhesion to my views—but it is not silent approbation that I stand in need of. I want my brethren to actively work. I would ask every Bar association to give me their full and reasoned views. I want such associations to convene meetings of the people of the locality and to report to me and to the Government of India the resolutions passed at them. I would like to have a statement of the extent of the opposition to the measures manifested at such gatherings. May I count on such support from my brethren of the Bar all over India?

The womenkind of India have shown splendid perseverance and capacity in recent times. Their message has cheered me up a great deal. The measures I have in contemplation would benefit them most. The one that I have introduced does not go far enough—but a beginning has to be made. When the ice is once broken the flow would be easy enough. I hope my sisters will not feel disappointed—I want them to back me up. I want them to rouse up their husbands, fathers and brothers. A heavy task lies in front of us. Any slackening of effort at this time would render further attempts in this direction impossible. My sisters must face the situation with a determination to carry the reform through successfully. Its inadequacy should not dishearten them. I take this opportunity to offer my respectful thanks to those European ladies who have worked with their Indian sisters in this matter.

Apart from the lawyers and the women-folk, there are a goodly number of thinkers and publicists who have shown keen sympathy with the work that I have begun. I am grateful to them for the encouragement they have given me. I want them to redouble their efforts.

In issuing this general appeal, I have not thought fit to offer explanations regarding the contents of the two bills. I am not wedded to the details. I know that the grouping of the relations may be improved upon and that as regards persons who had been excluded, some one class or other may still be placed beyond the pale of succession. These matters deserve attention from the layman as well as the lawyer. I would be grateful to helpful suggestions on these questions. What I am most keen about is that the underlying principle of the bills should receive general support from my brothers and sisters.

BLACK HOLE ON WHEELS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The Indian public outside Malabar do not seem to have realised the increasing gravity of the situation in that district and the tragic nature and extent of the events that are taking place there. The shocking news just reported of the death under the most cruel circumstances of 64 martial law prisoners who were being conveyed to their destination at Bellary in a closed goods or luggage van will, I hope, bring home to the public the necessity for turning their attention to the state of affairs in Malabar. It would be a serious mistake to regard the present tragedy as an isolated accident and to rest content with demanding the punishment of those responsible for it. To those who have seen something of the methods of Martial Law administration in Malabar, it is the inevitable culmination of the systematic ill-treatment to which prisoners have been subjected especially when they are being conveyed from one place to another. Such a tragedy as the present was bound to occur sooner or later. More than once, correspondents had called the attention of the public in the columns of the *Hindu* to the ill-treatment of prisoners and particularly to the practice of thrusting them into goods and luggage vans for transport. But these protests were unheeded and some of the Calicut newspapers in their unqualified enthusiasm for Martial Law administration and in their thirst for vengeance against the rebels went so far as to fall foul of those who had dared to raise their voice in the name of humanity and justice. The Calicut correspondent of the *Times of India* in its issue of the 28th is at pains to point out that prisoners used to be carried on previous occasions in similar waggons without any mishap. But can he assure us that though death did not actually take place on those occasions the prisoners did not suffer untold agonies for want of adequate accommodation and ventilation?

The distance from Tirur where the prisoners were entrained to Podanur where the tragedy was discovered cannot be much less than 100 miles and the journey must have taken several hours. Did the escort in charge of the prisoners at any time during the journey care to open the van or at least peep into it to see how the prisoners were faring or to ascertain if they wanted water? Or did they open it only after reaching Podanur? The prisoners in the agony of their slow death must in all probability have cried and shouted for help. Did the escort hear any such cries and if they heard did they keep quiet without paying any heed to them? These are questions which call for a frank and unequivocal reply. Upon the reply will depend the issue whether the present tragedy is a mere accident or the inevitable culmination of the methods employed in dealing with Martial Law prisoners.

No amount of explanation, investigation or sympathy can restore to life the unfortunate men who had to meet their death in this most cruel form. But they will not have died in vain if their cruel and untimely death will induce their countrymen in India seriously to enquire whether other tragedies have not occurred or are not occurring in Malabar, whether the methods employed in quelling the rebellion are in practice actuated only by the motive for restoring peace and order and not tainted by any spirit of vindictiveness and whether all possible care is being taken to avoid the perpetration of needless suffering and injustice.

Yours etc.

Sirdar Griha, Bombay,
Nov. 25, 1921.

P. RAMUNNI MENON.

II

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Public feeling has been outraged by the news of the death of an incredibly large proportion of the Mopla prisoners who were brought from Tirur to Podanur (on their way to

Bellary) huddled together in a closed railway wagon. It is said that out of hundred men who were "loaded" in the wagon, fifty-six were found dead on the morning of the 20th instant. Of the remaining who were brought to the nearest jail and hospital nine more died on the way. Some more are likely to die in the hospital. When I hurried up to the Coimbatore railway station on the morning of the 20th instant, I was just able to see about twenty-five of these Mopla convicts being taken to the local central jail in a motor-lorry. Prompt medical help has been rendered to sufferers. Since writing the above, the Government of Madras have issued a timely press communique stating that out of the hundred convicted prisoners entrained at Tirur fifty-six were found dead of asphyxiation at Podanur. In its leading article headed "Another Black Hole?" the *Hindu* of Madras says: "Correspondents have more than once complained in these columns of the tendency on the part of officials to treat Moplah prisoners as something not only less than human but as less than the beasts that perish. It is clear that had these complaints been accorded the notice they deserved in the name of the most common humanity this culminating horror could have been avoided." As a matter of fact I myself had to condemn, in the columns of the "*L. S. Reformer*" some months ago, the brutal or barbarous practice of "packing" the Martial-law prisoners in air-tight waggons. Now the authorities are going to be "wise after the event." The Duke of Connaught said that the shadows of Amritsar are lengthening out and it is most deplorable that the tragedy at Tirur "the terrible loss of life" should have taken place just a few days after the arrival, in India, of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Coimbatore,
22-11-1921.

N. LAKSHMANAN.

*Mr. Lakshmanan's letter appeared in the issue of the 25th September. He wrote: "A certain considerable number of so-called Martial Law prisoners are brought down to Coimbatore Jail, for hours together the young and old are huddled together in closed, practically air-tight trucks or goods waggons like cattle or sheep or even worse. This is brutality pure and simple."

"GODS" AS EXHIBITS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I quite agree with your sincere protest against the exhibition of "Hindu gods and goddesses in the streets through which the Royal procession passed" referred to by you in a note of your last issue. But I wonder if the mischief that you complain of can be successfully traced only to the "class of public men grown up in Bombay recently" about whom you also complain and rightly complain in the same note. May not the inspiration if not the direct mischief, be traced yet deeper to a "higher" circle? Can you be quite sure on this latter point? As for myself I perfectly remember another painful occasion when higher public sentiment was played with in Bangalore when peace was being celebrated after the cessation of this war with a somewhat obtuse indecency. A so-called local leader of the depressed classes, himself a very wealthy Madaliar in the Bangalore cantonment, got together the heads of all the poor panchama communities under his thumb and started a very big show of the idols worshipped by these poor people at their own cost. This most unusual and objectionable parade, proved perhaps even more demonstrative of the loyalty to the dictates of the powers that be, than even the parade of "all the kings' horses and the kings' men" that was held at Mysore and Bangalore elsewhere at the same time. The aforesaid procession of Parish Idols, which was a regular item in the programme of the day deliberately laid down by the local powers, marched the whole round to the order of the police in the streets of a Hindu Rajah. I felt somewhat amused by your righteously indignant threat of boycott against such mischief-mongers disfiguring the sacred name loyalty. I need however hardly remind you that boycott in these days of cheap warfare at other's cost, is more a political fashion than a real weapon in the serious struggle of social reconstruction even now silently overwhelming the yet slumbering world!

Ahalyashram, Poona City,

V. R. SHINDA,

24-11-21.

TOWARDS HINDU FRATERNITY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I sincerely thank you for publishing my letter on 'Caste and Untouchability' and expect you to show me the same kindness in publishing the following few lines.

In the foot-note to my letter you remark 'Temple worship is an illusion, and it is not an organic part of Hinduism. The depressed classes should concentrate their efforts upon realities.'

In answer, allow me to say that I am not in love with temple-worship, but unfortunately the Untouchables are, which can be proved by the fact that a large number of them in spite of the humiliations heaped upon them, goes to Nasik, Trimbak, Pandharpur and other sacred places. When the higher classes have not yet shaken off the illusion of temple-worship, how can we expect these ignorant down-trodden classes to rise above it?

I look to other advantages, which we shall have by the untouchables entry into Hindu Temples.

It will lead an era of Hindu Religious Reformation. It may be a small thing in itself, but it is fraught with much future possibility. Socially, we are hopelessly divided, let us at least meet in these temples and prove that we are brothers in Faith.

When once the spirit of equality and brotherhood enters into Hindu Temples, it will work wonders for us. On one hand, it will make the untouchables, clean and self-respecting, while on the other hand, it will make us free, liberal, strong and united.

The Hindu Temples are not the places only for Temple-worship, but they are meant, and ought, to be the centres of Hindu Thought. It is here that they will know what is spiritual reality. In closing the doors of Hindu Temples to the Untouchables, we have debarred them all the means of Hindu Culture and Hindu spirituality. The untouchables are knocking at the doors of Hindu Temples with devotion and faith, if these doors are opened to them, it will give us all common culture which is necessary for Hindu-Fraternity. A few lines more, and I finish. Allow me to show what sort of Unity in religious Faith we have in our spiritual matters. The exclusiveness of Hindu-Caste is not absent here.

Our Gods get polluted by the touch of the untouchables, as if Gods are exclusive, orthodox Brahmins by Caste, terribly frightened of pollution. The Untouchables debarred from the Hindu Temples, the Sudras and other classes driven by the superior airs of the higher classes, all these Hindus, worship Gods after their own fashion.

Their Gods require animal sacrifices, from a chicken to a buffalo. Amongst some Sudra communities, if a man is ill, it is generally attributed to the mischief of a witch or the wrath of a God. Not seldom, is it found due to the wrath of a God to appease which, a cock or a goat is sternly demanded. Bombay people are not strangers to the scenes of 'Baya'.

Thus in our matter of fact life, teaching, of Vedant, and Brahma Vidya being discarded, caste-ridden Gods, some vegetarians and some carnivorous ones, carry the day. Unity of faith is unknown. Narrow mindedness and the unvedantic attitude of our religious heads is responsible for this chaos. We have to make our way through this chaos, towards Hindu Unity and I believe and I firmly believe, that the opening of the closed doors of Hindu temples to our untouchable brethren, will be a first step towards this Unity.

KARRAR K. G.

ENGLISH AND THE VERNACULARS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In one of your editorials of the 14th instant you warn the educationally backward communities against 'vernacularising' their education.

I content myself with drawing your attention to a few historical facts and let them point their own moral as to whether the case for the vernaculars so obvious on the face of it as you admit it to be is any the less expedient or the less reasonable for the "peculiar circumstances" of India.

1. 'Europe in the seventeenth century adapted the vernaculars to University education and displaced Latin.' (Dr. J. N. Farquhar in *Young Men of India.*)

2. In Ireland, Irish which is not a dialect of English but a language as distinct from English as the latter is from French, and a language, too, whose literary existence is longer than that of English was but lately a virtually dead language lingering in the mouths of a handful of fishermen and peasants in the remote western counties of Ireland, all others having been forced to change their mother-tongue for the English of their alien rulers. But what a change has the recent political consciousness in its fulness brought about in the position of this pariah of the European tongues. We read how the enthusiasts amongst those Irish vow never to let an English word pass their lips, how man and wife would rather communicate as mutes by signs than own their bondage to the English by speaking *their* tongue which was forced on them with the political domination of a ruling class. Witness MacSwiney's home life. English was his mother-tongue not as adopted by himself, (as certain English-aping heads of families have done on this side of India) but as handed down in a hereditary succession of generations of his family and neighbours. English was also his wife's home-tongue; but never to his dying day did the couple exchange a word of English! Sinn Fein and Dail Eireann are Irish words. Dail Eireann (the Irish Parliament) conducts its deliberations in Irish and as we could see from the papers the other day the manly and momentous declaration that Dail Eireann made in answer to the English terms of settlement had to be translated into English before it could edify the English speaking world.

There is another misconception that you seem to have easily lent yourself to. To "vernacularise" our education never means for the vernacularists to de-English, "orientalise," or "mediævalise" it. Perhaps and very probably it meant that in Macaulay's time when we hear of the Anglicists and Occidentalists pitched against the hapless Orientalists "Vernacularising" education for the Irish no more means reviving the use of the Ogham characters of old than Irish democracy means renovating the tanistry of the old Irish polity. Japan is none the worse for refusing to give the first place to English.

Lastly English is wedded to a satanic system of spelling—within the time absorbed in acquiring any considerable mastery of which, as the English themselves deplore, no less than three of the more important languages of the world could easily be mastered. It is one thing to take liberal help of English in mastering certain important branches of modern knowledge, (specialised as it is) and another to expect boys and young men, by making them follow instruction in all and sundry subjects and answer questions thereon in the alien English, to make that their "second mother-tongue" at the expense of so much vital energy that it led the late Viceroy on one occasion to characterise the present as a 'vicious

system.' He then pictured to himself, and asked the English part of his audience to realise, what their own condition would have been if Latin or Greek instead of their own mother-tongue had formed the medium of instruction and expression in their own school and university life.

N.B.—One aspect of the difficulty of English being a desirable pan-Indian tongue of the future has never, I fear, been sufficiently emphasised. It is this; that English in its written form insists upon that *stupendous caprice*, named English spelling. Indeed this is a case in regard to which one might exclaim: civiliser, civilise thyself!

Karwar,
20-3-21.

Yours &c.,
S. D. N.

[We are sorry that the publication of this letter has been delayed owing to pressure on our space. Our correspondent's objections are answered in a single sentence. Neither Ireland nor Japan is India with a score of vernaculars. A common language is needed to compact Indian nationalism, and English, we hold, is a language well suited for the purpose. Ed. I. S. R.]

"PRO-BOMBAY" ?

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

Though peace in Bombay is for the time being restored, it is evident that men of goodwill in each section of the community may well be considering ways and means of initiating and maintaining better relations in future. And these not merely for quietness' sake, but towards that cooperation for the commonweal which is the best bond of citizenship. Now therefore is the time for considering how such civic and social inter-organization may be promoted, and in this connection I venture to cite the example of an association expressly for this purpose established three or four years ago in Jerusalem and known as "Pro-Jerusalem". Its membership from the first included leading representatives of the various sections and groupings of the Moslem and Jewish communities and with these the long-separated Christian denominations. These have in the past been estranged from one another, and to a degree exceeding all other cities of East and West, even to corresponding hostilities in action, and these from ancient to modern and even recent history. Yet their active cooperation—as I can testify from two years' experience—has been harmonious and even cordial throughout, and correspondingly productive in good results. These results have been of many kinds, as from conservation and repair of the city's monuments to the improvement of its health, sanitation and dwellings, and from some mitigations of unemployment in existing conditions to the start of new and productive industries, and these of ever increasing kinds.

This example is already being followed in other cities, and I submit that it may be found encouraging, and even suggestive, towards the formation of an analogous "Pro-Bombay" Association. If there be any active response to this suggestion, I shall be pleased to give further particulars, and to obtain full details from Jerusalem.

PATRICK GEDDES.

Bombay, 25th November.

SWARAJ AND SOCIAL REFORM IN ANDHRA.

Mr. M. Durga Shanker writes in the *Janabhimani* (Mahatma's paper) of the 6th instant: The Andhras are to be congratulated on the appreciation of their N. C. O. work by Mahatma Gandhi. The Mahatma had always considered Bihar to have done the best and he had put Andhra next, but he now finds it difficult to say which of the two provinces will do better. The Andhras still retain much of the plain Indian style of living and it will not therefore be difficult for them to adopt

pure Swadesham and they are progressing rapidly in this direction. The success achieved by them in supplanting the Toddy traffic is noteworthy and it is perhaps unequalled.

Although the Andhras have gone ahead of the other provinces in the march towards Swaraj, generally speaking, they are yet lingering far behind the times in the matter of social reform, and what is worse, they seem to be in no mood to tolerate any such reforms. It is not to be supposed that the Andhras propose only to win Swaraj and not to keep it. Swaraj again, is not to be the property exclusively of a particular section or sex. Take, for instance, *Drishti Dosham* and *Sparsha Dosham*, while they do no good to society, they serve only to create a breach between man and man and eventually lead to party feelings and hostilities and finally result in the downfall of the people by weakening the bonds of unity. It is, therefore, of great importance to weed out such seeds of illwill and hatred. Mahatma Gandhi is demanding the abolition of untouchability (*Sparsha Dosham*). Evidently he is not aware that something worse, *Drishti Dosham* (pollution thro: mere seeing) exists in the Andhra Desa. It is unknown in the Central and Northern parts of India and in the Maharashtra. The Mahatma has since declared that he will not inter-dine with his own son, so that he is in the same boat as the orthodox Andhras whom Mr. Durga Shankar attacks.

It cannot be ignored that among the fighting ranks of Swaraj there are ladies who are doing excellent work perhaps much better work than many of the men. Women have therefore every right to a share in the administration of Swaraj and in order to qualify them to understand and undertake the responsibilities of Swaraj it is necessary to give them sufficient and suitable education. All available strength and power is needed for the maintenance of Swaraj. The assistance that can be had from this half of humanity ought not therefore to be neglected or despised. Moreover what civilized society on the face of the earth can tolerate the idea of its women being kept on a par with the lower animals, while men are progressing in the march of civilization?

We want Swaraj so that we may unrestrictedly enjoy the freedom and privileges which are our birthright. It is preposterous to hold that in politics and society women occupy a lower position than men. Freedom of thought and action are as much the birthright of women as they are of men and it is to be hoped that under Swaraj women will be able to exercise and enforce the right. Thus parents should no longer arrogate to themselves the power to dispose of their girls, as they like, while they are yet children and unable to understand the responsibilities of married life and to make a choice of their life-long companion. It is nothing short of despotism to force matrimony upon innocent and ignorant girls, and Swaraj does not admit of any such domination or tyranny. The duty of parents is only to lend their advice in the matter of selection; they ought not, in the name of humanity and decency to transgress the limits of their duty.

The argument that if girls are allowed to remain unmarried for a long time their morals get corrupted is not only fallacious but also malicious and mischievous. It all depends upon the manner and society in which, they are brought up. If the morality of the parents themselves and of society to which they belong is unimpeachable and if the girl is given the right sort of education, there is absolutely no ground for the fear. It will be more reasonable and just to rectify society if necessary than to sacrifice a child girl at the altar of an old custom. Time there was when it was found expedient to marry child girls. The necessity for that expediency no longer exists in the country, and the old custom may now be safely done away with.

It may jar on the ears of some people but the fact remains that the morality of a society owing a number of young widows condemned to a life-long celibacy, is not of the best. It is an open secret that youth and frailty lead many a widow to corruption and sin. By ignoring this fact and by fostering corrupt widows and discarding those that have the moral courage and honesty to remarry and to lead a virtuous life, society encourages immorality and it works its own degeneration. Immorality and degeneration ought to find no place under Swaraj—the reign of purity and morality. A society rotten within cannot stand long to support and uphold a Raj. Is it not iniquity to give "cats' paw" license to men to marry as many times as they like in their life-time even irrespec-

tive of age and physique while child and youthful widows are denied the freedom to marry even for the second time? Will Swaraj tolerate such iniquity? If it does it may as well admit of other iniquities and corruptions; in that case it is nothing worth fighting for and winning.

I wish to take this opportunity of saying a few words regarding a custom which will strike any decent and civilized man as cruel and barbarous but which is scrupulously preserved in the Andhra Desha. I mean the custom of chucking a dying man out of doors into the public street, to breathe his last there like a street dog. This custom is I understand based on a belief that if a man dies on an inauspicious day the house in which the death occurs becomes haunted and it has therefore to be abandoned for a few months. If people are yet so credulous as to give any importance to the superstitious belief, they had rather undergo the inconvenience and, for the matter of that, any pecuniary loss involved in abandoning the house than be callous and cruel to a brother in his last moments. Certainly Andhras and humanity have not broken off.

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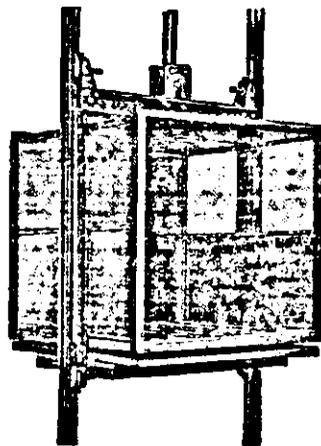
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Malabar Black Hole: The Government of Madras have associated three non-official Indian gentlemen with the Special Commissioner, Mr. Knapp for the purpose of investigating the circumstances in which 64 Mopla prisoners died in the goods wagon in which 100 of them were being conveyed to Bellary to serve their terms of imprisonment. They are, Mr. Krishna Varma, of Mankada, Mr. Manjari Ramier and Sahab Bahadur Kalladi Moidutti Sahib. The first two are Hindus and the last name is that of a Mopla. The three gentlemen, we are sure, will be perfectly independent and uninfluenced by their prejudices or prepossessions in the discharge of their very responsible duty. But this is not all that is wanted. The public—we do not mean the Non-Cooperating section of it—must be satisfied that the Committee has left no stone unturned to discover the truth of the matter and to trace the responsibility for it to the right men. As we said last week, the Mulkowal precedent should have been followed. Lord Willingdon should rise above his bureaucratic surroundings, in which he is never happy, and act upon his own strong impulses to truth and justice. An attempt we see, is being made to deny that the deaths were due to asphyxiation on the specious plea that some thousands of prisoners had been despatched before in similar conditions, without loss of life. As the laws of physiology are inexorable, the escape of the previous contingents from the horrible fate of the latest, can only be ascribed to the presence of accidental facilities for ventilation which escaped the notice of the authorities concerned. We are obliged to press upon His Excellency the Governor of Madras that he should allow no consideration to prevent his doing his plain, imperative duty on this serious scandal. It is the duty of his Ministers to accord him all their support in removing this great blot which cannot but affect them as well as the other half of the Madras Government, if measures are not promptly taken to trace it to its true causes and to prevent the possibility of the recurrence of anything similar in future.

Prostitution in Bombay. The Government of Bombay have appointed a committee to consider means for remedying the evils of prostitution in Bombay city. It consists of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy (Chairman), the Bishop of Bombay, the Roman Catholic Archbishop, the Commissioner of Police, the Municipal Commissioner, the Surgeon-General, Major Fernandes, Dr. Miss Turner Watts, Dr. Miss

Mistri, Mr. Faiz Tyebjee, Mr. S. G. Velinkar, Mr. Kanji Dworkadas, Colonel Evans of the Salvation Army and Mr. K. Natarajan. There was a short preliminary meeting of the committee on the 25th November, when the Home Member of the Government, the Hon. Mr. Hayward, made an introductory speech which is printed in another page. The Committee met again next day to settle the lines on which the enquiry should proceed. It was decided to draw up a list of questions and to send it along with an invitation to persons who are likely to assist the enquiry with evidence, written and oral. The meetings of the Committee at which witnesses appear should be open to the public, unless the witnesses themselves prefer it to be otherwise. Publicity, the light of day upon the sordid and cruel realities of the evil, is the main remedy. Legislation to deal with it, should be backed up by a solid body of opinion, and this can be created only if the fullest publicity is given to the facts and conditions disclosed by a searching enquiry.

Lord Sinha's Successor. Although no official statement has been made, it seems to be a fact that Lord Sinha has resigned the Governorship of Bihar and Orissa owing to the precarious state of his health. The *Searchlight* of Patna thinks it settled that he will not return to the Province as Governor, and makes certain suggestions regarding the appointment of his successor, as embodying the general opinion in Bihar. They do not, it seems, want a Civil Service Governor. The appointment of a Civilian, says our contemporary, will be frankly resented. They want an Indian. All parties, we are told, are united on these two points. But our contemporary does not say whether they are united as to the third, namely, that a lakh of rupees is insufficient remuneration for the Governor of the Province and that he should get the same salary as the Governors of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the United Provinces. The salary of the three Presidency Governors was fixed on the basis of their being public men from England, and the recent raising of the salary of the Governor of the United Provinces was understood to foreshadow the appointment of one such to succeed Sir Harcourt Butler. The preference for an English public man originated under conditions which left the Indian Civilian as the only alternative. But now that Indian non-officials are eligible for the place, we do not see why the salary of the post should be increased. We have opposed the popular demand to reduce Ministers' salaries while the Members of Government continued to draw their present emoluments, but we do not see any reason in increasing the salary of a post which has been held by Englishmen on the existing scale of remuneration. By the way, may we enquire whether the Bengal Ministers have fulfilled their promise to make over a fourth of their salaries to public charities? It will be a year next month since they took office, and as the promise was made in the Council, some member may ask to know how it has been kept.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 4, 1921.

IS IT A CHANGE OF POLICY?

The Viceroy's reply to the address presented to him by a deputation of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce, has been interpreted as foreshadowing a change of policy. On one point, there does certainly seem to be indicated such a change. Replying to a request of a deputation from the Marwadi commercial community some months ago for special representation, His Excellency said that it was not the policy of the reform scheme to have representation of special interests except as a transitory provision and that they should now prepare themselves to enter by the door of the general electorates. The terms of the Viceroy's reply to a similar request of the Punjab Chamber, seem to mark a more temporising attitude. Incidentally, they seem to be intended to convey to all who are hoping for an early extension of the reforms, an intimation that there is no intention to satisfy them. Said Lord Reading:

I cannot in view of the pronouncement of the Joint Committee that the franchise as settled by the rules should not be altered for the first ten years, hold out to you any hopes of any early revision of the rules. At the same time, I have no doubt that *if and when* (italics are ours) the rules are revised your claims for increased representation on the local Legislative Council will be fully considered.

The surmise that a change of policy in regard to political movements, is indicated, rests upon the concluding remarks of the Viceroy. We do not think that the words necessarily imply that there is to be a change of policy. We quote the passage.

We are sometimes criticised for not having sufficiently exerted it (the power to protect peaceful citizens) and I readily admit that we have sought to avoid action which might either be misconceived or misrepresented as too severe or provocative. But recent events have made it imperative that the full strength of the Government should if necessary be exerted for vindicating the law and preserving order. In some quarters—I shall not designate them, they are too well-known—intimidation and consequent coercion, which is only another form of violence and is of course unlawful, were practised, and it must be said with considerable effect. This conduct cannot be permitted and must be stopped. Proper precautions will be adopted, and all the necessary steps taken to protect the peaceful citizen, to give him that security to which he is entitled and to bring the wrongdoer to justice. The peaceful citizen wishes to carry on his own business, his own pursuits, his own avocations without improper interference or molestation by others with whom he may not be in agreement. We have no desire to interfere with the lawful activities of political parties, however opposed to us, but although that is our view and although we are most anxious, as I have repeatedly said, to redress all legitimate grievances and to remove the grounds of popular discontent, yet we can not allow any political activity to impose its will upon the country by violence, intimidation, coercion or other unlawful means. I have therefore taken this opportunity of telling you what is in this respect in the minds of the Government of India and of assuring you that the Government, of which I have no doubt you are keen critics, will use its efforts to

ensure that every man may carry on his lawful pursuits in his own way and at his own will, and you may rest satisfied that all the necessary steps for this purpose will be taken.

The Non-Co-operators have undoubtedly misused their opportunity and the volume of opinion against their methods today is not confined to those who have been opposed to their principles. Mr. Jayakar's address which we noticed last week is a clear indication of what their best men think of these methods. We are sorry that Mahatma Gandhi has failed to read the changed temper of the country and that he has banged the door on a revision of methods in the last *Young India* where he writes:

Friends have misunderstood the meaning of the peace that I have referred to in my second appeal. The peace I want has to be made by non-co-operators. It does not mean surrender of principle or policy so as to find a common platform for work. That in my opinion is an impossible task, for the methods of the various groups are so radically different. When one party finds it for the good of the country to enter the councils and another to abstain, there is no meeting ground.

This is a slap in the face not only of friends who had "misunderstood the meaning of peace" in the Mahatma's second appeal, but, and chiefly, of workers like Mr. Jayakar who had expressly indicated the method of not entering the councils as one to be discarded in the interests of the Congress party. In the face of this distinct repudiation of any revision of his methods by the Mahatma, in the face of Malegaon, Malabar and Bombay, which are all manifestations of the same cause, it is impossible to maintain that no further measures are needed to safeguard the life, liberty and property of peaceful citizens. But we hope that the Viceroy has some better plan in view than falling back upon the old, indiscriminate Press and other repressive laws. These laws have failed, it is clear. They are, in fact, responsible for adding to the volume of discontent which has now become organised in the Non-Co-operation movement which, whatever its faults, does not foster secret plotting. To stay their repealing programme, would be a great mistake on the part of Government. With reference to the Press, we recently came across a striking experience in a book dealing with the social evil, which is of much wider application. Dr. Flexner writes with reference to administrative and legislative action to combat prostitution:

Curiously enough, the most decisive action on the part of the authorities is feasible only in countries where the liberty of the press is most firmly established; for only in countries thoroughly free in spirit will the public deliberately impose limitations on itself without fear that such restrictions may ultimately be abused to serve other ends than those originally intended.

In India, it has been no uncommon thing for laws made for a special contingency to be used on occasions not contemplated at the time of their enactment. A general reversion to the repressive regime, will, therefore, in no wise improve matters.

Whatever new measures are adopted, they should be effectually safeguarded against operating as a check on anything except the specific evil which they are meant to combat. This will be no easy thing

to do, but it must be done, otherwise the remedy will be worse than the disease. Instead of detaching Non-Co-operation of its objectionable features, it will embarrass Co-operation by making it an adjunct of coercion.

It behoves the Government of India to walk warily because they cannot absolve themselves wholly from the charge of having contributed to the present situation by their dilatoriness, on the one hand, and precipitancy, on the other. The precipitancy has been in urging the visit of the Prince of Wales before the political sky was absolutely clear. The dilatoriness has been in remedying grievances and responding to the growing aspirations of the people for an equal status in India and the Empire. The public can judge of the anxiety of Government to redress wrongs only by the extent to which these have been redressed. The disposal of the question of the Punjab prisoners, for instance, ought not to have taken eight months. Men who do not care much for the Khilafat nor desiderate the advent of Swaraj within the year, speak indignantly of the tardy justice meted out to the martial law offenders. Disappointment itself is a less hard-hip as compared to suspense. The two other demands in this matter are the stoppage of the pensions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, and the dismissal of some four officers guilty of gross oppression during the Martial Law regime. Surely, the peaceful relations of the Government and the people of India, are more important than the susceptibilities of half a dozen persons.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

Looking back over the history of the Young Men's Christian Association of Bombay during the last 45 years of its existence, one cannot but be struck by the impressively favourable attitude of the general public to this form of service—an attitude which has at once been an endorsement and an invitation to proceed in strength. The Association, as everybody knows, stands for the all-round development of young men. With this as the guiding principle of all their activities they had set their hearts on a tremendous work of grave responsibility widening their interest as time and general support gave them the necessary strength and confidence until the Bombay Y. M. C. A. to-day is one of the largest and most cosmopolitan of men's clubs in the city. For a city like Bombay the field of work on which such an Association can usefully employ itself, cannot but be great and extensive, both in its scope and nature. In Bombay, the most cosmopolitan of all Indian cities, where thousands of young men of various races and languages congregate together for educational purposes or for purposes of earning their livelihood, it was of the greatest necessity that such conditions of living as would be conducive to the physical, intellectual and moral growth of the youth should be provided for. The success of the work of the Association in this is evident from a brief survey

of the various branches among which it has been found convenient to divide the whole work that lies before it. The work for civilians has centred round four modern buildings, each of them built with a careful eye to the special purpose for which it was meant. These buildings alone represent an investment of over 5 lakhs of Rupees. Young men including Hindus of all denominations, Parsees, Mahomedans, Jews and Christians have all been served by these institutions. The long working hours of the average young man in Bombay are such that some sort of healthy recreation is not only welcome to him but is an absolute necessity. Hence, Socials, excursion parties, study classes, debating and Literary Societies, Lectures, Gymnasium Classes, Libraries and Athletics have all been organised in each of these institutions for the benefit of all members. Ample opportunity is thus provided by these means for the different types of men to come together and understand one another's point of view and thus broaden their own outlook on men and life in general. On this natural understanding and friendship depends the future welfare of the country, these young men forming not only a component part of the national life but also becoming the leaders of to-morrow. Among the special features of the Y. M. C. A.'s work in Bombay may be mentioned the facilities it provides in the way of healthful accommodation and recreation for the University students of this city. The Y. M. C. A. on Lamington Road is entirely devoted to this work and is open to any of the 4,000 University students in Bombay. About 50 students of all classes live in the Hostel under the supervision of a Secretary. Attached to the building is the Bowen Memorial Hall, which is used for lectures, socials and concerts. Special study classes and lectures by eminent men are arranged for each term. It is quite a lively sight of an evening to see a considerable number of these non-residential members making use of the Games Room, Library and Reading Room. Much more can be done along these lines and special efforts are planned to develop this side of the work. The possibilities of rendering service to the community at large through this channel are indeed great. It is the students of to-day who are to be the citizens of to-morrow and no work is more meritorious or deserving of more support than that of creating an atmosphere of cordial fellowship, manly character and noble ambition, for the rising generation of India's sons. The work is meant to be a National effort and is commended to the earnest attention of all those who are desirous and willing to join in a common cause for a common good.

As distinguished from the student class, there is the class of Indian young men of various castes and creeds who have flocked to this city in great numbers to earn their livelihood. To provide the best possible conditions of living for a number of these men the Byculla Branch of the Y. M. C. A., on Reynold's Road has been established. There are about 300 members at this branch, of whom about 40 live in the Hostel. These include Parsis, Hindus, Christians, Mohamedans and Jews. In addition to the Library and the Tennis

Court adjoining there are also good facilities for indoor games, such as Billiards, Ping Pong, Draughts, etc. Concerts, Socials and Lectures are arranged weekly and are well attended. Teams are organised for cricket, hockey and football and a series of matches are played against outside teams every season. A small room rented in a Chawl in Patel is made good use of by the residents there. It is well provided with reading material, games, etc., and lectures, socials and concerts are held from time to time. There is great scope for work in this direction in a large city such as Bombay, where suitable accommodation with congenial surroundings and at moderate rates is hard to get. Both the Student Branch and the Byculla Branch are always full and one of the hardest duties of the Secretaries has been to refuse regretfully the anxious appeals of young men who constantly ask for admittance to these Hostels. The work among the Anglo-Indians forms part of the activities of the Association. The Procter Branch Y. M. C. A. on Rebsch Street, Byculla, has a hostel with about 45 residents, most of whom are apprentices in the Railway Shops of the city. Indoor gymnastic classes, cricket, Hockey, Football, Tennis, Billiards and other indoor games, Concerts, Lectures, Study Classes and meetings are as common a feature here as in all the other branches. The most significant development during the last few years has been the successful launching of an Educational Department. A full time Secretary is employed for the purpose and there is every reason to believe that in the coming years this will play a large part in the lives of a good many young men in Bombay. It is hoped that it may be the inspiration for similar undertakings elsewhere also. A no less important part of the Association activities is the Army work. During the war especially this branch of the work was greatly extended and developed and both the British and the Indian Army have expressed their appreciation of the work then done. The same work has been carried on even after the cessation of hostilities. On the Marine Lines there is a splendid hut for Indian troops now. The hut endeavours to provide all sorts of healthful recreations, for the ex-servicé men. Ample supplies of literature and well equipped writing tables are provided gratis for the use of men of quiet, studious habits. Education work is also carried on to some extent in order to assist the men who are desirous of preparing themselves to return to their vocations after demobilization. The Branch is an Employment Bureau in itself and much help is rendered to disbanded sepoy and soldiers in the way of finding employments congenial to them. The incoming and outgoing transports have always testified to the warmth of welcome with which they have been received in Bombay by the Army Y. M. C. A. In addition to all this there is a big building of the Association in Wodehouse Road, and it is meant primarily for Europeans. There are about 500 members, about 32 of whom live in the Chambers. For the benefit of the resident members as well as the non-resident a good restaurant is run by the Associa-

tion itself providing wholesome food at the all times. A Billiard room, a well-stocked reading room with writing tables and an auditorium, where concerts, lectures, religious meetings and socials are arranged every week forms a conspicuous feature. Gymnasium classes are led by the Physical Director.

The Association has thus undertaken a big task. Operating as it does in 80 different centres, the Y. M. C. A. is a National organisation. But it has always depended and must depend on the public at large for the successful carrying out of all its plans. Grants from the Imperial War and Relief Fund, the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A. Indian National Council and a few firms in Bombay have enabled it to carry on the work on behalf of troops in Bombay. The civilian work is financed largely by the income from members and donations by true philanthropists. The work carried on in the rural areas by the Indian National Council in the way of providing facilities, for agriculturists and in organising co-operative stores has resulted in a large drain on their purse. In order to carry on the work which the Association has been doing till now and in order to contribute their share to the National Council work, the Bombay Y. M. C. A. makes an appeal to the public for a sum of Rs. 50,000. Being an institution organised for public good, it does not ask public support for its own sake. Demands are being made upon it to enlarge its work in order to meet some of the most urgent needs of the young men of this city. An enlarged programme calls for additional support from the community. It is hoped that the people of Bombay will readily avail themselves of the opportunity of doing something practical to meet the spiritual and moral needs of the students and other educated young men in the city, upon whose lives and character the future of the country so largely depends. Surely, it will need the co-operation of all and we therefore appeal to all who are interested to come forward and demonstrate their interest in the most practical way by providing the Association with the necessary funds with which to carry on its work.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent).

London, November 10, 1921.

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

The eyes of most thoughtful people, all over the world, are just now turned towards the United States and the Washington Conference. The keynote of the Conference will be struck on the opening day by President Harding. So far the omens for a good beginning are auspicious; a feeling of trust in the spirit and power of the Washington Conference is abroad. In America itself, a wave of emotion, approaching a religious revival feeling, is sweeping over the land on the question of the limitation of armaments, and a campaign on the usual lavish American scale is going on. But one wonders, if, which Heaven forbid, the Conference broke up without coming to an agreement on armament limitations, whether America would be prepared to lead the way and

disarm as an example to the world. It is true that at the present time, no more money is being voted for battleships, and the naval building is practically at a standstill. It is also true that the hearts of all people are aching for peace, for peace that will be permanent, and we pray that the statesmen and representative men now meeting together will announce, at the end of their deliberations, that the limitation of armaments shall be a definite world-policy of the future. Rather an amusing and, for the Japanese, slightly embarrassing item has already been up for discussion ere the Conference meets officially, namely, the use of alcoholic liquor at official banquets. The United States Government will not modify its prohibition, so there will be nothing but iced water allowed. But official toasts to the Mikado, tradition necessitates, we are informed, three full glasses of wine being drunk, but as there will not be wine in America the Japanese delegates were in a dilemma. However, they have decided to substitute three cheers in place of lifting the wine glasses, so may honour be satisfied.

THE "WESTMINSTER GAZETTE."

The well-known evening Liberal paper, the "Westminster Gazette" issued its final edition as an evening paper on Saturday last, and on Monday appeared as a new morning daily. It aims at being a really national liberal, and when necessary, independent journal of opinion, and should have a solid future, for it is a well-balanced paper. It is a pity that it will not often come into the hands of the working man, as the price is twopence, a penny more than the mass is accustomed to pay for its news.

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES.

A movement, which some little time ago had its beginnings, has recently received new impetus. London has become so vast and so complicated that it is now recognised as being most difficult to manage. Many suggestions have been put forward by various people for the easing of such an unwieldy machine. Inducements have been held out for the setting up of factories outside the City. A few have done this most successfully, but more must be done ere the conditions of life in London improve, or it will become like the frog in the fable—so big that it will burst. The benefits of the revival of village industries would therefore be many. It would help to do away with the unemployed problem, ease the towns of the surplus population, and stop the growth of factory life, hence the new impetus given to it. One fairly successful village industry is the soft toy-making. In fact, so successful has this become that it is claimed, at the present time, it can undercut the Germans, who have hitherto held a monopoly of this trade. But such success is not due to the industry of the workers alone. It was discovered, by the advisor on rural industries, that the women employed in making soft toys, were purchasing their material at 14s. a yard, and were at that time altogether cut out of the market by the German trade. The material, he found, could be purchased from the manufacturers, slightly soiled, at 1s.3d. a yard, thus making it possible to undercut the German product. Some industries,

hitherto carried on abroad, are being started with success in England and many more could be. For instance, the Irish horn is bought by the French and German agents, shipped out of the country, converted into combs and toilet articles, and resold in England at fancy prices. This could be made a very successful paying village industry and help to set to work some of the 100,000 partly skilled and disabled ex-service men. But at the present time nothing is being done in this direction.

BISHOP OF MANCHESTER ON IDEALS OF LABOUR PARTY.

A noteworthy speech was recently delivered by the Bishop of Manchester, who has been in his private capacity a member of the Labour Party for some years, in which he said: "What I see is that the Labour Party, with its great ideals of fellowship and brotherhood, is mainly cemented by the fact that it is up against something else, that it is united in opposition to an order of society or another set of people. Its main bond of fellowship is, in fact, a common enmity. That is an extraordinarily perilous state to be in, and if it remains, the triumph of the Labour Party will certainly not be the triumph of the ideals at which it is aiming. In the process of reaching its ideals, it will have made it impossible ever to arrive at them. The positive work of the Labour Party ought always to be the actual practice of fellowship, and its bond of unity independent and free from all kinds of enmity and antagonism." How familiar to some of us in East and West these words seem, but how different to mould is human nature in the mass, for we are always up against the 'unknown quantity' and it is this that wrecks much that the leaders of life attempt.

INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.

The "Die-Hards" have not succeeded in forcing upon the Government, before the prorogation of Parliament, a debate on the present condition of India. They twice did their best to intimidate the Leader of the House (Mr. Chamberlain) but without avail. But a promise has been given that the India Office note shall come up early in the new session—or, it may be, in the new Parliament. Much depends upon the success or otherwise of the Irish Conference, which has now reached its most critical stage.

A SCHEME OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

(BY THE HONOURABLE MR. G. M. BHURGRI.)

In the feverish heat and excitement of the politics of the present day, cold calculated schemes of Reform and Reconstruction have little charm for even the student and the statesman. It is therefore not to be surprised at if the Committee appointed to consider the desirability of introducing Compulsory Education in our Presidency has not attracted sufficient notice. Let us not, however, forget that knowledge and therefore Education is the fountain-source of all Reform.

One of the questions that the Committee has invited replies to is as to how far the present system of Primary Education is an effective means of dealing

with illiteracy. I hope the question is intended not for satisfying any doubts of the Committee or any one of its members, but only to strengthen their conviction that the existing system is by no means effective. It is almost incredible, in view of the official reports of the progress of Elementary Education in the Presidency from year to year, and quinquennium to quinquennium, to suppose that there is any one single person in this country who can assert with any degree of honesty or conviction that the present system of Education is really an effective means to cope with illiteracy. However, it would not be altogether useless to give a few statistics here as to the rate of progress at which we can accomplish our task under the existing system.

PRESIDENCY FIGURES.*

- 1. Percentage of boys at school to the total of school-going age, 6 to 10 years, in the quinquennium ending in 1911-1912..... 39
- 2. Percentage of boys at school to the total of school-going age, 6 to 10 years in the quinquennium ending in 1916-1917..... 44
- 3. Percentage between the years 1917-21.... 50

Increase average in 5 years.....55

Assuming there is no increase in the population it would take about 60 years to find all the boys of school-going age in the Presidency at schools. In the case of girls it would take no less than 800 years.

FIGURES FOR SINDH. (Boys).

- 1. Percentage in the quinquennium ending in 1911-1912..... 28
- 2. Percentage in the quinquennium ending in 1916-1917..... 30
- 3. Average increase for five years..... 2

On the same assumption as in the case of Presidency even if there were no increase in the population, it would take 180 years in the case of boys and about 600 years in the case of girls at the present rate of progress.

This must dispel any doubts there might be as to the necessity of introducing compulsion in the matter of our elementary education. As to whether this should be done on a universal scale and simultaneously in all localities, or gradually and by stages, I would strongly advocate the introduction of the principle on a universal scale. But taking into consideration the magnitude of the problem, the limited resources at our disposal just at present, and a considerable amount of indifference about and prejudice still prevalent against education in the backward tracts and communities which have smoothly and successfully to be weeded out, I recognise that in the existing state of things, any scheme of compulsory education to be successful, has to be carried out by successive stages but in a manner that a complete system of free and compulsory education may flourish throughout the Presidency within a definite period of time.

* The figures worked out by me show larger percentages than even the official records do, because I have taken only 10 per cent. of the total population as comprising the school-going age.

Further, being painfully conscious of our utter backwardness in the case of female education and of very strong prejudices and conventions such as the purdah system still prevalent in some communities (e.g. Mahomedan) and areas (e.g. Sind), I realize that female education will have to make some headway under any scheme of compulsory education, on a permissive basis before compulsion can be enforced in their case in all areas and communities. Therefore, my recommendations are outlines of an Act operative in the case of boys and permissive for a certain period in the case of girls, after which it will have the same binding effect as in the case of boys.

I would classify the British Districts of the Presidency for this purpose as follows:—

- 1. All Municipal areas, or which may be denominated as "Municipal School Districts." In case of rural areas or "Rural School Districts."
- 2. All villages with a population of 500 and over which may be denominated as "First Class Rural School Districts" and
- 3. All villages with a population of less than 500 and all sparsely populated areas, which may be called "2nd Class Rural School Districts."

N. B.—Each "School District" will be under the jurisdiction of its "Local Authority" which may be Municipality, a District or Taluk Board, or a Village Panchayat as the case may be.

The age limit in most of the Western countries varies between six and fourteen but in India, being predominantly agriculturist and poverty-stricken, boys of 11, 12 and over render active help to their parents in working for most part of the day in the fields or otherwise in factories etc. and thus contributing their mite in adding to the very meagre resources of the family. I have therefore suggested six to ten as the age limit here in India. On this basis I find on a reference to census figures, that slightly over 10% of the total population would come of the school-going age. The total population of the British Districts of the Presidency, according to 1911 census figures is 1,96,26,477 of whom 1,02,14,557 are males and 94,11,920 are females. We thus have approximately a total 10½ lacs of boys and 9½ lacs of girls of the school going age. It will be noticed that the fixing of the age-limit between 6 and 10 considerably simplifies the problem of enforcing compulsion.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION OF BOYS.

The Act being operative in the case of the male population of the school-going age in all "School Districts" I would suggest the following stages in which the process is to be completed in the three kinds of "School Districts" mentioned above so that at the end of the period prescribed sufficient provision will have been made for all the boys of the school-going age resident within the district concerned.

Each Municipal area would form a separate "School District" under the jurisdiction of the "Local Authority" concerned which will be the Municipality. (Functions of the Local Authority will be described later).

There are 197 British towns and cities in the Presidency with a total male population (1911 census figures) of 20, 63, 601 or with approximately 2 lacs 10 thousand boys of school going age. Deducting the figures for the city of Bombay which does not come within the purview of the Committee, we have approximately 1 lac and 80 thousands of boys of the school going age. About three fifths of these are already receiving instruction. Thus we will have to provide for a maximum figure of 75 thousand boys of the school-going age in Municipal areas, or "Municipal School Districts". So far as the financial requirements go, this can easily be done at once, without proportionately additional burden on the resources of the Municipalities. But as the administrative and organising machinery is not expected to run quite so smoothly, I shall concede another two years during which the Municipalities in their capacity as "Local Authorities" could complete their arrangements for making necessary provision for the 75 thousand balance which is to be provided for, or say an average of 25 thousand per year. So that three years should be the period set down in the case of "Municipal School Districts."

Areas coming under this head may be formed into "School Districts" under the jurisdiction of the District or Taluk Board or Village Panchayat as the case may be, which will be the "Local Authority" for the "district" concerned.

There are 10,792 villages in the British District of the Presidency with a total male population of approximately 63 lacs or $6\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of the school going age. About three fifths of these also on an average are receiving instruction already. We thus have a balance of 2 lacs and 60 thousands or maximum of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs to be provided for. Fixing the proportion of contributions from Provincial revenues and local funds to $\frac{2}{3}$ rd and $\frac{1}{3}$ rd respectively a very large portion of the additional expenditure will be met from provincial contributions, and so would not in any way unduly burden the finances of the Local Boards.

If, therefore, the whole process of making necessary provision for this $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs were to spread over a period of 5 years, or say at the rate of 55 thousands per year, in an area of about 45 thousands square miles, or $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the total area, it should not in any manner be considered an unduly extra-burden. Moreover by the adoption of the double shift system both the capital and recurring expenditure, equipment etc. may be curtailed down, if not by one half at least by $\frac{1}{3}$ rd or $\frac{1}{4}$ th.

There are 15,264 villages of this class with a total population of approximately 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ lacs, so that there are approximately 2 lacs of the male population of the school going age. I estimate that at least $\frac{1}{5}$ th of this is receiving some sort of Primary instructions in *Alakhs, Aulla schools or pathshalas*, and a few local board and public institutions. But not taking this in our consideration at all, I shall even assume that we have to make provision for all these two lacs.

With a double shift system in operation, and in addition itinerant schools in very sparsely populated areas all difficulties in the way of making necessary provision would be reduced to the minimum. However, taking into consideration the extensive area of operation (a little less than two-thirds of the total area) I would suggest a ten years time-limit in which to make necessary provision. This would work out an average of providing for about 20 thousands per year.

The accuracy of the above estimates may be verified as follows:—

About 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ lacs is the total male population of school-going age in the British Districts of the Presidency excluding the City of Bombay and Aden. The total number of pupils receiving instruction in all the *Boys Primary schools* is about 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ lacs. But these include a little over 50 thousand girls and all those boys who are receiving instructions in upper Primary schools, and must therefore as a rule be above the compulsion age viz. six to ten years. It also includes a large number of boys above and below the compulsory age in the Lower Primary Schools. The following are the approximate figures:—

- | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-------------------|
| (a) girls included | ... | ... | 5% |
| (b) Boys in Higher Primary Schools
(over compulsory age) | ... | ... | 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ % |
| (c) Boys over compulsory age in Lower
Primary Schools | ... | ... | 15% |
| (d) Pupils receiving instructions in
Bombay & Aden Primary Schools. | ... | ... | 2% |

or say in all about 30%.

Thus out of 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of boys, we get a maximum balance of 5 lacs to provide for, which is less by 10 thousands than the total by classification and by 50 thousands than the actually provided for maximum figure, therefore the latter errs, if at all, on the side of caution.

PROSTITUTION IN BOMBAY.

The first meeting of the Prostitution Committee was held on November, 25th, when the Hon. Mr. M. H. W. Hayward addressed the members of the Committee on the general aspects of the question and pointed out some of the lines along which the enquiry might be conducted. He said:—

We have had certain legislative powers for some time for dealing with prostitution, that is to say, certain sections of the Bombay City Police Act, 1902. Section 28 provides for the removal and segregation of common prostitutes; Section 120 prohibits the solicitation of prostitutes in public; Section 125 prohibits the permission of solicitation at public entertainments. There is a line which is rather difficult to draw and it has not always been easy to remove certain common prostitutes. But the policy has been for a long time to segregate common prostitutes as far as possible in the neighbourhood of Girgaum. We have also had legislative powers for dealing with foreign prostitutes and procurers. We have deported foreign prostitutes and procurers under the Foreigners' Act III of 1864 in furtherance of the International Agreement of 1904.

Sir Bhalchandra Krishna presided in 1911 at a public meeting that passed resolutions recommending the removal of prostitutes from Girgaum. The Commissioner of Police;

Mr. Edwards, was asked to report upon these proposals. The City Improvement Trust had, he pointed out, already reduced materially the area infested by prostitutes by the building of the Sandhurst Bridge and improving that particular neighbourhood of Girgaon. But he also pointed out that a large measure of responsibility lay upon the landlords who let their houses at high rents to prostitutes in Girgaon. He deprecated giving greater powers to the police as likely to give rise to the greater evils resulting from the state-regulated vice of the Yoshiwara of Japan.

There occurred the case of Emperor-va, Mirza Sayad Khan which in 1917 revealed the depths of degradation and misery in the brothels of Girgaon. The case was tried by the Bombay High Court. The revelations led to a new section 126A forbidding the detection of women and children in brothels being added to the Bombay City Police Act 1902 by Bombay Act VI of 1920. There are also certain sections dealing with children in brothels in the Children Welfare Bill which has since been drafted and will in due course be placed before the Legislature. The traffic in women and children has also quite recently attracted the general attention of the League of Nations.

The Municipal Corporation in March 1921, wrote us a letter recommending the cleaning up of the Falkland Foras Roads. The letter was referred to a strong Committee composed of the Commissioner of Police, the Municipal Commissioner, the Chairman of the Improvement Trust and the Director of Development. They reported in August, 1921, and pointed out the great practical difficulty of removing 880 houses occupied by some 6,000 prostitutes to any other quarter of the city. They repeated that the previous policy had been, as already stated, to segregate prostitutes so far as practicable between these limits: North Bellasis Road; South Grant Road; West, Lamington Road and Falkland Road, and Duncan Road. They were of opinion that the proposal to remove them was not practicable without establishing elsewhere a state regulated quarter similar to the Yoshiwara of Japan.

A Committee was suggested by Mr. Kanji Dworkadas in April 1921, to enquire into the practicability of making brothel-keeping illegal. Mr. Kanji Dworkadas proposed to make a motion to that effect in the Legislative Council. The Commissioner of Police reporting on this in July 1921, recommended the registration and inspection of brothels, which would no doubt be open to objection as materially increasing in these matters the powers of the police.

A memorial was received in July 1921, from the Social Purity Committee, influentially signed, recommending three things; (a) that brothel-keeping should be made illegal, (b) that landlords should be prohibited by law from letting their houses to prostitutes and (c) that the profession of procurers should be made illegal. We considered the Committee's report on the letter of the Municipal Corporation together with this memorial and decided that a committee of enquiry had better be appointed to go generally into the whole matter. This decision was publicly announced in September upon the resolution regarding brothel-keeping being moved by Mr. Kanji Dworkadas and received the general approval of the Legislative Council.

Copies have been or will be laid before you of the various papers just mentioned and a perusal of these papers will enable you to obtain some idea of the difficulties of the

It will scarcely be necessary for you to * The figures into the existence of the evil. That is than even the office you will very likely desire to take 10 per cent. of the total. It will not be necessary for going ago: prevalence of this immorality.

There can be no two opinions about that. You will no doubt strain all your efforts to finding some practical remedies. You will perhaps scrutinize the results obtained by special rules under the Cantonment Act XV of 1910 as amended by Act XXII of 1919. Rules have been framed under Section 24 (23) of that Act providing for the removal of brothels and prostitutes from Cantonments and for the prohibition of solicitations similar to the provisions already mentioned in the Bombay City Police Act. But special provisions have also been made for the treatment of persons suffering from venereal diseases at the hospitals. The relevant rules are rules 179, 180, 208, 209, 214 and 215 under the Act. You will also be provided with copies of the Ceylon and the Burma Acts recently passed rendering brothel-keeping illegal. You will find details of similar legislation in England at page 541 of Vol. IX of Halsbury's Laws of England.

Mr. Chairman, your committee will no doubt desire to proceed to business under your guidance without further delay. My duty is done for the present in stating the facts and suggesting the lines of enquiry. Your committee will probably desire to peruse the papers mentioned at leisure and perhaps refer to others. Your Committee will have in the meanwhile to decide the dates and times for your future meetings and possibly prepare a questionnaire for witnesses. You will receive in these matters and in any others the willing help of Mr. Perry, your Secretary. We are very grateful for your help in wrestling with this immemorial vice. You will recognise that it is a difficult matter requiring practical remedies. If it is not impertinent in me, let me remind you of the necessity of recognising the imperfections of human nature and that experience has shown that it is no use legislating too far ahead of public opinion. It is useful to be a little ahead in order to educate public opinion. But moral laws must always be necessarily ahead of State Laws. It is however, my firm belief that determination will find the proper remedies. It is a practical problem for practical men to get rid of the black spot which has for years disgraced the heart of this great city and to remove the long standing evil from the capital of this Presidency and the Gateway of India.

MR. SESHAGIRI IYER'S BILLS.

The following are the two Bills referred to in Mr. Seshagiri Iyer's article we printed last week:—

I.

EXCLUSION FROM INHERITANCE BILL.

Notwithstanding any rule of Hindu Law or custom to the contrary, no person governed by the Hindu Law shall be excluded from inheritance or from a share in joint family property by reason only of any disease, deformity, physical or mental defect.

It shall apply to all provinces of India, except Bengal.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

Certain classes of persons have been excluded from inheritance presumably on the ground that their present condition is due to sins in the former birth and that they are therefore not entitled to share in the patrimony. Without questioning the soundness of this reason of the rule, I am of opinion that in the times that we live in, such grounds of exclusion should not be allowed to deprive a person of temporal rights. These persons stand in greater need of assistance than their more favoured brethren who can earn their living. Public opinion has expressed itself strongly against the disability which the present state of the Hindu Law imposes on them.

My reason for excluding Bengal from the operation of the Act is based on the opposition which the motion for codifying Hindu Law met from the Bengal Representatives in the Legislative Assembly. It may be that the Members who spoke on that occasion only expressed their individual views and did not expound the collective opinion of that province. In that case the clause relating to the exclusion of Bengal may be modified in the Select Committee. If on the other hand Bengal is as orthodox as it has been represented to be, by seeking to apply the provisions of the Bill to that province, the passing of the measure so far as the other provinces are concerned may be jeopardised. This is my reason for excluding Bengal.

II.

HINDU LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

Notwithstanding anything in the Hindu Law to the contrary, the estate of a Hindu, not held in coparcenary, shall in the absence of heirs down to brother's grandson, be inherited in the order by (1) the son's daughter, (2) the daughter's daughter, (3) sister's son, (4) sister, (5) step-sister, (6) step-sister's son, and (7) step-mother, and only on the failure of the above by the father's mother or other heir, coming after her under the Mitakshara law of the inheritance provided that the female heirs succeeding as above shall take only such estate as a female heir would take under the ordinary Hindu Law. 2. Nothing herein contained shall affect any special family or local custom.

A NOTABLE INTERMARRIAGE.

On the 7th instant was celebrated a notable inter-provincial marriage at Towers Gardens, Madras. The bridegroom Mr. Narayan Dewal, son of the well-known religious and social reformer of Maharashtra Mr. Kashinath Dewal, is a distinguished scholar of Maha Kavi Tagore's School at Bolpur. He is now a sculptor in the Mysore State Service after having learnt that art in England and in India. The bride Sowbagyavathi C. N. Sundaribai is the second daughter of Mr. S. Narayanswami Iyer, retired Director of Education in the Pudukota State. Her sisters are Mrs. Muthulakshmi Ammal and Miss C. N. Nallasanthu Ammal of the Queen Mary's College. Before a very large and cosmopolitan gathering, the Brahma rites of marriage were performed by Swami Brahmananda.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NOTIFICATION.

The public are hereby notified that under the provisions of Section 45 of the Bombay City Police Act IV of 1902 all claims for compensation for loss, damage, death or grievous hurt caused during recent disorders in Bombay should be made before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, within one month of the date of the loss, damage, death or grievous hurt in respect of which compensation is claimed.

Dated this 29th day of November 1921.

CHUNILAL E. SETALWAD,

Ag : Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay.

WANTED a lady graduate teacher for the Hindu Girls' School, Lucknow. The applicant must have a fair knowledge of Hindi and must be able to teach English and Mathematics in the higher classes. Monthly salary Rs. 200-10-250. Apply with copies of testimonials and other particulars to Pandit Surej Narain Bahadur, President, Hindu Girls' School, Lucknow.

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Mr. Edwards, was asked to report upon these proposals. The City Improvement Trust had, he pointed out, already reduced materially the area infested by prostitutes by the building of the Sandhurst Bridge and improving that particular neighbourhood of Girgaum. But he also pointed out that a large measure of responsibility lay upon the landlords who let their houses at high rents to prostitutes in Girgaum. He deprecated giving greater powers to the police as likely to give rise to the greater evils resulting from the state-regulated vice of the Yoshiwara of Japan.

There occurred the case of Emperor vs. Mirza Sayad Khan which in 1917 revealed the depths of degradation and misery in the brothels of Girgaum. The case was tried by the Bombay High Court. The revelations led to a new section 126A forbidding the detention of women and children in brothels being added to the Bombay City Police Act 1902 by Bombay Act VI of 1920. There are also certain sections dealing with children in brothels in the Children Welfare Bill which has since been drafted and will in due course be placed before the Legislature. The traffic in women and children has also quite recently attracted the general attention of the League of Nations.

The Municipal Corporation in March 1921, wrote us a letter recommending the cleaning up of the Falkland Foras Road. The letter was referred to a strong Committee composed of the Commissioner of Police, the Municipal Commissioner, the Chairman of the Improvement Trust and the Director of Development. They reported in August, 1921, and pointed out the great practical difficulty of removing 880 houses occupied by some 6,000 prostitutes to any other quarter of the city. They repeated that the previous policy had been, as already stated, to segregate prostitutes so far as practicable between these limits: North Bellasis Road; South Grant Road; West Lamington Road and Falkland Road, and Duncan Road. They were of opinion that the proposal to remove them was not practicable without establishing elsewhere a state regulated quarter similar to the Yoshiwara of Japan.

A Committee was suggested by Mr. Kanji Dwarakadas in April 1921, to enquire into the practicability of making brothel-keeping illegal. Mr. Kanji Dwarakadas proposed to make a motion to that effect in the Legislative Council. The Commissioner of Police reporting on this in July 1921, recommended the registration and inspection of brothels, which would no doubt be open to objection as materially increasing in these matters the powers of the police.

A memorial was received in July 1921, from the Social Purity Committee, influentially signed, recommending three things; (a) that brothel-keeping should be made illegal, (b) that landlords should be prohibited by law from letting their houses to prostitutes and (c) that the profession of procurers should be made illegal. We considered the Committee's report on the letter of the Municipal Corporation together with this memorial and decided that a committee of enquiry had better be appointed to go generally into the whole matter. This decision was publicly announced in September upon the resolution regarding brothel-keeping being moved by Mr. Kanji Dwarakadas and received the general approval of the Legislative Council.

Copies have been or will be laid before you of the various papers just mentioned and a perusal of these papers will enable you to obtain some idea of the difficulties of the present situation. It will scarcely be necessary for you to enquire at any length into the existence of the evil. That is only too patent. But you will very likely desire to take evidence on particular points. It will not be necessary for you to preach against the prevalence of this immorality.

There can be no two opinions about that. You will no doubt strain all your efforts to finding some practical remedies. You will perhaps scrutinize the results obtained by special rules under the Cantonment Act XV of 1910 as amended by Act XXII of 1919. Rules have been framed under Section 24 (25) of that Act providing for the removal of brothels and prostitutes from Cantonments and for the prohibition of solicitations similar to the provisions already mentioned in the Bombay City Police Act. But special provisions have also been made for the treatment of persons suffering from venereal diseases at the hospitals. The relevant rules are rules 179, 180, 208, 209, 214 and 215 under the Act. You will also be provided with copies of the Ceylon and the Burma Acts recently passed rendering brothel-keeping illegal. You will find details of similar legislation in England at page 541 of Vol. IX of Halsbury's Laws of England.

Mr. Chairman, your committee will no doubt desire to proceed to business under your guidance without further delay. My duty is done for the present in stating the facts and suggesting the lines of enquiry. Your committee will probably desire to peruse the papers mentioned at leisure and perhaps refer to others. Your Committee will have in the meanwhile to decide the dates and times for your future meetings and possibly prepare a questionnaire for witnesses. You will receive in these matters and in any others the willing help of Mr. Perry, your Secretary. We are very grateful for your help in wrestling with this immemorial vice. You will recognise that it is a difficult matter requiring practical remedies. If it is not impertinent in me, let me remind you of the necessity of recognizing the imperfections of human nature and that experience has shown that it is no use legislating too far ahead of public opinion. It is useful to be a little ahead in order to educate public opinion. But moral laws must always be necessarily ahead of State Laws. It is however, my firm belief that determination will find the proper remedies. It is a practical problem for practical men to get rid of the black spot which has for years disgraced the heart of this great city and to remove the long standing evil from the capital of this Presidency and the Gateway of India.

MR. SESHAGIRI IYER'S BILLS.

The following are the two Bills referred to in Mr. Seshagiri Iyer's article we printed last week:—

I.

EXCLUSION FROM INHERITANCE BILL.

Notwithstanding any rule of Hindu Law or custom to the contrary, no person governed by the Hindu Law shall be excluded from inheritance or from a share in joint family property by reason only of any disease, deformity, physical or mental defect.

It shall apply to all provinces of India, except Bengal.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

Certain classes of persons have been excluded from inheritance presumably on the ground that their present condition is due to sins in the former birth and that they are therefore not entitled to share in the patrimony. Without questioning the soundness of this reason of the rule, I am of opinion that in the times that we live in, such grounds of exclusion should not be allowed to deprive a person of temporal rights. These persons stand in greater need of assistance than their more favoured brethren who can earn their living. Public opinion has expressed itself strongly against the disability which the present state of the Hindu Law imposes on them.

My reason for excluding Bengal from the operation of the Act is based on the opposition which the motion for codifying Hindu Law met from the Bengal Representatives in the Legislative Assembly. It may be that the Members who spoke on that occasion only expressed their individual views and did not expound the collective opinion of that province. In that case the clause relating to the exclusion of Bengal may be modified in the Select Committee. If on the other hand Bengal is as orthodox as it has been represented to be, by seeking to apply the provisions of the Bill to that province, the passing of the measure so far as the other provinces are concerned may be jeopardised. This is my reason for excluding Bengal.

II.

HINDU LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

Notwithstanding anything in the Hindu Law to the contrary, the estate of a Hindu, not held in coparcenary, shall in the absence of heirs down to brother's grandson, be inherited in the order by (1) the son's daughter, (2) the daughter's daughter, (3) sister's son, (4) sister, (5) step-sister, (6) step-sister's son, and (7) step-mother, and only on the failure of the above by the father's mother or other heir, coming after her under the Mitakshara law of the inheritances provided that the female heirs succeeding as above shall take only such estate as a female heir would take under the ordinary Hindu Law. 2. Nothing herein contained shall affect any special family or local custom.

A NOTABLE INTERMARRIAGE.

On the 7th instant was celebrated a notable inter-provincial marriage at Tawkers Gardens, Matras. The bridegroom Mr. Narayan Dewal, son of the well-known religious and social reformer of Maharashtra Mr. Kashinath Dewal, is a distinguished scholar of Maha Kavi Tagore's School at Bolpur. He is now a sculptor in the Mysore State Service after having learnt that art in England and in India. The bride Sowbagyavathi C. N. Sundaribai is the second daughter of Mr. S. Narayanswami Iyer, retired Director of Education in the Pudukota State. Her sisters are Mrs. Muthulakshmi Ammal and Miss C. N. Nallamthbu Ammal of the Queen Mary's College. Before a very large and cosmopolitan gathering, the Brahmo rites of marriage were performed by Swami Brahmananda.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

NOTIFICATION.

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For shorter periods at rates to be ascertained on Application.

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Capital Subscribed	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	" 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	" 70,00,000

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 200 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does amount to Rs. 8 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for shorter periods @ rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

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LOANS, OVERDRAFTS, & CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved security.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon, it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stocks at moderate charges, particulars of which may be had on application.

H. P. STRINGFELLOW,

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Manager.

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Sir Vitthaladas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.
Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti Nagar Sheth Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnagar.
Rao Bahadur Gunajirao R. Nimbalkar, Sur Subba, Baroda State.

Bhaskerrao Vitthaladas Mehta, Esq., Advocate, High Court Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ltd. Baroda.

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subba, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

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Interest allowed on daily balances from Rs. 200 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 8 per half year will be allowed.

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7-8-21

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4. Rear Axle shafts R. H.	11238	32	0	10. Rear Axle shafts R. H.	19326	32	0
5. " " " " L. H.	11239	32	0	11. " " " " L. H.	19327	32	0
6. Valve Springs	2016	0	10	12. Exhaust Valves	19383	7	8
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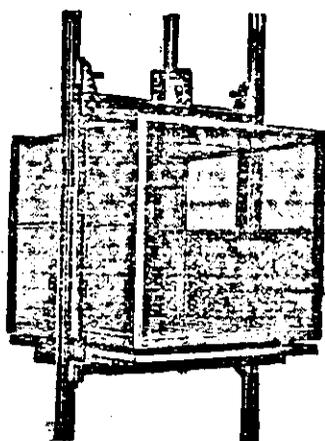
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Wholesale Arrests. The week has been signalised by quite a crop of notable arrests in the Punjab, the United Provinces and Bengal. Lala Lajpat Rai and some other leaders, in Lahore, and Pandit Motilal Nehru and his co-adjutors in Allahabad, have been arrested, tried and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for breach of orders of the Executive Governments under various Acts. In Calcutta Mrs. C. R. Das and two other ladies of the same family were arrested along with a number of men, but were released after several hours' detention on the orders of Government, though they refused to furnish security. We had hoped that this method of dealing with political opponents had disappeared with the advent of the Reforms. We are sorry that we were mistaken. Whatever the wisdom of inviting the Prince to visit India at this juncture, Government, now that he is here, is bound to ensure for him as good a reception as possible, and the Non-co-operationists have shown themselves to be grievously lacking in political perspective by the manner in which they have set themselves to make it appear a failure. We cannot help thinking that it is not altogether just to those who would give a warm welcome to the Prince, to think that they are to be intimidated by opposition, and our opinion is amply borne out by the experience of Bombay notwithstanding the riots. His Royal Highness' reception at any place could not have been marred by intimidation, and is not likely to be improved by these arrests. As it is, the daily swelling roll of arrests in places which he is to visit, cannot but cause pain and sorrow to His Royal Highness. If Ministers, instead of regarding themselves as parts of the Executive machine, had exerted themselves to get into touch with leaders of the people, they might have helped the Governments of which they are members to find a less obnoxious way of ensuring against hartals and other demonstrations of discontent. At any rate, they ought to have tried, and if they had seriously tried, they would, we believe, have largely succeeded.

Policy or Panic? These wholesale arrests, after the masterly passivity, of the past months, do not convey the impression of being inspired by a consi-

dered policy. They give the impression of panic on the part of Government who seem to be really at their wit's end how to deal with the situation. Sir Harcourt Butler's excited appearance at the U. P. Legislative Council and his impassioned declaration that Government was determined to see it through are hardly calculated to impart calmness and confidence to those who heard him. How different from the heroic serenity of Lord Hardinge who when the bomb burst upon him with fearful impact and he was being removed to Hospital, told his *locum tenens* "No change of policy, Wilson." Of such stuff are the builders of Empire made, not of men who allow themselves to be stampeded into opposite extremes by the circumstances of the moment. The coincidence between the passing of the Rowlatt Act on the conclusion of the Armistice, and of these arrests on the heels of the Irish Settlement, have not escaped attention.

The Malabar Black Hole: The Knapp Committee to enquire into the circumstances which led to the death of 64 Mopla prisoners in the railway waggon in which they were being taken to their place of imprisonment, began its work on the 28th November. The evidence so far tendered before the Committee leaves no room to doubt that these men died of want of sufficient air to breathe. The evidence of the Medical witnesses is conclusive. Captain Mathai I. M. S. said that the vans were unfit to carry human beings, Major Forrest I. M. S. was of the same opinion, and Dr. O'Conner deposed that the cause of death was asphyxia due to overcrowding in what was practically an air-tight compartment. The evidence of the surviving Mopla prisoners who were in the compartment, is harrowing. Their pathetic cries for water were ignored or met with brutal response. As regards the selection of the waggon as a suitable vehicle for conveying prisoners, Mr. A. H. Reeve, Traffic Inspector, S. I. Ry, stated

that he was at Tirur on September 1, when the question of special arrangements for the conveyance of Moplah prisoners was first discussed. Colonel Humphreys, Mr. F. B. Evans and Mr. R. H. Hitchcock, D. S. P., were present. He suggested the accommodation of prisoners in a carriage in the No. 89 train to Coimbatore, but that was regarded as unsuitable, as it was thought better to have a separate vehicle which would not need a large escort. He then suggested a cattle truck, but that also was regarded as unsuitable, as ventilation was possible only by leaving open all the doors and windows. He then suggested luggage van No. 1716 of the M. and S. M. Railway. It was inspected and accepted as suitable and a batch of 39 prisoners was sent in it to Coimbatore next morning.

It remains to be seen what action the Government of Madras proposes to take on these revelations. That Government has not distinguished itself in its handling of the Mopla outbreak which is not yet settled. This terrible tragedy greatly enhances the disadvantage which its tardy success has placed it in for putting down the outbreak.

The Malabar Relief Fund: Whatever doubts might have been entertained at first of the accuracy of the reports regarding the nature and extent of the suffering and destitution caused by the Mopla outbreak, must have been set at rest by the detailed reports which Mr. Devadhar has been publishing every week in the daily papers. He has refrained, wisely, we think, from publishing all the harrowing details he has received from Malabar, but the one or two incidents which he has disclosed give an idea of the terrible anguish, physical and moral, of the victims. There is suffering, acute and widespread. The number of persons in the 19 camps of the Malabar Relief Fund are, according to the latest figures, approximately 25,000, and it. The daily expenses amount to Rs. 2500. Mr. Devadhar has appealed for 10 lakhs of rupees to enable 50,000 refugees to be maintained for six months. The sum collected in Bombay so far is about Rs. 80,000. It is urgently necessary that the process of collection should be considerably accelerated for this limit—a minimum one—to be reached. And it can be reached, if those who feel for the distressed people—and they are a large number—subscribe liberally themselves and do all in their power to get subscriptions from their friends and neighbours. It may be repeated that the Malabar Relief Fund makes no distinction of creed or caste. It is for all sufferers, Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians. Every one and every part of the country should pay, generously according to the circumstances of each. Bombay as the wealthiest city in India has a particular duty and we are sure she will worthily discharge it. We earnestly appeal to our readers in all parts of the country to come promptly to the relief of sorely distressed Malabar.

The Ladies' Deputation to Calicut. There is a slight misconception in the comments of some of our contemporaries as to the nature of the task for which Mrs. Bhatt, the experienced Superintendent of the Poona Seva Sadan, and Miss Natarajan of this journal, have gone to Calicut. The policy of the Malabar Relief Fund is to interest and engage local people as much as possible in the relief operations—which, for obvious reasons, is the best policy. The deputation was entrusted with the task of organising, after visiting the several camps and studying their requirements, a Women's Relief Committee locally and framing a programme of work and we are pleased to know that their efforts have been attended with a gratifying measure of success. A Calicut Ladies' Committee has been formed with a comprehensive programme including health and sanitation, occupation, and the education of the children in the Relief camps. Sub-Committees have been constituted to take charge of each separate department. Neither of the two members of the deputation could be spared from their duties for any length of time, and it is at some inconvenience that they have been able to go. While, the local Women's Committee will carry on the operations, there is urgent need for women in Bombay to express their sympathy with their suffering sisters in Malabar in an organised form, as they know how to do so well.

A Message from Calicut. Miss Natarajan wires from Calicut: It is difficult for visitor to relief camps at Calicut to believe that work of Central Relief Committee organised by that indefatigable worker and patriot Mr. G. K. Devadhar and his colleagues, is purely a labour of love and not a regular institution like school hostel or orphanage. The management of camps of which there are seven in Calicut, some small, some big, varying from sixty-two to two thousand are entrusted to a band of honorary and willing workers whose mission of ministering to refugees appears in vivid contrast to the Moplas' deliberate cruelty of inflicting misery and privation on the

refugees and mostly women and children. The sufferings which these unfortunate women have undergone, are still fresh in their minds and when asked to relate their miseries vividly they narrate, while tears are falling from their eyes. Children whose inalienable right is to be joyful and free from blame appear to have developed a serious turn of mind. Cheerful faces seem now rare among them. These people are well looked after so far as food and clothing are concerned but with regard to medical relief and sanitation much remains to be done. Health of children has suffered most, chief diseases being measles, dysentery and sore eyes. Dr. C. B. Ramarau who arrived on the seventh instant had a meeting with local practitioners on the eighth. Lady workers also attended to concert measures to improve health conditions of camps. Sanitary Commissioner who was present announced at the meeting that his staff who will soon arrive will be at the service of the Relief Committee. This is great help indeed for the work will then be divided between two sets of workers which will enhance efficiency. The Malabar relief work surpasses in nature and magnitude the famine and other relief works organised from time to time. Hence it presents problems that have not risen before. The problem of suitable employment for refugees is also engaging attention of workers. It is due to dearth of materials and tools that work cannot be provided for many. In some camps you see carpenters busily engaged in making cots and office boxes which, by the way, are much in demand here as handiwork of refugees. In one camp a group of potters are busy themselves in turning out pots of all shapes and descriptions. Attempts to fit up looms for weaving are being made. The problem of employment of women refugees is yet to be solved. They are mostly engaged in looking after their own children and helping in the kitchen. Employment of women and education of children are matters which come under the sphere of women's work. For this purpose ladies meeting was held in which ladies of Calicut evinced much enthusiasm and willingness to work for their less fortunate sisters. This is indeed laudable work and we wish the ladies of Calicut every success in their humanitarian work. Mrs. Bhatt's stay here is absolutely necessary to organise ladies' work in camps.

For Bombay. Two weeks ago, we published a letter from Professor Patrick Geddes calling attention to the Pro-Jerusalem movement which brought together men of different races and religions in work for promoting the common good of the ancient city. The habit of co-operation so fostered cannot but permeate in course of time every part of life, removing time-honoured asperities and fostering the sense of fellowship. This is the true method of permanently eliminating influences which make for estrangement. Some of those who read Professor Geddes letter thought of inviting him to explain more fully the working of "pro-Jerusalem." An invitation was issued, over the signatures of men representing the different communities and political parties, to about three hundred citizens to a meeting at the hall of the Chanda Ramji Hindu Girls' High School, Girgaum, to hear the Professor. It was stated in the invitation that an informal conversation would follow as to whether it is necessary or desirable to institute a similar movement in Bombay. There was a generous response to the invitation, and between two and three hundred ladies and gentlemen, Englishmen, Parsis, Jews, Mahomedans and Hindus, gathered to hear Professor Geddes. Mr. M. R. Jayakar was voted to the chair. Professor Geddes lecture was listened to with deep interest, and at its close, a general discussion ensued. As the result, a provisional Committee was appointed to consider further the question of starting a movement to promote civic ideals in Bombay.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 11, 1921.

THE IRISH SETTLEMENT AND ITS LESSONS TO INDIA.

There will be sincere pleasure all throughout the world at the agreement arrived at between the Irish Sinn Féin leaders and the British Government. The pleasure is especially great in India because the Irish were likened by a great British statesman, the late Lord Salisbury, only thirty-five years ago to "races like the Hottentots, and even the Hindoos, incapable of self-government." That was said during the debate on the first Irish Home Rule Bill. Mr. Gladstone had in a transcendent degree the great gift of political imagination in which the British governing classes are notably deficient. He had besides moral and religious fervour which is conspicuously lacking in British politics at the present day. His deep insight showed him where the crux of the Irish problem lay, and when well past the Psalmist's allotted span of three score years and ten, he girded his loins to the task of remedying it at its source. Foiled again and again by the obtuseness or selfishness of the British political mind, he retired beaten from the scene of his great parliamentary triumphs, unable to do Great Britain and Ireland the service which would have effaced the bitter memories of centuries of misgovernment. Even the fierce light which the great war has shed upon the hidden foundations of national life, failed to open the eyes of British statesmen to the justice of the Irish demand for the right to live their own life. Coercion, systematic, relentless, brutal, was tried, and only when it was found that it did not and could not answer, was recourse had to negotiations which have now ended happily. And now in the moment of reconciliation when all the world is showering its congratulations on Mr. Lloyd George, let us recall with reverence the memory of the illustrious statesman who first espoused the cause of justice to Ireland and pressed it forward in the face of bitter opposition of wealth and social influence.

His Excellency the Viceroy speaking at a banquet at Calcutta referred to the Irish settlement and drew from it certain lessons for the Indian people. In passing, we may remark that Lord Reading was not quite right as to fact when he said that within the last 30 or 40 years it had not been so much with British people as with two sections of the Irish people that made it so very difficult to bring about a settlement. These differences exist now as strongly as ever before. Sir Edward Carson, who surely knows the Irish situation as well as Lord Reading, is reported to have described the present agreement as abject humiliation for Great Britain. The fact is that the differences, racial and religious, between Ulster and the rest of Ireland were made much of when it suited the British Government to do so, and have been ignored now when there are other interests to be served. To describe this settlement as the outcome of magnanimity may deceive children, but not any

one conversant with the history of the Irish agitation during the last seventy years. There are passages in the Life of Lord Randolph Churchill by Mr. Winston Churchill who is one of the first signatories to this settlement, which should dispel any illusion in this regard. The principal lesson which the Viceroy drew for the benefit of India from the Irish settlement, may be quoted in his own words :

But think of the difference between Ireland and India. Ireland has attained this result after long, long years. India without any of the acts which have characterised the history of the movement in Ireland attained a tremendous boon in the grant of reforms which took her already far away upon the road to that complete Swaraj which we all want. Again, India has before it by ordinary constitutional means, by labours, by the efforts of those who are in the Legislative Assembly, the Council of State for India and in the Legislative Councils of the provinces, an opportunity of which they have been very quick to avail themselves, of proving they are the people who would soon be ready for that full grant of self-government.

Did His Excellency seriously mean to convey that the constitutional means available to Ireland which had over 100 members directly elected to the House of Commons, was inferior to the Legislative Assembly, the Council of State, and the Provincial Councils which he thought gave India an advantage not possessed by Ireland? Has India ever received a hundredth part of the attention which Parliament and the British Government have had to devote to Ireland because of this solid block of Irish members? No one is obliged to refer to political history in postprandial speeches, but if one does, one should keep within the limits of history. We do not minimise the value of constitutional methods, but we are not able to say that the present settlement is the outcome, directly or indirectly, of such methods, unless we include the last negotiations between the British Government and Sinn Féin—an utterly unconstitutional body—among them. His Excellency bade us think of the centuries which it took Ireland to obtain justice and the single century or so in which we have obtained Diarchy. Well, the Irish sea is not as wide as the oceans that lie between India and Great Britain. Does Lord Reading think that it would not have been so good for England and Ireland if so many years had *not* been allowed to intervene between the Home Rule Bill and the Irish settlement?

We are all for patience and have sought to inculcate it in our own way on those who seem to us to be wanting in that great virtue. But the best way of ensuring the patience of the people is for their rulers to be prompt and vigilant in redressing wrongs and promoting their prosperity, moral and material. The chief lesson of the Irish settlement, in our opinion, is for Government. It is the danger of procrastination, delay and the exaltation of vested interests over those of the people. If India ever repeats the history of Ireland, it will be less the fault of the people than of the Government here and in Great Britain. Such a movement as the Sinn Féin is not an invention of certain leaders but the outcome of a distinctive national consciousness compounded of ethnic and religious emotions whose re-action to

political influence is constant and unvarying. Antagonism to an alien Government may stimulate (and even simulate) such a consciousness but it is not that consciousness. Mahatma Gandhi's mistake lies in not distinguishing the one from the other, and even more in endeavouring to build up a national unity on communal differences. The power to paralyse an existing system is not the same as the power to erect and operate an alternative one which is superior or at any rate not inferior to it in its outlook and efficiency. On the other hand, because a system is the only one possible for the time being, it does not follow that it is wise to keep it stiff, unbending, impervious to the call for more space and air. Those who feel in this way find that the only honest course open to them at present, is to accord their support to whatever makes for the upbuilding of the nation in the measures and policy of either side, and to oppose whatever in either side is opposed to steady and sure progress in that direction. They are unable to feel that the Councils by themselves, and without the pressure of public opinion (agitation, if you please) outside, can effect much. Even in Great Britain it is the pressure of public opinion on Parliament that makes it powerful, and when such pressure is absent or when Parliament is irresponsive to it, the Press and the platform become the index to the nation's thought and life. We are glad that an increasing band of thoughtful men are coming to realise that the true course for them is to lay down for themselves a programme of social amelioration and the creation among different communities of the habit of mutual co-operation to take the place of that of mutual suspicion, and to utilise every agency in promoting it, irrespective of evanescent political differences. A scarcely less important lesson of the Irish Settlement is that to attempt the role of Ulster in a national movement is neither dignified nor, except temporarily, even profitable.

THE SITUATION IN MALABAR.

The question of Malabar still continues to call for attention. As week after week passes the situation is only growing increasingly acute. Rebels are reported to surrender in large numbers, but the more ferocious and criminal of them are ablaze with a passion born of despair, and are carrying on their reign of terror in an orgy of lust and cruelty which makes one shudder even to imagine. The pathetic tale of burning of flourishing hearths and happy homes, the devastation of fields rich with ripened corn and replete with the new year's hopes, the unspeakably callous conversion of the poor helpless Hindus at the point of the sword, and the brutal way in which the Nair women have been handled in some cases which cannot be described as anything but savage, will make every civilised man irrespective of his race or religion, rightly indignant. The poor people, stricken with panic, paralysed with terror, are fleeing in thousands from their villages in the interior to Calicut and other town centres. The relief camps in these places seem to be overflowing in their numbers, and have been of late reporting an

ever-growing influx of refugees. It is a serious crisis for Malabar. A land of plenty failed, for its greenness and grandeur is lying in ruins in a state of utter devastation which makes it sad to contemplate.

The military seem to be doing their best to put down the rising, but the Moplahs are a strong and sturdy race with the vigour of the bracing hills in their limbs, and the hardy blood of their Arab ancestors in their veins. Besides they are clever at fighting having learnt their lesson well during the recent War. The geography of the country is also in their favour, the numerous little hills with which Malabar is studded, being so excellently adapted for guerilla tactics, and huge forests with their far-famed timber, providing convenient hiding places for the tortuous foe. These and such other circumstances have together caused the situation to prolong, though from the recent telegrams it is evident that peace is within sight, and there is every hope that poor suffering Malabar will soon settle down again to her normal condition of law and order. We add our fervent prayer—may that be soon!

But the termination of the rebellion does not end the people's sufferings, and all that is burnt and destroyed does not come back to life the moment the miscreants recover their sanity, and it behoves us therefore to consider as citizens of India and members of a common nation what is our duty, to this afflicted part of our country and these unfortunate brethren of ours in the hour of their grievous need. We include in the word "brethren" the whole of the humanity of Malabar and we do not forget the fact that this consists of two parts in that hapless land, today; "the oppressed and the oppressors". Our sympathy extends to both, though in different ways, though we cannot see any the least trace of bravery or religiousness in their savage fanaticism. Religion to be worth its name must first admit the fundamental fact of Brotherhood, that is regarding all things as the creation of one God, and therefore treating them with respect. Where this first principle is violated, there could be nothing but the passion and fury of crude animal egoism, which may call for our pity, but sympathy is not the word for it. And as for bravery, do we not find it in our daily tasks and common round that it needs often-times a brave man to fear some things, as sometimes it becomes him not to fear others? Humane, by all means, let us be, but let us be just also, and not blind ourselves to facts. We have no bias for any particular religions or other creed, taking our stand on the broad basis of human society, the life of mankind as a whole, but we feel bound to say that the rebel Moplahs deserve condemnation for their action.

Our duty, then, to the people of Malabar clearly is to stand by them in their trial and help them in their need. Mental sufferings are cured by mental sympathies, but physical ailments call for tangible drugs. Even so, if we want to help Malabar, today, the only way in which we can express that wish is by making it possible for those who are conducting relief operations over there to continue and increase it, by letting them have the requisite amount of money.

Mr. Devadhar who went personally to Malabar and toured over some parts of the affected area and has

since accepted the responsibility of organising measures for relief with the help of his friends, estimates it, as already reported in these columns at rupees ten lakhs. Of this, even one lakh is not yet full, though it would appear from his reports that his estimate is really very meagre. There are already about 26,000 refugees in the 19 camps of the Malabar Central Relief Committee in Calicut and elsewhere, and the number is daily increasing. These, by the way, represent only the main centres and are wholly conducted by the Central Committee as most of the smaller camps in the interior are self-supporting and get only occasional aid by way of grants. Of such branch committees there are now eighteen but many others are coming in daily asking to be affiliated to the Central Committee, as the refugees grow in number and the consequent increase in expenditure which they are unable to meet, with their slender funds. When it is remembered that all these 26,000 refugees and those others who are still coming in are in a state of absolute destitution, deprived of everything they could call their own and are depending for their very means of existence on the relief that the Committee provides, it will be understood how the sum of ten lakhs is really inadequate.

Add to this, the thousands of refugees that the Congress Committee supports, the thousands who have fled to outside places, and those who are in the smaller camps in the interior, and we get some idea of the vast population who have been disturbed from their normal life and occupation, and who have to be helped to start afresh. That will give us some conception of the work of reconstruction in Malabar. Here of course the Government will have to step in and take the situation wholly in hand, and we have Mr. Devadhar's assurance that he has put this fact very clearly before His Excellency Lord Willingdon and that he has every hope that the Government of Madras will fully do so when the time for it comes.

Now, however, it is for us, people of India to help these unfortunate brethren of ours. Malabar cannot be neglected. The nature and extent of the suffering there has been so great that it has long ceased to be a provincial matter. It is indeed a National Cry. The relief of the distressed and the downcast is not a question of party or politics, it is through and through a humanitarian consideration. We are not at present concerned with the causes that brought about such a situation. There is plenty of time to think of that, when the crisis has passed over. The results are but all too obvious. Some may argue that those who fomented the trouble must make amends for it. But, will starvation and suffering spare human lives until that question is decided? We are asked to sympathise with the Moplahs for the sake of broad humanity. But is there no sympathy for those who have suffered at their hands in such terrible ways? Is Humanity also lame that she must like Progress walk with crutches on either hand? The horrible asphyxiation of the Moplah prisoners has come in for a lot of criticism, and rightly so, for the tragedy of human lives cannot be allowed to be explained away too lightly. But, what

of the hundreds and hundreds who have been butchered in all kinds of horrible ways and subjected to the most inhuman outrages? Has the country no sympathy for them?

If it has, there is only one way in which we can express it today, and that is by providing relief for the thousands of sufferers in that land in agony. It is a purely humanitarian question which must evoke the fundamental impulse of charity in the people. Where is the place for party or politics in this living sepulchre of grief? We appeal to the Country's charity. Will not India with her age-long traditions of charitableness and already sympathy to the unfortunate and afflicted, with her far-famed responsive soul sensitive to pain and misery, and a heart brimming with tender human sentiments come to the aid of her own people? Our appeal is to the whole country. Let every feeling heart answer to the call of Malabar.

A SCHEME OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

(BY THE HONOURABLE MR. G. M. BHURGRI.)

II.

I have suggested the introduction of Compulsory Education in the case of girls on a *permissive* basis, to start with, for a certain period, for reasons of comparative backwardness in the case of girls' education, opposition and animosity at present existing against it, for reasons of resources, and further with a view to ensure absolutely certain success in the case of boys' compulsory education by concentrating on it first.

The same classification of areas into three kinds of school districts as in the case of boys would hold good in their case also, the Local Authority also being the same. There should be either special School Committees created or men and women interested in girls' education co-opted to the boys School Committees to assist the Local Authorities in encouraging girls of school-going age in their jurisdiction to attend schools by providing necessary facilities etc., and otherwise in supervising the girls' schools within their areas. (The composition and functions of School Committees will be dealt with in a later article).

Under the permissive scheme it would be open to any local authority desiring to enforce compulsion within its jurisdiction in the case of the girls, simultaneously or at any time within the period prescribed as *permissive* in its case, by passing a resolution to that effect by two-thirds of its majority, and getting that resolution formally ratified by the Provincial Government. The period during which compulsion may exist on permissive basis may be as follows:—

In the case of the Municipal School Districts, the first three years of the operation of compulsion in the case of boys, wherein it is hoped that the girls' education would expand at least to the extent to which boys education has to-day without any sort of compulsion being applied to it, so that at the end of that period compulsion may be enforced by the provision of the Compulsory Education Act embodying this

scheme, if it has not already been enforced by the Local Authority concerned.

In the case of rural areas, both first class and second class school districts, this period may be five years, and it during this period compulsion has not already been enforced by the local authority concerned, it shall be done by the provisions of the statute at the expiry of the permissive period.

The object of compulsory education is not merely to enforce compulsion, but also to make compulsory the provision of schools in unschooled areas, and of adequate schools where they are not so. The latter object can equally be served by the introduction of the principle on a permissive basis. On this basis and in the full belief that the permissive period would be made the fullest use of by the Local Authorities and School Committees for girls in popularising the cause of girls' education, and combating all calumny and prejudice existing at present, and by providing proper accommodation and facilities from time to time, prepare the ground fully for the enforcement of the principle, if not within the permissive period prescribed, at least on its expiry. It would not then at all be difficult to complete the process of enforcing education in the case of all the girls of the school-going age.

In the case of Municipal Districts the period of enforcement in which the process is to be completed may be three years from the date of expiry of the permissive period of three years, and in the case of Rural Districts, with this difference that in both 1st and 2nd classes the process is to be completed within a period of 5 years from the date of the expiry of the permissive period of 5 years prescribed in the case of First Class Rural Districts.

It is not necessary to go into a detailed examination of statistics in the case of Compulsory Girls' Education. Suffice it to say that the total female population being less than the male, the proportion of girls to boys of the school-going age is less, and therefore after the preparatory permissive period, the whole operation could easily be completed within the respective time limit of 3 and 5 years. I gave detailed statistics in the case of boys only with a view to go deep enough to convince that the various time-limits for completing the provision in the respective school districts has been set down not without due caution and consideration. One could go deeper still, into the approximate number of fresh schools necessary for additional provision, the total cost involved in the schemes, and the approximate contributions of the Local Authority and the provincial sources etc. etc. But that would make the statement unnecessarily cumbersome. What is necessary to show that the expenditure involved on the scheme as suggested, is not excessively large, and that has been amply proved from the statistics already given in the first article.

The question has been asked whether there would be any opposition to compulsion being introduced. I believe there would be some opposition from orthodox members of the Moslem Community, specially in Sind, and in connection with Female Education, as a result of their non-co-operation with education for

many years, and with everything else running on modern lines. Opposition is likely from some of the rural and working class population who occupy their children of tender ages in lucrative manual work in fields or factories, either in preference to sending them to schools, or as a necessary evil, the children's contribution to the very slender means of livelihood of the family being an indispensable factor. However in formulating the scheme outlined in this series all possible care has been taken to avoid conflict with the oppositionists, and to afford all possible facilities to the rural and working classes.

III

MACHINERY TO ENFORCE COMPULSION.

Time has come when the main control of public primary schools should pass from the hands of Government to what I have denominated as the "Local Authorities" who should be assisted by another representative body chosen from among themselves as well as other persons of merit, status and responsibility resident within its jurisdiction. Below I give an outline of the functions of the three bodies concerned in the provision management and supervision of Compulsory Primary Education :

The duties of the local government in addition to making provision for the inspection and general supervision of schools and for the training of teachers would be :—

(i) to prescribe the "school district" their class etc. and the "Local Authority" which will have control of each such district.

(ii) to contribute their share (vide question No. 23) of the total expenditure.

(iii) to provide for the Local Authority in each district contributing its share of the expenditure (vide question No. 23).

(iv) investigating from time to time whether each such local authority is discharging its financial responsibility and other duties pertaining to the administration and management of schools within its jurisdiction, satisfactorily or not and to take necessary steps for such discharge of their duties as have been neglected.

The "Local Authority" may be the Municipality, or the District or Taluka Board or the Village Panchayat as the case may be. The following among others shall be their duties and powers :—

(i) to take necessary steps for the purpose of collecting statistics of (a) boys and (b) girls of the school-going age resident within its jurisdiction ; (c) of classifying them in the two shifts or sessions ; (d) the number of schools necessary for each sex ; (e) the approximate capital and recurring expenditure likely on the item.

(ii) to formulate and submit to Local Government for necessary sanction ways and means as to how it proposes to make necessary provision within the period prescribed in the Act according as it is a Municipal or First or Second Class School District.

(iii) to give effect to its scheme by providing necessary funds, accommodation, buildings, establishments etc. from time to time, as well as to carry on the recommendations of the "School Committees."

(iv) to see that the buildings etc. are kept upto the mark and to see to their repairs.

SCHOOL COMMITTEES.

The "Local Authority" shall have attached to it a School Committee to assist it in its work. These may be contributed as follows :—

One half of the members may be elected by the "Local Authority" concerned from among those of its members who possess at least the minimum educational qualifications for the membership of such School Committees. The other half may be nominated by the District or Taluka official or officials jointly from persons of merit, responsibility and influence resident within its jurisdiction of the "School District" concerned who also possess necessary Educational qualifications. The minimum educational qualifications may be, candidate himself having studied upto the 4th Vernacular or such other qualification as the Government may think necessary.

The functions of the School Committees may be similar to those of the Committees created under the English Act of 1870. It is also desirable that these Committees should in addition exercise some influence and vigilance in addition over the management, supervision and control of the schools within the jurisdiction of their Local Authorities. Their duties among others may be as follows :—

(i) to make out lists of "certified" schools alone shall be recognised schools for imparting elementary education.

(ii) They will have power to control every parent within their jurisdiction to send his children of the school-going age to school, and to *challan* before a magistrate such parent as fail to do their duty out of negligence or defiance, the magistrate also having powers to deal with them adequately ;

(iii) they will also distribute books, slates and other materials to such applicants as should in their opinion receive them free. They will also make arrangements for the inspection of those materials from time to time.

THE PROBLEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

(By MR. L. G. GANG.)

"He (the student) must go to England in order to have the seal impressed upon him, but while that is necessary, his desire for gaining that education is encircled with greater and greater difficulties."—Mrs. Besant.

"India ought to be able to supply all that she herself needs in education."—G. K. Gokhale.

One of the important problems engaging the attention of the India Office to-day, is the problem of the Indian students in England. Measures are being taken to see that the poor student is not stranded in an unknown land where admissions are restricted. Such measures will only relieve the grievance temporarily and when the entire question of education is under discussion, it is better to go to the root of the matter, by removing the

necessity of transplantation to England to qualify for superior appointments, in the several services. All will admit that it is simply unnatural that students of one country should be required for this purpose to undertake a journey of thousands of miles and be ready to spend a lot of money, however necessary it may be in the early stages of the educational development. One way to improve the situation is to impart higher education in India itself which can favourably be compared with European education. Japan followed this method by sending out men to foreign countries with a view to develop indigenous education and by employing foreign experts to secure the end. Secondly, the Government must change its angle of vision. For, as long as there is only one road to higher posts and as long as that implies travelling to a foreign country where the necessary education can be gained, so long the problem of education must embarrass the Government and the people, despite the facilities that may be offered for students in England. The appointment of a Committee to thresh out the whole question is to be welcomed but the terms of reference should not be merely to help the High Commissioner in the discharge of his duty in London, but to deal with the fundamental question with a view to make transplantation to England less and less necessary. Thirdly, there is a movement afoot that English boys in India should get European education in India itself, with the probable result that they would continue to enjoy their privileged position in the Government Services. The question of employment may be considered as a political one, but we can not separate the life of a nation into water-tight compartments.

It is believed in certain circles that the problem of education will be solved by setting secondary education on a new basis proposed by the Sadler Commission. But the present educational muddle does not concern school education alone, and even the colleges must be prepared to share the blame. Education literary or technical should not be merely elementary if India is to be made self-sufficient. The Director of Information hastened to correct certain remarks in the *Chronicle* as to the staff of the Poona Engineering College, but it is an open secret that the B. Es turned out of that College are not equipped with the standard of education, which students get in foreign countries. This is not an isolated incident but only a single instance out of a hundred. The other day the Bombay University recognised the Royal Institute of Science to prepare students for the B. Sc. Examination, but, it is feared, the news will not be received with satisfaction. The Institute will be doing what the Elphinstone College was doing so long and the Fergusson College is still doing. It is a pity that post-graduate education should not receive proper attention in the University of this forward province. The huge funds spent on the Institute will be only justified by making it an institution for post-graduate studies, and it is only the Government that can cope with the necessary expenditure for scientific research.

To take one more instance, the resolution for abolishing the distinction between barristers and pleaders called forth novel arguments in the lively debate in the Assembly. Whether the students are treated well or ill in the Inns of Court, it is a thing not to be proud of that the invidious distinction should be now kept alive and the transplantation to England should be maintained on the flimsy ground of the healthy atmosphere of a free country. It is not surprising that the privileged class should view with great alarm any encroachment on their enviable position. If the foreign degree continues to fetch the price it does at present, the problem of Indianising the Government will not be satisfactorily dealt with in the near future.

The claims of technical education do not seem to be properly recognised by the University, in spite of the plethora of literary graduates and under-graduates. The problem of education is to prepare a man (and ultimately the nation) for the *complete* living, as Spenser has put it. The University ought to create a taste for technical education, leaving general political education to the newspapers and the library.

It must also be observed in passing that the parents and students ought to look on education not as preparatory to service but as the means of developing the mind and the body. As one writer once put it, "Universities are built out of thought and hope, not out of mere organisation. For, of life comes forth life; but without quickening of the spirit there can be only death." Those who are in touch with the college atmosphere in India will readily admit that there is a wide gulf between the professors and the students, giving rise to crooked suspicions and misunderstandings. It is doubtful whether such a state of affairs would quicken the spirit. Broadly speaking this is as much true of Government colleges as of private ones. Immediate efforts should be made to set the matter right. England-returned men pay a high tribute to their tutors and the professors and it is a pity that in India things should be otherwise. It may be that both the sides are responsible for this state of things.

In fine, when India becomes self-sufficient in education, it will be possible for her to be self-sufficient industrially and politically also. If India is to cease to be a 'Dependency' really, Indian Universities must not yield the palm to those in other countries and in England itself in the near future.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT.

Legislation of a useful kind relating to workmen's compensation is contemplated by Government and to a large extent it will command the approval of the public at large. At present the question of compensation to workmen killed and injured in the course of employment is left entirely to the generosity of their employers who realise their responsibilities in this connection, but for one who does there are many who evade them. The question that concerns the welfare of the working classes, as Government remark, cannot be left so unsettled. Legislation has become necessary in this connection because there is considerable indus-

trial expansion and because machinery and power are being employed in factories to a much greater extent than ever before. Industries involving great personal risk are also being established in India. Legislation ensuring compensation cannot be delayed in view of the rapid industrial expansion. The Government of India have framed some useful questions and have invited public criticism and discussion. The Bombay Presidency is specially interested in all industrial questions and any measure that will promote the welfare of the workmen will be specially welcome here. Workmen are rapidly becoming conscious of their rights and privileges and this changed outlook is an additional reason for early legislation. There is no need to wait for agitation in this connection. In some cases, it will be better to anticipate and give no room for it.

It is not very creditable to learn that India alone of the chief industrial countries of the world has as yet no Workmen's Compensation Act. At any rate, now that India claims a voice in the management of the world's affairs, it is necessary to remove this glaring defect early. Labour in other countries is sure to be insistent on this point. In one way, late legislation gives us an advantage. We can avoid the mistakes of other countries and compare and contrast the Workmen's Compensation Acts in force in other countries and adopt the best measures suited to this country. It will be a mistake to confine our attention only to particular industries. It will be better to follow Acts which cover all industries. The distinction between manual and non-manual also need not be made compulsory and state-aid also will be welcome. It may be objected that legislation on these lines would act as a clog on industrial expansion and that capital being shy in India, employers' disabilities and risks should be at a minimum. It will be a perfectly wrong view to take. In the first place, such a thing is not possible as India is subject to world-forces and as it will be necessary for her to come into a line with other nations so far as labour legislation is concerned irrespective of the fact whether that is advanced in India itself or not. Even in India Labour is no longer mute or silent. A Workmen's Compensation Act will make for industrial expansion. Only it is necessary that in India, the whole burden of compensation should not fall upon the employers. The employees will no doubt contribute part of the expense. But a State insurance fund also is necessary as in New Zealand. In the particular circumstances of India, State aid is necessary. It is trusted that Indians interested in the question and especially Labour organisations will take an active part in the passing of the Workmen's Compensation Act in India. The Bombay Government have circularised the letter of the Government of India and have invited various public bodies to make suggestions and offer criticisms. It is to be hoped that the Government's move will have a wide response.

FORCED CONVERSIONS.

OPINION OF PANDITS AND ULEMAS.

(FROM *New India*.)

A summarised translation of the *Vyavastha* of the Pandits of Benares, published in the *Aj*, October 6, 1921.

[This was obtained by the good offices of Babu Bhagavan Das Sahab, of Benares.]

Aum

"Listen to and understand the Dharma, the Law, which is followed always by the wise, the virtuous and the learned, who are free from partisan likes and dislikes, and which is acceptable to the heart."—*Manu* ii, 1.

"To the question whether it is or is not possible for any follower of the Sanatana Arya Vaidika Dharma to be made forcibly to give up his religion and become a convert to any other religion, Islam or another, our reply is that it is not possible; for a forcible change of religion is an impossibility. Therefore in the case of every one, man or woman, who has been subjected to any kind of force, his or her position, his or her status, social and religious, in regard to caste, sub-caste, family, *gotra* (clan), kinship, relationships, marriage-alliances, etc., remains entirely unchanged, and exactly the same as before the use of such force."

This is our decision, for once religion is a matter of one's inner faith, that cannot be changed by bodily violence; "a person is what he or she believes". As *Manu* has said "Gifts made under compulsion, food eaten under compulsion, writings written under compulsion, and all acts done under compulsion are as if not done."

"If any person, man or woman, has been compelled to do any act contrary to the rules of his Sanatana Dharma, or to put on any mark of another religion, Islam or any other, it is enough for him to put off such marks, to the best of his ability as soon as possible, and to perform such of the purification ceremonies, suggested in *Devala* and other *Smritis* as curative of such misfortunes, as may be possible and within his powers to perform. Such ceremonies would be for the satisfaction of the person's own mind and the removal therefrom of the feeling, "My body has been made impure by these evil sinners with unclean food or drink or in any other way". If any mark has been made on the body of any victim of such violence which cannot be removed, then it ought to be regarded as the scar of a wound received in fight, and not as a mark of another religion.

"A few texts from *Devala* are given below to indicate the purificatory ceremonies which may be performed:

Here follow verses describing a few more or less simple courses of fasting, shaving and bathing, for purification from the effects of unclean food and drink or sex-contact forced by aggressive men or women of the other religion upon the women or men of the Sanatana Arya Vaidika Dharma. Then the *Vyavastha* goes on to say:—

"There is much on the same subject in *Parashara* and other *Smritis* which need not be quoted here, but can be easily looked up by the learned.

"In conclusion, our clear opinion is that if any of our brethren, being followers of the Sanatana Arya Vaidika Dharma, have been subjected to any violence by evil rioters, then such brethren are not to be regarded as having lost caste, and are not to be allowed to stay out of the caste, but are to be lovingly invited and helped to perform purificatory ceremonies as above, and treated as occupying the same position in the caste as they occupied before."

This *Vyavastha* is signed by Pandit Devi Prasad Shukla, Pt. Gangaya Narottama Shastri, Pt. Rawkaran Tripathi, Pt. Chandrasekhara Sharma, Pt. Yajna Narayana Upathyaya, Pt. Vijayananda Tripathi, Pt. Ganesha Appaji Mhaskar, Pt. Raghuvira Tripathi Vaidya, and Pt. Rameshvara Datta Iyotishi.

BOMBAY, SEPT. 17.—Hazrat Maulana Abdulbari and Maulana Azad Subhani have issued a joint manifesto which runs as under:

"It is a recognized principle of the Shariat that the propagation of the Faith and conversion of people by force is not permissible and produces no result. No non-Muslim can be converted to Islam by force. Any person who has outwardly adopted Islam under compulsion or is made to perform formal ceremonies of conversion but who, in his heart, likes to stick to his former religion, is not a Mussalman from the view-point of the Shariat.

"After dwelling upon this principle, we desire to express our opinion regarding the report which refers to the detestable action of Moplas in their forcing certain Hindus to adopt Islam. We would like to state clearly that this wrong action of certain mad Moplas done in the name of religion against some afflicted Hindu brethren is an open cruelty and the Islamic religion has nothing to do with it. We express our heart-felt sympathy towards these Hindu brethren, who have been subjected to these cruelties in the name of religion. At the same time we request our Hindu brethren in general not to fall into the error of entertaining any misunderstanding in their mind by considering the mad action of certain Moplas to be the religious or national tradition of Muslims and not to give way to dejection regarding Hindu-Muslim unity which to-day and for ever is indispensable for the welfare and freedom of India. It should be perfectly inculcated on the mind that the end which India has before her is beset with such trials which will come in our way every now and then and both Hindu and Muslim will have to pass through them and will have to prepare themselves with the utmost courage and broad-mindedness in order to meet them successfully. We have expressed our personal opinion on this lamentable event and at the same time have wired Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind to issue their manifesto jointly. Other distinguished Ulemas are also expected to give satisfaction to the country by their announcement.

(Sd.) HAZARAT MAULANA ABDUL BARI.

(Sd.) MAULANA AZAD SUBHANI.

(From the *Independent*, September 22, 1921.)

A Conference of Muslim Ulemas, at Lahore, at which five to six hundred Ulemas were present, passed the following resolution, on 20th November 1921:

"The Jamiat-ul-Ulema Conference does not admit the truth or falsity of the statements published in newspapers regarding the forcible conversion of the Hindus by Moplas and the other atrocities alleged to have been committed by them on the Hindus as there has been no proper investigation, but if the reports are true then the Ulemas condemn all such action of the Moplas as the *Quoran* never sanctioned forcible conversion to Islam."

(From the *Independent* dated 21st, and the *Leader* dated 23rd November, 1921.)

A CIVIC MOVEMENT.

The following invitation was issued to about three hundred citizens over the signatures of Mr. K. Natarajan, the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Sheth Chotani Mr. H. P. Modi. Professor Patrick Geddes, Lecturer in Sociology and Economics at the Bombay University will deliver an address, explaining the movement called "Pro-Jerusalem," started in Jerusalem to promote cordial relations between the various communities, Mahomedans, Jews and Christians inhabiting that city. The address will be given in the hall of the Chanda Ramji Hindu Girls High School at Gurgaon Back Road, on Wednesday, the 7th instant at 6 p.m. The address will be followed by an informal conversation as to whether any similar movement is necessary and desirable in this city. About 250 ladies and gentlemen attended. Mr.

M. B. Jayakar was called to the chair. After Professor Geddes' lecture, Messrs Natarajan, G. K. Devdhar, H. P. Mody, Pantembakar, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Professor Hamley, Mr. Hussainbhoy A. Lalji, Mr. Burjor'i Bharucha, and Mr. Abbas Tyebji offered a few observations. The following provisional Committee was appointed to further explore the subject. Professor Patrick Geddes, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Jayakar, Professor Hamley, Messrs. H. P. Mody, G. K. Devdhar, B. F. Bharucha, Hussainbhoy A. Laljee, C. T. Wheeler, Kanji Dwarakadas, and Shankarlal Banker, with Mr. K. Natarajan as temporary Secretary. The meeting lasted for over two hours and was characterised by much cordiality and good feeling.

INDIA AND THE MULTIPLICITY OF HER LANGUAGES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In my last letter to you on this subject (dated the 15th ultimo.) I drew the parallel between India's case and that of each of the Western nations of Belgium and Switzerland from the linguistic standpoint. I pointed out how in patriotic "un-artyled" Belgium, there is to be found no such language as Belgian, neither is there Swiss in all Switzerland, any more than there is in India a language called Indian. I also referred to a regular 'batt'le of the languages' in the first named country that took place recently as described in the *Modern Review* for April last, p. 524, as also for Jan. p. 46.

In bringing these parallels to your notice I made a mistake in not mentioning the case of the United Kingdom of Great Britain (and Ireland?) itself first of all. While most of us are inclined to regard the English language as the sole 'vernacular' of the whole of this 'nation,' so much so that some even have been led (thoughtlessly enough) into using *England* as a synonym for the 'nation' called the United Kingdom in its entirety,* the truth as regards this 'nation' is this:—No less than four *literary* vernaculars (*i.e.* languages, not dialectical varieties) obtain in these Isles, besides English which if it prevails in all the other non-English linguistic areas as an official language etc, does so because it is the home-tongue of the "Predominant Partner" in the Kingdom (*viz.* England). Excluding the Lowland Scots (which though with an independent and high literary development is linguistically speaking only a dialect of standard English) and leaving Cornish (a Gaelic dialect not long since dead through the encroachments of English) the four vernaculars in the British Isles are: Welsh in Wales, Gaelic in the Highlands of Scotland, Manx in the Isle of Man and Irish in Ireland. To remove a possible objection I may say further that all these vernaculars obtaining in the British Isles are as much differentiated from each other on the one hand and from English on the other as are all the Romance languages from each other on the one hand and from the Teutonic English on the other. Or let us say English and these four tongues (which are all Celtic) are in the British Isles pretty much what Hindustani and the Dravidian group in India are to each other. In fine, *there is*

* You might recall the bitter controversy that raged in the early years of the War, being evoked by some luckless writer in England entitling his production 'the contribution of England to the European War' or something like that—wherein by 'England' was palpably meant the whole of U. K. I remember it was the 'Spectator' which then wound up the controversy in this, its typical John Bull fashion: 'Inasmuch as English is the prevailing language all over the Isles, why not let England do duty for the stricter geographical term of the British Isles by way of a homely, affectionate name for the same?'

no such language as British in Britain any more than there is Indian in India. Only the speech and literature of the Predominant Partner (*viz.* England) in the United Kingdom of Great Britain (and Ireland?) has prevailed and may continue to prevail in all the British Isles.

Next there is the case of Austria-Hungary. This was never a nation strictly speaking. It has been a 'Dual Monarchy'—Austria and Hungary being separate autonomous states with a common monarchical head, but no federal legislature as in Switzerland. Austria is by race and language German; Hungary proper has its own tongue, Magyar of non-Aryan (Turanian) origin, and a batch of other minor vernaculars—both literary and other—share the rest of the territory under the Austro-Hungarian monarch.

Then we come to South Africa. The Boers' language of mixed Dutch origin—called Cape Dutch, Afrikaans, or the Taal—is living a life of continual struggle with the imperial English. In spite of their exclusive nationality the Boers' tongue is invaded and is being improved almost out of existence by the usurping English. Still the South African Union government is principally one of two nations—the Dutch Boers and the English British. In what language are its proceedings conducted and records kept?

Karwar,
Dec. 6,

Yours etc,
S. D. N.

ADVERTISEMENTS

NOTIFICATION.

The public are hereby notified that under the provisions of Section 45 of the Bombay City Police Act IV of 1902 all claims for compensation for loss, damage death or grievous hurt caused during recent disorders in Bombay should be made before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, within one month of the date of the loss, damage, death or grievous hurt in respect of which compensation is claimed.

Dated this 29th day of November 1921.

CHUNILAL E. SETALWAD,

Ag: Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay.

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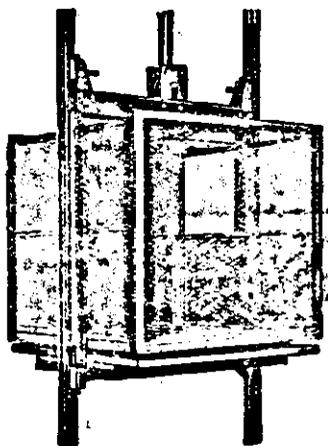
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Vol. XXXII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1921. No. 16

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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—:—

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NOTES.

—:—

Mahatma Gandhi on Mr. Jayakar's Address: Commenting on Mr. Jayakar's striking addresses at recent political conferences, Mahatma Gandhi observes that there is no reason whatsoever why the nationalists may not practise as lawyers or send children to Government schools or seek election in Councils, and still belong to the Congress. There is at least one good reason that we know of, and that is that such men have been, and may hereafter be, held up to obloquy as traitors. Only those who are either far above or much below ordinary human sensibility, will care to remain members of a body with the professions, if not the practices, of the bulk of whose members, they are in such sharp disagreement. The Mahatma adds that he would welcome an efficient and able organisation who believe in using Government institutions. Using to what end? The Congress has declared that its object is to paralyse the administration. Obviously, only those who believe in using Government institutions for the purpose of paralysing Government can remain within the Congress. Those who would use them to promote measures of national benefit, will by so doing be strengthening not paralysing Government, and they cannot feel at home in a body whose set purpose is to discredit the administration. We are inclined to agree, however, that an effective and able party to use Government institutions to advance the national cause, is a desideratum. As a pledge of its absolute disinterestedness, this new party may pass a self-denying ordinance that its members will not accept any salaried positions or titular distinctions from Government, though they will and must enter the Legislative, Municipal and other State-appointed institutions and committees, and do honestly all they can to make them yield their maximum benefit to the country. Those who are already in possession of titles, and who may like to join the party, should be free to keep them. There may be as much snobbery in ostentatiously renouncing titles as in sedulously seeking for them. The Mahatma writes of the majority of the Congress. He knows as well as we do that this is but a conventional phrase for what is an echo of himself. It is largely in the hands of the Mahatma to give a new

and more fruitful direction to the majority of the Congress, and we appeal to him to use his present God-given opportunity to unite all men of goodwill in the cause of the country.

Mischief-Making: Some wicked persons have been spreading wild rumours as to expected happenings in Bombay on the 23rd and 24th December, and several sensible persons seem to have been taken in by these. We have made careful enquiries from various sources and have met with the unanimous reply that the rumours are utterly groundless. To allay the apprehensions of nervous persons, prominent leaders might issue notices condemning the dissemination of false and wicked rumours. Mrs. Naidu, as President of the Provincial Congress Committee and Swarajya Sabha, has issued an impressive appeal calling upon all citizens to maintain perfect peace. To the forceful arguments of her appeal, we may add one which ought to be appreciated by all fair-minded people. Almost alone among the Governments in India, the Government of Bombay have shown themselves capable of maintaining a level policy based on an adequate appreciation of their complex duties to the public, and it will be sheer folly to reward their sober statesmanship with stupid and purposeless exhibitions of a disordered temper. Every citizen has been put upon his honour by the attitude of the Bombay Government to countenance nothing that will embarrass them in the discharge of their responsibility to maintain the King's peace, and we have every confidence that every citizen of Bombay will act up to the high obligation which that involves. The Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay last week is, making allowance, of course, for the official point of view, a very fair and impartial statement of the causes, the course and the lessons of the recent Bombay riots. Perhaps, it is not as careful as it might have been to avoid conveying the impression that all Hindus and Mahomedans were rioters or even Non-Co operators. We fully agree with the Government's just observation that there is no evidence to show that riot, arson and bloodshed formed any part of a premeditated design. Bombay merely lost her head for a couple of days and when she woke to her sober senses, she felt heartily ashamed of it all.

Lord Sinha's Resignation: There has been on all sides the deepest sympathy felt with Lord Sinha for his ill-health which has led to his resignation. We do not know the nature of his ailment, but we have a general idea that the conflicting claims of the public positions he held and of his innate disposition to seek the goodwill of his own people, has had a most deleterious effect on his health. Public life was virtually thrust upon him, and what to the outward world seemed additional honours and dignities became really a burden under which he broke down. The passion for and the long training of public service which was Dadabhai Naoroji's, Sir Pheroze-

shah's, Mr. Gokhale's, and which sustained them in their disappointments and trials, was not his. He was not born to ride the storm. His desire to resign the Law Membership when the Press Act was introduced, was the expression of his own pacific instinct, and with the greatest goodwill in the world, Mr. Gokhale did him a serious disservice when he dissuaded him from taking his own line. We earnestly hope and trust that in his retirement far from the madding game of public life, he will completely regain his health and strength, and become in course of time a Nestor of our public life to whom men of all parties can turn for wise and weighty advice in public matters. That is the part for which he is best fitted, and we wish him many years of happy life to fill it worthily.

The Irish Settlement: The first glowing news of the Irish settlement was a little dashed by the later tidings that some influential Sinn Feiners, including the President Mr. D. Valera, had repudiated it. The trend of still later information is that it has caused a serious split in the Sinn Fein party and that the large majority of it is inclined to support its acceptance. If this is true, the Sinn Fein extremists will have to carry on against a Government composed of their own people, the sort of warfare which they have been waging against British rule. It is to be hoped that the extremists will see the wisdom of giving in to what seems to be a majority favourable to the settlement, and thus bring a black chapter in political history to an auspicious and happy end. A special Session of Parliament to ratify the agreement opened on Wednesday, and simultaneously the Sinn Fein Parliament is also in session. The plight of Ulster is indicated by the absence, noted by Reuter, of Lord Carson from the crowded opening ceremony by the King in the House of Lords.

Railway Finance Committee: A Calcutta telegram states that the Committee on Railway Finance which met at Calcutta last week were unanimous in their conclusions. They recommend that there should be no separation of railway from general finance but, in view of the serious condition of the railways, recommend a capital expenditure of thirty crores annually for the next five years on the rehabilitation of the existing lines with no lapses. This will necessitate supplementing the rupee borrowing by loans in foreign markets on the easiest possible terms. This is a sort of compromise between the unanimous recommendation of the Acworth Committee in favour of a separate Railway budget and the present system when Railway finance is entirely dependent on the exigencies of general finance. Under the existing circumstances, this is perhaps the best recommendation that could have been made. The Acworth Committee's recommendations, however, should be taken as a whole, and if they are so taken, the separation of the railway from the general finance may not be open to the objections to which it may be open at present. Whether we take the majority view in favour of State ownership and management or the minority view of a controlled company management, it makes a vast difference in the general position of railways in the economy of administration, and we take it that the question of a separate railway budget will be reconsidered when the main issue comes to be settled. Following closely on the recommendation, the Secretary of State has issued another loan of 10 millions sterling, at 5½ per cent, which is also open for subscription in India. We trust that there is no condition attaching to this loan as to the last, namely that the whole amount of the loan is to be spent in England.

The British Medical Council's Retreat: A Delhi telegram states that the British Medical Council have,

in view of the representations of the Secretary of State and the Government of India, agreed to postpone consideration of their threat to withhold the recognition of Indian Medical degrees unless midwifery training in Indian Universities had been screwed up to the impossible standard insisted upon by the Council. The standard was demanded without a knowledge of the present state of midwifery teaching in our Universities, which is considerably ahead of anything in England, and in utter ignorance of Indian social life; and we are glad that the Council proposes to undertake a fuller investigation of the conditions of midwifery training in India. Such investigation should have preceded the ultimatum.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola's Successor: The following paragraph was left out in our last issue for want of space. It is printed as it stood:—We are not sure that, if it be the case that the second Indian membership of the Bombay Executive Council is to remain unfilled during Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola's deputation as chairman of the Fiscal Committee, the arrangement is one which should be regarded as altogether satisfactory. The saving will be Rs. 30,000, as the acting Member draws only one-half of the pay of the permanent incumbent. As against this economy, there will be one member less in the part of Government dealing with subjects not under the control of the Legislative Council, which in our opinion is a distinct weakness to it. The trend of Indian evidence so far tendered before the Fiscal Committee makes it seem probable that it will be able to finish its labours within the stipulated six months, but it is the principle that we are concerned about; and, moreover, this is a time when we can ill afford to have Government weakened in its Indian composition. Since the above was in type, it has been announced that Mr. Cowasji Jehangir has been appointed to act in the place of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola. We nevertheless keep our comments as a useful hint against a course of action such as was said to have been contemplated in this case. The new appointment is in every way an excellent one, Mr. Cowasji Jehangir's experience of business and civic matters being exceptional. He is, besides, a gentleman of independent judgment and wide outlook. The accident of his belonging to the Parsi community adds to the general excellence of his selection.

Inhumanity to Indians: The following telegram from the Durban Correspondent of the *Times of India* needs no comment. The Public Health Department in its report for the week ended November 12 says:—"The S. S. Hugh from Trinidad for Calcutta with 1,068 returning Indian immigrants, reached Durban on November 7, having previously reported by wireless an epidemic of influenza of a virulent type on board. There had been 113 cases with 13 deaths. The last case occurred on October 29. The vessel was placed in quarantine, and suitably dealt with. Seven Indians were still sick and 93 convalescent, and it was unnecessary to land any of the sick. Coal and water were supplied under special precautions, and the vessel continued her voyage on November 8." We should like to know how many of the Indians landed in India and in what state of health.

The Indian Social Conference: According to an Associated Press message, the Indian National Social Conference has been fixed to be held on the 26th December at the Premabhoj Hall, Ahmedabad, under the presidency of Mr. K. Natarajan. Dr. Kanuga of Ahmedabad is chairman of the Reception Committee, Mrs. Naidu, Mrs. Sarladevi Choudhrani, Mrs. Sarada Mehta and Mrs. Vidyagavri Ramanbhoj will attend the Conference and will address the audience.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 18 1921.

THE NEW POLICY AND THE WAY OUT.

Writing on the Viceroy's reply to the address presented by the Punjab Chamber of Commerce two weeks ago, we doubted if His Excellency's words necessarily implied that there was to be a change of policy. In the face of the numerous arrests of the last few days, there can no longer be any doubt about the change, though His Excellency maintains that there is none and that the large number of arrests is but a continuation of the policy followed during the last eight months. The new policy has been described as one to protect peaceful citizens from intimidation and molestation in the pursuit of their avocations. There must be some such because the Viceroy has said it, but it is only fair to note what such a discriminate critic of the Non-Co-operation movement as the *Modern Review* of Calcutta, has to say on this point. Our contemporary writing of the complete *hartal* in Calcutta on the 17th instant, observes :

A theory has been started that all this was due entirely or chiefly to intimidation. This is sheer nonsense. Some people may have closed their shops or stayed at home for fear of molestation, but it is not true that the more than a million inhabitants of Calcutta were intimidated by the non-co-operators. But if the theory of intimidation be true, the non-co-operators must be admitted to be a greater terror than the police, the army, the guns and the air-fleet of Government. It is true, non-co-operating volunteers regulated and stopped traffic according to their will in the streets—by intimidation if you like; but why could not the police re-start traffic by counter-intimidation of the volunteers? We speak of counter-intimidation, because after the *hartal*, non-official volunteering has been declared unlawful, and parties of policemen, etc., have been making a display of strength by parading the streets.

Lord Reading himself seems since to have come to doubt the intimidation theory, because in his latest speech on the subject, addressed to the Bengal Mahajan Sabha on Wednesday, His Excellency more than once spoke of reports and representations made to him.

It is curious that the strongest condemnation of the new policy comes from those most opposed to Non-co-operation. We do not suppose that *Justice*, the non-Brahmin ministerial organ of Madras, can by any stretch of imagination be said to be afraid of Non-Co-operation intimidation, and yet what does our contemporary think of the policy of arrests and prosecutions? Our contemporary says that its disapproval of the present campaign of wholesale prosecutions is not due to any weakening of faith on its part in the supreme necessity for preserving law and order in the country; nor is it because of any belief that the Government, in proceeding against the non-co-operators, are in any way abusing or transgressing the powers vested in them by the laws of the land. On the contrary, it is strongly convinced that an atmosphere of lawlessness and unrest is prejudicial and it looks to the Govern-

ment to take all such steps as are necessary for the assured maintenance of law and order. It also concedes that from a purely legal point of view most of the arrests that have been made can also be easily justified.

But these facts should not, however, have blinded the Government to the question of expediency. On the other hand the authorities, we think, should have clearly discussed the question as to what a strict interpretation of the letter of the law and its rigid application would lead them to in the present case; in other words, they should have weighed well beforehand the advantages and disadvantages of the course which they were about to pursue and thus judged for themselves about its expediency or otherwise. It is apparent that this judicious precaution was not taken; and hence it is that we have to witness to-day a phenomenon of increased restlessness all round as a result of these ill-designed arrests. Far from improving matters, frankly speaking, these arrests and convictions have only added to the complexities of the present political situation. Instead of feeling dispirited and discouraged the non-co-operators and their sympathisers only seem to be enheartened and elated by the action of the Government against leaders. It may be a misguided spirit that animates them now, but all the same the fact should be acknowledged that there has now born among a good many of them a stern determination to flout the authority of the Government at any cost.

The *Indian Messenger*, the weekly English organ of the Sadaran Brahma Samaj of Calcutta, is another journal whose opinion may be quoted. It writes :

Just as we are against coercion and intimidation on the part of the mob so also we are against reckless repression which the Government has been resorting to of late, and in the latest development of which the Government has overdone itself. We have in our previous issues expressed our disapproval of it and in support of our statement we quoted a paragraph from the "Servant of India." We believe with our contemporary that the Government is only "adding fuel to the dying fire" in its attempt to suppress the non-co-operation movement. In fact the N. C. O. movement in Bengal was of late firing very ill and Mr. C. R. Das was feeling his position a bit shaky. His call for volunteers went unheeded. But the latest exploit of Government has given it a long lease of life.

We had ourselves more than once pointed out that Non-Co-operation was having its mind turned inward by its recent failures. His Excellency extolled the virtue of patience in politics. A couple of months more of patience on the part of Governments would have brought about a situation which the present arrests cannot and will not bring.

The protests of the Liberal organs are even more emphatic than those of the non-party press. The *Liberal* from Allahabad, the *Servant of India* from Poona, the *Citizen* from Madras, have condemned in uncompromising terms the wholesale arrests and imprisonments of the last few days. The Bengal Minister, Mr. Mitter, made a flamboyant speech some days ago pledging the support of the Bengal Liberals to any strong measures that Government may undertake to put down Non-Co-operation. His action has been repudiated by Sir Surendranath Banerjee's indirect repudiation of the new policy, and the open protest of leading Bengal Liberals headed by the eminent scientist Sir P. C. Ray, who

after deploring the initiation of a repressive policy synchronous with the visit of the Prince of Wales, say coercion is no remedy for political unrest and a repressive policy will defeat itself in the long run and lead to serious results. A peaceful solution of the problem ought not to be beyond the reach of statesmanship. Unless the Government desists from the policy of coercion and makes an earnest effort to find a real remedy for meeting the present crisis, disastrous consequences are sure to follow.

Who supports the present policy? Mr. Jinnah, who had an interview with the Viceroy last month, and who has stood aloof from the Congress since it embraced Non-Co-operation, in a published statement, has condemned in emphatic language the new policy as aggravating a serious situation. At the moment, things seem to have come to a dangerous deadlock, but we trust a way will still be found to ease the situation. A round table conference of men of different shades of opinion, has been influentially suggested. It may be tried. The Irish precedent encourages the hope that out of the present difficult situation, such a Conference may be the means of finding a way of escape. Mahatma Gandhi, of course, is as a consequence of the arrests of the last few days in a much stronger position than ever he occupied before, and a very much stronger one than what he occupied just after the Bombay outbreak. There are one or two sentences in the Viceroy's last speech, which show that the idea has occurred to His Excellency also. By the way, the burden of Lord Reading's speeches of late is that Government regret these arrests which have been forced upon them. In other words, the initiative is no longer with Government, but with those who force these arrests. These men are able to choose their own battle-ground and to compel Government to action, whether they will or no, upon that ground. We venture to think that this is not a very satisfactory position for Government and the sooner something is done to give it back its lost initiative, the better will it be for it. The only way in which this can be done, is for it to take at once the initiative in the way of peace.

LIGHT FOR LIFE *

Moral education is one of the much-discussed problems of education. The trend of informed opinion is against didacticism. As an illustration of the futility of direct moral instruction, it has been stated that the boy who carried off the highest prizes for proficiency in this department, in a French school turned out to be a very bad type of citizen. The method which yields the best results is the method of influence. A deep thinker advises: "Put everything you wish the child to imbibe into its environment." Another goes so far as to say: "Character is nine-tenths environment." The earliest and closest environment of a child is its home. Among the solid achievements of Freudian psychology is the knowledge that, as children, we take in unconscious impressions of the world around us which affect our whole bent

of mind. Next to the home comes the school. In the school what is learnt in the class room is not the only things of importance. The more important, because they strike root deeper are the habits and impressions which we acquire from our surroundings. One of the most important features of the school environment is, or ought to be, books. A young man or woman will derive more benefit from a library filled with the widest variety and choice of books to suit every temperament, than from many hours in the lecture room. The habit of reading is in itself a most precious acquisition, as it makes one independent of company for conversation and entertainment. Of those who have acquired this habit in early life, it can be truly said that they are never less alone than when alone. It is sometimes said that the library method unless directed by a competent guide leads to desultory reading. What is called "desultory reading" is often but the effort of the young mind to discover its own particular need by trying many doors. Many of us even in middle age feel a need for certain kinds of reading at one time and for certain other kinds at another. The young do this naturally to a greater extent. Besides, the synthesizing power in our minds organises into a connected whole, knowledge gained from outwardly widely different spheres. Edmund Burke's profound political philosophy was drawn from his wide and varied reading which he himself described as desultory.

Speaking of books, what kind of books is it that most helps moral education? Here, again, the same principle applies. Moral text-books share the fate proverbially attached to copy-book maxims. Those who learn morality from them may write or speak finely on the subject, but are not necessarily better able to face an actual moral crisis than those who do not read them. The kind of book which best inculcates moral truths and makes them part and parcel of the sub-conscious mind of youth, is that which, by placing a high and attractive ideal before us, creates in us a repulsion for lower aims. "We needs must love the highest when we see it," and the book which presents the highest ideals from different points of view and as illustrated in different contexts and characters, is likely to do the most good. The contemplation of the higher ideal creates an emotion which supplants the emotion that drives the mind to, lower things—"the explosive power of a new affection," as it has been called. Then, again, the example of great character in exceptional situations is of less practical effect than the example of noble aims unflinchingly pursued amid the discouragements of every-day life. The old saw that "trifles make the sum of human perfection" is simply the principle that is now a commonplace of ethics as of mathematics—the importance of the infinitesimal. Many books dealing with morality have been published, of more or less merit. But among the half a dozen really good books on the subject, especially those written for Indian youth, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's "Light for Life" certainly takes high rank. The book is in two parts, written in the straight, simple style of the

* By Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in two parts. Messrs. Macmillan and Co. Bombay and London.

author. Sir Narayan has all his life been a student in intimate sympathy with younger students. For years the Sunday morning classes of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood was his most cherished weekly engagement. He knows the Indian student thoroughly, his strong as well as his weak points. He has thus been able to adapt his studies in this book to both. The selection and arrangement of the headings, in the different chapters of the work, is itself a proof of this supreme competence. The care of the body is a duty which Indians, young and old, are apt to overlook, and the special section which Sir Narayan has devoted to investigating it in all its aspects, is rightly given the first place in the work. But the headings to which we would point as particularly evidencing Sir Narayan's deep insight into Indian character, are "Power to Decide and Act," "Thought ending in Act" and the subsequent chapters, and also that on Conviction. The Indian, more especially the Hindu, is often afflicted with Hamlet's mental vice of indecision. The duty of conclusiveness is not one which he imbibes from his home or school environment. One of the most intellectual of our public men recently pointed to this quality as that of a mind open to light from all sides. Quite as often, it is but a sign of desire to shirk action. In the life of the average man, the occasions are few which present a clear-cut issue between the indubitably right and the certainly wrong. The choice most often is between the more right and the less right, and ninety times out of ten, it is by no means easy to say which is the one and which, the other. When one has done his best to study a question, the moment comes when his duty is to shut his mind down upon it, and to act, leaving others, to supply wherein he may fail of the fullness of truth. We venture to commend these sections with especial emphasis to Indian readers of Sir Narayan's work.

Sir Narayan dedicates the book with exquisite appropriateness to the memory of "Nachiketa, the model youth of India described in the Upanishads." The choice of this illustrious figure from our ancient classics, for the dedication has an especial significance at this time which Sir Narayan, perhaps, had in view. For Nachiketa was not only the complete model of Indian youth but was also the first and greatest Indian *Satyagrahi*. His story as told in the *Kathopanishad*, throws a fascinating light on the passionate love of truth, which knew no limit and no fear, of India's classic figures. Vajasrava, the father of Nachiketas, desiring to obtain the rewards of complete self-sacrifice, made "a gift of all his wealth" to worthy men. But his son, Nachiketas, "young and not possessed of the power of procreating," saw that his father was not doing what he professed. In other words, he was trying to deceive God. Nachiketas noticed that his father, while professing to make a gift of all his wealth, really gave away what was useless or superfluous to him, reserving what was useful. "These cows have drunk water for the last time, eaten grass for the last time, have yielded all their milk and are devoid of vigour. Joyless verily are those worlds; there he attains who gives these."

Anxious to prevent his worldly-wise parent from falling into the heinous sin of hypocrisy, and, at the same time, not to give him offence or to humiliate him by putting the point directly, the lad, half jocosely, asked his father, "Father, to whom wilt thou give me?" Vajasrava understood the innuendo and replied in anger: "Unto Death do I give thee." A father's word is law, and to Death, Nachiketas promptly repairs. Death was not "at home," and Nachiketas had to wait for three days fasting at Death's abode. When Death returned, he apologises to Nachiketas for having kept a Brahman guest fasting for three days, and in atonement, begs him to ask for any three boons. The first boon which young Nachiketas asks, is to be allowed to go back to his father and that his father's anger against him might have passed away. This is granted. The second boon asked and granted has reference to an obsolete Vedic belief regarding different kinds of fire for oblations. The third boon asked by Nachiketas staggers Death. "What becomes of a man after death?" Death begs Nachiketas not to press the question, offering him enjoyments, wealth, longevity, empire. But the youth rejects them all with scorn. "Ephemeral these! Oh Death, these tend to the decay of the vigour of all the senses in man. Even the longest life is, indeed, short. O Death, tell us that in which men have this doubt, and which is about the great Hereafter." Death tries several means to put off his pertinacious questioner, but at last, Nachiketas' doggedness wins him to admiration. Death the Teacher overwhelms Death the Terrorist. He gives Nachiketas the information sought for and with the affection of every true Teacher for a worthy pupil, Death gratefully exclaims at parting: "Oh, thou art fixed in truth. May we find, O Nachiketas, a questioner like thee!" Sir Narayan in his dedication has propounded a parable of absorbing interest at the present moment.

A CALL FOR PEACE.

(BY A PARSİ PUBLICIST.)

That there is real desire for adopting a new line of action is increasingly becoming clear on the side of even the advanced nationalist party in India, and a plea, therefore, for a new angle of vision may not be out of place. A consistent policy of repression invariably results in a cry for "Halt!" or "Disarm." War is not the natural dictum for humanity. Peace is the goal of life. Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi his agitation on behalf of Non-co-operation has succeeded in rousing the people to a new life of political activity unprecedented in the annals of India. One last year of continued political ferment has surpassed a score and a half years of political uplift under the old Indian National Congress. Thanks to the British Government in India as well for the very patient and subdued manner in which it has allowed the birth of a new India to be nursed unhurt. But now both have reached a stage where the one in the extremity of zeal and the other in that of patience are panting for a hand-to-hand encounter. The heads of the Non-co-operation party flung challenge after challenge and now the

Government is taking them up one after another. But England has just emerged from a world war and must feel the burden, financial and other, of undertaking new quarrels anywhere in the world, much less within its own Empire. Again, the nerve of the popular party is bound to be exhausted under the iron strength of a strong and well-established Government with an unbending military and naval force at its back and the world's commerce in its palm. We have our doubts if that mighty Government which brought Germany to its knees could be brought to its knees by patriot martyrs allowing themselves to be arrested with a view to hastening Swaraj. However that may be, India is just at present passing through a most critical period of its political existence; and it would be best were Government, as a parent institution with parental generosity, to stretch its hand of fellowship and sympathy towards just and legitimate popular aspirations.

We really felt that in the suggestion for Government opening up overtures for peace lay the real germ of a healthy mutual understanding so much desired to be soon established in our midst. At present political progress appears to be at a deadlock and as time advances it will be more so to the detriment of the popular party, for established as it is on Indian soil to pull down the bulwark of British suzerainty in India in a short time means nothing less than Himalayan effort, and the people are not politically so prepared as to put it forth. In no political deadlocks has history marked out political salvation for the people. Moreover, the British constitution which is more or less like a self-propelling machine is always on the go. Stoppage means death for it, which is not to be. But while Government should be desiring for peace, the leaders of the popular party should be in a mood to receive the good wishes of the Government with mutual feelings of confidence and trust. As, for instance, Mr. Das was called in prior to his arrest by Lord Ronaldsday and Mr. Gandhi long ago by the Viceroy. But neither Mr. Gandhi nor Mr. Das could find himself even in such an agreement with Government that a change in the former's political views was impossible and arrest in the latter's case was the only desperate measure left. A country where the people have not learnt for themselves the lessons of compromise can rarely be left to themselves in the days of Swaraj.

Therefore, first of all, both the parties must concede a little ground so as to open up a possibility to be amenable. It is not in the spiritual nature of the people of this country to eternally look upon the English as a race of Satans; and non-co-operation will rapidly dwindle into mere fulmination of forwardness or political inanity when Government open their arms to receive the people in good trust. But it is impossible to meet on a common ground unless the whole of the non-co-operation programme is carefully revised in an early conference of the non-co-operators. Before such a well-laid scheme as that of Mahatma Gandhi fails in its ultimate object, such a revision should be considered as compatible both with the spirit of the times and the necessity of the present

junction. We do not suggest for a moment that there should be radical alterations—no—for the movement has renovated India beyond all possibilities of doubt and we would not like its cessation; but as is the case with every movement, however good it may be, it has its weak spokes in the wheel and we desire them to be strengthened. We do not desire that India's opportunity, now that it has come, should be neglected; but we are afraid it might be lost with the present paraphernalia of hastings attached to it.

A SCHEME FOR COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

(By THE HONOURABLE MR. G. M. BHURGRI.)

IV

SHOULD COMPULSORY EDUCATION BE FREE?

I have always held that education to be compulsory should also be free. In fact both my study and intuition confirm me in the conclusion that the former is incompatible without the latter, both in principle and practice. I think enlightened opinion on this point is quite definite. Apart from the practical difficulties involved in the actual assessment of the property or the earnings of each family, I consider it wrong in principle that parents should be compelled to send their children to school under a penalty and also to pay the school fees. Whereas it is one of the most fundamental duties of every enlightened State to look after the proper provision for the education of all the children in the State which are of age for receiving it. Moreover, national instinct against 'paid instruction' in India is as old as Hinduism itself. And this tradition as Dr. John Mathai tells us in his "Village Government in British India" has been kept up by the Mahomedan rulers also. The Hindu *Pathshalas* and the Mahomedan *Maktabas* and *Mulla* schools are a living example. "The tradition of gratuitous instruction", says Dr. Mathai "is still so strong in the country that the payment of fees in a village school is regarded with somewhat unconcealed prejudice."

In the Western countries, compulsory education has been successful and its results definitely satisfactory where and when it has been free. With a result that we find today that wherever education is compulsory it is also free. Thus in Great Britain and Ireland, France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Hungary, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the United States of America, Canada, Australia, South Africa, Japan and of lately Phillipine and Russia, education is both compulsory and free. In Spain, Portugal, Greece, Bulgaria, Servia and Rumania it was partially compulsory before the War, but free. In Turkey too, it was free though nominally compulsory.

There can be only one objection against compulsory education being made free and that would be on the ground of expenditure and limited avenues of the resources of the local bodies and the Government. A glance at the figures of receipts and expenditure will however soon disillusion us. In paragraph 190 of the

Quinquennium Report of 1912-17 occurs the following table :—

	Amounts contributed in		Percentage in total expenditure in	
	1911-12	1916-17	1911-12	1916-17
Public Funds ...	83,75,550	44,41,928	81.2	82.7
Fees ...	3,74,858	4,31,637	9.0	8.0
Other Private Funds.	4,04,633	4,97,676	9.8	9.8
Total ...	41,55,041	53,71,241	100.0	100.0

The above table shows how small a fraction of the total expenditure is covered up by fees. The report referred to makes a pointed reference to this fact. Surely no one after digesting these figures would persist in the arguments against compulsory education being made free on the score of expenditure and limited resources.

FREE SUPPLY OF BOOKS, SLATES ETC.

I am further of opinion that as far as possible books, slates and other necessary materials should be provided free. I have not gone in the details of this item as to how much cost it is likely to involve if they were supplied free to all so as to venture a definite opinion one way or the other. I am however inclined to think that if they were supplied free to all, it would be a pretty heavy additional item of expenditure. However, extending the principle on which my answer to the question No. 7 is based, I would suggest that books, slates and other materials should as far as possible be given to those who need them and apply to the Local Authorities in charge of the schools concerned for the same through their parents or guardians. The former can determine a set of rules for the purpose and also devise ways and means by inspection and otherwise of encouraging a habit of preserving the materials supplied with as much care and neatness as possible.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent).

London, November 24, 1921

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

The Washington Conference will rank among the immortal enterprises of the human race. If all its hopes materialised it would almost seem as if the long looked for Millennium had at last come. So much is being crammed into its sittings, and the issues raised are so big that while one prays with all one's heart for its success, one rather gasps and wonders if the world is sufficiently advanced to be able to carry out the proposals made. That a real earnest desire is being shown by the big Powers there represented for limitation of the implements of war is absolutely evident. The "naval holiday," as it has been called, is already a fact in Great Britain. It was officially stated at the Admiralty last Friday that letters had been despatched to the firms engaged in the construction of the four new war vessels, that they were not to incur any further liabilities on new construction until they had received further instructions from the Admiralty. Of course, the mere stopping of building super-dreadnoughts means at the present time very little in reality. The recent terrible war showed so

many horrible forms of destruction, the submarine and aircraft war vessels for instance, that the battleship, however mighty, seemed almost kind by comparison with the death dealing agencies that sprang into activity and yet were kept hidden out of sight. Neither is the limitation of the navies of the big Powers a novel proposal. It was proposed some years ago by the late Tzar, and was later suggested before the Second Hague Conference, but it was then, as pointed out by Mr. Hughes, that the ex-Emperor William threatened to refuse to send his delegates if disarmament were to be discussed. However, the Washington Conference has set out to do more than a merely spectacular thing. It aims at bringing into concord the various differing peoples, and building a world-federation. That the big Powers must lead the way in any action to be taken is quite understood; and it is but right that the first proposal made should directly affect the three great naval Powers of to-day, Britain, America, and Japan.

But while Great Britain gives her absolute support to the naval limitation, and shows her sincerity by immediate action, it must not be forgotten that her position is totally different from that of America or Japan. The very life of Britain within these islands depends on having the seas kept open for her, whereas both America and Japan can be practically self-sufficient in an emergency, and another most important consideration is the fact that Great Britain's possessions are scattered all over the world, and she depends upon the seas for contact. The sea is her high road from one capital to another. So that unless the Washington Conference and the work of the next few years can teach the fundamental truth that the world to-day is inter-dependent, the position of Britain might be terribly weakened. During the next ten years, the other rather formidable naval Powers of yesterday, who are not parties to the present proposals, Germany and Russia, for instance, may grow and thus upset all the present calculations of the peace parties.

PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYED.

The effect of the limitation of war-vessel building will be felt in the swell of the numbers of unemployed. It was estimated that about 30,000 men would be employed during the next six months. On the other hand, there seems a decided feeling that the economy such limitation will bring about, will do a great deal in enabling money, brain, and energy to be put into peace constructive work. Already a greater feeling of hope seems to be felt, and a slight revival of trade has been shown. It is stated by some employers that the workers are recovering tone, that the slackness and inertia are breaking up, and a better output in work is the result, which means a lessening in the cost of production. Exports have grown and notwithstanding falling prices have increased in sterling value, October's figures being the highest given for 6 months. Unfortunately, our coal trouble continues to worry us. Perhaps owing to the mismanagement on the parts of the miners' leaders themselves and the mine-owners during the last 18 months, the coal trade has not recovered, as it

was hoped it would do. Now the big cuts in miners' wages have come into force, the earning of the miner has decreased in, to him, an alarming degree, the present working hours in some of the mines being not more than two shifts a week. It seems that those miners engaged in the export trade are suffering most. A deputation waited upon the Prime Minister the other day to seek his help, asking that the unexpended balance of the subvention, amounting to about £3,000,000 which would have to be raised as it is not money in the Treasury, should be utilised to supplement the low-wages prevailing. Further, the deputation requested the help of the Government to adopt such means as would place the coal industry on a more secure footing. The Prime Minister in his reply said the case had been fully considered by the Cabinet, and they had come to the conclusion that it was not possible to agree to the suggestions made, for it was useless to add further to the national indebtedness.

Many men and women are very willing to accept local and parochial offices in England and yet very few of them know anything about the common law that governs their local expenditure, and therefore many people who read the Prime Minister's interesting reply to the Town Clerk of Deptford last week must have been rather surprised. The Town Clerk had asked for grants in aid of relief works, and the reply he received told him that the relief of destitution in England is a local charge by law, and that this is one of the cardinal points of local government. The whole system of local government would break down if people who were responsible for local expenditure are not also responsible for raising and spending the necessary money. It was also pointed out that relief works in any district are of such a character as to benefit the locality in which such work is undertaken, and that it would be unfair to place the charge for local improvements upon the general taxpayer.

ANTI-INDIAN AGITATION IN KENYA.

It looks as if there is to be a renewal of tension in Kenya, where it had been hoped that the European and Indian communities were coming closer together. The Indians had put forward a moderate programme, upon whose adoption by the Imperial Government they made the acceptance of the Governor's interim proposals to depend. It would now seem that the Europeans have unconditionally rejected the Indian programme and are sending here a deputation to insist upon the retention of the policy of racial inequality of differentiation. If Mr. Churchill succumbs to this pressure, he will certainly help to lay the British Empire in ruins, for India can only consent to remain within it upon the basis of equal citizenship for her settlers in the Overseas Empire. Mr. Churchill is credited, however, with being broader-minded and farther-sighted than his predecessor, Lord Milner, whose acceptable proposals for a settlement of the Egyptian independence question have just been rejected by Lord Curzon. These "soldier" statesmen do not seem to understand that the day is past, and that they can only remain as wreckers and not as constructive influences.

LADIES' DEPUTATION TO CALICUT.

The following statement was made by Miss K. Natarajan, on behalf of the Ladies' deputation from Bombay, at the Ladies' Meeting held at Calicut on the 7th instant:—

I crave the indulgence of a few minutes from the chairman of the meeting to make a statement. Mrs. Janakibai Bhatt, Lady Superintendent of the Poona Seva Sadan and myself have been requested by the Malabar Relief Committee, Bombay, to visit Malabar and study the conditions of the refugees here, as follows:—

1. To visit camps in Calicut, look into the existing arrangements for women and children, see whether there is scope for improvement and if any points suggest themselves and if they are, to practically discuss them with the local ladies and gentlemen.

2. Regarding the question of employment of women, find out what is the ordinary occupation of these women in their homes and see whether they cannot be made to do that in the camps by entrusting the inside management of the camps to the womenfolk there. See whether needle work, weaving, rope making etc. could be introduced in the camps as useful occupations.

3. Regarding pregnant women, women whose health is in a delicate state, and delicate children and babies generally, see whether the medical assistance and the sanitary conditions are satisfactory.

4. To visit the local hospital for women and children and ascertain if it is able to meet all the demands in Calicut adequately.

5. To suggest possible facilities for greater convenience of patients.

6. To find out if the presence of a Lady doctor and nurse in the camps will be conducive to more careful treatment.

7. Will it be satisfactory if these, if entertained, are asked to be constantly moving about from camp to camp?

8. Shall we advocate the addition of special lady workers to the existing staff in the relief Camps.

9. To report as regards arrangements for the employment of children by way of (1) schooling (2) domestic work (3) comforts, games and sports.

10. To visit, if possible, a few easily accessible permanent and temporary mofussil camps and see if adequate arrangements for medical and other relief for women and children is sufficiently provided.

On coming to Calicut Mrs. Madhava Rao joined us and we visited several ladies to obtain the necessary help and information in our work.

So far, the work of relief has been carried on excellently, solely by men workers and volunteers through two agencies. But we think, and I am sure you will agree with me when I say, their efficiency will be considerably increased if the women of Malabar also join them in their work of administering relief; this is more so, because the women and children refugees far outnumber the men. The peculiar needs of this section of the refugees and the means of best satisfying them, are naturally better understood by us, women, than by men workers.

We visited one or two camps in which there are women who are so self-respecting and were so comfortable in their homes as any of us, and who have been deprived of all their belonging and left destitute to seek help and relief at the hands of others. More than their own misery, it is the sufferings of their children that they cannot endure; their utter powerlessness to help them that break their mothers' hearts. Is it any wonder then that they look depressed and dejected and it is

but rarely that we come across a cheerful face among them? These people are well looked after as far as food and clothing are concerned. But this is not all. There are other needs such as medical relief etc, with regard to which much remains to be done. Women volunteers to work in the camps are very badly needed; for the women refugees feel shy to talk freely to men about their needs. More than all this, we need women visitors to visit the camps, to cheer up these refugees, to raise their drooping spirits and to bring light and sunshine in the places where they have made their temporary homes. There is much scope for women workers here in matters of medical relief, sanitation, suitable employment for women, and education and comforts for children, and we are confident if the ladies of Calicut interest themselves and devote their attention to these matters, things will be much improved.

We could also strengthen the hands of the existing relief agencies by ourselves collecting money and thus helping them to carry out all these objects.

After careful consideration, we have come to the conclusion that the women's work cannot be carried on altogether independently of the two existing organisations. This independence might really mean independence only in name and may not be conducive to good and effective work, for under existing conditions the scope of women workers will be very limited. Therefore, instead of adding to the already existing agencies of relief work and thereby multiplying the machinery of work, the ladies of Calicut can easily form themselves into an auxiliary organisation to the two existing agencies and render effective assistance in administering relief. To make my meaning still clearer, those of the ladies who wish to work through the Congress agency can do so, and those wishing to work through the Central Relief Committee, may direct their work through that Committee. For example, the ladies should collect money for either of the existing relief agencies, as they like, obtaining authorisation from their respective Committees. Thus, it will be seen that in this scheme of things there is hardly any need for a treasurer. We would, however, suggest that the monies thus paid to the treasurer of the Committees, had better be earmarked for purposes of relief to women and children. The ladies ought to form themselves into batches of visitors, visit the camp twice a week at least and find out the actual needs of the refugees. These needs will then have to be reported to the Executive committees with suggestions for meeting them.

Another fruitful field of work is that of finding out suitable employment for women refugees. This matter is very important and should engage our immediate attention. Those women who were accustomed to work in the fields have no means of occupation now and if they are allowed to drift in this manner they would soon become unfit for any serious work. Many of them are intelligent and we are sure will readily pick up any work taught them.

The urgency of the need for medical relief is only too well known. During our visits to the camps, we found that there are some women and children suffering from ill-health such as fever, dysentery etc. They are being attended to and looked after by the doctors who visit the camps. We feel more attention in this direction will go a long way to improve the health conditions of the refugees, especially children. Camp managers also feel as we do.

These are broadly speaking the lines on which we should work. Our object in meeting to-day is to put our heads together and to see in what way we can be of the utmost service to our less fortunate sisters. Some of us can help by contributing funds, some by actual service and others by

suggestions. Whatever may be the nature of the actual work undertaken by each of us, I am sure we all are bent on doing our bit and working in perfect harmony and co-operation in this purely humanitarian work.

WHAT PROPS UNTOUCHABILITY?

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

Much has been said and written condemning the inhumane, irreligious untouchability, it remains now to be examined what those people, whose mentality and prejudices are responsible for the lingering existence of untouchability, have to say on this matter. I believe some information from this important standpoint may be of interest to your readers. While working as a volunteer of D. C. M., I often met with some common place questions, the importance of which are as follows:

I. Q.—If the untouchables are educated and uplifted, who will do the dirty work?

Ans.—I must tell these friends who always put this question, that the number of the untouchables is so huge and the work of uplifting so difficult, that if all the reformers of the world were to consecrate their energies on the Untouchables of India, and if they were successful in their mission, a sufficient number would be left out for the work about which our friends are so anxious. The main question is not 'who will do the dirty work?' but 'how to uplift such a huge population, a population five times that of Canada, and greater than that of France.' The dirty work might be done by machinery. 'Honour et Patrie' are the watchwords of France. And French men are anxious for a population to preserve them. We have a huge population in the untouchables, but we are anxious to bury them under rubbish ignorance for dirty work. Is it not the misfortune of the country? It is this attitude of our mind that is responsible for making India a coolie-and-clerk-supplying country.

II. Q.—How did we get such a huge population?

Ans.—It is hundreds of years' accumulation—just as rivers by constant wearing of hills and mountains have formed huge mountains where once there was nothing, so the rigorous, unjust and pitiless caste rules, and customs have heaped this huge mass of humanity, by tearing individuals, families and groups of families from our own different castes to which once they belonged.

III. Q.—Reformers have spread discontent amongst the untouchables. Have they not created a new obstacle in the progress of the country?

Ans.—Country means the people and therefore progress of a country means the progress of the people of that country, not of one community but of all communities. What progress can we expect from those men, who themselves victims to bileous, inhumane superstition hold loaded pistols of hatred and untouchability at their own countrymen to keep them down in ignorance for dirty work? Progress can be achieved by throwing out what is ugly in us and by allowing every community to grow healthy and vigorous. Reformers have opened our eyes to the wrongs which we have done to our own countrymen and awakened a sense of human dignity and honour amongst the untouchables. Is it an obstacle to the progress of the country? Is it not a solid service to humanity and to our country?

Devalli
11-12-21.

KARAKK K. G.

THE MULSHI PETHA PROJECT.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

The recent explanatory note issued by the Tata Company, makes it clear once for all that the Company is prepared to give the Mavlas their due, by way of compensation, which may be agreed to by arbitration. Couched as the present note is, it shows the willingness of the Company to cool down matters by peaceful and fair means. But 'a stitch in time saves nine,' and if the Company had the goodness to take a reasonable attitude at the outset, things would not have come to such a pass at all. But now that the Company has assumed a reasonable attitude, it is but fair that the people should not be out for an imposter. Everybody sympathises with the Mavlas, but at the same time, the industrial progress of the country should not be lost sight of. Everybody knows the sentimental value which one sets on the home and the farm. Yet, every thoughtful man will concede that national interests ought to have precedence. It may be that the Mavlas were driven to the present extreme position by the sad memory of the Andhra Valley and the hollow assurances which only added fuel to the fire. Both sides may have committed mistakes, but it stands to reason that some compromise should be arrived at, at this stage.

As regards compensation, the Industrial Commission of which Sir Dorab Tata was a member, as made the following significant recommendation :—

"It should be a *sine qua non* that, in all cases, where land is acquired compulsorily for industrial enterprises, arrangements should be made to offer cultivators or house-owners so dispossessed, *suitable land* in exchange or part of exchange. Such a course will mitigate more than any mere money payment the hardship and the sense of unfair treatment caused by expropriation."

It is clear therefore that the compensation should as far as possible be in the form of land in exchange. Otherwise, spendthrift as the ignorant cultivators are, they will squander away the lump sum and will be forced to bid good-bye to the profession of agriculture. The other alternative of being a day labourer on the works is far from alluring. The profession of agriculture may yield the cultivator less in rupees and annas but on the whole his life is happier as a cultivator than as a labourer earning more per day. Besides it is reported that many lands are mortgaged, so much the worse for it, for the money compensation will only swell the pockets of the money lenders. Of course every one is the master of one's own fortune and if the cultivators choose to squander away their money, none can come in their way. But the interests of agriculture and the dictates of humanity require that every opportunity should be given by the State to the expropriated cultivators, to settle down in a different place. Thus the difficulties encountered in, and the money required to be spent on, a new settlement ought to be considered while considering the question of compensation. The Government on their part must come forward with a definite promise to supply land in exchange and a mere vague verbal promise will not carry conviction to the excited Mavlas. The Government may have their difficulties but the people too have their own. Besides, the Mavlas may be offered facilities to invest their money in the Company by way of shares, so that they might get the profits in future if they will. Considering all this, it may be that the Company is made to pay more than what the lands are worth at present, but the sentiment which goes with the word "home" has its value and the hardship involved in deserting the home has got to be evaluated.

X.

"SANYASIS AND POLITICS"—A QUERY AS TO AUTHORSHIP.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

May I be permitted to draw your attention to an excerpt published in your issue of the 13th ultimo, headed 'Sanyasis and Politics' from the *Hindu Message* of Srirangam of date September 29th. What is curious to note is the fact that many or all of the sentences in the first para of the said excerpt, in their *wording, phrasing and sequence* are the exact copy (to the comma in their punctuation) of an editorial paragraph headed with the same or similar words appearing in a previous issue of your well-known paper. Yet both the writings in question are evidently meant to pass for original ones from their respective sources. Here, Sir, is a puzzle, unless one and the same hand is supposed to have penned the two passages, and barring the possibility of an unacknowledged borrowing by either of the editorial hands.

Yours etc.,
"CURIOSITY."

Karwar, 6th December.

[The editorial paragraph referred to by our correspondent appeared in the *Reformer* of the 25th September under the heading the Arrested Sanyasi. The Editor of the *Reformer* does not write in any other journal.—Ed. I. S.R.]

THE LATE MRS. BATOHAMMAL.

A correspondent writes :—

The small Brahmo community in Bangalore suffered an irreparable loss in the sudden demise of Mrs. Batohammal, wife of Mr. V. Balasundaram Mudaliar, the energetic secretary of the Samaj. The deceased lady was the moving spirit of the Samaj, in as much as by her genial temperament, winning manners and above all her spiritual hankering to realise the ideal of Brahmic life in her own person and family life, contributed not a little to the progress of the Brahmo community in Bangalore. She was the first lady to attend the weekly congregations and also to sing hymns during service, which noble example has since been followed by many other ladies. She conducted services in the Samaj on two or three occasions, besides organising ladies' meetings in connection with the Bharatha Mahila Samaj. She was also responsible for bringing about the remarriage of young widows among the tamil non-Brahmin community; and in this connection she had been maintaining a number such widows in her house. Her home was an ideal Brahmo home and every one who had the privilege of being received by her as a guest, was impressed with the manner she had tried to assimilate the modern ideas of home and social life, in spite of the fact that she was not an English educated lady. Such a sweet lady passed away on the 11th November 1921, in her 86th year, leaving behind her a sorrowful husband and two children and a large circle of friends to bemoan her loss. An 'In Memoriam' service was held in the Samaj on the 17th November, when Mr. Mahadeva Mudaliar, M. A., conducted service and Rev. G. E. Phillips, Rev. Francis and Mr. Tholasinga Mutalier spoke at length on the salient features of her life. The Adya Sradha ceremony was performed on the 20th November by the bereaved husband and children, when Mr. K. Subbkrishnaia officiated as the minister and dwelt upon her work in connection with the Samaj, and Mr. Mahadeva Mudaliar, M. A., read a short sketch of the life of the deceased, which was followed by speeches by Mr. Hanumanthappa of the City Samaj and Mr. Singh. Her funeral, as well as the other functions were attended by a large number of friends, which included, Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, both European and Indian.

SISTER ELEANOR MARY.**AN APPRECIATION.**

A Press Note says: The Government of Bombay (Transferred Departments) have received with regret the intimation that Sister Eleanor Mary of the All Saints Community, who has been Lady Superintendent of Nurses in the J. J. Hospital since 1897, and rendered valuable services on plague duty prior to that year, is now obliged to withdraw her services on her elevation to the position of Mother Superior in her Community. From the small number of five women at the J. J. Hospital Nursing Home when she took charge, the staff (including probationers) has risen to 114, and, during her regime, 209 Medical and Surgical Nurses and 457 Midwifery Nurses have passed out from the Institution. The Government of Bombay desire to take this opportunity of recording their appreciation of the manner in which her duties, for which she has never received any salary, have been discharged. Her work has always been of the highest order and she has gained the esteem and respect of all those with whom she has come into contact. The thanks of Government are also due to the Community of all Saints for permitting Sister Eleanor Mary to devote all her time to the work of the Nursing Association.

CONGRESS AT AHMEDABAD.**FOOLISH RUMOURS CONTRADICTED.**

The following notice has been issued by Mr. G. E. Chatfield, District Magistrate, Ahmedabad:—

Some uneasiness appears to exist in Ahmedabad City with regard to the preservation of order there during the meeting of the Congress at the end of the year. Several respectable citizens have enquired what arrangements are being made for their protection and similar queries have been received from the representatives of minor communities. On the other hand extravagant and foolish rumours are said to be afloat regarding the severe measures likely to be adopted by the authorities to preserve order: and as a result of these rumours the undersigned learns that numbers of the millhands have left the city and more intended to do so.

The quiet and law-abiding have nothing to fear from any measures taken to preserve order and should pay no heed to alarmist rumours of the sort referred to, which are entirely without foundation. The District Magistrate hopes and believes that there is no ground for the apprehension of lawless behavior on the part of any class of the population. But those who suffer from such apprehension are assured by him that full arrangements will be made for the preservation of order.

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2. " " " " upper	2360	7 0	9. " " " L. H.	1572	32 0
3. Connecting rod bearings upper half	2359	5 8	Spares for 90 model.		
4. Rear Axle shafts R. H.	11238	32 0	10. Rear Axle shafts R. H.	1931	32 0
5. " " " L. H.	11239	32 0	11. " " " L. H.	1937	32 0
6. Valve Springs	2016	6 10	12. Exhaust Valves	1933	7 8
7. Pistons Motor with single cylinder	11633	18 0	13. Steering Arm bushings	10023	1 8
			Spares for model '4'.		
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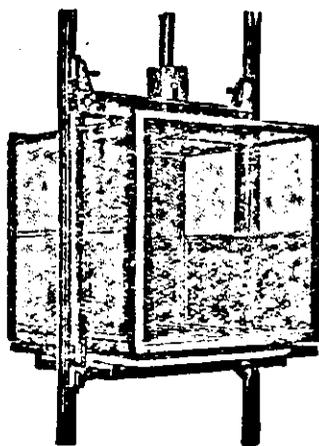
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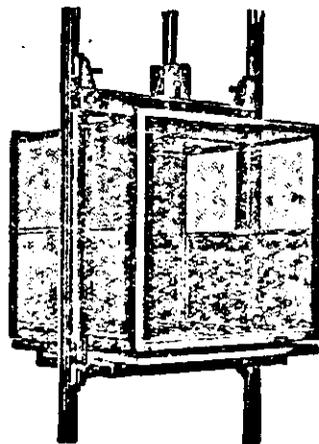
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terms in which Lord Reading emphasised his intense dislike of the new policy, is the one bright spot in an otherwise gloomy utterance. It shows that His Excellency is steadily advancing to the position which, in the judgment of more than one Indian and English friend, is the only one which can effectively bring the Indian view home to His Majesty's Government.

Repatriation Muddle in South Africa: It is now more than one year since the Repatriation scheme was invented and has been acted upon and, all the time, public opinion in India has steadfastly opposed it and has demanded of the Indian Government to put a stop to it. After about 1,500 Indians were, so to say, driven out of South Africa, the Government of India sent out a belated protest, not objecting to the repatriation scheme, but simply to the rosy conditions painted as prevalent here. It was then pointed out how misleading that was and the Government was asked to do some counter-propaganda in South Africa. The Protector of Indian Emigrants does not seem to have realised his duties; on the other hand, it is reported that he is a party to the suggestion that the Indians there should think of colonising British Guiana. The *New India* of Nov. 23, states that S.S. Umhloti left Durban on October 29 with 714 Indian emigrants arriving in Madras on 19th Nov. and that S.S. Umhloti was to leave again to bring over others. We are surprised to know that, while 1,500 Indians returned in 4 or 5 months' time, one steamer alone has brought over 714 Indians. It looks then that some intensive campaign is going on, on the part of South African authorities to send away as many Indians as possible. The Government of India is strangely silent on this topic. In the prevalent confusion in Indian politics, these important questions are unfortunately ignored. One wonders, so far as the Government's indifference is concerned, whether it is due to the overwork of some official at the top in charge of this portfolio. The evil of repatriation does not stop here. The annual report on Labour in Madras for the year 1920-21, states that 321 repatriates returned from South Africa and they were all sent home except only two who were provided with employment. What became of others and what is their state, the report does not say, and there is nothing to show that they have not swelled the number of listless, unemployed labourers in the country. The typical statements published, a few weeks ago, showed that these returned emigrants were victims of deception or false allurements and were desirous of going back to South Africa. In the face of these statements, it is monstrous that the Government of India should be a party to this in however small a measure. Will they not have the courage to stop or defeat this Machiavellian repatriation scheme? Almost all the emigrants are from South India are non-Brahmins. Strangely enough, the non-Brahmin party now in power, engrossed in one particular object, seem to have ignored other vital problems. They have not sufficiently realised their duties towards their brethren in South Africa; else, this long-drawn out repatriation would have ended long ago.

Government of India's Propaganda in America: A correspondent writes: "It will be remembered that, in the last Budget, the provision for the appointment of a publicity officer in America was refused sanction by the Legislative Assembly and the Government acquiesced in it. But the *Hindu* of Dec. 3 contains a letter from an Indian in America in which he says that the Government of India had embarked on a propaganda in America. He states that anti-Indian propaganda in America is being carried on in an insidious way and the principal

fountains of the activities are directed through colleges, press and pulpits. He cites as an example the appointment of Mr. Horne by the Indian Government to act as a visiting lecturer in all American Universities. Mr. Horne is being paid by Indian money as he is a Professor of Patna University. Mr. Horne, it seems, has gone to a dozen Universities in America, to the knowledge of the writer, to discredit Indian aspirations. May we ask whether the Government of India have appointed Mr. Horne as a lecturer on their behalf in America and, if so, whether they have not circumvented the resolution of the Legislative Assembly? In this connection, we are pained to read that Commissioner Booth-Tucker of the Salvation Army is also actively engaged in some political propaganda in America. It is only latterly that people in this country have come to regard the Salvation Army as an institution with admiration and to accord it support. Hence, all friends of the Salvation Army would greatly like that its members keep themselves aloof from controversial politics and that Commissioner Booth-Tucker does not hamper the good work on which the Army is engaged with the co-operation of Indians, in India, by dabbling in Indian politics in America."

Malabar Relief Fund: The fifth Progress Report of the Malabar Relief Fund contains a detailed account of the work done in spite of the indifference and callousness shown by a certain section of the people towards conditions prevailing in Malabar, and an outline of the still more difficult problems of reconstruction which must follow close on the heels of peace, reported to be in sight. With the view to devise schemes on a co-operative basis and discuss measures of reconstruction, Mr. G. K. Devdhar has undertaken a second trip to Calicut. The report concludes with a stirring appeal to the people to do their duty by the suffering thousands of Malabar by contributing their mite and thereby helping to realise the ten lakhs needed to keep the relief operations going. While joining in the appeal for money with all the earnestness we are capable of, it may not be out of place here to mention that small things in the shape of Soap, oil, comb and other necessities of life, and comforts and games for children will also be a welcome boon and will add considerably to the material comforts of the refugees. We have received the following contributions to the Malabar Relief Fund: Anonymous, Delhi, Rs. 30; A sympathiser, Bombay, Rs. 30; K. G. Karkare, Devlali, Rs. 5 (monthly); S. M. Kaikini, Akluj, Rs. 10; Rev. Mr. McBride, Sholapur, Rs. 50; and a Parsee Zoroastrian, Bhusaval, Rs. 15.

An Indian Candidate for Parliament: The *Daily Chronicle* announces that Mr. Shapurji Saklatwala has been formally adopted as a candidate at the next election to Parliament in North Battersea. For many years past, it goes on to say, Mr. Saklatwala has been a familiar figure in Labour-Socialist platforms. He has been elected as Parliamentary candidate now by all the Labour organisations in the constituency. There are two Parliamentary constituencies in Battersea, one South Battersea and the other North Battersea. Of these North Battersea is what is called a certain seat. South Battersea is more than doubtful. At the final convention Mr. Saklatwala and Mr. Winfield, J. P., the Mayor were selected for the two seats. Mr. Saklatwala's ultimate selection for the safer seat is an evidence of the confidence in the abilities which he has been able to create among the electors. If Mr. Saklatwala succeeds at the next general election, he will be the third Indian to enter Parliament, and he too, like his two predecessors, is a Parsi.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 25, 1921.

THE GREAT LIBERAL OPPORTUNITY.

The Liberals are to meet next week at Allahabad in their annual Conference. They have been, from the circumstances of their origin, handicapped from the first in their appeal to the people. They have now a great opportunity before them to retrieve their position. With candour, imagination, and courage they can make themselves the arbiters of the present situation. The first requirement is candour, because without it the next two requirements cannot be met. They must recognise that in one fundamental respect at least the reforms have proved absolutely illusory. Liberal leaders believed and told the country that the introduction of the Reforms would make a policy of wholesale repression impossible. They cannot persist in that belief any longer. Many of them have protested against the wholesale arrests of the last few days in emphatic language. Some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries have openly accused them of something like treacherous backsliding for not standing up in support of Government. The first thing they have got to do is to make it quite clear that their policy of co-operation is even more absolutely bound up with uncompromising opposition to repression than the policy of Non-Co-operation. To Non-Co-operationists, indeed, the arrests of the last few days have been a Godsend. They have been provided with an effective rallying-cry when their morale was thoroughly shaken by the Malegaon, Mopla and Bombay outbreaks. Their shortcomings and failures are for the moment thrust into the background by the Government policy of arrests all round. The Liberals are involved to some extent in the discredit of the new policy. What several of them have done individually must be done collectively and emphatically by the Party Conference at Allahabad. Peace and Order are important conditions of national well-being, just as health of body is an important condition of peace of mind. But just as to make bodily health the sole aim of life is detrimental to peace of mind, so a Government which makes "peace and order" its sole end is apt not only to miss the higher purposes of its existence, but to fail even in ensuring the one end it has in view. Peace and order will be automatically ensured if legitimate grievances are promptly redressed, if no new grievances are allowed to accumulate, and if Government have a sympathetic understanding of, and strive always to promote, national aspirations to a healthy and honourable life. The peace and order enforced by the policeman's baton and the soldier's rifle are effective and necessary in keeping down crimes which involve moral turpitude, but they fail, and must fail, where the moral sense of the people is not behind them. It was said slightly of an ancient Empire that it made a solitude and called it Peace. To throw hundreds of persons in jail, to prohibit public meetings, to suppress

newspapers, may for a time produce a sort of peace. Any fool, said Cavour, can govern a country in a state of siege. There is no statesmanship in repression.

The first thing which the Liberal Conference should do is strongly, completely, uncompromisingly to repudiate the policy of wholesale arrests and to acknowledge that the adoption of it within a year of the introduction of the Reforms has rendered confidence in their sufficiency untenable. The next thing is to demand that the Reforms should be carried forward so as to afford the most complete guarantee against such sudden outbursts. Meanwhile, it should be expressly declared at the Conference that members of the Party cannot accept titular honours or places carrying emoluments, though, as we said last week, those who hold titles ought not to be asked to make a boast of renouncing them. Many Liberals have made great sacrifices in the cause of the country and are capable of making the greatest that any Non-Co-operationist has done or can think of doing. They should now give tangible proof of it to the country which in its present temper is apt to regard the ineptitude of Government as a rehabilitation of Non-Co-operation with all its errors and failures. A flatterer is no friend. Now is the time for Liberals to show to Government and the people that though they are friends they are not the flatterers of either. All the signs show that Government will have to come to terms with the Non-Co-operation leaders, and that an early, though not perhaps immediate, result will be a new election. A golden opportunity of making Non-Co-operationists come to terms with Government, has been lost by the impatience of the new policy. If a Conference is called as suggested, the position of Liberals in it at present cannot be a commanding one. They cannot oppose the demands of the Non-Co-operationists for the dismissal of the Punjab officials, the conclusion of a reasonable Peace satisfactory to our Mahomedan countrymen with Turkey, or the demand for full responsible Government. In fact, on these points they do not disagree with Non-Co-operationists. Where they disagree are in respect of measures of internal policy—in ideals of national progress. Liberals are and must be impotent until Non-Co-operationists are in a position to formulate measures to give effect to their multifarious policy. The country cannot be made to see the essential unsoundness of Non-Co-operation ideas so long as the glamour of repression shines about them. The Liberals in opposition will be far more powerful than in office and Non-Co-operation will in office be as clay in the hands of the Liberal potter. The plight of Ulster should remind Liberals that they cannot expect Government to continue to support them in the face of the country's opposition. By doing voluntarily now what they will have to do involuntarily six months hence, they will retain the right and power of initiative in their hands. If the Councils are dissolved today, quite a large number of Non-Co-operationists will gaily relinquish the part of the programme relating to the boycott of Councils. They may be swept into the Councils by a large majority, but then will come their ordeal. In the

situation created by the Government policy during the last few days, we do not see any way out except for the Liberals to accede voluntarily to the plea for a new election. The times call for courage, decision, sacrifice. If the Liberal gathering at Allahabad exhibit these qualities in the measure in which they belong to several individual members of it, the Party will easily become within a measurable distance of time the dominant party in the country.

THE ARUNACHAL MISSION.*

In a well-written and neatly-printed book, entitled "The Master's World Union Scheme," Alokananda Mahabharati gives an account of the origin, history and objects of the scheme of world federation on the basis of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, propounded by his Master, Thakur Dayananda, "a Sannyasin and Friend of the World." Thakur Dayananda conceived about 12 years ago the idea of bringing about a complete reconstruction of human society from the spiritual, political and economic standpoint. We are not told anything about his previous life, except that he was a Sannyasi. His earliest communications seem to have been addressed to the Government of India and the Chief Commissioner of Assam where the Mission has its head-quarters. His first declaration was made to Mr. Boxwell, Superintendent of Police, Cachar, and it was to the effect that Nam-Sankirtan will carry the message of peace and love to the nations of the earth. The ends which the Thakur put before himself, were the abolition of racial and religious, caste and class distinctions, and the equal status of women with men. Spiritual force and love were stated to be the only means of achieving this tremendous revolution, and Nam-Sankirtan as the most potent generator of these forces was enjoined for constant practice by his cult. Nam-Sankirtan, it is explained in a foot-note, is a kind of devotional music and chanting the name of the Lord, in which people move in a circle, singing and dancing to the accompaniment of drums, cymbals, gongs and other instruments. It is claimed that in it "the noblest traits of a man's character are released from grossness and these come more and more into display in his dealing with his fellow-beings." The author states that there are numerous instances of men living lives of drunkenness and lewdness having been completely changed. "The deadliest enemies have embraced each other in Sankirtan and have ever afterwards lived on terms of the closest friendship." Its physical effects are described thus: "His (the devotee's) face brightens up, his body bends, curves and describes beautiful figures, as he dances in joy. All the actions which take place on the physical body as the result of the long practice of *Yoga*, are quickly and automatically performed in course of Sankirtan." Mahomedans, Jews and Hindus regardless of caste joined in these dances and a European lady connected with the Bahai

movement, is said to have been so greatly impressed by the sight that she clasped to her bosom one of the dancing disciples.

To give effect to his ideas, Thakur Dayananda founded in 1906 an order of brotherhood known as the Arunachal Mission, and in 1909, the Arunachal Ashram, its headquarters, was established on a hillock three miles away from Silchar, Assam, on the bank, of the river Barak and overlooking the Assam-Bengal railway. Four branch Ashrams have since been founded. One class of the Thakur's disciples took their permanent abode in these Ashrams, with their wives, mothers, daughters and relations. Others pursued their secular avocations, but kept in constant touch with the Ashrams. The disciples in the Ashram followed their own particular religious beliefs—some of them are said to be Mahomedans—but the one common mode of worship is Sankirtan. "The Mission has no fixed source of income—we never beg, we do not ask for any help, nor do we even expect any. For the maintenance of the Mission, Arunachal depends entirely on God and God alone. And it has been our experience that thousands of rupees have come in a strange manner." In the Ashram, there is no caste distinction and women have the same liberty as men. "They move as freely as men, make Sankirtan separately from the men or join the men in their Kirtan, as they like. They are free to wear the veil or not as they like". It was inevitable that this singing, dancing cult, in which caste and sex was ignored, should have upset the susceptibilities of surrounding orthodoxy. The neighbours complained of the constant Sankirtan in the Ashram as a nuisance interfering with their sleep of nights. Others saw in it a religious and social danger, still others regarded it as a deep-laid political conspiracy. It was also said that the Ashram was a hotbed of immorality. In 1916, Thakur Dayananda was found guilty by the Deputy Commissioner of exercising undue influence over the mind of a female disciple who wanted to give her daughter in marriage to another disciple of his in contravention of caste and custom. When Mahendra Nath De, M. A. B. Sc. joined the Mission in 1910, the agitation against the Ashram grew loud and strong. In 1912, the Dole Gobindo Ashram was founded at Jagatshi, Sylhet, by Mr. De, who had taken the name of Yogananda. A grand Sankirtan was there held for days together, going on without a break during day and night. A hundred men, women and children in the new Ashram divided themselves into groups and carried on the Sankirtan by shifts. One lady in the Ashram is said to have fasted for six days, till the revelation came to her that the bliss which they of the Arunachal were tasting would descend in flood and torrent on the whole world at no distant date. But the outside world was alarmed. A largely-signed petition to the Chief Commissioner demanded the suppression of the Ashram as "an impure, obscene, immoral and indecent institution opposed to public policy and good morals," and the Police was set in motion by a charge of kidnapping of a minor boy against the Thakur. In searching for the boy, a collision occurred between

* Published by the Arunachal Mission, Armit Mandhir, Banai P. O., Sylhet. Price Rs. 2.

the dancing devotees and the Police, leading to several persons being wounded. The Thakur and his disciples were arrested, and some of them convicted. When the Thakur came out of jail, he had to face another charge of kidnapping, this time of a minor girl, but he was acquitted. The second half of the book contains the Thakur's scheme of renovating humanity, as an alternative to the League of Nations and the Bolshevik schemes, and his correspondence with several leading men all over the world.

The success of such movements as the Arnachal Mission—it is claimed that it has achieved a considerable measure of it in Assam—is a sign of the times of which unbending champions of caste and custom should take note. It shows that in every part of the country and in every grade of society an increasing number of persons is sick and impatient of the cast-iron religious and social creeds among us. They want to bridge the gulf which divides man from man and to pull down the prison walls which keep women ignorant and backward. The idea inspiring such movements is a great one, but the choice of methods does not display an insight into the laws governing the growth of the social organism. Society cannot be reformed by emotional orgies. You cannot dance or sing away the encrustation of ages. Emotion has a place and part in all reform movements. It must provide the driving power. But the direction of reform must be by informed reason. Men and women who are impatient of hard, steady, incessant work attended, as it will often be, by slight and slow results, who want to see the fruit of their fancy in a flash, are as often a hindrance as a help to true reform. The increasing number of persons of all ages who must flit from place to place, must be rushing about here and there every hour of the day, must be the centre of some sensation in order that they may count the day well-spent, is not a happy or hopeful sign. We all need in these days of bustle, hurry, noise and loud speech to study the art and learn the wisdom of sitting still. A Sadhu used day after day to sit still in a temple. An economist who happened to see him, denounced him as an idle beggar who ought to be chucked out of the place. The Sadhu heard him and beckoned to him to come near. When he came, the Sadhu requested the economist to try and sit still for ten minutes by his side. Before two minutes were past, the economist had changed his posture thrice. The Sadhu pointed out to him that to sit still demanded much strenuousness and was not such an idle pastime as he imagined. The course of Indian progress will be less full of jolts and jars, if our leaders cultivated the art of sitting still for a while every day. After all, those who invent short-cuts lack the faith and visions of those who realise that

While the tired waves vainly breaking
Seem here no painful inch to gain,

Far back through creeks and inlets making
Comes, sudden, flooding in, the main.

Steady, persistent, well-directed work is the only way of reform.

NOTES BY THE WAY.

A valued correspondent writes:—

To day I have sent my contribution to the Malabar Relief Fund. I was thinking for so many days of sending my mite but as there was no direct appeal I postponed doing so till I read your appeal in the *Reformer* yesterday. I am sure if attempts are made in the moffasil to raise regular subscriptions, you would get a pretty good sum. I really wonder why the District towns like Sholapur have not been touched yet. Sholapur is a very prosperous commercial place and if a proper effort is made, a very good sum is sure to be raised there. So also there are places like Hubli, Gadag, Bagalkot in the Karnatak and Jalgaon, Amalner and others in Khandesh where successful efforts could be made. It is my impression that the Non-Co-operators feel very much crest-fallen at the Malabar affair, and the consciousness that all the atrocities there have their origin in their propaganda keeps them back from giving proper publicity to the actual state of affairs prevailing there. I think this is the very reason why the various Congress Committees have not been able to raise any decent amount in this Presidency for their relief work. If I am not very much mistaken, beyond Bombay and Poona no subscription has been collected by them at all. You will be a little shocked to know that all this time meetings are being held round about here for collecting subscriptions for the relief of the Mulshi Petha Satyagrahis. Really what a narrow vision is shown by these persons! I wish you may be able to excite strong sympathy in Mr. Gandhi about the Malabar situation and through him get a mandate to all the Congress Sub-Committees to collect subscriptions for Malabar.

Now turning to purely social reform questions dealt with in the *Reformer*, I would request you to write a line in protest about the Prince of Wales being entertained by nautch parties in Native States. You must have read of such an entertainment in Bikaner. Your Madras correspondent protested about Lord and Lady Willingdon having attended such a function in Tanjore. If no timely protests are made, I am afraid in the new flood of revivalist movement, the nautch would also get revived.

I very much wish you would induce some young lawyer to write short notes for the *Reformer* on the cases disposed of by the various High Courts and the Privy Council and which have a bearing upon social reform matters. Some months back, the Bombay High Court disposed of a case where a gentleman on behalf of the Shankaracharya sought to be appointed the guardian of a minor girl in overriding the claims of her father. The reason of this gentleman's action was that the father was trying to dispose of the girl for money by marrying her to an old man. Although the object was quite laudable, the Courts could not support the man. However, the case shows how society is progressing; it arose in Gujarat.

Then the Privy Council in Gokal Chand & Hackamchand Nathmal (I. L. R. 2, Lahore) have discussed

the position of a civilian (I. C. S) who was a member of a joint Hindu family and who got his education in England out of the family funds. He has been now serving in the C. P. His family has been carrying on money-lending business in the Punjab and in the course of such business the other members gave *hundis* to the respondent. The civilian had nothing to do with this affair. The respondent sued upon the *hundis* and made the civilian a party to the suit. The Privy Council held that the civilian was liable upon the *hundis* to the extent of his share in the joint family property, including his official earnings. They further held that his official salary was partible property of the joint family, since it resulted from the special educational training got at the expense of the joint family. The judgment was delivered by Lord Sumner.

At the conclusion of the judgment there is a very significant paragraph. I transcribe it here:—"Their lordships are fully alive to the incongruity, more striking perhaps to Western than to Indian minds, of applying to such an occupation as that of Mr. Gokulchand's an ancient rule, which had its origin in a state of society possibly simpler than and certainly different from the state of society existing in the present day, but this anomaly proceeds largely from the occidental habit of relying on mere analogy in the application of legal rules instead of deducing the application from a logical apprehension of the principle as the best Eastern thinkers do. Be this as it may, they conceive it to be of the highest importance that no variations or uncertainties should be introduced into the established and widely recognised, laws, which govern an ancient Eastern civilization, and least of all in matters affecting family rights and duties connected with ancient customs and religious convictions." The rule referred to is the rule of Hindu Law that acquisitions made by coparceners involving the use of patrimony or by Science or learning obtained "to the detriment of the family property" are joint family property and so liable to be divided among coparceners. The modern decisions are trying to narrow the meaning of this rule. Sir Bhasham Ayyangar had tried to get an Act passed concerning this, but his attempt failed. But the ruling quoted, and that being of the highest tribunal, is likely to have a very retrograde effect upon the future decisions of the Courts in India. As regards this joint family system, I observe that it is almost non-existent among families in which all the members enter into physical labour for their livelihood. It is chiefly found among land-owning people or money-lenders or other business men.

I may also draw your attention to a criminal case which has a reference to the work in which you are now engaged on the Committee for preventing the evils of prostitution in Bombay. It is reported in (1918) I. L. R. 42, Bombay. at page 181. I am sure it would be brought to your notice. When it was being heard in the Bombay High Court, I was there and the Police officer instructing the Government pleader then stated that the accused there who was a pimp

was in the high favour of a Maharaja and this Maharaja did his best to see that the man was not extradited from his State. I am sure on the Committee you will come to know a great deal about the connection of such Indian Chiefs and Princes with the evil of prostitution in Bombay and still the Government is anxious to keep such Princes quite free from the comments of newspapers in British India!

A SCHEME FOR COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

(BY THE HONOURABLE MR. G. M. BHURGI.)

ACCOMMODATION.

I believe so much importance has so far been given to buildings and so much money spent on them and yet with a result that not even half the existing schools have buildings of their own. This is not to suggest that no regard should be paid to proper ventilation, accommodation and hygienic conditions. But the procedure adopted for obtaining necessary sanction to school plans has been such as to provoke even such an officialised personage as the Commissioner of a division to make caustic remarks against it. A Commissioner of the Central Division has once decided that it is "a veritable game of departmental battle-door and shuttle cock" (vide Quinquennium Report 1912-17, Chapter on Primary Education). Matters are said to have improved "somewhat" but with little or no appreciable results. I therefore want to urge very strongly upon the Committee the desirability of erecting in rural areas cheap school-houses somewhat upon the plan shown at page 102, of occasional Reports, No. 6 (Educational Buildings in India). It is the plan of a village school in Gonda District and after the standard plan designed by the District Engineer. We may have these school-houses with larger dimensions or two apartments wherever necessary. I believe a school-house of that pattern with an accommodation of about 60-70 boys would cost a maximum amount of Rs. 1000. In Sind where rains are on the whole scarce, *Landhis* at a cost of Rs. 100 to 200 according to requirements would be quite serviceable. There are already in existence such *Landhis* which are used as school-houses. Even the urban schools need not have as cumbersome buildings as is the tendency of the P. W. Department to provide. I need hardly point out to the Committee that the ancient ideal of a school-house in India is squatting either under grove of green trees or simple and bare structures to provide protection against the sun, and that the heavy paraphernalia of benches, desks etc. of the Western nation which has been thrust upon the simple village folk here has not yet found favour in our modern village schools. The question of accommodation can best be solved (a) firstly, by adopting the double shift system outlined below. (b) By utilizing all available *Dharmshalas*, serais and Panchayat Halls in villages, for the purpose of opening schools there or in the absence of these in a village, in rented houses or in houses got as free loans from one of the rich and charitable men in the village or in the verandhas or any side accommodation avail-

able in any public building in the village, till permanent arrangement on the lines set out above is secured.

DOUBLE SHIFT SYSTEM.

With a view to minimise the various difficulties in giving effect to any scheme of Compulsory Education, I would recommend adoption of a double shift system whereby children could attend either morning or afternoon session according as it is convenient to the parents. But as far as possible the two sets should be permanently defined, i. e., the parent ought to decide for the whole season or year as to which session would be convenient for his children to attend, otherwise there is likely to be much confusion and inconvenience.

The double shift system may be necessary in Municipal areas but in rural areas it will be a double blessing. While the question of provision, equipment of necessary establishment etc and financial resources would be largely solved in giving immediate effect to the scheme of compulsion, it would also afford a choice to parents when it would be less inconvenient to send their children to schools.

CHANGES IN CURRICULUM.

Certain fundamental changes are no doubt desirable and are almost necessary in the present Primary Curriculum to make it more effective or yield better results. For instance, instead of the present cumbrous curriculum of teaching as many as 6 to 8 subjects, I would in the first place concentrate on the teaching of the three R's. Various subjects like History, Geography, Moral Instructions, Elementary principles of Hygiene and Agriculture may be taught under one group of selected lessons from all those embodied in the Vernacular Text Books of the class. In addition, Kinder Garten may be encouraged in the case of infants and some sort of manual training and practical domestic science according to their sex, in the case of children of IIIrd and IVth Class.

TEACHERS.

Arrangements should be made for at least double the number at present receiving training as early as possible of the introduction of the compulsory scheme, by providing more accommodation in the existing Training Colleges and opening more in such places as may be desirable. If possible the course of instruction should be curtailed. I think the introduction of the shift system will also be an indirect help in this if it is extended to the IVth standard also. A double shift system will involve additional staff for every school working under it but not necessarily double the staff required for one shift school. The additional staff may be so organised that there may not be two teachers for one standard, but as far as possible a set of teachers, each teacher teaching any two out of four hours net in each shift.

While it is desirable that at least the head masters and head mistresses of all primary schools should be trained teachers, and every step that is possible should be taken to produce adequate number of certified teachers, their absence should not as far as possible give a setback to the introduction of Compulsory Education in various classes of "School

Districts". I believe as many male trained teachers are already available in the Presidency except Sindh, as would be required as Head Masters for the number of Primary Schools that are necessary to make sufficient provision for all the male population of the school-going age within the period prescribed in respective school districts. In that case, the rule may be relaxed in regard to the schools in Sind where already a number of *Mullah* Schools exist recognised by the Government and which are under the management of *Mullahs* who are not only untrained but who may not even have had higher Primary Education.

A question has been asked whether the present scale of pay of Primary teachers is adequate. I think the very fact of such a question arising at all is a proof of the inadequacy of the present scale of pay or at least doubtfulness of its adequacy. Looking to the enormous rise in the price of food-stuffs, cloth and other necessaries of life, the existing scale of pay is quite inadequate. I have seen the Press note No. 560 of the Educational Department of the Bombay Presidency dated the 24th October 1921 giving a revised scale of pay, but even that is not quite adequate. I would suggest a further revision when Compulsory Education is introduced, as follows :—

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As a rule there should be a fixed scale of pay but special merit and good results also ought to have their due recognition in some form or other so as to give an incentive to teachers, but at the same time sufficient care should be taken to avoid favouritism.

REPRESSION IN EXCELSIS, WILL IT CURE THE DISEASE?

The campaign of repression that was launched by the Government last week was neither just nor called for. First there was no intimidation, nor any molestation at least none that we know of, and secondly there was no breach of peace. Is it a crime to sell khaddar, shout the name of Mr. Gandhi or request a shop-keeper, a countryman, to keep his shop closed on such and such a day as a mark of disapproval of a certain thing which the Government did in spite of public opposition? We confess we fail to understand if it is. Certainly it cannot be said that Mrs. Das, Mrs. Sen, or Miss Chatterjee molested or intimidated a shopkeeper. Then why were they arrested? The Government harps on the single string that shopkeepers were molested and intimidated on the 17th by the volunteers. Still we do not find in the papers the report of a single case in which the charge was established. Curious enough during the trials of the volunteers not a single shopkeeper or any other man came up as witness to prove the charge of molestation by any registered volunteer. There can be no earthly justification then why the volunteer associations should be declared illegal. It was only when the associations were declared unlawful that the latter threw down the gauntlet.

RETURNED TO HINDUISM.

Mr. Ganesh Sadashiv Patwardhan had gone into Christianity about a year ago. He has now returned to Hinduism, and was initiated by the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay on Thursday the 24th of November in the presence of members and friends. Mr. Sudderrao B. Vaidya, L.M.E. acted as Acharya and Mr. Vasant M. Kande acted as Fire warden.

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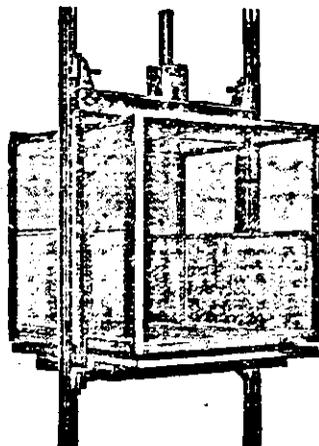
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BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JANUARY 1, 1922.

No. 18

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Bishop's Letter: We are obliged to Lord Bishop of Bombay for his letter explaining Christ's attitude to politics and evil generally. On a question of Bible exegesis, we shall not presume to enter into a discussion with one of his lordship's eminence and scholarship. But it is well within the province of laymen to refer to historical facts as providing a practical exposition of doctrines prevalent in times past. The policy of cruel persecution which so tolerant a State as the Roman found necessary to adopt towards the early Christians who, presumably, drew their inspiration from sources not far removed from the illustrious Teacher, is, to our mind, a more certain indication of the practical trend of Christ's doctrines as affecting the social and political conditions of the time than the most learned and conscientious scholarship can deduce from the Bible.

Mr. Andrews on Independence: There are two points in Mr. Andrews' suggestive letter which we print to-day, that require notice. He sees that there may be need for revising his opinion in the light of the Irish settlement and the presence of Australian and Canadian delegates at the Washington Conference, indicating as they do a new ideal of the British Commonwealth in the minds of British statesmen. When he refers to the segregation of Indians in British Colonies as having impressed him as to the necessity of Independence, he overlooks in a way which is impossible to us, that we, Indians, are ourselves practising such segregation in our own country, and that so long as we do not remove this reproach in our own country, we cannot denounce without restraint similar action on the part of the British in another part of the world. Further, Independence will not solve the race-problem which is as acute in the case of Japanese subjects as in that of British Indians. As regards the American attitude to the Philippines, Mr. Andrews does not seem to know the latest news. The Commission that was sent out to examine the fitness of the Philippines for independence, has reported that from the economic and defence points of view, the islanders are not yet ripe for it. It is all purely a question of not flying from the ills we have to others that we know not of. Mahatma Gandhi's forceful opposition to Mr. Hasrat Mohani's proposal in open Congress, precisely represents our own position.

Education and Taxation: We print to-day the last of the series of able and well-thought-out articles on compulsory education in this Presidency, which the Hon. Mr. G. M. Bhurgri has been contributing. In this article, Mr. Bhurgri deals with the important question of new taxation for meeting the cost of education. He rightly places in the forefront of his suggestions, the importance of first examining sources of retrenchment in the cost of administration in all other departments. He indicates a number of them in which retrenchment is possible and necessary. We think that Ministers, when they are asked to propose new taxes to meet educational expenditure, or even when they are forced to cut down their budget, are entitled to demand that before doing so they should satisfy themselves that all possible economy has been effected in the other, more especially, the reserved Departments. For this purpose, they are entitled to look into the budgets of these departments and if they are not satisfied that they are economically managed, they ought to refuse to propose new taxation or to be satisfied with less than their needs, unless all possible retrenchments have been carried out. They will have not only to satisfy themselves but also the Legislative Councils and the public that they have done this part of their duty.

Religion and Politics: The *Indian Messenger* is the organ of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj of Calcutta, and some readers have been evidently complaining of its vigorous comments on current politics. We used to have some such complaints also from earnest social reformers who had not grasped the larger significance of social reform as a principle and not a mere group of "items". Our contemporary has been moved to make a vigorous declaration of its view regarding the intimate connection between religion, social reform and politics. "We are tempted to ask this class of our friends," writes the *Messenger*, "Why did we come over to Brahmoism leaving the snug and cosy corner of Hindu Society?" Was it for Truth or for comfort or security? Alas! how far down are we fallen from the Fathers of our Church! Rammohun thou shouldst be living at this hour! We have need of thee! A stern lover of freedom, he did not divide politics, religion and society into watertight compartments. The indomitable soul that sought enfranchisement in religion also broke the thousand years old iron shackles of society, and rejoiced over the freedom of nations in bondage." We entirely agree with the *Messenger* that social and religious freedom is inseparable from political freedom, and we must oppose all encroachments on such freedom whether on the part of Government or on that of Non-Co-operationists. The religious and social reformers of India have known and tested the worth and value of loving sacrifice in pursuit of a principle, they are trained and disciplined soldiers of freedom, and they are able to bring to politics qualities which are not to be found largely among orthodox sectaries, Hindu or Moslem.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 1, 1922.

THE NATIONAL WEEK.

The National week opened at Ahmedabad with the Indian National Social Conference held on the 26th December. The Conference was held in Premabhai Hall and not in the Congress mandap. The audience had, therefore, the convenience of chairs which were strictly tabooed in the Congress pavilion. Dr. B. N. Kanuga, a prominent local Non-Co-operation leader, was Chairman of the Reception Committee, and that party, in fact, organised and was conspicuous at the Conference. But it must be said to the honour of those responsible for the arrangements that they scrupulously maintained the neutral character of the Social Conference so far as politics was concerned. One or two voices were raised at the Conference against the request to Ministers embodied in some of the resolutions, which were drafted by the Reception Committee, but they met with no support from the Conference. A special word is due to Dr. Kanuga to whom the success of the Conference as a non-political platform for all who are interested in social reform is largely due. He had the hearty co-operation of Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkant, and between them, they made the Conference as conspicuous a success as was possible in the atmosphere of political excitement which prevailed in Ahmedabad on the eve of a momentous political meeting. The large attendance of women was a most gratifying feature of the Ahmedabad Conference. Ladies prominent in the Non-Co-operation field like Mrs. Motilal Nehru and her relatives were present as also Mrs. Ramanbhai who is the life and soul of women's activities in the capital of Gujarat. The most impressive lesson of the Ahmedabad Social Conference is that the social reform movement offers the most favourable common ground where men and women of all races, creeds, castes and shades of political opinion may meet, work and co-operate with the utmost goodwill. We print a resume of the presidential address delivered at the Conference in this issue.

THE KHILAFAT CONFERENCE.

The proceedings of the Khilafat Conference disclosed, what has been overlooked so far, that some fundamental differences between the national Indian and Mahomedan communal points of view remain to be settled in order to make Hindu-Moslem unity a reality full of beneficent promise to all the communities of our composite population. Mahatma Gandhi himself noted during the Bombay riots that the present Hindu-Moslem unity had become a menace to the smaller communities. Some remarks of Hakim Ajmal Khan, in the course of his presidential address, should not be allowed to pass without comment. The All-India Congress Committee during one of its recent meetings resolved that the foreign policy of India should be moulded in a spirit of sympathetic understanding with the Mahomedan

States of Arabia, Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey and Egypt. This in itself is sound sense, and if the Hakim Sahib had been content to re-iterate it there would have been no cause for comment. But he went much farther and beyond what any responsible Indian statesman can endorse, when, after referring to the failure of European diplomacy in Moslem States, he observed :

The Islamic world was well prepared for a great revolution. The Islamic federation in Central Asia, Caucasus, Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan and, above all, the regenerated Turkey gave promise of a greater future Islam. So to say, India, on the one side, and Asia Minor on the other were but two extreme links in a chain of the future Islamic federation which was gradually but surely joining together all the intermediate factors in one great system of ordered evolution. Likewise, the present condition in Europe clearly indicated the great possibility of the emancipation of Asia from political bondage and economic slavery. In India the work had already begun. The Hakim Sahib asked his compatriots deeply interested in the events taking place outside India to bear in mind the fact, that the success of their efforts in the cause of Khilafat was bound to help the awakening of India, for the regeneration of Asia was closely bound up with the Khilafat question inasmuch as that was, as a matter of fact, the forerunner of a general awakening of Asia. United India could not afford to ignore the developments in the Islamic world, specially because no less than 70 millions belonging to the Islamic faith formed part of the Indian nation and had a share in its destiny.

The Hakim Sahib was perfectly justified as a devout Mahomedan in representing emancipation from political bondage and economic slavery as synonymous with the success of Islam, and we do not propose to enquire how far facts both in India and elsewhere, in contemporary and in historical times, bear out this identification so far as non-Mahomedan peoples are concerned. But we are obliged to demur very strongly to the Hakim Sahib's anticipation that India has no greater purpose than to become a link in the Islamic federation. To suggest this is to ignore the distinctive lesson of India's spiritual evolution extending centuries beyond either Islam or Christianity. It will take us long to enter into this matter fully. Here we need only say that India's position, marked out by her culture and history no less than by her geographical position, is that of the great reconciler between Islam, Christian and Buddhist nations. She herself has ever believed in the efficacy of all great religions to lead their people to salvation. She has never sought to proselytise. Her spiritual affinities, her international sympathies, her economic interests are no less with Christian and Buddhist peoples than with the Mahomedan. She can never enter a confederation, Christian or Mahomedan, whose main aim is religious militancy. Her own religious tradition is one of the broadest toleration and she cannot depart from it without destroying her most precious heritage. The other fundamental difference, which the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference brought to the surface, is as regards the principle of non-violence. Hindu thought as the result of ripe experience of the fatality

of objective force, evolved the great maxim which is deep-rooted in Indian faith that "non-violence (or doing no harm) is the supreme law". Mahatma Gandhi is the modern apostle of this central creed of the highest Hinduism. Mr. Hasrat Mohani raised in the form of an amendment at the Khilafat Conference the point that Islam does not forbid resort to violence in suitable cases and the President could only get round the corner by ruling out of order the amendment which he had allowed to be passed by the Subjects Committee previously. Not only non-Mahomedans, but even Mahomedans of sects other than that which holds by the Khilafat of Turkey, are getting estranged by the extreme language of Khilafat extremists like Mr. Hasrat Mohani. The Shia Conference recently held at Cawnpore, may be a straw but it shows which way the wind is veering.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The length and publicity of the All-India Committee's discussions largely anticipated the short subsequent formal session of the Congress. Two matters in connection with the Congress proceedings have arrested public attention. One of them, the nomination of Mahatma Gandhi as "dictator," however, merely regularised an existing fact, and was besides rendered necessary by the actual or expected incarceration of other leaders. The other is the motion for declaration of independence of the British connection brought forward by Mr. Hasrat Mohani which was strongly opposed by Mahatma Gandhi and was thrown out by the Congress. A motion by the same gentleman in the Subjects Committee to drop the principle of non-violence met with little support. Mahatma Gandhi in opposing the Independence resolution of Mr. Hasrat Mohani, for the first time since the inauguration of Non-Co-operation, publicly threw doubts on the solidity of the present Hindu-Mahomedan unity. He said:

Let us understand our limitations. Let Hindus and Mussalman have absolute, indissoluble unity. Who is there here who can say to me with confidence that Hindu-Muslim unity has become an indissoluble factor of Indian unity with the Parsis, Christians and Jews and untouchables, about whom you have heard this afternoon? Who is here who will tell me that these very people will not rise against any such an ideal? Think fifty times before you take any step which may redound not to your credit nor to your advantage, but which may cause irreparable injury. Let us first of all gather up our strength, sound our own depths. Let us not go into waters whose depth we don't know. This proposition lauds you in depths unfathomable.

According to a telegram in the *Advocate of India*, he remarked that "the Mahomedans might think that Afghanistan and the Turks were their strong helpers and other minorities might go to seek the help of the British Government." The report is cryptic, but it is clear that the Mahatma was stating something like what we have said in the previous paragraph. While on the subject of Independence, we may call attention to Mr. Andrews' letter which we publish to-day and in which he says he is considering whether he should revise, and if so, how, his views previously expressed as to the necessity, from a huma-

nitarian stand-point, of independence of the British connection, in view of the Irish settlement and the presence of Canadian and Australian delegates at the Washington Conference. The Congress position as explained by Mahatma Gandhi is that Swarajya is demanded, but Swarajya within the British connection is not ruled out by the Congress creed. This elasticity was necessary to enable the more moderate Congressmen to continue within the fold. It also permits of a basis for further negotiation, while the declaration of independence as the absolute objective must mean a final clean cut. Beyond these two matters, the most noticeable point in the Congress resolution which we print elsewhere, is that it allows of a considerable retrogression from the impracticable and harmful parts of the old programme in order to concentrate on the latest developments of the policy of repression. To our mind, the Ahmedabad Congress is a sign of a growing sense of responsibility which was aggressively absent at Nagpur last year. The "dictatorship" of Mahatma Gandhi, as we have said, merely recognizes an existing fact, and the conditions attaching to it make it clear that the Congress is at least as much afraid of his rushing it into a premature peace as of launching it upon a reckless offensive.

THE LIBERAL FEDERATION.

Only very brief reports of the proceedings of the Liberal Federation at Allahabad, with the exception of the address of the President, Mr. Govinda Raghav Iyer, are available at the time of writing. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Kunzru, is reported in welcoming the delegates to have delivered a forcible speech, and to have especially condemned the repressive policy and pointed out the failure of dyarchy in the United Provinces in particular. The Presidential address might have passed for an able state-paper some years ago, but as a pronouncement on the political situation of the hour, it is hopelessly out of date. No previous Liberal Federation has had so much anxious and even sympathetic attention concentrated on it even from Congressmen, but unless the subsequent proceedings make up for the tame routine of the presidential address, the Liberal party will lose the great opportunity presented to them. Dewan Bahadur Iyer's political outlook is limited by the Congress on one side and the Reforms on the other. He has no guidance to give to the country except by way of criticising the one or extolling the other, no independent outlook on the weighty social problems that underlie politics, no vision as to the future of India as a nation and among nations. His address is a thinly lucid exposition dealing mainly with the mint and anise and cummin of conventional politics.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent).

London, December 8.

IRISH PEACE SETTLEMENT.

A prayer of thanks-giving has gone up over practically the whole country at the news of the Irish Peace settlement. During the last few months, ever since

the Irish Conference was first mooted, people have been in a state of doubt and uncertainty as to its outcome, but, underlying all doubt, and when uncertainty and anxiety were at their highest, we have never ceased to hope that out of evil might come good, that out of the suffering, the agony, the apparently wasted sacrifice of many generations of men and women of both countries, would come perpetual peace between Celt and Saxon within the British Isles. The horrible savagery of the last eighteen months has been alien to the best in both peoples, and perhaps it was the terrible vision of the worse conditions that might otherwise prevail that obliged both sets of negotiators to determine not to separate without reaching an agreement. That they have done so at last seems an answer to our prayers, and is a splendid tribute to the wonderful patience, the courageous firmness, the self-sacrifice, the devotion, and the sane patriotism of the leaders on both sides, who saw great ideals in jeopardy and sought successfully to save them. This has been no party or factional victory. It is not Britain or Ireland that has triumphed over the other. But each has made a great constructive contribution towards world-peace, and all parties (save perhaps Ulster) have united in prayer and in action to achieve a lasting settlement. Thus has an enmity lasting over seven hundred years been finally overcome. It has, if anything, been a triumph of idealism and of the practical common-sense that comes with a realisation of vital and deep-rooted common interests. Presently, when realisation comes to Ulster, she, too, will take a great part in the development and enterprise of a united Ireland. To-day she sulks and stands aloof: but this attitude cannot last, and Sinn Féin, if wise, will spare no effort to convince Ulster that not in aloofness but in close association with the rest of Ireland lies her future.

" GREATER LONDON."

For some time past, the government of "Greater London" has been under discussion; it being perfectly evident that the anomalous position that has been created by the rapid growth of such a vast city must soon come up for review. The old boundaries have disappeared, the speeding up of the means of transit and the growth of the population have stretched London out on all sides many miles from its original area; but the old governing bodies remain, and the old Acts of Parliament regulating a small city's life are still in force. Authority overlaps authority and there is a tremendous amount of inefficiency and waste that could be, without great difficulty, and ought to be remedied. On December 6, a Royal Commission opened its sittings to inquire into the story of how London is governed and to make recommendations for its better government. The London County Council, one of the principal governing bodies, is submitting to it a draft scheme of reconstruction. The Commission will have a fairly heavy task before it in dealing with the many matters that will be suggested for its consideration. Many of these are of the utmost urgency and cannot be shelved in the easy way so often done by Royal Commissions. The equalisation of rates throughout the whole Metropolitan area

is one of those matters that must be dealt with without unnecessary delay, as Poplar's financial difficulties have shown us very clearly, and it is possible, that even before the final findings of the Commission are made known, some adjustment of this nature will have to be made.

MARRIED WOMEN AND PUBLIC SERVICE.

A strong protest is being raised in many quarters against the policy of the Glasgow Corporation and the St. Pancras Borough Council in refusing to employ married women medical officers, whose husbands are also in employment. The St. Pancras Borough Council has been especially irritating in its handling of the matter, as it has dismissed from her position a lady who, for some time past, has been in its employ as maternity doctor, and the sole reason given for her dismissal was the fact that she had married. When she entered into the Council's service, she signed no contract undertaking not to marry whilst in its employment, and no rules have been made by it that marriage on the part of its women officers would be followed by dismissal. Public bodies, like any other employer, are at liberty not to engage women at all, or, if such penalties are sought to be introduced into a contract, the women are at liberty to refuse to sign such a contract or accept such a stipulation. But in such pre-eminently suitable positions as those which maternity work offers, it would be rather difficult to shut women out or insist that only unmarried women should be eligible for appointment to or retention of such posts. The dismissal of an efficient public servant is a source of trial to many more than the believers in equality of opportunity for both sexes, especially since the recent legislation removing the statutory disabilities previously imposed upon women. At the present time, in fact, there seems to be a steady subtle campaign, proceeding with the object of preventing the employment of women workers so as to provide for men. It is perhaps one of the natural consequences of after-war conditions. But these sex-antagonisms are now bound to crop up from time to time. During the war, women showed themselves efficient and capable in many fields of work previously denied to them. They were recognised as most valuable co-workers with men. Now men no longer need their co-operation in those fields of labour, and in many cases resent their continuing to occupy posts they desire for themselves. But women cannot now turn or be turned back, and men must obviously learn to adjust themselves to the new conditions. The cry of making room for the ex-service man, whether efficient or otherwise, is being a bit overdone. So many people are beginning to think.

POVERTY OF THE CLERGY.

Three professions have held places of prior importance in civil life, the Law, Medicine, and the Church. The two former have the advantage of enabling those who practise them to earn or receive incomes varying from that of real poverty to that of affluence. But the clergy are in a different position. Often attached to a poor district or parish, their situation is not happy or an enviable one, and whilst it ma

carry with it the aroma of respectability and occasionally of sanctity, it certainly also involves frequently the prospect, and even the certainty, of semi-starvation, for no married curate can live on his stipend. Many pitiful cases come before the public of extreme poverty among the married clergy with families. To remedy these ills, a proposal has been made that ordained laymen be appointed, who would receive certain specialised training and be ordained to officiate in the Church ceremonials, whilst at the same time they will be able to earn their livelihood in secular employment.

EUGENICS.

We used to hear a great deal of talk about eugenics in this country, but Denmark seems to have taken the lead in endeavouring to enforce a good physical standing for its intending marriage-couples. Each party must declare in writing that he or she never suffered from certain diseases, or, alternately submit to examination. Both parties are required to provide medical certificates that they are not subject to epilepsy. Legal separation also is to be more easily granted, the following being good grounds for the same: failure to support, addiction to alcohol, vice or serious disagreements. After 18 months of such separation the King may grant a divorce. Divorces may also be claimed after one party has declined to live with the other for two years or suffered insanity for three years after marriage without reasonable prospect of cure, as well as the other and more universal reasons. All these things are done, so far as possible, to ensure the physical and mental, well-being of the coming generations.

SEX-INSTRUCTION.

Dr. Lyttleton, late Headmaster of Eton gave evidence, a few days ago, before the Birthrate Commission of the National Council of Public Morals, on the question of sex-instruction for male adolescents. He said that the boy undoubtedly required instruction on sex, not only to keep him from trouble, but also because he could not otherwise get a true view of nature and natural law. It was a matter of enlightening the boy when he had a right to be enlightened. His first instruction should be at the age of nine. Then he should be perfectly able to understand the facts of paternity. More, however, ought to be said later about paternity, and that should be at about 12 or 13, assuming that the boy had not heard anything wrong from companions: now-a-days it was astonishing how clean-minded the boys were at preparatory schools. But a great many fathers could not tell their boys properly, and he suggested that the boys of such parents should be informed of these elementary facts of sex-knowledge from pamphlets issued by some authoritative and well-established body. In regard to elder boys, there had, he said, been a great deal of scandalous neglect on the part of headmasters. As a result of his experience, he believed that the right motive to appeal to was simply reverence for the boy's own nature and for his parents.

BIRTHRIGHT OF KENYA INDIANS.

I hear that the despatch of the Governor of Kenya on the result of the discussion of the Colonial Office

proposals with the European and Indian settlers is expected shortly in Downing Street. It will not be pleasant reading, I am confident, still less because I learn from excellent sources that the India Office has riddled the proposals with destructive criticism in advance. Mr. Churchill is a brilliant man, but he will display his brilliancy to greater advantage if he does not try to whittle away the spirit and purpose of the Imperial Conference resolution. Equal citizenship implies equal opportunities for closer co-operation among citizens and no equality of disability and differentiation. The Colonial Office proposals are absurd and a mockery of right principles, and Mr. Churchill must not be surprised by the Indian settlers. The Europeans scorn them because they appear to confer some suspicion of equality upon Indians and this the white settlers, with the strong anti-Asiatic bias with which they are possessed, cannot tolerate. "Not even the shadow of equality", is the cry of both sides, but with different implications, of course. I imagine that Mr. Montagu will again get busy on the subject very shortly. In the meantime the utmost patience and moderation on the part of Kenya Indians is bound to carry all before it, for the European position is quite untenable, and so it will be discovered if, and when, the Cabinet comes to decide upon the question.

A SCHEME OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

(BY THE HON'BLE MR. G. M. BHURGI.)
EXPENDITURE AND TAXATION.

In my previous articles I have dealt with the questions of the machinery to enforce compulsion, and have suggested a new machinery and arrangement to suit the new circumstances and environments. There remains the financial aspect of the Scheme which is the most important screw on which the whole question hangs.

The Government's revenues at present are barely sufficient to meet its present needs. We are having deficit budgets. And then we are carrying on a crusade, both inside and outside the Government, against Excise Revenue, a very substantial item at present on our bill of fare. It will be no use calling upon the Government to retrench expenditure on other heads to the extent of necessary provision for a complete system of Compulsory Education. No doubt retrenchment is desirable and absolutely necessary in our top-heavy administration, made still heavier with the inauguration of the Reforms. Our Executive Councils require to be cut down to their original size which should also include the ministers of the transferred subjects. Shears must be applied to the post of Assistant Collectors and Deputy Collectors in the Revenue Department. We have in Sindh a new species of Revenue officials known as the Attached Deputy Collectors, and this should be at once abolished. The great waste of money in the Public Works Departments on colossal structures must be put an end to, and large sums spent annually on causeways etc. should be saved. Reform is needed in the Police Department also.

It seems to me that there are more officials than men while it should be vice versa, and much economy should be made in the palatial buildings supplied to them even in remote villages. Finally, the Government High Schools which are like white elephants in places where there are very good private institutions should be done away with, or such of them as may be necessary may be transferred in the areas where they would serve much greater purpose; the present Education Department is also top-heavy and as much reduction as is possible should be made in the personnel and establishments.

One cannot by one stroke of the pen sweep away all that might be unnecessary and superfluous in the administration. These things must take their time and come gradually: whereas the necessity for the adequate provision for the rising generation of a democratic India,—and we might here also remember the fact that all democracies are expensive,—which is in making is *immediate*. It has been grossly neglected in the past: it would be suicidal to do so any longer. New sources of revenue will therefore have to be tapped for any scheme of universal compulsory education to enable us to set the scheme working. Let us appreciate this fact fully and set ourselves to the task of devising ways and means to do so.

NEW RESOURCES.

In the first place it would be necessary to raise the local cess either on a uniform scale of from one anna to two, or on a sliding scale, according to the assessment, from one anna to two annas to three, and four annas in the case of alienated or rent-free lands and jagirs. The choice of the adoption of the uniform or the sliding scale depends upon as to which would be more productive and less embarrassing to its incumbents. Furthermore I am of opinion that the cess should be levied on all Income tax payers also, who at present are exempt from it, and all incomes other than agricultural, above a certain fixed value which are not taxable under the Income Tax Act. I would further recommend the imposition of Death duties on somewhat the same lines as they exist in England. These like the Super Tax may be on a sliding scale (a further description of these duties is given in the Note on Expenditure and Taxation which I herewith submit,) and should be subject to such revisions as may be necessary from time to time to cover up deficits on the expenditure on account of Compulsory Education.

In addition to the Death duties the following taxes could be imposed without any real hardship to the poor on cinemas, theatres and other entertainments, on races; adoption of sliding scale in the case of the present one Anna Stamp receipts and cheques for cash payments, and last but not least, a kind of duty on all transactions at the Stock Exchange.

SOURCES OF MUNICIPAL TAXATION.

As I have explained in the scheme outlined in reply to questions No. 3 and 4, there would be very little additional burden involved on the Municipalities if the provincial contribution were to be fixed to 2/3rds

of the total expenditure. Should they still have to spend something in addition to what they are doing now, the following or any one of the following taxation may be imposed, as the necessity of the case demands:

- (i) Imposition of House Tax on houses of certain fixed value, if there is no such tax already in existence.
- (ii) Imposition of or increment in the wheel-tax.
- (iii) Imposition of octroi duties on articles of luxuries.

I understand that sanction has been withheld from such or any of such of the Municipalities as desired to introduce Compulsory Education in accordance with Mr. Patel's Act, on the ground that provision for additional taxation had not been made; as if the latter must be a necessary precedent for the former, I think I have satisfactorily shown that it is not. In any case I strongly object to the imposition of additional taxation being a necessary condition for compulsion in the Scheme.

NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE, AHMEDABAD.

MR. NATARAJAN'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,

I beg to offer you my most sincere thanks for asking me to preside on this occasion, because social reform has been very close to my heart almost ever since I began to take interest in public life. And to-day, I consider that social reform more than anything else is the corner-stone of national progress for many reasons. One of them is that on the social reform platform it is possible for all men irrespective of political opinion, irrespective of race or creed, to meet together, as in this assembly, to discuss questions of national well-being. What is it that makes it possible for all of us to meet on this common platform? In religion, we might have differences, in politics we might have differences, but as regards social reform, which really has for its object the raising of the intellectual, moral and economic status of the average man and woman, there can be no two opinions among us. Politics deals with men in the mass. The object of social reform is to ensure for every one a perfect heredity and a perfect environment.

If you take the history of the social reform movement you will find that it was not started on any academical ideas. The first social reform in British India was the abolition of *Sati*. It was carried mainly by the efforts of the Government although there was a considerable number of enlightened Indians who supported it.

The first question of social reform which attracted the attention of reformers was that of remarriage of Hindu widows, because the prohibition of remarriage caused considerable hardship to a very large number of child-widows. This social reform was intended to relieve young widows of a certain felt

hardship. It was only in the interest of freedom that, as there are in our country widows of very tender ages, liberty should be given to such of them as desired to resume married life. That was the beginning of the social reform movement. As we went farther, we found that that the question of remarriage was but a part of the larger whole of the social reform movement. Child marriages were the source of child widows for whose relief chiefly the remarriage movement originated.

It was, therefore, necessary to attack child marriages. This reform was brought to a head by the tragic death of a young wife in Bengal, which led to the raising of the Age of Consent. There was a great agitation when the Government proposed to raise the age from 10 to 12 and there it remains still. Although many cases have not arisen under this law, it has had a great educational value in enabling parents to keep their daughters unmarried for a longer time than before. In these early reforms the greatest obstacle encountered was from women themselves. It was felt that the great lever of social reform, therefore, should be the education of women.

Thanks to the efforts of social reformers, thanks to the general influence of English education, the question of education of women has advanced to such an extent that we find large numbers of girls attending schools and colleges at advanced ages. It is a matter of satisfaction that Western India has played a prominent part in these reforms. It was due to the efforts of men like Cursondas Mnlji, Madhavdas Raghunathdas, Mahipatram Ropram, Lalshankar Umashanker, Parmanand, Ranade, Bhandarkar and Chandavarkar that our presidency has taken a very leading part in the Social Reform movement.

The next question we took up was the question of Temperance. English education has done a great deal of good but unfortunately with it came the habit of drink and for a long time the social reform movement was greatly handicapped by this circumstance. Orthodox people thought that drink and eating of meat was included in social reform. But when we began to organise the social reform movement on rational lines in Madras, we stipulated that every member of the Social Reform Association should declare himself to be a total abstainer. The Social Conference also accepted that principle. I am glad to say that to-day no social reformer is known to be a drinker and not only that but most of our leaders in other movements are also total abstainers. The effect of the anti-nauch and social purity movements which were initiated by social reformers, is also visible in the high standard of personal purity of national leaders at the present day.

In these ways Social Reform has been of the greatest service by raising the level of personal and national life. A nation consists of individuals and when the standard of individuals is raised the standard of the nation is also raised.

Other important questions have since come to the front. The Brahmin non-Brahmin movement in

Madras and Maharashtra would not have risen if Social Reform ideas had been accepted by our political leaders. When we started the Madras Social Reform Association thirty years ago some of the men prominent in the non-Brahmin movement at the present day were working with us side by side like brothers. Owing to gross neglect the caste question has now become a political question and unless it is solved satisfactorily national progress is impossible.

Then there is the question of the Depressed classes. The awakening among us to our duty to these classes was largely due to the Christian missionary whose numerous conversions from these classes alarmed Hindu leaders. Lala Lajpat Rai was one of the first workers in this field, and among the more recent workers in this movement may be mentioned Messrs. Shinde, Sohoni, Ranga Rao, and others. The cause of the depressed classes has found a great champion in our revered leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who has made the abolition of untouchability an integral part of his programme. Many people who hailed the Mahatma's political doctrines with enthusiasm fight shy of this part of the programme. But as the Mahatma has said on so many occasions, unless each one of us feels in his heart and soul that to regard some classes of our people as causing pollution by mere contact is a national crime and sin, our hopes of Swaraj must be purely illusory.

Within the last few years there have grown up several institutions of Social Service, such as Seva Samitis, Social Service Leagues and others which have done excellent service in times of famine, epidemics and also on occasions of large pilgrimages. This is a very hopeful movement provided that it does not lead people to believe, as it does in some cases, that Social Service is a substitute for Social Reform. Social Reform demands personal action on the line of one's own conviction, which is very necessary to spread social justice in our relations with our fellow-beings. Social Service, on the other hand, has its origin in compassion and in a sense of social duty. Social Service done in the right spirit, however, is the most potent instrument of Social Reform.

There is one thing, however, with regard to Social Service which should not be lost sight of. It requires special training without which one is likely to do more harm than good. Institutions for such training should be started under experienced men and women. For want of trained people, such work as the reclamation of the criminal tribes, rescue homes and beggars' camps, such as the one recently started in Bombay, are at present in charge of the agents of Salvation Army. By way of practical suggestion, I would say that every family in the land should dedicate at least one member to social and national work so that there may be an ample supply of workers. I thank you very much for the kind hearing you have given me and I only regret that want of time and the state of my voice have prevented me from speaking at greater length.

"INDEPENDENCE"

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have only recently, on my return from East Africa and Uganda, seen a copy of your reply to my papers on 'Indian Independence'. I wish to thank you for the criticism which you have given to them with such characteristic fairness.

I would not wish to leave unanswered, even at this late date, certain points which you have brought to my notice. In the first instance, you are right in reminding me of a conversation which we had together wherein I emphasised the fact, that in the title, 'The Immediate need of Independence', I had really meant the stress of the adjective 'immediate' to fall on the noun 'need' to which it was attached, but that many readers had taken it along with the noun 'independence' instead. I promised to correct this last impression; but my engagement in East Africa prevented me. In my second series of articles, I thought that I had made my own position more clear. It is as a humanitarian, and not as a politician, that I have been writing all along. I have not dealt with methods and plans, and times and seasons, but rather with principles. Indeed I have stated this position so many times, that I am almost ashamed to state it again. But I find it still necessary.

In your second paragraph, you mention that India has assimilated many foreign elements before, and India can do so again in the case of the British. I entirely agree with you that this assimilation of foreign cultures has been one of the outstanding facts in Indian History. I revolt against practices which would isolate India from the rest of the world. Even the faint suggestion of such a policy has always pained me; because it has hurt something in my inner nature. It was this that made me instinctively protest against the burning of foreign cloth. That hurt me.

But what I do not think you sufficiently realise is this. The real isolation policy today is on the part of the British themselves. They insist on Segregation. In India itself this fact may not be so noticeable as elsewhere. But anyone who has seen with his own eyes the treatment of 'Asiatics' in the British Colonies will understand my meaning. I think that it is clear in my own articles, from first to last, that it was this very segregation policy on the part of the White race that made me choose the title.—"The immediate need of Independence." For wherever I have seen in Africa that segregation treatment meted out to 'Asiatics', I have said to myself that we must *immediately* react against it. We must not go on for a day longer in such a false position, or let people think that we are acquiescent. Surely Shakespeare was right, when he wrote,—

"Who steals my purse, steals trash;

But he who filches from me my good name
Takes from me that which doth not profit him
Yet leaves me poor indeed."

For nothing really durable can be built upon the foundation of subjection and servility. Thank God, the 'servile' days are very rapidly passing away, owing chiefly to the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi. Who can doubt it, when thousands are ready to flock daily to the prison doors in order to court imprisonment? Thank God for that wholesome change! But that change itself has come to pass because the British connection itself has been fearlessly challenged in its present form. It has not been due nearly to internal reconstruction.

Your last point is one that leaves considerable doubt in my mind. You say, "No country has achieved independence

without foreign help. The United States was helped by France. Italy was helped alternately by England, France and Germany. Greece was helped by England, France and Russia."

This is historically true. But France did not insist on the young American Colonies, as the price of such help, becoming an integral part of a French Empire. Greece and Italy today have their full independence. The true parallels to India are Egypt and the Philippines. The United States gained the Philippines by conquest. Just as Great Britain gained India by conquest. But the United States Government is now actually urging the Philippine leaders to claim and make good their independence, and the 'Jones Law' has ratified and legalised that independence as the immediate end in view, approved of by the United States Government itself. It has not asked the Philippines to become an integral part of the United States Empire. I have still a great faith that my own countrymen will not in the end fall short of that brotherhood and comradeship with which the United States have treated the Philippines; that they will not be behind-hand in willingly allowing India to go out of the Empire and even encouraging her to do so, if it is India's own wish that this should be her own destiny.

This letter is already too long, but I cannot refrain from adding one thought more, which has been occupying my mind constantly of late, as I have seen the wonderful dawn of a new hope for the world in the spirit of the recent Irish Agreement. Today, the whole conception of the British Empire appears to be changing, not in word only, but in actual deed. The following sentences from Lord Haldane, which have just appeared in one of the leading English journals, make me pause and think over the whole problem afresh. He says "the keys of the Empire are not to be found in Downing Street. They are of a spiritual rather than of a material nature; and they are constitutional and not legal. At any moment a Dominion might declare itself an Independent Republic. The security against its doing so consists in its not desiring to do so. There is no reason why it should desire, and if the competence to rule itself is recognised, there is no reason to expect any such desire.....The situation is wholly different from what it was half a century ago."

I know very well indeed with what caution and even suspicion such words must be received if we are not to be led astray. There have been high-sounding phrases without number, whose purpose has been merely to deceive and beguile. I know that fact only too well. But the definite agreement by both Houses of Parliament to an 'Irish Free State' is a solid fact, going far beyond the old idea of Home Rule. Again, the presence of Canadian and Australian ambassadors at Washington is a solid fact. Whether such facts as these will obliterate altogether the difference between Independence and Dominion Status remains yet to be explored. If they do then it is clear that a great deal of my argument concerning 'Independence' becomes open to reconsideration in the light of these new facts. I am carefully thinking out that problem, but have not yet come to any definite conclusion.

Yours faithfully,

Sbantiniketan.

O. F. ANDREWS.

JESUS CHRIST AND PRESENT DAY PROBLEMS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Your first note in the issue of December 25th, is headed *Jesus Christ and Present Day Problems*. I entirely agree with the sentiment to which you have publicly expressed

your own adherence that "the pressing problems of society can be solved only by acting on the principles of Jesus' life and teaching." It is therefore important to be clear what these were. You say that a central doctrine of Christ was "non-resistance to evil." I cannot believe that you really mean this. Christ resisted evil all His life. He resisted evil by flooding the world with new streams of good. He resisted evil by denouncing it. He resisted it by cleansing people's minds and bodies of evil. He never said "Resist not evil" although the 1611 English translation of Matthew 5-39 makes Him appear to have said so. What He did say was "Resist not an evil man," and He said that in reference to revenge for injuries. This precept He illustrated by His practice. What is the motive of this precept and practice? The motive is that we are to shew and feel love to all men, even our enemies. If we do not resist them when they injure us, we take the best means of winning them to love us. When others love us and we, them the difficulties of the world vanish, because we shall mutually seek each other's good. So long as we hate each other and try to revenge ourselves on each other, the world must become more and more miserable.

The general purport of your note was that the national movement in India is an exemplification of the principles of Christ, and therefore "the response of Christian men and nations to the challenge" which this movement throws down "affords a practical test of the faith in the teachings of Jesus Christ". The truth of that sentence again depends on what the teachings of the "Great Nazarene" were.

The only thing which you mention as in common between Him and the Non-co-operators is "non-resistance to evil" which, as I have remarked, was not any principle of His. The only kind of non-resistance that He preached or practised was "non-resistance to evil men", and that was not a principle with Him but a method of shewing love towards enemies. Now, is the non-resistance of the non-co-operators a method of shewing their love towards the bureaucracy and winning the goodwill and co-operation of the British? The real truth is that a man may copy a *method* which is used by another man without accepting any of his doctrines or imbibing any of his spirit. An illustration will make this clear. Many Hindus copied the Mohammedan method of keeping their ladies in purdah. Does any Mohammedan regard those Hindus as exponents of the spirit of Mohammedanism on that account?

The central principle of Christ is not non-resistance, which is only a method, but active love. By this He knew that the world can be saved, and on this alone can society be built. His authority can never be claimed for the preaching of hatred. Nor can it be claimed for any campaign which aims at sowing discord and suspicion between man and man whether by true and by false accusations. Neither can it be claimed for any agitation for vengeance on those who have inflicted injuries on us.

There is another thing for which the authority of Christ cannot possibly be claimed and that is civil disobedience. It so happened that He was asked this very question. Some Jews said to Him, "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Caesar or not? Shall we give or shall we not give?" (Mark 12, 14). He answered to the questioners asking to show Him one of the coins in which the tribute was paid. When it was produced, He said "Whose is this likeness on the coin, and this name inscribed on it?" They said "Caesar's". Then Jesus answered, "Pay Caesar what is due to God." Here again there is no doubt about the motive of the answer. It is to be found in the fact that Jesus recognised the Roman rulers of Palestine, foreigners though they

were, as exercising for the time being a power given by God. His words to Pilate put that beyond doubt. As He stood before that worthless Governor, bleeding and aching from the scourging which Pilate had unjustly caused to be inflicted on Him, He nevertheless told the Governor that the power which he had over Him, was "from above," which was the Jewish way of saying from God.

No one could be less prejudiced in favour of Government than He was at that moment; yet His words imply that the respect due to any Government which aims steadily at preserving the order and peace of a country is the respect due to something of divine origin.

Jesus was not a nationalist. Whenever the fanatical nationalism of the Jews was brought to His notice, He discouraged it. For Himself He would have nothing to do with it. Why? Because He knew that God is equally the Father of all men and made them all to be as brothers, whereas nationalism only too often leads to violent hatreds, to wars and to the refusal of that co-operation which every nation owes to every other.

It is just because the spirit of Christ drives me *above* nationalism that I can think of men as equal. Because of the same spirit I recognise the right of men to freedom. But with Christ freedom never meant freedom to do anything you like, but freedom to do the right; as when He said "If ye abide in my word, then are ye truly my disciples: and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

Mr. Editor, I most heartily agree with you, that the pressing problems of society can be solved only by acting on the principles of Jesus' life and teaching. But the most central principle of that life is the love of God, which alone makes it possible for us to follow the next most central principle, the love of all men.

I am, Sir,
Your constant reader,
Edwin James, Bombay.

THE SALVATION ARMY AND POLITICS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

Your issue of December 25th has been brought to my notice. I find that in it you make reference to some political propaganda by Commissioner Booth-Tucker in America.

I shall be greatly obliged if you will let me know who your correspondent is, and the source of his information.

You will readily understand that as an Organization we keep clear of all political matters, and we cannot for one moment think that Commissioner Booth-Tucker, who is so devoted to India and its people, would make a statement which would in any way reflect on the Indian character. It appears to me that such an allegation should not have been made without absolute proof of its veracity, and we should therefore be grateful if you would kindly let us know the source of your information, and whether it can be relied upon.

Yours faithfully,
COL. STANLEY EVANS,
Chief Secretary.

[Our correspondent was, as he said, referring to a letter in the *Hindu* of Madras from an Indian in America. He himself wrote as a friend of the Army and with the desire that its good work in India should not suffer.—Ed. I. S. R.]

A CALL FOR TRUCE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,
Sir,

The Viceroy has spoken. There is a distinct agreeable change both in the tone and temper, and the position taken up lately in his previous utterances. It has removed the breaking tension put upon the present very grave situation, made graver by the happenings of the past few weeks. It is a happy augury that His Excellency and his Government have realized that there is yet another and a surer means of maintaining law and order and that is by handling the whole situation in a spirit of conciliation and mutual understanding. The idea of a round-table Conference seems to have gone home. We may take it that His Excellency is not only impressed with the idea: he is even ready to take it up. His speech signifies his willingness to accept, so far as his Government is concerned, the necessary conditions preliminary to the Conference and essential for a state of truce. The conditions are embodied in the recommendations of the deputation that waited upon him in this connection. These are that the various notifications and proclamations recently issued by Government would be withdrawn, and all persons imprisoned as the result of their operations immediately released. So far so good. But His Excellency asks that the activities which have led Government to adopt the preventive measures be suspended during the truce. It is clear from the speech that what His Excellency wants is not the resumption of practice by Non-co-operating lawyers; nor the resumption of studies by the non-co-operating students, but 'a calm and serene atmosphere for a Conference'. That implies only a suspension for the period of the truce only, of the propaganda of civil disobedience and boycott, by public meetings, volunteer organisations, picketing, calling up general hartals, and the inauguration of civil disobedience on an organised scale. There is a radical difference between this and the position taken up by Lord Ronaldshay. Lord Ronaldshay demanded not only that hartals should not be called up, but that the leaders ought to prevent all voluntary action on the part of individuals. That is not possible. You cannot prevent anybody who wants to give up his practice, who wants to withdraw his children from a Government school, or who wants to close his shop on a particular occasion. All that I understand His Excellency the Viceroy desires is, that there should be no organised effort on the part of various Khilafat and Congress organisations to encourage either, during the period of the truce.

I trust there would be no difficulty on the part of the leaders of the Non-Co-operation movement in accepting these simple conditions. There is no giving in even by an iota. There is nothing to be lost, but every thing likely to be gained by a Conference. Mahatma Gandhi and all other leaders associated with him, want the settlement of the Khilafat, the Panjab and the Swaraj questions. So do we. The Government have expressed their desire to meet us in a conference for the purpose. Is it not incumbent upon every one of us to put aside all minor considerations and afford all possible facilities to each other for the Conference to materialise? I make a personal appeal to Mahatma Gandhi and every Non-co-operationist leader to accept the suggestion contained in the Viceroy's speech and begin working in that direction.

A CONFERENCE BEFORE THE CONFERENCE.

Mahatma Gandhi has already signified his assent to meet the leaders of various shades of opinion in a Conference. It is imperative that this Conference should come off before the round table Conference with the Government does. After all, are not all of us whether Non-co-operators or not, working for the same goal, the same common good? Is it then really altogether impossible for us to come to a common understanding, a common agreement by which to stand or fall together. In any case let us meet, and meet at once, and put our heads together. The Conference will be one step in the right direction—a signal to a common understanding and common agreement. May it not lead to the desired end as a result of its deliberations. I hope and trust it will.

G. M. BHUANGAL

A SELF-DEFENCE LEAGUE FOR MALABAR.

THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE MOPLAH OUTBREAK.

The Moplah rebellion has been raging in Malabar for nearly four months. The rebels have committed all imaginable crimes and atrocities on the lives and properties of persons living in the disturbed area. All Hindu property has been looted; the hard-earned savings of generations have disappeared; men, women and children have been driven out to lead a life of misery and destitution in distant places or pitilessly butchered. Many persons have been dishonoured and forcibly converted to Islam. The outside public is still unaware of the extent of the destruction wrought by the fanatics. They are not able to realise the danger that threatens the future of the Non-Mahomedan communities in this district. But it behoves us—persons who have been living in the very midst of the disturbance and who have witnessed this dire calamity with our own eyes—to reflect seriously on how the sufferers from this catastrophe may have justice done to them and how such catastrophes may be prevented in time to come.

RACIAL DETERIORATION OF THE MALAYALEE.

The Malayalee, particularly the Nairs, are supposed to be a warlike race. Yet except in a few solitary instances they have displayed an incredible amount of cowardice. If one-tenth of the men who ran away from the Moplahs had stood fast and united together, the rebellion would have been quelled in three days or perhaps there would have been no rebellion at all. The Malayalee Hindu has undergone a terrible amount of racial deterioration. Until some radical steps are taken he will, even after the rebellion is over, find it difficult to live with self-respect in the midst of a Moplah population which is now glorying in the terror it has inspired in the Hindu community. Hindu houses have been looted; Hindu women have been ravished; Hindu children have been butchered; and how has the far-famed Nair spirit responded to all this? By running away. It is an indelible disgrace. Is it not high time for the Malayalee Hindus to take steps to assert their manhood. Otherwise their extinction as a race is certain.

FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE DENIED TO THE HINDUS OF MALABAR.

A large number of Hindu men and women have been compelled at the point of the sword to embrace Islam. Even after the peace is restored they will be afraid to go back to the Hindu fold for fear of Moplah vengeance. Does this not also show the utter loss of manhood that has overtaken the Hindu? In this 20th century, living under a government which assures to all freedom of conscience, if the Hindus are afraid to profess their ancestral faith for fear of a handful of Moplahs, what opinion is the world to form of their self-respect and of their manliness? Either this race should by some means be reinvigorated or it should cease to encumber the earth. To continue to live in thralldom to the Moplah is a disgrace to their ancestors which no self-respecting soul can brook.

HINDUS REDUCED TO SECURARY.

Practically all movable Hindu property in the disturbed areas is now in the hands of the Moplahs. Is there any chance of it being restored to the owners? If immediate steps are not taken to prevent the recurrence of such outbreaks, the Moplahs will rise again within two or three years to loot once more what little the Hindus might have acquired by patient industry in the interval. The lesson that the Moplah has learnt from the present rebellion is that rebellion is a profitable commercial speculation. And if this conviction

takes firm hold of the Moplah's mind what hope is there of future peace? Some investigations are now being made at Calicut and a few other centres to find out the losses suffered by the refugees. The result of such inquiries must necessarily be fragmentary. There is little chance of all the sufferers getting a hearing. Unless an efficient, impartial and representative committee appointed by the Government conducts inquiries in *amsom* after *amsom* in the affected Taluks it is very improbable that all the sufferers will ever get justice.

DEFENSIVE MEASURES.

If therefore Non-Mahomedans are to live in Malabar after the rebellion in the same manner as they were doing hitherto, the work of social and economic reconstruction must be taken up at once.

(a) The causes that have contributed to the weakness of Hindus in the past must be inquired into and removed. Foremost among these causes stands the rigidity of the caste system. If one section of the Hindu community refuses to touch or even to approach another section how can they show a united front to the common enemy? Therefore an earnest and whole-hearted attempt must be made to grant such concessions to the so-called lower castes, as will make union possible.* An instance of the disorganised state of Hindu society is the preference generally shown by Hindu landlords to Mahomedan tenants. These landlords have now learnt a bitter lesson and it is hoped that they will not forget it in a hurry.

(b) Immediate steps must be taken to see that the losses are fully paid up. The Government must be made to appoint a commission of inquiry to go from *amsom* to *amsom* in all the rebellious taluks and make an estimate of the losses suffered by Hindus, Europeans, Indian Christians and loyal Mahomedans and full compensation must be given to the sufferers. The rebels must be made to disgorge their loot.

(c) All Hindu boys and young men must be taught how to defend themselves by undergoing training in *kalames* of the old type and organisations like the Indian Defence Force must be formed in each village to facilitate united action.

(d) A stable organisation must be formed to achieve the objects and generally to watch over the interests of the non-Moplah community.

6. The work described above is of great magnitude but it is not impossible of achievement, at this time when all the members of the Hindu community have been more or less awakened by the terrible experiences they have passed through, to the urgent necessity for some kind of defensive reorganisation. It will require the wholehearted work of many men working with religious devotion for racial regeneration. This rough outline of the aims of the proposed organisation is now published for the information of the public so that gentlemen who have the well-being of Malabar at heart may help us with their suggestions. Such suggestions may be made publicly through the columns of the press or may be sent privately to the undersigned. We shall also be glad to receive offers of help from gentlemen who are in a position to establish self-defence organisations in their villages. We appeal to all Malaysians to extend to this scheme their sympathy and support and we invite them to correspond with us on the matter. After receiving the suggestions and criticisms of the public a meeting will be convened for formally starting work.

CALICUT,
18-12-21.

K. APPU MENON.
E. RAMAN MENON.

NOTE—All correspondence should be addressed to E. Raman Menon, Secretary, Depressed Classes Mission, Calicut—Kallai.

* This will be a rather hard pill to swallow to many even of the sufferers. But severe diseases require painful operations. The following remarks by a writer in the "Malabar Journal" of 14-12-21 in an article on 'Reconstruction' may be of interest in this connection: "All the artificial social barriers of castes and sub-castes should be removed and the temples should be thrown open to all Hindus. The forcibly converted men and women should be restored to their original status in the community and the Hindus should feel that the whole community has fallen on account of the dishonour of their outraged women and the stigma should be borne by the Hindu community as a whole collectively and not by the victims individually. The orthodox Hindu who objects to such organisation on the authority of the vedas and Sastras may be left alone to himself to learn the texts of Koran in his own turn and to modify his views in the light of their teachings."

THE CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS.

The following is the full text of the resolutions as finally passed by the All-India Congress Committee:—

Whereas, since the holding of the last National Congress the people of India have found from actual experience that by reason of the adoption of non-violent non-co-operation the country has made a great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and self-respect, and whereas the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government, and whereas on the whole the country is rapidly progressing towards Swaraj, this Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta and reaffirmed at Nagpur and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto, in such a manner as each province may determine, till the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established, and the control of the Government of India passes into the hands of the people from that of an irresponsible corporation.

Whereas, by reason of the threat uttered by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speeches and the consequent repression started by the Government of India in the various provinces by way of disbandment of the volunteer corps and forcible prohibition of public and even committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner and by the arrest of many Congress workers in several provinces, and whereas this repression is manifestly intended to stifle all the Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their assistance, this Congress resolves that all activities of the Congress be suspended, as far as necessary, and appeals to all quietly and without any demonstration to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the volunteer organisations, to be formed throughout the country in terms of the resolution of the Working Committee arrived at in Bombay on the 23rd day of November last, provided that no one shall be accepted as a volunteer, who does not sign the following pledge:

"With God as witness, I solemnly declare that (1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps, (2) So long as I shall remain a member of the corps, I shall remain non-violent in word and deed, and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent, since, I believe, that as India is circumstanced non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and the consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India, whether Hindu, Musalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew. (3) I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity. (4) I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation and shall use handspun and handwoven khaddar to the exclusion

of every other cloth. (5) As a Hindu, I believe the justice and necessity of removing the veil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with and endeavour to render service to the submerged classes. (6) I shall carry out the instructions of my superior officers and all the regulations, not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge, prescribed by the volunteer boards or the working committee or any other agency established by the Congress. (7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault or even death, for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment. (8) In the event of my imprisonment, I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents."

This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the volunteer organisations, notwithstanding the proclamation prohibiting public meetings, and inasmuch as even committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings, this Congress advises the holding of committee meetings and of public meetings, the latter in closed places and by tickets and by previous announcements, at which, as far as possible, only a speaker previously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid the risk of provocation and possible violence by the public in consequence.

This Congress is further of opinion that civil disobedience is the only civilised and effective substitute for an armed rebellion, whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or corporations has been tried, and therefore advises all Congress workers and others who believe in peaceful methods and are convinced that there is no remedy, save some kind of sacrifice to dislodge the existing Government from its position of perfect irresponsibility to the people of India, to organise individual civil disobedience and massed, when the mass of the people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of non-violence, and otherwise, in terms of the resolution therein of the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, held at Delhi.

This Congress is of opinion that in order to concentrate attention upon civil disobedience, whether mass or individual (whether of an offensive or defensive character) under proper safeguards and under instructions to be issued from time to time by the Working Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, all other Congress activities should be suspended, whenever and wherever and to the extent to which it may be found necessary.

This Congress calls upon all students of the age of 18 and over, particularly those studying in the national institutions and the staff thereof immediately to sign the foregoing pledge and become members of the National Volunteer Corps.

In view of the impending arrest of a large number of Congress workers, this Congress, whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain intact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner, whenever feasible, hereby appoints, until further instruction, Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of Congress, and invests him with the full powers of the All India Congress Committee, including the power to convene a special session of the Congress, or of the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee, and also with the power to appoint a successor in an emergency.

This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors all his aforesaid powers, provided that nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All-India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by the Congress, specially convened for the purpose, (and provided also that the present creed of the Congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors, except with the leave of the Congress first obtained.)

This Congress congratulates all those patriots who are now undergoing imprisonment for the sake of their conscience or country and realises that their sacrifice has considerably hastened the advent of Swaraj.

RELIGION AND POLITICS.

(The Indian Messenger, Calcutta.)

What will the reader expect from us—It seems the "Indian Messenger" has again been able to force itself upon the attention of its readers. Anyhow we are being pestered with questions and suggestions as to its policy about political matters. The first suggestion is that a religious and social organ like ours should eschew politics. This is plainly impossible. It is difficult to chalk out the frontier line between the one and the other. No religion however high its ideal may be, can satisfy the cravings of the heart if it keeps silent over questions affecting the vital welfare of a nation or a society and moreover the religion which skulks from the fighting line—the religion which cannot guide its followers in every department of life is not worth the name. Then can one say where society ends and politics begins? Is social freedom possible without the political? And what Church organ is free from politics? The Christian World, the Christian Register, the Inquirer, the Vedic Magazine, and innumerable others—they have all got politics as their important factor. Then the second suggestion is if we want to deal with politics we should be moderate. The third again is that we should be extremist and the fourth is that we should be non-co-operationist in our views. Well, we say to all of them—we are not going to cater for anybody's individual taste. We will give them *truth and nothing but truth*. We know it is very difficult to do. But still we must do what is difficult. We may fail but God knows our intentions and He in His mercy will pardon us. Some say we should have recourse to diplomacy. We are tempted to ask this class of our friends, "why did we come over to Brahmoism leaving the snug and cosy corner of the Hindu society?" Was it for Truth or for comfort and security? When we come in touch with these people one thought irresistibly disturbs us. Alas! how far down are we fallen from the Fathers of our Church! Rammohan thou shouldst be living at this hour! We have need of thee! A stern lover of freedom he did not divide politics, religion and society into watertight compartments. The indomitable soul that sought enfranchisement in religion also broke the thousand years old iron shackles of society and rejoiced over the freedom of nations in bondage. Even Sivanath whose ashes are yet warm, is dead to us. Have we not forgotten by this time his famous saying?—

"What I shall know as duty I shall do fearlessly. I don't care if my wealth, honour and life perished in doing it".

If there be any need of policy of the present paper it should be commensurate with the creed of the Brahmo Samaj. Truth, Knowledge, and Good should be our watchword. In unequivocal language we shall hold them before our constituents. In this we shall always remember that great saying: "I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—and I Will be heard."

The Social Conference like the Congress ought to have Provincial and District and if possible Subdivisional committees which will propagate the ideas among the masses. An All-India fund should be raised and sympathetic but earnest and self-sacrificing workers should be appointed, and already existing social serving bodies should be subsidized. These bodies and workers should be made responsible to the Provincial bodies which will watch and guide the activities of the former. If this can be done, something surely can be achieved. Time has come when we should cease talking and plunge head-long into work.

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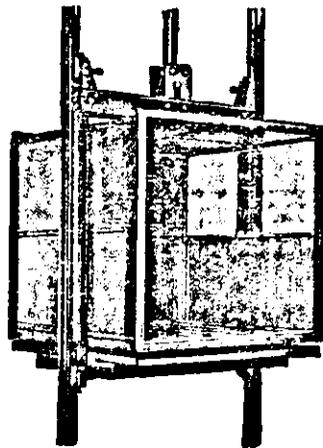
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

101

An American View: We call attention to the article headed an "American Missionary's view of the Situation" which we publish to-day. The writer, whose goodwill towards India is evident, seemed to feel that he was asking us to do a risky thing in sending us his communication for publication. We may assure him that absolutely no courage was needed to give our readers the opportunity of perusing his interesting observations. While all will agree that reason and argument are most desirable means, few, we think, will appreciate the appositeness of some of his illustrations. For instance, it may occur to many that the Englishwoman is likely to know best what the Englishman's peculiarities are, as the American woman knows best what the best way of approaching the American man is. As for the American revolution, the distinction that he draws between George III and the British nation is too fine for us; and, in any case, we have not had anything like the "Boston tea-cup" in Bombay harbour. We are unable to accept the idiosyncracies of Englishmen and Americans as ultimate facts to which all other peoples should accommodate themselves or—go to the wall. It is as well to recognise that Indian politics has passed that stage.

The Bishop's Letter: With reference to the two letters that we print to-day headed "Jesus Christ and Present Day Problems," in reply to the letter of the Bishop of Bombay in last week's issue, we may say that both Mr. Zacharias and Mr. Parekh are Christians belonging to the Church of England. The following excerpt from an editorial note in the Christian Missionary journal, the *Dnyanodaya*, has some bearing on this topic:

If only Mr. Gandhi will eliminate all destructive items from his creed, and concentrate upon constructive items such as this one (abolition of untouchability), he can lead a fifth of the world's population to one of the grandest and most peaceful revolutions in history. It is one of our deep convictions that, despite the law-breaking he proposes—a feature which every true Christian can only condemn—Mr. Gandhi is being used by Divine Providence for the purification of India's religious life and as an agent preparing India for Christ, just as clearly as were the Old Testament prophets

in Israel. Anyone whose sleep may be disturbed by worrying about 'the catastrophic preening of Gandhism' may well be recommended to remember how the Brahmins of India fear this growing campaign on behalf of India's fifty or sixty million untouchables. Everything in India is invested with religious values and that is why India's political evolution is a slow and sure factor helping to effect her religious revolution, for if Mr. Gandhi remains 'dictator' for ten years, caste will have to go, or will have gone.

The Prince in Calcutta: According to the *Indus Messenger* of Calcutta, the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to that city was a notable personal success. The shops and bazars of Calcutta were almost entirely closed on the 24th but a fairly large number of people went out to see the Prince. His Royal Highness's personality seems to have won over the people's sympathy in a large measure for, says our contemporary, while on the first day the crowd was, even according to most optimistic calculations, moderate, it grew considerably in size and enthusiasm as the day passed on.

The Library Movement in Baroda: Baroda has made such splendid progress with its Library movement that we do not think there is any other State or province which approaches it. We are, therefore, pleased to get the excellent "Handbook" compiled by Mr. Newton M. Dutt, the enthusiastic Curator of the Libraries of the State, which gives a full and detailed account of the Library scheme in Baroda and the districts. The Book will be a valuable guide to similar efforts elsewhere in India.

The late Mr. Ardesir Framjee Vakil: By the death of Mr. Ardesir Framji Vakil, Bombay loses one of her most cultured sons who was also a pioneer in the field of social reform, especially the higher education of women. In these days, the art of conversation is a dead one, but the late Mr. Ardesir was one of the few whose conversation was as interesting as it was edifying. He represented a type which is not very common among Indians and especially among Parsis at the present day.

Why Bombay? As regards the proposed Conference, it is being suggested that it should be held not in Bombay but in Delhi. This shows a misconception of the purpose for which the Conference is called. That purpose will be best served in a place of meeting which has so far remained out of the circle in which the repressive measures complained of have been put in force. There are other reasons too, but this, to our mind, is conclusive.

Veerasingam Memorial Hall: We are glad to learn that the laying of the foundation stone of the Veeresalingam Memorial Hall in the Brahmo Samaj premises, Bangalore Cantonment, will take place on Sunday, the 8th instant. Sir M. Kantaraj Urs, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., Dewan of Mysore, has kindly consented to lay the stone.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 8, 1922.

THE CONFERENCE.

We print in another column the letter of invitation for the Conference to be held on the 14th instant in Bombay. It clearly sets forth the purpose for which the Conference is being called. The Ahmedabad Congress by rejecting the proposals to adopt separation from the British connection as its objective and to drop the insistence on the peaceful character of its means, has shown that it does not regard the political situation as having transcended the limits of settlement by agreement. Nevertheless it has lent its countenance to civil disobedience, though hedged in with qualifications which, if strictly enforced, will militate against its adoption on any considerable scale. The very idea of civil obedience, however, is one from which every thinking man would shrink with horror. In plain words, it means civil war. Loss of life and property, stagnation of trade and industry, are concomitants of all war. But civil war, in addition, involves the disruption of ties of fellow-citizenship, and its after-effects are worse and take longer to heal than those of war between two nations. France recovered from the effects of the Prussian war in about thirty years, but the wounds inflicted by the Wars of the Roses on England were not healed in a hundred years. Those who are calling the Conference feel that any sacrifice, short of national self-respect and honour, will not be too high a price to pay in order to avert civil war which at present must be the inevitable outcome of civil disobedience. As a fact, the country already suffers from the general dislocation incidental to civil war to a considerable extent. Everybody is anxiously watching the further development of the situation, with the result that practically all public activities, except the political, are in a state of suspended animation. We are sure that Mahatma Gandhi feels this and the fact that he has readily agreed to join the Conference shows that he too will be delighted if an honorable settlement of the differences between Government and the people can be brought about by some better means. The Conference has for its main object to find out if there is any better means of attaining this end, and if so, what.

The letter of invitation has been criticised for stating that the wholesale arrests and imprisonments of recent weeks, under repressive laws which awaited scrapping, are the great difficulty in the way of finding an alternative method. It has been said that, if Government and the people ought to strain every nerve to arrest civil disobedience, it is inconsistent to condemn this means which Government have adopted with that view. The answer to that is given by the resolution of the Liberal Federation held in Allahabad last week, which says that this policy has defeated its own end by alienating popular sympathy and aggravating the general unrest. A policy of which this can be said with truth,

is obviously not a right policy, apart from its justice. It is a blunder worse than a crime from the point of view of the prestige of Government. It is also unjust. If persons against whom intimidation or violence was proved had been imprisoned, no one would have complained of repression. A number of persons concerned in the Bombay riots of November last, are being prosecuted and punished, and no one says this is repression. What all sections of Indian opinion complain of is the proclamation of the whole organisation of voluntary workers for the Congress as illegal and sending them to jail merely because they do not abide by this proclamation. Hundreds have been arrested and imprisoned for no other offence than that they belonged to this organisation. Many of them are men of high character and held in great respect by the people. When a Government finds itself antagonising any considerable number of men of character formed in the fire self-sacrifice in the public cause, it would be wise to consider whether, after all, all is right with itself. A great opportunity is now open to Government, and if they grasp it, they will greatly facilitate the work of the Conference. Even if they still believe their policy is right, they would be improving their own position enormously, and placing a corresponding responsibility on Indian leaders, by withdrawing, in deference to their almost unanimous opinion, the recent repressive measures. They may well say: "We are still of the opinion that we have no alternative but to go on with these measures. But we recognise your good intentions and your earnest desire to effect an honourable settlement, and we wish you success. As an earnest of our good wishes, we shall remove what you describe as the great difficulty from your path." It is easy to see how greatly Government will be strengthening their position by adopting this attitude. We are not without hope that they may do so.

It is likewise to be expected that Mahatma Gandhi, who has been constituted the sole executive authority of the Congress for emergency purposes, will help on the work of the Conference by suspending all action likely to embarrass the calm and unbiassed investigation of all possible methods of reaching an honourable settlement. A section of Congress workers is doubtful whether it would not have been the better course in the interests of the country to have fallen in with the Viceroy's call for a truce as a preliminary to a Round Table Conference. Here, however, there is no question of conditions, but a free, voluntary suspension in deference to the desire of the large marginal class of Indians who, while keenly alive to the national grievances and the need for an immediate settlement, dread the contingency of civil war involved in the practice of civil disobedience at this stage of Indian evolution. Many persons are asking what the Conference will do. It is impossible to forecast its decisions, but they will, we trust, be such as to commend themselves to all sections of our countrymen and the world at large as inspired by principles which are essentially right and righteous. It is pretty clear to all careful students of the political

situation that the real difficulty now is not that the Government of India have not the will but that they have not the power to meet us. This difficulty can be overcome, and can only be overcome, if the Government of India are able to say to the authorities above them that such and such represent the united sentiments of the Indian people and that they, as responsible for the Indian Government, must press for an early and substantial compliance in the interests of India as an equal member of the British Commonwealth of nations. This proposed Conference is one step, perhaps, the first step, towards bringing about such a unity of sentiment. It has, therefore, a clear claim on the goodwill of all sections of political opinion as well as of Government, and we hope and trust that it will be extended to it in full measure. If the Conference succeeds, the country will be the great gainer. If it does not succeed, nobody will be responsible for its lack of success except those who have convened it.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent).
RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN SCOTLAND.

London, December.

Students of psychology are having quite an interesting time in watching, and trying to account for, the fever of religious revival that has fastened upon the North and East of Scotland. It almost seems as though the mind is subject to epidemics even as the body is, and just as the fever conditions of the body bring about sick conditions of the mind, so the fever conditions of mind bring about sick bodies. The beginnings of religious revivals are, as a rule, rather difficult to trace, for they often seem to spring spontaneously into life fully grown and active and as suddenly lose all momentum and pass away. The present one, however, seems to be traced to an intensive mission that had been conducted in some of the large fishing places off the coast of England, and unlike many of its predecessors, is a very serious one. In some places the lives of the people have been so affected that the whole of the normal life is suspended, the people having given themselves over entirely to religious manifestations. Everything of a worldly nature is being ruthlessly put aside. At one place, where there are a thousand converts, a huge pile of tobacco pouches, pipes, playing cards, dancing shoes and such like implements of pleasure, has been made in front of the organ in the Mission Hall and these are to be given a glorious bonfire. People are to be seen kneeling in prayer on the cold wind-swept beach. Even the children have ceased to play and are found gathering together in little circles praying and singing hymns. All this mental excitement has made work for the doctors. Already some people have had to be removed to mental hospitals, and very many cases of illness, due to nervous excitement, are under medical treatment. As the fever shows no signs of abating, the doctors are getting a little anxious.

ABATEMENT OF SMOKE AND NOXIOUS VAPOURS.

The final report of Lord Newton's Committee on Smoke and Noxious Vapours Abatement has been

made and it brings home to the uninitiated how important has been the work of this Committee. At the present time our atmosphere is charged with fine particles of soot and waste fuel and our lungs and nostrils are accordingly irritated and injured. Since we exist as a manufacturing people chiefly, and our climate is such that domestic heating is a necessity, we must devise some means by which we can keep the things we need, but destroy that which is injurious. Two members of the Committee in the course of inquiries visited the principal industrial towns of Germany and reported on their return that smoke pollution is very much less there than here. One reason for this is that Germany's industrial life is of more recent growth than ours, and her factories are equipped with more modern smoke-consuming appliances, but the other and greater reason is that there has been an intelligent co-operation of all parties, both in the interest of economical and effective use of coal and also the general amenity of life. Waste of fuel alone in this country is a serious consideration. It is estimated that about £6,000,000 is lost in waste annually from domestic and industrial chimneys. The Committee has made several recommendations and it is to be hoped that some of the existing legislation that the war more or less kept in abeyance, will be enforced. Certainly, gas and electricity for domestic use will be more and more strongly advocated, and new housing schemes will have to consider smokeless ways of heating generally.

GERMAN ALCHEMY.

A great deal of fuss is being made by the reported discovery on the part of a German chemist of the manufacture of gold out of baser metals by means of an electric vacuum furnace. All scientists seem to admit the possibility of this being done and further seem to believe that in the not very distant future gold will cease to be a precious metal. But ere that time comes we shall probably have other means of exchange value ready at hand. The anxious note struck by the press at the present moment by Germany's possibility to manufacture gold is that, should she be able to do so, she could pay her debt laughingly, and flood the world with manufactured metal. In fact, Germany could become rich beyond dreams while other countries remained struggling in poverty.

MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE.

Municipal clinics have met in conference and have put forward resolutions which have been passed by a conference of the British Medical Association and Medical Officers of Health, the first of these being "that the object of maternity and child welfare centres should be educational, preventive and advisory. No medical treatment should be given at the centres as it is against the best interests of the centres that women should go for what they can get, rather than what they can learn." The value of the foregoing resolution is in the fact that it is recognised that the people themselves must be trained in the laws governing good health, and that in proportion as knowledge in this direction grows, so will many of the ills common to ignorant humanity disappear.

CENSORING OF FILMS.

The London County Council made an important decision yesterday, when it decreed that licences are to be granted to picture palaces in London on the following conditions:—

“No film shall be displayed which is likely to be subversive of morality;

No film (other than photographs of current events) that has not been passed for ‘universal’ or ‘public exhibition’ by the British Board of Film Censors shall be shown without the express consent of the L. C. C.”

“Films passed for ‘public’ exhibition shall be exhibited only to adults, and no child not accompanied by parents or bonafide guardians shall be admitted” (child being defined as a person under 16 years of age). We have not yet heard what the public and cinema owners have to say to the action of the L. C. C. It will probably be resented by very many people as being an attack on liberty. But for a long time past there has been an agitation on foot for a much stricter censorship of films than has hitherto been the case. Many outrageous acts of quite young people have been traced to cinema visits. Children are notorious mimics, and anything that makes a strong impression upon the plastic matter of the young mind is apt to be reproduced in some form by them.

ASIATIC MIGRATION.

Among the problems fit for discussion by the Washington Conference is that urged upon its attention by Dr. Ritter, Director of the Scripps Institute for Biological Research, California, namely preparation for the study of the world's population, fifty-four per cent. of which, he reminds us, lives in the Indo-Pacific area, on about 25 per cent. of the earth's land surface, and the remaining 46 per cent. lives in the Atlantic area, on about 75 per cent. of the earth's land surface. “From the density of the Asiatic population, from the type of their culture, from the higher standards of living, and the facility of communication and travel, the tendencies of these people to overflow into all the meagrely populated lands of the Indo-Pacific area, which are similar to those they have been accustomed to for a score of centuries, is bound to be tremendous. These facts, coupled with the fact that no more vacant or heathen lands remain for their migration, and with the fact that both the Orientals and the Occidentals primarily concerned are highly but differently civilised, a momentous truth gradually takes shape in our minds that the instinct of self-preservation is here developing a problem, some of the elements of which have never before confronted mankind.” If such problems as these are carefully studied, and their implications are honestly accepted, there is an increased probability of peaceful relations and the removal of misapprehensions and suspicions between the nations and races concerned. In their own way, Sir Valentine Chirol and Lord Chelmsford have lately pointed to the same facts and the urgent need for their thorough study and understanding.

INDIAN EMIGRANTS.

It is a little difficult for some of us here to understand why, when it is found impossible to secure adequate supervision of the welfare of the Indian emigrants to Assam, which is within the Indian Empire, to Ceylon, which is next door, and to Malaya, which is not far away, Indian public opinion contemplates the possibility of sending emigrants to British Guiana, were the Government of India cannot exercise any control, and where the emigrants will be so far away that, with insufficient means of direct communication with India, it will be extraordinarily difficult for dissatisfied emigrants to return to the Motherland, and will tend, therefore, to sink into the depressed classes of the Colony. However, it is encouraging to note that the two Indian members of the delegation that is to proceed to British Guiana, about the middle of January, are two such shrewd and experienced public men as Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, who is the chairman, and Mr. Tiwari, of the United Provinces branch of the Servants of India Society. It may be assumed that they will keep their eyes carefully open and will analyse the so-called colonisation scheme with considered judgment.

GENERAL SMUTS' COUNSEL.

The British Guiana Government are spreading their net afar, for they are trying to capture the dissatisfied coolies of Fiji—which, in itself, clearly indicates the real nature of the colonisation scheme—as well as in South Africa. It appears that lately the Natal Indian Congress has been formally approached by the Union Government with a view to sending a delegation to British Guiana to report on the scheme so as to induce Natal Indians to go there and surrender their Natal rights. It is on a par with the recent repatriation scheme that has resulted so disastrously for a number of South African Indians. General Smuts seems to have been tackled by the Natal Branch of the South African Party on the Indian question, for at its Congress at Maritzburg, on the 20th instant, he warned his hearers not to push the Indian question too far, as to do so might have repercussions that might be felt far outside even the Empire and might exert an influence that might even shake the Empire's foundations. He counselled the Indians to avoid trying for a settlement which might do them no good and the Empire incalculable harm. He warned people not to exaggerate the seriousness of the Indian question, and admitted that the Whites were more than holding their own. Finally, he is reported to have said that the best thing they could do was to induce the Indians in ever-increasing numbers to leave South Africa and go back to their own country, a solution that he felt to be fundamentally sound. After the repatriation experience and the recent approaches with regard to British Guiana, Indians will do well to be on the watch as to the new methods that will be devised to “induce” them to leave South Africa and go elsewhere. The fact is that the South African Indians will have all their work cut out, not to achieve a settlement, but to retain the few rights that they still possess. The “Freezing-out” process seems to be pretty effectual.

EXPENDITURE AND TAXATION.

(By THE HON. MR. G. M. BHURGRI.)

It is very desirable that under a scheme of Compulsory Education, Government should contribute a fixed portion of the total expenditure on Primary Education necessary in each "school district" from time to time. The portion should be two-thirds of the total expenditure. Government should not grudge this little additional burden in the matter of the introduction of Compulsory Education in the Presidency. If one were to calculate the proportional rise in various heads of expenditure whether provincial or imperial, and compare it with the rise in the expenditure on the promotion of Primary Education,—and for that matter the whole head of Education,—the latter would be negligible in comparison, and would reflect little credit on the British Rule in India, especially if one were to further compare the negligible progress made in this country in the last decade with the long strides taken by some of the foreign countries more backward comparatively than this country then. One's blood curdles when one contemplates the deliberate connivance, indifference and negligence of the past Governments of this country in this matter, on the plea of "no funds."

The average expenditure per annum per head to-day on elementary education *in the case of boys* is about Rs. 12. It was Rs. 9-3 in 1916-17; Rs. 9-6 in 1917-18; Rs. 10-9 in 1918-19 and a little less than Rs. 12 in 1919-20.* It must be remembered that the average attendance per school is much less than the maximum average capacity of a school; it is a little over fifty while taking an average of 20 boys per class, or 80 boys per school under the Compulsory Scheme without much additional expense, the average expenditure per head is bound to come down appreciably. Add to this the provision of a double shift system which alone should be able to reduce the expenditure per head if not by $\frac{1}{2}$, at least $\frac{1}{3}$ rd or $\frac{1}{4}$ th. I, however assume that all the saving thus effected would be utilized in carrying out various improvements necessary for a free and compulsory scheme and which I have suggested, e. g. remission of existing fees (about 5 lacs); additional cost on inspection about 3 lacs; training of teachers about 5 lacs; supply of free books and materials; and enhancement of salaries providing more public buildings for schools; and with the advent of time carrying out further improvements such as provision of reading rooms and libraries in every town and village etc., etc., for which a Reserve Fund may be built from the very start. The average cost per head in the Municipal areas is greater than the average in the rural areas. A portion of the savings will thus have

*The expenditure as shown in the official figures in the chapter on General Primary Education is slightly more than in those worked out by me, because the official figures include the average per head in the case of girls' education which is higher than the average in the case of boys. For instance in 1919-20 while the average per head per boy is less than Rs. 12, in the case of girls it is over Rs. 17 per head; the official figures take the mean Rs. 15.

to be utilized on adjustment, if the average is fixed at Rs. 12 even with greater numbers of pupils in rural areas. The average cost per head in the case of girls to-day is Rs. 17. Double the present number could *at once* be provided *without any additional expenditure in their case*. However, the average expenditure per head in the case of girls' education must continue to be more than that of the average per head in the case of boys. And so I assume that a portion of the savings effected as above in the case of boys, would also be available for an adjustment of the average expenditure per head in the case of boys as well as girls, if Rs. 12 were fixed as an average expenditure per head universally. I have therefore assumed for my calculation of the total cost on the scheme, Rs. 12 per head per annum on an average.

MUNICIPAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS.

Expenditure on Boys' Education.—Present cost.

The total expenditure on Primary Schools in Municipal areas excluding Bombay in 1919-20 was as follows:—

(1) Municipal funds ...	Rs. 11,97,749
(2) Provincial grant ...	Rs. 8,34,581
(3) Local funds ...	Rs. 55,277
(4) Fees ...	Rs. 83,667
(5) Miscellaneous ...	Rs. 16,618

Total ... Rs. 21,87,892

In 1920-21 this expenditure has gone upto Rs. 27 lacs in round figures, out of this the Government grant amounts to Rs. 13 lacs (in round figures); Municipal contributions Rs. 12 lacs; and 2 lacs from fees and miscellaneous. Calculating at the rate of Rs. 12 per head, the expenditure on 75 thousand boys who are to be provided will be Rs. 9 lacs. But as three years is the time limit in which the process is to be completed the expenditure in 3 years will be 27 lacs which might be spread in the following proportion:—

8 Lacs in ...	1st year.
9 Lacs in ...	2nd year.
*10 Lacs in ...	3rd year.

*I have added one lac more to provide for upper higher education as a sequence to the adoption of lower Compulsory Primary Education.

GIRLS' EDUCATION IN MUNICIPAL LIMITS.

The total number of girls receiving education in Municipal limits is 55 thousands in round figures. There are 1 lac and 50 thousand girls of the school going age. Of the 55 thousands under instruction some will be over and under the compulsory age and so we assume that provision will have to be completed for 1 lac of girls within 6 years; 3 *permissive* and 3 *operative* years.

Calculating at the rate of Rs. 12 per head, we require Rs. 12 lacs extra for their complete provision. I estimate that this figure would be reached in 6 years as follows:—

4 to 5 lacs *extra* on an average in each of the first 3 *permissive* years and Rs. 10 lacs on an average in each of the 3 years of the *operative* period.

Thus the *total extra* expenditure on Primary Education in Municipal Districts per annum in the first

3 years will be Rs. 13 lacs and in the next 3 years 20 lacs. And a maximum average of Rs. 21 to 23 lacs yearly after this period.

Or in other words the total annual expenditure in the first 3 years in Municipal Districts will be Rs. 27 lacs (present expenditure) plus Rs. 13 lacs (additional expenditure)—Rs 40 lacs per year. And a maximum average of Rs. 48 to 50 lacs annually after that which in the proportion of 2/3rds and 1/3rd would be borne by the Provincial and Local authorities as follows:—

Rs. 26 and 14 lacs respectively per year in the first 3 years. and Rs. 32 to 33 and 16 to 17 lacs respectively per year in the subsequent 3 years and after.

FIRST CLASS RURAL DISTRICTS.

Present annual expenditure in round figures is as follows:—

55 lacs	Provincial funds.
6 lacs	Local cess.
4 lacs	Fees and other sources.

Calculating on a similar basis as in the case of Municipal Districts with due regard to the 5 years permissive period in the case of girls, we get the following estimates of the total expenditure in the case of First Class Districts.

Rs. 1 crore average per year in the first 5 years.

Rs. 1/4 crore average per year in the next 5 years and after and in the case of 2nd class Rural Districts—

Rs. 25* lacs average per year in the first 5 years and

Rs. 50* lacs average per year in the next 5 years and after.

Thus the whole scheme will involve a total average cost of Rs. 1 crore and 75 lacs per year in the first 3 years; 2 crores in the 3rd to 5th years; and 2½ crores in the 5th to 10th year and after; which shall be borne in the proportion of 2 : 1 by the Provincial and Local sources respectively.

AN AMERICAN MISSIONARY'S VIEW OF THE SITUATION.

(By N. L. R.)

The attitude of many intelligent and zealous Indians toward the "Foreign" Government and Europeans generally, reminds me forcibly of a couple of cartoons which I saw several years ago in an American magazine. The question which was then dominating most other public interests was whether the voting franchise should be given to women or not. The same question was troubling the statesmen of Britain. The matter had been strongly to the forefront when the great war burst upon Europe and put all other things for the time being aside. At that time England had been troubled, perplexed and almost distracted by the plots and depredations of the militant "Female Suffragette." American women had already come into their own in many of the forty-five independent states of the union and were exercising equal rights at the voting booths with their husbands and brothers. But as a national issue woman's suffrage was still far from a solution. These rights had been granted to women only in the more progressive Western states.

New York, New England and the slower moving East were still dead-set against giving votes to women and even a large representative minority of the women of the East were positively against the idea of going to the polls to vote. The national Government at Washington was still undecided. "Uncle Sam" had not yet determined to admit his daughters into full partnership in legislative affairs. Thus matters stood at the time of the armistice; women suffrage had been still a question of interest throughout the war but was being held in abeyance by weightier matters. As soon as the war was over, this old time question was again to the fore and became a leading issue in both political parties. In Great Britain too militant suffragettes had again begun to make themselves unpleasant. It was at that time that this cartoon appeared in several of America's leading papers. There was a pair of them. The first was labelled: "The American Woman's way." The second was headed "The English Woman's way." In the first picture, old *Uncle Sam* (representing America) is standing in meditation. A pleasant-faced young woman steps up to him and with her right hand she gently chucks him under the chin while she says, "Uncle, Please! Votes for women!" In her left hand held behind her, is a roll of paper,—petitions for Women's Franchise to Uncle Sam's Congress. The Old Uncle smiles indulgently upon her and says "Well, Miss, we'll think about it." In the second picture John Bull appears. He is out for his morning constitutional. A determined, sour-faced woman way-lays him, comes up from behind and strikes him over the head with a bludgeon marked "Votes for Women!" John Bull staggers under the blow and sees shooting stars; but he sets his jaws squarely and blurts out "Not a blooming vote b'George" and he fights on. The American woman won her cause long before her English sister did. Her method was the better way. It's the old story of Aesop's Fable. The wind and the storm trying to force the traveller to yield his cloak, attempts to tear it from off his shoulders but he grasps it all the firmer. Then the gentle sunshine breaking through the clouds soon causes him to discard the cloak.

India has a cause that is as dear to her as was women's rights to the women of England and America. It is a just cause. It is self-government—"Swaraj". It is bound to come. Justice decrees it. Americans and a very large part of the greater empire are sympathetic and are watching the contest with keen interest. Christian missionaries and their followers here in India are interested and in full sympathy with this laudable desire, but no thoughtful friend of India can approve the present plan of campaign to bring about this desired end. It must fail until it gives way to sane methods, carried on entirely by worthier men. I use that word *worthier* most advisedly. It is a fact that there was a time when women were not worthy of the franchise. They were ignorant slaves of custom, not interested in public affairs and willing that men should do their thinking for them. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, there was hardly a woman poet or writer or philosopher of distinction

But a change came. Female education became as universal as was that of the other sex. Women had begun to think. In school, in society, in medicine in every profession she began to prove herself the equal of her former liege lord and he began to consult her more and more, not only in the home, but in church and business and state. Then came the war. There by meritorious service in every department she won her crown, her right to be counted free and equal. The new world is woman's world. She won it by first *becoming*, and then by proving herself worthy of the honour she sought. Compulsion did not bring it. Demonstration of her ability to think, to campaign, to exercise self-control and to show that she was needed, and could not be spared from the counsels of the public, made men give her the ballot and equal power with themselves; and all men,—all gentlemen, though perhaps slow to discover her, when discovered gave her this freedom gladly. Let India learn the lesson that woman's struggle for political freedom has taught us. India has been trying force on John Bull. But John Bull is John Bull—bull-headed somewhat slow to get started on a new idea; yet he is a really "bully fellow" who means to do right and does it as soon he sees it to be right. I admit that he has blundered often. I too dislike not his Government but his individual ways and his offishness. But—As a historic fact who ever knew John Bull to yield to coercion? Is it not true that the centuries have never seen England defeated by brute force? This world has several times seen him overwhelmed and almost decimated, with his back to the wall but he was still fighting and in the end he won the contest. It has always been so. The spirit of Alfred the Great dominates the nation. It rallies from every calamity and fights to the finish. That is how John Bull became John Bull.

There is a mistaken idea in India that America won her independence by force. America never fought the English *nation*. She fought a crazy, tyrant, pig-headed king, his sycophants and his German hirelings, but never England. George III never had the nation back of him. At heart it was with the colonies, as at heart it is with India today. He could muster only pitifully small armies to his contest and had but little parliamentary backing. His troops never had any heart in the fight and thousands of them after the war was over, remained in America and united with Americans to make an honourable, a strong nation. America had won the fight with the English common people before Bunker Hill was a battlefield. She won England by the justice of her cause, her patient self-control, her arguments and her valor. Had Edward VII. or George V. been her king at that time there would have been no war and no separation, for there would have been no need of it and no desire for it. What can India hope to obtain by this insane campaign of compulsion and intimidation? Surely John Bull seeing all this violence, this inter-race war, these injudicious factions, this clamor for justice to Turkey &c. must and will squarely set his jaw and

say "Sawraj? Not another blooming bit of it b' George. You've got a'l you've prove you're worthy of. I'm needed here yet for a while and I'll stay." Is it not a fact that the element in India that stood by the Government in the great war is *not* the element that is to the fore in non-co-operation and intimidation and these rash methods. While all India is interested, is it not the hasty, the injudicious, the party that lack self-control and control of the better class, that is raising all this clamor? Is the way to prove worth demonstrating itself by insult to the Prince of Wales, the Viceroy and his officers? Are they demonstrating worthiness by teaching school boys disrespect for authority and village children and city hoodlums to insult gentlemen and ladies and to throw mud, loot shops and over-ride every law of right? Can such methods ever prevail? If they do then India's woe is at hand. Who will bring the rabble to sober sense? It has never been done in any land without great bloodshed and internecine war nor can it be done in India.

Leaders of India, stand by the Government where right; vote against it where wrong. It is amenable to reason. Abandon storm and bluster. Try the sunshine method. then you will prevail because you will have proved yourselves worthy of "Swaraj."

THE BOMBAY CONFERENCE.

The following invitation has been sent to representative men in the several provinces:

DEAR SIR,

The Ahmedabad Congress, by rejecting the motion for "Independence" and by relaxing the mandatory character of the Non-Co-operation resolution, has gone some way towards conciliating the large section of the public, which is opposed to forced marches in politics. This section has been recently not very articulate, but its influence on that account is not the less decisive.

While the position of the Congress has been thus strengthened on the one side, the countenance given to the early adoption of aggressive Civil Disobedience cannot but cause anxiety.

It, therefore, behoves us all, both the Government and the people, to strain every nerve to see that Civil Disobedience is not resorted to, until at least it is far more obvious than at present that the resources of reason and statesmanship have been exhausted.

The great obstacle in the way of attempting this at present is the policy adopted by Government, within the last few weeks, of extending and applying the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act, eventuating in wholesale arrests and imprisonments, including those of many men of high character and integrity. This policy is, in our opinion, both unjust and unwise, the more so as it comes on the top of the discontent created by the failure on the part of the Government to satisfy the demands of the people with reference to the questions relating to the Punjab, the Khilafat and Swaraj. As the Liberal Federation, which met the other day at Allahabad, rightly pointed out, this policy has defeated its own object by alienating popular sympathy and aggravating the general unrest.

A considerable body of opinion in the Country is anxious to see a settlement effected, which would make it possible to secure the redress of political grievances and the satisfaction of national aspirations in an atmosphere of peace and harmony. The Ahmedabad Congress, in rejecting the proposal for severing India's connection with the British Empire, has reflected the opinion, still retained by the bulk of thoughtful people in the country, that it is possible to achieve full national development within the orbit of the British Commonwealth. It is, therefore, necessary at this juncture for all those who realise the evil consequences bound to ensue on a continuance of the present deadlock, to confer together and devise means whereby it will be possible to open wide the door to an honourable settlement. It has been suggested that with this object in view a representative Conference should be called to consider the situation in all its aspects and to decide upon a course leading to a satisfactory solution of the present difficulties.

If you are in favour of such a Conference, please let us know, at your earliest convenience, preferably by wire, whether you will be able to attend the Conference, which is proposed to be held in Bombay, at the Presidency Association rooms, Esplanade Road, Fort, on Saturday, the 14th instant, at 3 p. m.

Yours very truly,

MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA.
M. A. JINNAH.
PURSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS.
M. R. JAYAKAR.
AMBALAL SARABHAI.
K. NATARAJAN.
G. M. BHURGRI.

Bombay, 3rd January, 1922.

N. B.—All communications should be addressed to M. A. Jinnah Esqr. Malabar Hill, Bombay.

JESUS CHRIST AND PRESENT DAY PROBLEMS.

I.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The first "Note" in your issue of Christmas Day, which has called forth a reply from the Lord Bishop of Bombay in your succeeding number, was one with which I so thoroughly agreed that I beg to be allowed to meet his lordship on that ground of exegesis, where you so modestly disclaim any *locus standi*.

To begin with, I suggest that the passage Mt. 5.39 ("anti-stenai to ponero") is happily translated neither by "resist not evil" nor by "resist not an evil man," but that the true sense is "tit for tat." "Do not knock out one's tooth, because he has just knocked out your own; do not give a man a black eye, because he has just given you one; do not act on the principle of tit-for-tat when you suffer evil"—that I think is a free and accurate rendering of the whole passage in which Christ lays down a fundamental principle of His ethics.

Now the application to Mr. Gandhi and his Non-co-operation movement.

Mr. Gandhi contends that the alien bureaucracy in power is inflicting evil on India: but to counter it, he does not say, "Let them have it," he does not advise bombs, insurrection; he does not say, "They make us suffer, now let us make them suffer too." No, he says exactly what Christ said—do not render evil for evil, violence for violence. Be non-violent in deed, word and thought (as far as the latter is

possible to you). Give not tit for tat. Mr. Gandhi's famous dictum "I will kill untruth with truth and unrighteousness with righteousness, and in doing so I will put up with all suffering": what else is that, but a magnificent paraphrase of Mt. 5-39?

I am here not concerned whether British rule in India is fact is evil or has inflicted evil; the point is that Mr. Gandhi and his followers believe it and that to counter it he enjoins the methods of Christ and of none other.

The next passage quoted by his lordship is MK 12-17—"Give Cæsar what is Cæsar's, and God what is God's." I put it, that this passage has little to do with civil disobedience: it refers to people, who were so "patriotic" that they would not pay taxes, but Christ with fine irony lays bare their *avarice*. Their patriotism, their religious fervour was going "to pay"—that is what our Lord so trenchantly brings home—"If all this foreign money issued by Cæsar is so anti-Jewish, unhallowed, idolatrous—why try to amass it? Why not be glad of the chance of getting rid of it by paying your taxes?"—that is the obvious paraphrase of it. For Civil Disobedience we must go to the Acts of the Apostles, who answered stubbornly to the authorities' order: "Whether we should obey men rather than God, judge ye!" and who rejoiced being deemed worthy to be sent to prison for their convictions' sake.

Is this not an exact parallel of Mr. Gandhi's "Roll of Honour" of those sent to prison for obeying their own conscience rather than a Government order? Again, I don't say that their conscience is rightly informed, but I do say that going to prison does not "pay" these men, as it should have "paid," to keep one's money rather than pay it away in taxes. The moment Civil Disobedience does not entail suffering, it ceases to be a Christian method; but all the Christian persecutions under the Roman Empire, entailing sufferings untold, were due to the *civil disobedience* of citizens who refused to "salute the flag" (burn a pinch of incense to Cæsar, was the classic way of doing it), because it implied the idea of "My country right or wrong" (or "Cæsar is God," as the ancients put it).

I am happy to see that the Bishop abominates patriotism; so do I. Only I hope he does not call other people's patriotism "jingoism" and his own jingoism "patriotism"! So many people I find are up in arms against "Nationalism," when it is Indian or Irish or Egyptian; are they equally good internationalists (i. e. Catholics), where their own country, say, England, is concerned? Let me repeat that I do not doubt it of the Bishop himself. In any case it seems to me that Nationalism is not to the point at all.

What is to the point is that ever since the Sermon on the Mount was preached, there have not been lacking individual Christians who have met evil by suffering it willingly, rather than by inflicting it. Christ taught that this was the only common sense way of extinguishing evil; but apart from individuals there has never been to my knowledge any Christian Society, State, or Nation whose faith in Christ was sufficiently strong to prompt them to venture a trial of this method. (The Quakers of course are a shining example—but they are not a whole country, but only a tiny minority.) Mr. Gandhi of all statesmen, leaders, politicians, rulers, call them what you like, has come forward and adopted Christ's method and urges a whole nation to adopt this method of Christ, viz. to counter the infliction of evil by suffering that evil in oneself; to sterilize evil, by refusing to serve as its instruments.

Once more I would repeat that I do not hold that Mr. Gandhi is justified in his estimation of the present Indian

Government: but the fact remains that believing himself opposed by evil, he has chosen Christ's method of countering it. That is the point, the *punctum saliens* of the whole controversy.

Here is a Hindu and a Hindu Nation led by him: and they have made the venture of faith in the practicability of Christ's methods, where so far not a single so-called Christian nation has ever gone further than to pay lip service to these same methods, gone further than to treat them as pious aspirations for a few cloistered saints, but as utterly unfitted for the market-place. Here we have a Hindu who takes our *Master au pied de la lettre* and who is confident that our Master's method is meant for politics and for private life, and not merely for Sunday Schools. As a Christian I feel hot shame—but, surely, I can find this hardly an occasion for belittling Mahatma Gandhi.

On the contrary, I ponder on our Lord's parable of the two men who were asked to do a thing: one said "Yes, Sir" but never did it; the other replied "Not much, why should I?"—yet he went and did it. "Which of the two," asks our Lord Jesus Christ, "did the will of their Father?".....

I am, Sir, &c.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

Poona, Jan. 4th 1922.

II

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

I have not seen your issue of December 25th, but from what I have read in that of January 1st, I beg to write the following on the above-mentioned subject.

With regard to the present movement of non-violent non-co-operation in India which is the most pressing problem of today with which we are immediately concerned, I used to think some time back that it was almost wholly based on the teachings of Jesus Christ. But of late I have come to believe that the movement can not be called a Christian one, understanding that word to mean what is in accordance with the precepts of Christ. I fully agree with the Lord Bishop of Bombay in this that though the movement adopts the *method* advocated by Jesus under certain circumstances, it lacks in the essence of his teachings which is *active love*, love, forgiving love for even the enemy. This is so far as the movement may be judged from the highest of human standards.

But short of this, it would be but fair to say that the present movement of non-violent non-co-operation is the greatest attempt hitherto made by any nation or people to solve the problem of its enfranchisement from the hands of its conquerors in a peaceful manner. This is its distinctive character, and in this it is Christian, at least in its inspiration. Mahatma Gandhi has again and again acknowledged his debt to the precepts of Jesus and his immediate *Guru* or teacher who has taught him the wonderful art of Passive Resistance is no other than Tolstoy. One has but to read his writings in English and in Gujarati to be convinced that Mr. Gandhi is saturated with the spirit of Christ. Now inasmuch as this movement is a distinct advance on all the other past movements of national enfranchisement, and that advance is in the direction of a truly Christian solution of such problems, all those people who profess themselves as Christians are bound to sympathise with it and even help it. If England were a Christian country that it professes itself to be, it can not but make peace with those who though not Christians would fight only with Christian weapons. All that India and even the whole of Asia demands from England and Europe is that they should be given Christian treatment from professed Christian nations and peoples. Who will say that this is not

a most legitimate demand on the part of Asiatic people? The European nations should have so acted in the past that there should have been no necessity for such a demand on our part. But as they have not acted in a truly Christian manner but unfortunately acted even in an un-Christian manner, the Indian people have to take to such methods as they have been at present employing to force the English to act in a Christian manner. Under these circumstances should they not come forward and show a true Christian example?

We, Indians are required to-day to show an example of *active love*, such as is the essence of Christianity. Let us say that we are not showing it, though there is no doubt that in putting the very great emphasis that we do to-day on non-violence we are at least following the negative part of the teachings of Christ to a much greater extent than has been done hitherto by any nation or people. Now we have gone so far in this race and if we fail in the positive part i. e. the active love, should not England set an example to us in this direction? And in this is it not the duty of all those who are the proposed disciples and servants of Christ such as the Archbishops, Bishops and above all Christian missionaries to urge England and other European countries to do only what is their Christian duty? The first essential of the spread of true Christianity in India and Asia is a real and not nominal Euro-Asiatic unity. If ever there was an opportunity to bring about this great unity it is to-day, and under no circumstances it should be missed.

More than fifty years ago, one of the greatest sons of India, viz. Keshub Chunder Sen in his first great lecture, "Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia" said things which are well worth remembering to-day, and may well be quoted here. He said:

"It is the bounden duty of all Europeans in India so to prove their fidelity to Jesus Christ in all the avocations of their private and public life, that through the influence of their example the spirit of true Christian righteousness may leaven Indian Society. I regard every European settler in India as a missionary of Christ, and I have a right to demand that he should always remember and act up to his high responsibilities. But alas! owing to the reckless conduct of a number of pseudo-Christians, Christianity has failed to produce any wholesome moral influence on my countrymen. Yes, their muscular Christianity has led many a native to identify the religion of Jesus with the power and privilege of inflicting blows and kicks with impunity! And thus Jesus has been dishonoured in India, and that, alas! the true spirit of his religion has been lost upon the natives through the recklessness of a host of nominal Christians. Behold Christ's Church in danger! Behold Christ crucified in the lives of those who profess to be his followers!"

Is it not time that this crucifixion should come to an end now?

4 January, 1922.

Shahi Bag, Ahmedabad.

MANILAL C. PAREKH.

CAUSERIE ON UNTOUCHABILITY.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

The heinous untouchability hampers and humiliates a large section of our own country-men. Its removal has therefore become a national question. Befitting the enormity and importance of this subject, may I be permitted to encroach upon your hospitable columns for a few lines more.

Anti-Reformer:—Mahatma Gandhi is against untouchability. So was the Saint Ekkath. There are saints. They aspire after Moksh and Heaven. We are ordinary men. We

have to live in the world. We should give up untouchability only if we want to go to Heaven, otherwise not.

Reformer:—If we want to live on the earth, and do not want to go to Heaven, it is we who must care more than the saints that the earth does not become a hell. Untouchability makes a hell on the earth. It is we who must kill it for our good and for that of our neighbours. Whether we are saints or worldly men, we all love happiness. But saints being large-hearted and intelligent fix themselves in humanity, justice and truth. They are calm, fearless and cheerful. We, being blinded by selfishness, refuse to be guided by these higher principles and for stability seek shelter on the slippery grounds of fatalism and old customs.

Anti-Reformer—Humanity is all right, but the untouchables are dirty scavengers, how can we touch them? They suffer for the sins of their past lives.

Reformer.—Just as all Brahmins are not priests, so all the untouchables are not scavengers, most of them are farmers, shoe-makers, weavers, railway-servants, domestic servants and labourers etc. If they are dirty, we are responsible for it. They are segregated out of towns, and desire the use of public wells and temples. They are never allowed to move amongst us (gods) for fear that the gods may be polluted. Well now, you say, they sinned in their past lives as you know their sins of past-lives, you must also be knowing your own meritorious deeds of your previous life, pray tell us, so that we may preach them to do the same for the good of their next lives.

Anti-Reformer—It is not a matter of sins of past lives, but of the present. We object to their certain ways of eating.

Reformer—The key to its solution lies through sympathy and never through hatred and tyranny. Let us work for their salvation and the untouchables will give up their objectionable ways of eating. On this side, (Devkali) the untouchables themselves tell me that there is a movement amongst them in that direction. Our Moslem brethren in response to our sympathy for Khilafat are trying to put a stop to "Cow Sacrifice". Show the same sympathy to our own millions of untouchable Hindu brethren and you will receive the same response in sympathy. Mark that old customs die hard, we must be patient, the solution lies through sympathy, never through hatred and tyranny. Open the closed doors of Hindu temples to the untouchables and keep the public wells open to them and you will see in a few years that the untouchables become clean and give up their objectionable ways of eating.

Anti-Reformer:—If the untouchables enter our Hindu Temples, our temples will be polluted and God will be enraged.

Reformer—Are our temples not polluted, when prostitutes enter them? God who puts up with all the pranks of the priests gets enraged only when the untouchables come in. It is not that God is so small but the ideas of our priests are small, and narrow. You know if you believe in the tradition of the great temple at Pandharpur, that God Vithoba took his untouchable devotee in. His name was Chokha. Read Mahipati's Lives of Saints. God was not enraged but pleased with the poor, untouchable's devotion. Is the idea of Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man foreign to Hinduism?

K. G. Karkare.

AHMEDABAD SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

RESOLUTIONS.

After Dr. B. N. Kanuge, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his address, Mr. B. B. Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth of Ahmedabad formally proposed Mr. K. Natarajan to preside over the Conference. This was seconded

by Pandit Arjunlal of Lahore. The President then delivered his address a summary of which we printed in our last issue.

1. In view of the immense political progress, visible all round in the country, this conference is of opinion that in order to bring about a harmonious all-round national development, it is essentially necessary to make strenuous efforts to bring about higher social efficiency for the Indian Nation.

Proposed by H. V. Divetia of Bombay,

Seconded by Mrs. Saroj Mehta, B. A. of Bombay.

2. This Conference is of opinion that the existing caste system in the Hindu society is a great barrier both to individual and National development and therefore the Conference calls upon all the workers in the field of Social Reform to make strenuous efforts to break down the rigidity of caste system by free inter-dining and intermarriages.

Proposed by Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni of Lahore.

Seconded by Mr. C. Bhattacharya, M. A. of Lahore.

3. This Conference is of opinion that artificial restrictions against inter-caste and inter-racial marriages must be abolished and therefore it supports the principle, underlying the Civil Marriage Bill, introduced by Dr. Gour in the Legislative Assembly.—From the Chair.

4. This Conference fully supports the abolition advocated by Mahatma Gandhi, of untouchability and calls upon every worker in the field of Social Reform to make efforts to remove all the disabilities under which the depressed classes are labouring including that of untouchability.

Proposed by Swami Shradhdhanand,

Seconded by Mr. Kalyanji of Surat.

5. This Conference recommends the employers of labour especially the owners and managers of Mills and Factories to provide schools for the children of the labourers, sanitary lodgings, for the labourers and their families, and to create in their mills and factories healthy and moral environments with a view to save the labourers from falling victims to drink and other vices.—From the Chair.

6. This Conference welcomes all movements started with a view to promote public opinion in favour of prohibition of the manufacture of and import of intoxicated liquors and drugs and requests Indian ministers in charge of the Excise department to declare such prohibition to be the goal of their Excise policy.—From the Chair.

7. This Conference notes with satisfaction the efforts made in all directions to improve the condition of Hindu widows, such as starting for their benefit widows' Homes, Vanita-Vishram, Seva Sadan &c. but at the same time the Conference is firmly of opinion that it is nothing but bare justice to widows that all obstacles should be removed from the path of those widows who wish to remarry.

Proposed by Pandit Jagalkishore of Lahore,

Seconded by Dr. Khandwala of Bombay.

8. This Conference notes with satisfaction that much of the prejudice against the education of women has been disappearing but the Conference notes with regret that as yet sufficient facilities are not provided for girls and grown up women to receive all round education and therefore the Conference earnestly requests all public bodies and wealthy citizens to provide ample facilities for girls and grown up women for receiving all round education by opening for them various kinds of institutions.—From the Chair.

9. This Conference views with great alarm the deterioration in national physique, which in the opinion of the Conference is mostly due to—

- (1) Early Marriages,
- (2) Insufficient regard for physical culture,
- (3) Want of open grounds for play and recreation,
- (4) High prices and inferior quality of food stuffs,
- (5) Insanitary Buildings.

The Conference therefore requests the public, and corporate bodies like the Municipalities and Local Boards to do their best to remove these causes.—From the Chair.

10. This Conference places on record its satisfaction that the Mahomedan divines have emphatically expressed their view against forcible conversions and that Hindu Pandits have declared that such conversions do not deprive a Hindu of his

religion or caste. It further expresses its satisfaction that the Hindus of the castes concerned in Malabar, have shown their readiness to accept such forced converts back into their folds without any difficulty. And it wishes to express its deep sympathy for the victims of the Malabar riots without distinction of race or creed, and to accord its support to the Relief Funds started for their benefit.

Proposed by Mrs. Vidhyagauri Nilkanth of Ahmedabad,
Seconded by Miss K. Natarjan of Bombay,
Supported by Mr. N. B. Pardey of Nandod.

11. This Conference earnestly desires that such important social movements as the reclamation of criminal tribes, the relief of destitute beggars, and rescue homes for fallen women, should be placed in charge of Indians, and that efforts should be made forthwith to train Indian men and women to take charge of such and suitable institutions.—From the Chair.

12. This Conference strongly disapproves of
- (a) Early Marriages,
 - (b) Marriages of old men with young girls,
 - (c) Polygamy,
 - (d) Extravagant expenses at the time of deaths and marriages,
 - (e) Public exhibition of grief on occasions of death.
- From the Chair.

Mrs. Sharada Mehta of Baroda proposed a vote of thanks to the President which was seconded by Dr. Khandwalla of Bombay and supported by Mr. P. K. Desai of Ahmedabad.

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M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Ltd, Baroda.

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subha, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

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9. " " " L. H.	15672	32	0	"

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11. " " " L. H.	19327	82	0	"
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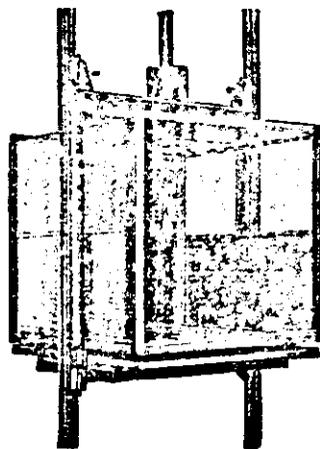
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Vol. XXXII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JANUARY 15, 1922. No. 20

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

10:

A Hint to Government. Government can have no more conclusive proof of the universal condemnation of their recent policy of wholesale arrests and imprisonments, than the resolution of the Indian Christian Conference to be found among the principal resolutions of the Conference, which we print to-day. This and the similar resolution passed by the Bombay Non-Brahmin Conference—both bodies totally opposed to Non-Co-operation—should convince them that this policy is without a single supporter in the country beyond the small group of Dr. Annie Besant's followers.

Over-Much Protestation: The *Leader*, the Liberal newspaper of Allahabad, has the following biting comment on Sir Harcourt Butler's recent attempt to justify the policy of wholesale arrests in the United Provinces.

His Excellency stated that the situation was so acute and critical, as the 'disorderly elements had come in, ruffians were hired or collected together,' that if Government had not taken prompt action against the 'ringleaders' the province would undoubtedly have passed through a period of bloodshed and misery which would have been remembered for many years to come. The peaceful and law-abiding citizens must feel grateful to his Excellency for saving it from a sanguinary calamity, but they should be excused if they entertain a shrewd suspicion that it was the impending visit of the Prince of Wales to these provinces which made the situation 'acute and critical' in the eyes of Government and necessitated that prompt action which resulted in producing effects that were not perhaps anticipated. They should also be excused if they positively refuse to believe that Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru and some other eminent leaders of the non-co-operation movement were the ringleaders of a gang of desperate ruffians and that their incarceration was necessary to prevent widespread disorder and bloodshed.

Roman Catholics in Conference. Among the functions of the national week, was the All-India Roman Catholic Conference held in Bombay under the presidency of Mr. T. Arimanathan Pillai, member of the Madras Legislative Council. Mr. Pillai brought his thoughtful presidential address to a close

by exhorting his co-religionists to do their part in the national movement. He said:

As the Chairman of the Reception Committee had said a challenge had been thrown out to them as to what they were going to do in the present state of affairs. He would say that they would be committing the worst sin possible if the Catholics were to take up a stand against any of the reforms coming in. However much they might complain and murmur, and say that India was not fit for these reforms, still the reforms were going to come in. They had to recognise that fact, and if they were not prepared to take their share in the affairs of the country, they would be absolutely washed off and would bring about their own downfall as a community and also that of their Church. Hitherto the Catholics had neglected their duty in this respect and not taken their proper share in public affairs. In proportion to their numbers they had more educated men than any other community, and it was up to them to direct the affairs of the country in a saner manner than some people sought to do at present and save it from ruin.

Archbishop Goodier in his address clearly explained how the Roman Catholics could do their part in the national awakening. His Grace's observations are of wider application than the Catholics to whom they were especially directed. The Archbishop said that if they were to stand up for political representation alone, then they were nowhere whatsoever. He did not say that they would lose it; but what he said was that if they looked at politics alone they had no chance. Whether the future Government of India be Hindu or Mahomedan, or both combined, he said if they got such Government, it would respect the Christian community and recognise it as a distinct asset to the country, if they did such charitable and social work for Indian communities as providing education for their women, taking care of their orphans, looking after their depressed classes, etc. He thought that if they impressed upon the other communities that they were essential for the social progress or any other progress of this country, they would think that the Christians must be protected at all costs and must be given a voice in the highest of their Councils. Their future hope, Dr. Goodier concluded, lay in the strength of their charity.

Sir Sankaran Nair: With reference to the choice of Sir Sankaran Nair to conduct the proceedings of the Representative Conference which began on Saturday afternoon in Bombay, a valued friend writes that the conveners are to be heartily congratulated on the choice of the President. "I have only just seen one of his minutes of dissent re salaries to Indians and Europeans. It was his lot to wage almost incessant war almost single-handed in the Government of India to safeguard Indian interests as far as one man can do so. A man of sturdy independence!"

Lady Reading's Fund. Lady Reading, following the precedents of Lady Dufferin and Lady Hardinge, has started a Fund for the medical relief of the women of India. The first object of the Fund is to complete the Lady Hardinge Women's Medical

College at Delhi. It is an object which must commend itself to all, though we have all along thought that such a College would have been more useful in Bombay than it is at Delhi. As regards the second object, namely, the erection of a Hill Hospital for Indian Women, we have very serious doubts as to the need or utility of such a Hospital. Very few Indian women of the Hospital patient class go to the hills during summer, and we can not think that it is intended to transport women patients from the plains to the hills during the hot weather.

Self-Disinfection: In the issue of the 30th October, 1921 we noticed a booklet by Mr. R. D. Karve advocating the popularization of methods of personal prophylaxis against venereal diseases. In doing so, we pointed out the wide divergence of opinion as to the efficacy of such propaganda. The current number of the *Shield*, the journal of the English Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, puts the following questions for the advocates of personal prophylaxis to answer.

We want to know why it is, if "venereal disease can be prevented with almost complete certainty" by methods of self-disinfection, that one in five of the male venereal patients recently treated at the London Lock Hospital became diseased after using these very methods? We want to know why the British Army on the Rhine and that of the Black Sea, both instructed in self-disinfection, have got the highest venereal rates recorded in the British Army for nearly twenty years, and a rate four times higher than that of our Army without self-disinfection? We want to know if Mr. Charles Gibbs, Venereal Surgeon to the Charing Cross and London Lock Hospitals, is right or wrong when he gives it as his opinion that gonorrhoea is frequently infected directly into the urethral canal, and is therefore quite unaffected by outside application?

The point is likely to arise in the course of the enquiries of the Bombay Prostitution Committee, and the questions raised above should be borne in mind.

An Indian Religious Teacher in South Africa:—*Indian Opinion* writes: "We deeply regret to learn that the Union Government has not seen fit to grant a further extension of three months to Pandit Ishwar Datt who is at present engaged in preaching on religious and moral subjects in this country. He is also devoting some of his time to explaining some of the Hindu religious scriptures which could not possibly be completed within the one month that the Union Government has been kind enough to grant him at the urgent request of the community. Pandit Ishwar Datt first entered the Union with a permit of three months and after that period an extension of one month was granted each time. Thus the Pandit was able to spend about five months in the Transvaal for which opportunity the community is grateful to the Union Government. During that period the Government must have been able to see for themselves that Pandit Ishwar Datt has not proved economically or in any other way a menace to this country. It could not possibly be said that he is a menace, for he has not come to this country with the intention of earning a livelihood. His mission here is purely a religious one and he takes part in no other affairs but religious. By his preaching he is elevating his own people from their religious and moral degradation, a service for which not only the community but every good Government ought to be thankful. His lectures have been so interesting and instructive that they have attracted all classes of the community. From what we have been able to see we consider Pandit Ishwar Datt not to be a menace but an asset to the community and even to

the public in general. The Indian community are by right entitled to ask for the permanent stay of a person like Pandit Ishwar Datt and in asking for an extension of only three months they have, in our opinion, made but a considerably small request. We earnestly hope that the Union Government will reconsider their decision and will be generous enough to grant the extension as requested by the Indian community."

The Irish Free State: By a majority of seven votes the Dail Eireann decided to accept the settlement agreed upon, constituting the Irish Free State, whereupon Mr. De Valera resigned. Mr. Griffith who was the head of the delegation which negotiated the settlement was elected President of the Free State and a new Cabinet was formed to take over the Government immediately. The constitution of the Irish Free State is an immense advance in the evolution of dominion Self-Government in the British Commonwealth, and, as Mr. Andrews has rightly observed, a great encouragement to those who think that India can have the fullest scope for self-expression within the orbit of that Commonwealth.

The Excise Committee: After a long delay, Government have appointed the following Committee "to consider and report in all their aspects upon the questions of drink and drug traffic in this Presidency and its total prohibition."—Rao Bahadur G. K. Sathe, (Chairman) and Messrs. H. P. W. MacNaghten, B. F. Madon, Jehangir B. Petit, Ambalal Sarabhai, the Revd. N. Macnicol, Mr. Hoosainbhoj Abdoolabhoj Lalljee, Rao Sahab D. P. Desai, Mr. B. V. Jadhav, Dr. S. W. Patil, Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta, Mr. P. J. Mead, Chief Secretary to Government, and Mr. W. C. Shepherd, Commissioner of Customs, Salt and Excise.

The Khilafat Conference and the Moplah Atrocities We publish in another column a letter from Messrs. K. P. Kesava Menon, Secretary, Kerala Provincial Congress Committee, K. V. Gopala Menon and K. Karunakara Menon, Treasurers of the same Committee, K. Madhavan Nair, Secretary, Calicut District Congress Committee and Mr. T. V. Mahomed, Secretary, Ernad Khilafat Committee, commenting upon the manner in which the Moplah atrocities in Malabar were dealt with at the Khilafat Conference held at Ahmedabad.

Lady Lloyd on Museums. The immense educational value of libraries, museums and such other silent instructional agencies, is not sufficiently appreciated. The idea of education that is most widely prevalent is that through the medium of lectures. Lectures are excellent as accessories but they are no substitutes for active, original thinking on the part of scholars. Lady Lloyd made a very suggestive speech in performing the opening ceremony of the Prince of Wales' Museum of Western India, on behalf of His Excellency the Governor who was prevented from doing so owing to indisposition. Lady Lloyd brought out in her speech the important fact that these institutions of self-education were the true means of national education.

Swami Vivekananda's Birthday: We are asked to state that the sixtieth Birthday Anniversary of the Swami Vivekananda will be celebrated by his disciples, friends and admirers at the Math, Belur, Howrah, on the 19th January, 1922. The *seva* of the poor will be as usual an important item in the programme of the celebration.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 15, 1922.

THE CONFERENCE.

Any doubts which the conveners of the representative Conference, which began its session in Bombay yesterday afternoon, might have felt as regards the number and quality of the attendance, have been dispelled by the acceptances which have been received. The Conference is not representative in the sense that the members have been elected by certain constituencies, but it promises to be fully representative in the more important sense of reflecting the best thought of the country. Some eminent men whose presence would have been of great value to the Conference, could not be invited as coming in the category of officials. Some others of high calibre are in prison and the Conference has to do without their advice. Nevertheless, among those participating in the Conference are several men of sterling character, high patriotism, ripe administrative and political experience, and intimate knowledge of the needs of the country and the people. The Conference is exceedingly fortunate in securing for its Chairman, Sir Sankaran Nair whose independence of character is only equalled by the strength and courage of his convictions. The postponement in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi of discussions bearing on the present political situation, has been a disadvantage. It would have been very useful to the Conference to have had some statement from Government as to their intentions in respect of the almost universal condemnation of the policy of wholesale imprisonments and arrests. There is some compensation, perhaps, in the concentrated interest in the Conference induced by the absence of any prior discussion in the Legislative Assembly.

Another and even more promising circumstance is the feeling on all sides—no less on that of Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues than on that of Sir Hormusjee Wadia and his Liberal friends—that no stone should be left unturned to find a way to a settlement which will ensure peace with honour. In their recent policy of wholesale arrests, Government have presented Indians of all shades of political thought with an issue on which difference is impossible. That Government are bound to adopt measures to prevent as well as to punish crime, is not in question. That the non-violent part of non-co-operation has failed to arrest itself in Malegaon, Malabar, Bombay and, it seems, also in Madras, is a fact. But it is not a fact that non-co-operation has always led and is bound to lead to violence. In Calcutta where the volunteers were first proclaimed, it did not do so. In many other places, it has not done so. Government would have certainly declared non-co-operation illegal if they felt sure that its natural and inevitable consequence was violence. Repeated assurances have been given that no political opinion will be penalised if it is dissociated from violence. Compared with the Partition agitation ten years ago, the Non-Co-operation agitation has been

singularly free from crimes. Many like ourselves, who do not hold by non-co-operation, fear that the indiscriminate and wholesale attack upon its organisation must lead to the recondescence of the secret societies of the anti-Partition time. Open warfare is always better than secret burrowing. In the present political temper of the country, the one or the other is inevitable. The small section in Indian politics which supports the wholesale arrests, does not realise this danger. The policy of wholesale arrests is the policy of sitting upon safety-valves.

Of course, the ideal condition is to have neither non-co-operation nor secret societies. But this can be ensured only by the dawn of political peace. The causes of the present political unrest have been defined in three categories—the Punjab, the Khilafat and Swaraj. We think ourselves that these three are ultimately reducible to one, namely, the racial element in Indian administration and politics. Mistakes every Government will make, mistakes of judgment, of fact, of policy. These are capable of correction sometimes. More often their consequences are past correction, and then the main thing is that they should not recur. Unfortunately, in India every question has a racial root. The Punjab excesses were deeply tainted by racial poison. The Khilafat matter is complicated by prejudices of race and religion. Swaraj, or full responsible Government, is again, in the case of India, influenced by the racial factor. If we could by a strong effort wipe out this racial element, Indian politics will become far more amenable to reason and justice than the politics of any country in the world. The Government of India moves slowly while political passions operate with the speed of forked lightning. They are not an independent Government. They cannot come to any conclusions unless they are assured beforehand of the concurrence of the Secretary of State. A Round Table Conference has been suggested, and the best there is to be said for it is that no better means has been suggested by any one, for bringing Government and the leaders of the people together and to make them consider in a frank and friendly way all possible ways to a speedy adjustment of their differences. If the Malaviya Conference does no more than bring about a sufficient interval of deliberation to enable all parties to ponder deeply on the real causes of the present discontents and to devise sure means of allaying them, it will have served no small purpose at the present juncture.

Education among Parsis. We have received a copy of an exhaustive "note" on the education of Parsee children by Mr. Cavasji D. Mahaluxmivala. Mr. Mahaluxmivala has made suggestions for the reform of education among Parsees "in accordance with modern educational ideals and principles." We do not think there is much difference between modern and ancient educational principles, and where there are any, we are not sure that the modern is better than the ancient. Besides, we do not think that a separate system of education for Parsees is necessary or desirable. There is much that is sound and sensible in Mr. Mahaluxmivala's suggestions, but we dislike its communal spirit which, in our opinion, is retrograde.

THE PRINCIPLE OF SWARAJ.

(By Mr. H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.)

In submitting to the Representative Conference the following lines, embodying a proposal which I believe may be of use in its coming deliberations, I feel of course a sense of presumption for obtruding myself in this manner. Yet it has come to me that in all that has been said, whether on the side of Mr. Gandhi, or of the Liberals, or of the Government, there has hitherto been lacking the expression, in clear and explicit terms, of a fundamental principle. This principle perhaps is being held implicitly by all; but unless it is expressed and formulated and deliberately accepted and recognized by all parties, there seems to me to be every ground for fear that no agreement will be reached, just as there seems to me every hope of agreement, once this basic idea is enounced.

Since, then, I attach such importance to the expression of this principle and since nobody so far has actually expressed it, I beg your forbearance for my rushing in where angels and my betters—perhaps wisely—have refused to tread.

The point I wish to make is that Swaraj is not a boon, but a right: a right inherent in India as a nation, as it is inherent in every nation; a natural right based on the law of nature that government depends on the consent of the governed. Swaraj therefore does not mean to extort by coaxing or bullying from an outsider a boon which it is his to grant or to withhold. Swaraj is not something which depends on any extraneous assent to come into being; it exists already, it always has existed, objectively, whatever, subjectively, ruler or ruled may have thought about it.

The denial of this natural right of a nation implies as its only alternative the theory that might is right and that government depends not on the consent of the governed but on the physical strength of the governing. I have no doubt that many cynics in the Anglo-Indian camp do indeed hold this latter theory and the good old maxim of a "strong rule" ("and when I say 'rule' I mean 'shoot'"); but I do not believe that in the present British bureaucracy in India there is left a single representative who would avow his faith in this theory itself, apart from its practical application. What the modern bureaucrat says is: "I am here with the consent of those I govern—not of course with the consent of a few noisy agitators and their dupes; they only form a small minority. I am here because the great bulk of these people would rather have me than anybody else." Tacitly they likewise therefore base their rule on the concurrent consent of those they govern: in fact, no other basis is possible.

The trouble is, that this point seems never to have been formulated in so many words on either side. On the one part we hear advice to behave nicely, so that the British Parliament may be kept in good humour and feel disposed for generous concessions. On the other we are exhorted to earn Swaraj by suffering, etc. Both look upon Swaraj as "coming," neither apparently realize that it not only has come

already, but that it cannot go away or be taken away. One or the other party may fail to recognise that fact, but such failure does not obliterate the objective fact itself.

This is not an empty play with words. It is a principle of the utmost psychological importance. For what does its recognition mean? It means that the present Government would agree in so many words that India has Swaraj, the inalienable right of self-determination; that they are not intending to rule India against its will, but with its free consent. Let them say clearly that this is the only principle on which they rest British rule in India, that India in itself is a Free State. It goes of course without saying that such a frank recognition of fact should satisfy Mahatma Gandhi's demand for Swaraj in 1922; he would have gained his point and thereupon not only could, but ought to, liquidate the whole policy of "non-co-operation." Thus a calm atmosphere would have been created; a common basis for mutual understanding discovered.

Yet let nobody imagine that thereby Mr. Gandhi would have secured unconditional surrender on the part of the British Government in India. The latter—*ex hypothesi*—admit a fact. There yet remains the application of the principle. What do the thirty and odd crores of India really want? The *status quo*? A dictatorship? A gradual, if accelerated, Indianisation? Does anybody imagine that any Indian (except perhaps a few Pan-Islamists) really desires to see every European quit India by the next P. and O. mail—with the whole of their army, police and administrative machinery? Indians are really not such utter fools as some Anglo-Indians seem to think as not to see that this would mean chaos and anarchy on a staggering scale. On the other hand, both sides bring agreed upon the principle of Swaraj, the *modus vivendi* would become a matter for true deliberation.

For no longer would a Round Table (or any other) Conference resolve itself into a company of hucksters, each of whom is trying to beat down his neighbour and gain most by giving least—as must necessarily be the case, as long as the principle is not conceded that India can only be governed with India's consent. But once that is conceded, a Conference will concern itself with the discovery of what India really does want. The present administrators will hear what Liberals and Nationalists, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Caste and Out-caste, Capitalists and Labour, Zemindars and Tenants will each of them maintain is India's desire to-day; they may point out to them certain, perhaps disagreeable, consequences of fulfilling too literally such desire on any one point; they certainly will try to inform that Indian desire to the best of their ability—but in the end of course, it is agreed beforehand, that if it can really be shown on any one point that the bulk of India cannot consent to it, that point will have to go. The subject matter of such a Conference would be, "What does all India really want?" and not merely, "What do I believe would

be good for India?" Such a Conference would depend on persuasion, not threats; it would generate light, and not heat; its guiding star would be reason, not interest.

Above all, the negotiators would really meet as equals. This Mr. Gandbi had very definitely in his mind, when he stated at Ahmedabad that a Round Table Conference, to be real, had to be one "where only equals are to sit and there is not a single beggar"; but he failed to go back to the underlying principle of an inalienable right being theirs already. The Montford Reform Act similarly implies such an inherent right residing in the nation, but also never explicitly formulates it. Both sides are talking about the practical aspect, of how much British aid India exactly does want, without having yet formally agreed to the theory of which such practical considerations are but the outcome.

What to my mind is most urgently needed now is, I repeat, mutual recognition of the fundamental principle at stake; recognition that Swaraj is not a boon, a gift bestowed or bestowable by a generous outsider, but a right inherent in India itself, as in every nation. Let Britain acknowledge that fact, that India is inherently a Free State of an individuality of its own, let it acknowledge that this freedom of ordering its own individuality is a Natural Right, which can never be extinguished. India, on her part, I feel sure, will exercise that freedom by wisely consenting to further extraneous help; and how much of that help there is to be at varying times, is a true matter for negotiation. But in any case no negotiation will to my mind hold the smallest promise of success, unless it starts from the principle that India is essentially free; and only because free, also free to limit her freedom.

EXPENDITURE AND TAXATION.

(BY THE HON. MR. G. M. BHURGRI.)

The total expenditure on Primary education in 1919-20 was Rs. 1,13,59,722 and in 1920-21, 1½ crores approximately. We shall thus require an additional half a crore per year in the first 3 years; ¾ in the 3rd to 5th years and 1½ crores per year in the 5th to 10th years and every year after.

TAXATION.

Local Cess :—

In the budget estimates for the year 1921-22 the ordinary land revenue is expected to yield 489 lacs. Making due allowance for remission etc. and calculating the Cess at the rate of 2 annas in a rupee, this will yield about Rs. 55 lacs. In case a sliding scale is adopted this may increase by about 5 lacs. At least 20 lacs more could be realized from the alienated lands which are of the assessable value less quit rent of 94 lacs.

Out of all these receipts may be deducted 36 lacs which are at present disposed of by the Local Boards for other purposes. We will thus have an average balance of Rs. 42 lacs from this source available to the Local School Authorities in the case of Local Boards for this purpose.

A CESS ON INCOMES OTHER THAN AGRICULTURAL.

I have suggested imposition of the Cess on incomes other than agricultural also. If on the same basis as in the case of agricultural land the Cess is levied on all income-tax payers, it will yield about 50 lacs. In addition, the additional Cess may be levied on Super-tax payers as well as on non-agricultural income above a certain fixed sum (say Rs. 1,000) which are not taxed even under the Income Tax Act.

DEATH DUTIES.

Death Duties—It will be seen in my written statement that I have suggested imposition of death duties also. I am aware that there are already 3 kinds of death duties existent in India, viz. Probate Administration Duties and Succession Certificate Duty. These are on a scale of 2 per centum of the net value of the estate and in certain cases 3 per centum. It should however be noted that these duties are levied not on all kinds of estates and legacies but only of specific nature i. e. g. on Probates or Certificates of administration and Succession Certificates for collecting duties.

In England however there are seven kinds of Death Duties viz. Estate Duty, Settlement Duty, Legacy Duty, Succession Duty, Probate Duty, Account Duty, and Temporary Estate Duty. In each case the duty is on a sliding scale of 1 to 15%. Each and every estate does not pay each and every duty but every estate must pay one or more of these duties according to the circumstances under which the estates are inherited (e. g. according as the inheritor is a direct or indirect descendant, and the nature of the estate). I want as many of these duties as are possible or as may be necessary for the purpose of covering the deficit in the additional expenditure, to be levied here also. It will not be possible to vouch for or even give a rough estimate of the income likely to accrue from this source. One could work out very crude figures by taking the proportions of the wealth of England to that of this Presidency and working out the proportional yield for the Presidency, the annual yield from all Death Duties in England being known. But that will be on the assumption that all the seven duties are accepted in India. The actual receipt from this source therefore ultimately depends as to what new duties in addition to the three are levied here.

I have also suggested in addition to the above forms of taxation, the following taxes :

4. A Tax on Cinemas and Theatres
5. A Tax on Races
6. Adoption of sliding scale in the case of present one anna receipts and cheques on cash payments, and
7. Some duty on all transactions on the Stock Exchange.

It is not possible without the necessary material to calculate how much each one or all would yield. But it is quite safe to ascertain that each one will yield quite a decent portion of the additional expenditure that is required for the promulgation of a free and Compulsory Scheme of Primary Education.

THE MOPLAH OUTBREAK AND THE KHILAFAT CONFERENCE.

The resolution passed by the Khilafat Conference at Ahmedabad about the Moplahs of Malabar and the telegrams sent by Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib from Lucknow on 18th December and published in the *Servant of Calcutta* on 20th December compel one to doubt if the Mahomedans or even Hindus outside Malabar have any correct knowledge of the happenings in this unhappy district. In the minds of even the generous Hindus of Malabar the attitude of Mussalmans outside Malabar creates a painful feeling that the Hindu Muslim unity is not as deep as it ought to be. The sufferings of the Moplahs of Ernad and Valluvanad at the present time are indescribable. Stories are heard which if true cannot but stagger humanity. The death waggon tragedy must have opened the eyes of the outside world to the possibilities of Martial Law regime. Many innocents have suffered and suffered terribly. One's heart bleeds to hear of the tragic scenes enacted in Ernad. The difficulties in entering the rebel area and getting authentic statements from the Moplah survivors—most of whom are terror-stricken—stand in the way of our giving due publicity to the stories that are reaching us from time to time. Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib therefore rightly demands an independent enquiry and the Khilafat Conference has rightly passed a resolution of sympathy with the sufferings of Moplahs.

But one would have expected a kind word from our Mahomedan friends for the unfortunate Hindu victims of the Moplah atrocities. Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib who commands the respect of every true Indian—whether he be a Hindu or a Mussalman—declares that the atrocities committed by the Moplahs on the Hindus are fabulous and the Khilafat Conference, while congratulating the Moplahs for the sacrifices of their lives in the cause of their religion, has not a word of condemnation for the atrocities committed by them on the Hindus or a word of sympathy for their sufferings. Maulana Sahib, we are sure, would not have made such an astounding statement if he had known the true facts and it is most unfortunate that a leader of such eminence should make a statement so untrue at a time when every endeavour should be made to demonstrate the reality of the friendship that the two communities have for each other. Maulana's unfortunate ignorance of the actual affairs has produced the same results that a mischievous suppression or distortion of facts is bound to have. The truth has to be acknowledged and faced irrespective of consequences. Even if the publication of the misdeeds committed by the Moplah rebels on the Hindus in Malabar cuts at the root of the Hindu-Muslim Unity—not that we believe that the action of a crazy and fanatic section of the Moplahs in Malabar will have any such disastrous effects—and dashes to the ground the fond hopes that we all are cherishing for Swaraj in India, a true Satyagrahi has no option but to proclaim the truth. Truth is infinitely more paramount importance than Hindu-Muslim Unity or Swaraj and therefore we tell the Maulana Sahib and his co-religionists and India's revered leader Mahatma Gandhi—if he too is unaware of the events here—that the atrocities committed by the Moplahs on the Hindus are unfortunately too true and that there is nothing in the deeds of Moplah rebels which a true non-violent non-co-operator can congratulate them for. What is it for which they deserve congratulation? Their wanton and their unprovoked attack on the Hindus, the all but wholesale looting of their houses in the Ernad, and parts of Valluvanad, Ponnani, and Calicut Taluques; the forcible conversion of Hindus in a few places in the beginning of the

rebellion and the wholesale conversion of those who stuck to their homes in its later stages; the brutal murder of inoffensive Hindus, men, women, and children in cold blood without the slightest reason except that they are "Kaffirs" or belong to the same race as the policemen who insulted their Tangles or entered their Mosques; the desecration and burning of Hindu temples; the outrages on Hindu women and their forcible conversions and marriage by Moplahs; Do these and similar atrocities proved beyond the shadow of a doubt by the statements recorded by us from the actual sufferers who have survived deserve any congratulation? On the other hand, should they not call forth the strongest condemnation from all right-minded men and more especially from representative body of Mahomedans like the Khilafat Conference pledged to non-violence under all provocation? Did the Moplahs who committed such atrocities sacrifice their lives in the cause of their religion?

We know that there are many Moplahs in the disturbed area who have not taken any part in the rebellion and that even among the rebels there are a few who have not been guilty of the savageries detailed above. We can understand the Moplahs rising in rebellion in defence of their religion or under provocation. But we cannot understand why they should turn against their innocent Hindu brethren, loot them, convert them and murder them. We can pardon them even for this, because they are fanatics, they are ignorant and credulous; and because they become desperate when rightly or wrongly they come to believe that no Moplah in the affected area whether innocent or guilty was safe. But what we cannot understand is the attitude of the Mussalmans outside Malabar who certainly would not like to be judged by the same standard as we would apply to the Moplah rebels of Ernad and Valluvanad. A few prominent Mussalman leaders, it is true, have condemned the Moplah atrocities and the Central Khilafat Committee and a few Mahomedan gentlemen have subscribed liberally for the relief of the distressed. But, how far have Mussalmans in general exerted to undo the wrongs committed by their co-religionists in Malabar and create a feeling in the minds of the Hindus that they can look to them for help and sympathy and the protection of their religion when events such as have disgraced Malabar happen in other times and in other places? The Khilafat Conference has not a word of sympathy for the Hindu sufferers and though they condemn the forcible conversion of Hindus by Moplahs they do not condemn any other acts of theirs such as looting, murder, outrage upon women and burning of Hindu houses and temples. We firmly believe even now that they have been guilty of this gross omission because of their ignorance of facts. Let us hope that this letter will open their eyes to the real truth and that they will rectify the wrong done by them to the Hindus and the cause of Hindu-Muslim Unity. Let us also hope that the prominent leaders among them would go to Malabar, educate the Moplah opinion and take such steps as would ensure the safety of lives, religion, and properties of those unfortunate Hindus who had been forcibly converted into Islam but who have returned of their own accord to the Hindu faith.

(Signed) K. P. KRISHNA MENON.

Secretary, Kerala Prov. Congress Committee

K. MADHAVAN NAIR.

Secretary, Calicut District Congress Committee

T. V. MOHAMAD.

Secretary, Ernad Khilafat Committee

K. V. GOVALA MENON.

K. KARUNAKARA MENON.

Treasurers, Kerala Prov. Congress Committee

CALICUT,

20th December 1921.

JESUS CHRIST AND PRESENT DAY PROBLEMS.

I.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I agree with your editorial note. The prosecution of the early Christians by the Roman Government is the best answer of the layman to the Bishop of Bombay's statement, that "The authority of Christ cannot possibly be claimed for civil disobedience." The subject is so important, that I would venture to make still clearer the historical situation.

The political rulers with whom Christ came into immediate contact were (i) the Jewish Saabedrin, which had jurisdiction in Judaea; (ii) Herod, who had jurisdiction in Galilee. These authorities had power of life and death under the Roman suzerainty.

Christ was both a Jew and a Galilean. When Herod sent officers to fetch Jesus, he refused to attend him. "Go, tell that fox . . ." he said, using a terrible word of contempt. There was civil disobedience and also sedition in that answer. It must be remembered that Herod had beheaded John the Baptist for a similar plainness of speech. But the most prolonged civil disobedience in Christ's life lay in his attitude towards the Jewish rulers at Jerusalem. He determined to make their legalistic system of authority impossible. He therefore broke the letter of the Jewish law quite openly whenever he had an opportunity. He forced the issue again and again. He was known as a 'breaker of the law.' He left the rulers no means of compromising with him. Two flaming examples of Christ's conduct may be quoted, which serve as beacons to his life and character. The former is his denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees—"Ye vipers! Ye hypocrites! How shall ye escape the damnation of Hell?" Christ knew well what it involved to speak out thus against the Jewish Rulers. The second is the scene where Christ took a whip of small cords and drove the money changers out of the Temple. I cannot explain it here, but by this act Christ threatened at its very centre an important financial asset of the Jewish system of government at Jerusalem; for this depended in a measure upon the receipts from the Temple. With tremendous reiteration Christ put before the Jewish rulers the alternative. Either they had to abandon their evil system of government, or they had to kill him. They chose to kill him.

It was the same with Jesus' disciples. They at once came into conflict with these same Jewish authorities. The latter employed every weapon of force to put an end to their acts of passive revolt. They imprisoned again and again the apostles of Jesus. Many disciples, including Stephen, were put to death. The only defence which these followers of Jesus ever made was this,—“We must obey God rather than man.”

Let us turn, in conclusion, to the last pages of the New Testament. We find that the Roman Imperial system had now become hostile to the young revolutionary church. The Christians refused to fulfil all kinds of State regulations. They would not enlist in the army, where Cæsar worship had to be performed. They were non-co-operators. They passively resisted. As a direct consequence, they were thrown to the wild beasts and burnt alive. The Book of Revelation gives a lurid picture of this supreme passive resistance. The Roman Empire, in this book, is called Babylon, the centre of the evil of the world, the city that 'trafficks in the souls of men'.

I would ask, therefore, the Bishop of Bombay to reconsider his position. Mahatma Gandhi now regards the imperialism of Great Britain in India as the evil thing,—as 'Babylon,'

the 'trafficker in the souls of men'. He believes that racial arrogance and commercial greed lurk at its very centre. The way to meet such a position is surely not to foreclose discussion by quoting any isolated texts concerning civil disobedience, but rather by a humble examination of the challenge itself, which this new prophet has thrown down to the world. Is British imperialism in India the hateful thing that must be resisted unto the death? Is racial arrogance so deep that it cannot be eradicated? Is the pride of empire so overpowering that repentance for the sins of the past is impossible? These are surely the questions to answer.

Personally, if I may make a confession, my hopes and fears have belied one another for very many years with regard to these very questions. Even in the last month our longings have been raised by the Irish agreement only to be dashed down again by this terrible Egyptian memorandum, which Viscount Allenby has presented. Is Great Britain ready to be magnanimous only to the French in Canada, the Dutch in South Africa, the Irish in Ireland? Is Great Britain determined to keep an iron hand outside the area of the white races, only giving specious promises of equality and independence elsewhere. My own recent experiences in East Africa have not reassured me on that point, nor has the news that I have continually received from South Africa and Fiji and other places. I seem to understand also more and more, year by year, the terrible guilt of the exploitation of India itself and the crime of her prolonged subjection. Can the Bishop of Bombay take up these issues? Can you also, Mr. Editor?

Yours faithfully,

C. F. ANDREWS.

II.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your note in reply to the letter of the Bishop of Bombay, you state that you do not feel that you could presume to enter upon a matter of exegesis of the teachings of Jesus in challenging any interpretation put upon them by the Bishop. The present writer certainly has little disposition to enter upon an exegetical controversy, but as my lecture gave rise to the discussion I feel it but right that I make my own views a little clearer in a brief note.

I think if the Editor had used the term "passive resistance" instead of "non-resistance" he would have come nearer the position of Jesus. Jesus certainly resisted evil. His whole life was an exemplification of that. But his method with evil men was passive resistance—an active love that could passively suffer and bear and conquer and win the heart. He believed that the ultimate power of the universe was not physical force, but love. The cross is the symbol that love, shown through passive resistance, stands at the centre.

In regard to the question of paying tribute to Cæsar, it would seem at first sight, that Jesus did put his stamp of approval on standing by whoever was in authority, even though it be a Cæsar. If so then it is disappointing and puzzling and it cuts across what we know of the Christ spirit that resisted evil everywhere even when it should be in authority. But a little closer examination would show that another emphasis is not only possible, but necessary.

The method of Jesus was quiet, but penetrating. The Duke of Argyll says: "There is no method of reform so powerful as this. If alongside any false or corrupt belief, or any cruel and vicious system we place one incompatible idea then without any noise of controversy or clash of battle those beliefs and customs will wane and die." Alongside of the cruel and prevalent custom of slavery Jesus laid down the

incompatible idea of brotherhood. And slavery waned and died. Alongside of the cruel Caesar idea he put another incompatible idea, the reign of God. He said, "Render to Caesar, that which is Caesar's, and to God, that which is God's." Then He began quietly to enlarge the sphere of what belonged to God. In His idea of the Kingdom of God all life was to be held sacred for God. As He thus enlarged it and as men began to catch his emphasis upon this, they soon saw that there was no standing room for Caesar. All life was to be rendered to God and as the Caesar idea clashed with that it had to go, and it had been going ever since. Instead of this passage being the bulwark of autocracy, in reality it has been its death-knell. When we put upon the second half of the statement the emphasis that Jesus put upon it then the spirit of autocracy in personal, social, religious, economic and political realms will wane and die.

You can no more keep the spirit of Jesus apart from political than you can keep it apart from the social and economic. It must go through all life including the political, not with a set and dried programme, but with principles and a spirit. Anything in any of these realms incompatible with those principles and that spirit must wane and die. When they do we will have the Kingdom of God over all life. We will be rendering to God what is God's.

In regard to whether the position of Government or the position of the Non-co-operation movement is more compatible with the idea of the Kingdom of God as expressed in the principles and spirit of Jesus each man must judge for himself. Whatever is found in either opposed to those principles and that spirit must be condemned. This, it seems to me, to be the position of Christianity.

Yours faithfully,
E. STANLEY JONES.

III

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

May I take this opportunity to correct a slight mistake that you have made while speaking of me in your editorial notes? You say therein that I belong to the Anglican Church. With regard to this I beg to say that though I have been baptised and am an orthodox believer in Christ Jesus, I do not belong to any Church whatsoever. I belong to the Catholic Church, and to no particular body thereof. But lest I might be taken as a member of the Roman Catholic Church, I call myself an Oriental Catholic, and it is as such that I have returned myself in the last census. Besides this I have returned myself as a Hindu by race. My feeling is that until Christianity spells Euro-Asiatic unity in the real sense of the term, all over Asia Christian Churches should be national (of course in the best sense of the term), and together with this they should unite into an Asiatic or Oriental Church. This would act as the greatest peace-maker between Europe and Asia.

Rajkot,
11th January 1922.

Yours truly,
MANILAL G. PAREKH.

THE KHILAFAT CONFERENCE.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

With reference to your leading article in your issue of January 1st, I write just to suggest a correction of fact in one matter of detail referred to therein. To any careful reader of the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference, the National Congress, and the Muslim League, it must be evident that Mr. Haerat Mohani was an advocate of freedom being allowed at least to Mahomedans to have recourse to "all possible and

proper means" in place of "all legitimate and peaceful means" and also strongly advocated a change in the goal to be attained,—in the form of "complete independence free from all foreign control" in place of the undefined word "Swaraj" in the present form of the creed of the Congress. Both these changes, however, were urged by him in the Subjects Committee of the National Congress, and as you have correctly stated in the second para on page 287 of your paper in the said issue, the motion by the said gentleman to drop the principle of non-violence met with little support and had thus to be withdrawn. But you have made a little confusion and have incorrectly stated that "resort to violence" was advocated and even passed in the Subjects Committee of the Khilafat Conference. This mistake of fact is required to be brought to your notice, as you have argued out a point on the basis of this wrong notion. You refer to this as the second point of difference between the 'national Indian' and the 'Mahomedan communal' points of view, brought to surface by the Khilafat Conference. To quote you in full, you have said beginning somewhere at the end of page 286, and continuing in the first para of page 287:—"The other fundamental difference which the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference brought to surface is as regards the principle of non-violence.....Mr. Haerat Mohani raised in the form of an amendment at the Khilafat Conference the point that Islam does not forbid resort to violence in suitable cases, and the President could only get round the corner by ruling out of order the amendment which he had allowed to be passed in the Subjects Committee previously."—

But all this is absolutely a mistaken statement. The resolution which was wrongly allowed to be passed in the Subjects Committee of the Khilafat Conference and which the President Hakim Ajmal Khan had later on to rule out of order in the open Conference, was the resolution not about dropping the principle of non-violence, but about declaring complete independence. This you will find clearly mentioned in the account of the final sitting of the Khilafat Conference on Tuesday night (27th December.) published in the *Bombay Chronicle* of Thursday 29th December in column 4 on page 8 (morning edition). In the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference as published hitherto, there has been no mention of any motion brought forward to allow resort to violence. A motion to that effect was contemplated by Mr. Haerat Mohani, but it was in the Subjects Committee of the Congress itself, and as correctly noticed by you it was withdrawn as he did not get support. (Vide *Bombay Chronicle*, same issue column 5 on page 7). Will not the above correction of facts with regard to the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference, necessitate a change in your remarks pertaining thereto, to be fair to the 'Khilafat extremists' as some choose to call them?

Yours truly,

K. R. HALDIPURKAR,

[We regret the mistake Ed. I.S.R.]

AN INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

The wedding of Mr. P. S. Mani, Accountant, Messrs. Laljee & Co., with Miss Nagabhushanam was celebrated on Monday the 9th instant at 6-30- P. M. in the Bangalore Cantonment Brahma Samaj Mandir according to Brahma rites. Mr. E. Subbukrishnaia officiated as the minister and the marriage was registered under Act III of 1872. The bride-groom an Andhra was Brahmin and the bride a Velsa. This is the sixth reformed marriage that took place in Bangalore under the auspices of the Brahma Samaj.

AGENDA OF REPRESENTATIVE CONFERENCE.

The following agenda of the Representative Conference to be held at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Royal College of Science, Mayo Road, Bombay, on 14th January 1922 at 8 p.m. was issued on Saturday.

Pandit M. M. Malaviya will open the proceedings with a statement of the circumstances in which, and the purpose for which, the Conference has been called, and will request Sir Sankaran Nair to take the speaker's chair.

The Speaker will call upon Mr. M. A. Jinnah to place draft proposals before the Conference for its consideration.

He will then call upon Mahatma Gandhi to open the discussion.

The speaker will next call upon Sir Hormusjee Wadia to speak, and will then invite a general discussion.

When the Speaker is of opinion that the proposals have been sufficiently discussed, he will close the general discussion, and will call on the Conference to deal with specific proposals.

The Conference will then proceed to adopt definite proposals, and if necessary for the purpose, it will appoint a Committee, with the Speaker as Chairman, to frame such proposals in the light of the discussion to be placed before the Conference at its adjourned sitting on the same or the following day.

THE REPRESENTATIVE CONFERENCE.

INDIAN PRESS OPINIONS.

The *Tribune*, Lahore Daily, (Congress.)

We need scarcely say that we are in complete agreement with much that is said in the letter issued by Pandit Malaviya and six other leaders, inviting the representatives of different provinces to a conference to be held in Bombay on the 14th instant. The only point as to which we are not free from doubt, is the wisdom of calling a conference of party leaders before bringing about a truce by means of a direct appeal to the two parties. Undoubtedly if the whole country could be of one mind, the appeal to Government would carry much greater weight than it is likely to do now, but then the very uncertainty of the Government's probable attitude is likely to be a disturbing factor at a conference like the one proposed and may not improbably make a settlement difficult if not impossible. It is for this reason that we have been strongly urging from the first the supreme necessity of bringing the two principal parties to the present controversy to a common table, preliminary to the convening of a regular Round Table Conference. But if this is not to be, a Conference like the one convened by Pandit Malaviya and others is clearly the only other alternative. Let us hope it will produce the desired effect.

The *Citizen*, Madras weekly, (Liberal).

A great responsibility rests upon Mr. Gandhi in this matter. He has often expressed himself in favour of a conference and a settlement. Reason and experience should suggest to him that constitutional progress achieved without throwing the whole country into disorder and chaos, which will assuredly follow a widespread resort of civil disobedience, would be very much better and more honourable than what he hopes to get by the other way. He possesses great influence over his following and a man of peace as he calls himself, he should throw the whole weight of his authority on the side of an amicable settlement. There is the Government to consider. An attitude of *non-possumus* is impossible. The Government must realise that they are faced with a crisis the logical outcome of which would be terrorism and anarchy on the one side and naked repression on the other.

The question is whether Lord Reading has secured the necessary credentials for holding a Conference. The presumption of course is that he has, because he has expressed his willingness and his eagerness to meet the representatives of all shades of public opinion in the country to discuss with them the measures necessary to remove the root-causes of the present discontent. That means Lord Reading is prepared to move the Secretary of State to scrap the Government of India Act for effecting further constitutional development. Of course, there is the Parliament and especially the House of Lords to be taken into account. If either the British Cabinet or the Parliament should deny the satisfaction of the demands unitedly and unanimously put forward by the Conference in India, then the issue would become quite clear, each party being at liberty to pursue its own path.

Janmabhumi, Machilipatnam weekly, (Nationalist).

There is going round another suggestion that a conference of party leaders ought to be held beforehand. This suggestion seems to have been received in responsible quarters with certain favour. The object apparently of those who put it forward is that the party leaders may present a united demand. In the first place there cannot be much of unity of demand between such widely divergent bodies as the Congress and the South Indian Liberal Federation. Nor did the united Congress-League scheme, progress beyond the stage of presentation. It was doomed from that moment forward. Say what you will, we believe that the Congress represents the Nation. There is the Muslim League and there is the Sikh sabha and these three bodies must have the determining voice in the negotiations. We cannot be beaten down by political *parvenus*.

The *Dnyanodaya*, Bombay weekly, (Christian Missions).

We deplore as being unhelpful to India's perplexing situation in the present hour some of the articles being published in the European press. We know only too well the difficulty of writing on public events in such times as these, but to ridicule the efforts of Indian leaders who are most nobly seeking a way out of India's present impasse is not a Christian thing to do. For ourselves we entirely approve of the present effort to focus into one the different view-points of India's political parties, which we take to be the aim of the coming conference, and we think the organizers have done well to secure Sir Sankaran Nair as the chairman. 'Blessed are the peacemakers' is our message to this conference and we commend it to the prayers of all earnest people.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE.

The following are the principal resolutions of general character passed at the 8th sessions of the All-India Indian Christian Conference held in Lahore from December 27th-30th both days inclusive.

THE PRINCE'S VISIT.

All-India Conference of Indian Christians accords a very hearty and respectful welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on the occasion of His Visit to India. The Conference prays that His Royal Highness's stay may bring peace and good will to the three hundred and thirty million people inhabiting this land.

THE PRESENT SITUATION.

In view of the gravity of the present political situation in the country and also in view of the possibility that the situation may become still more acute in the near future, this Conference resolves:—

(-) That in order to restore peace and harmony in the country it is necessary for Government to adopt a policy of

conciliation by ceasing to put into force the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908 and the prevention of Seditious Meetings Act of 1911 and such other measures as have a repressive effect and by releasing those arrested and imprisoned under these Acts, while on the other hand, the campaign of Non-Co-operation should forthwith be suspended by the leaders of Non-Co-operation so as to facilitate a sane settlement under conditions essential for mutual understanding.

(b) That in order to facilitate a sane settlement, a Round Table Conference be arranged of some leading Non-Co-operators, Moderates and Government Officials to see on what grounds a compromise can be brought about.

A Committee of the following six gentlemen be appointed:—
The President, R. B. A. C. Mukerji, Mr. Nundy, Mr. K. L. Ballia Ram, M. L. C., Mr. K. T. Paul and Prof. Cornelius.

This Committee is empowered to co-opt others and also to draw up the findings in the form of resolutions to be sent to the bodies mentioned below.

(c) That copies of these Resolutions, the Findings of the Round Table Conference (when ready) be forwarded to the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, the President of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

This Conference is of opinion that the time has come:—

(i) That Protestant Missions as such should be completely merged in the Indian Church and that in future all Foreign Missionaries should be related to it.

(ii) That in the meantime Missions should appoint Indians of ability and character on an increasing scale as their Lay and Ordained Missionaries.

(iii) In view of the complaints made by the various Missions that educated young Indian Christians of character are not available to take up positions of trust and responsibility this Conference recommends that the policy of finding young men who are suitable, from other Missions, be adopted by all Missions instead of allowing denominational barriers to stand between such young men and responsible positions.

SWADESHI.

(i) This Conference is strongly of opinion that a true Swadeshi spirit should dominate every sphere of Indian Christian life which would, in its turn, serve to give a real impetus to all indigenous enterprises in the country.

(ii) That as an expression of our Swadeshi spirit we must forthwith start wearing clothes of Indian manufacture.

(iii) In view of the fact that the Indian Christian Community has been very frequently and severely accused of lacking the Swadeshi spirit, this Conference recommends that all Provincial Leagues make strenuous efforts to find ways and means of inculcating the swadeshi spirit in the Indian Christians through the local leagues and lose no time in putting such a programme into effect.

FRANCHISE FOR WOMEN.

This Conference is of opinion that the time has come when franchise under the Reforms Act should be extended to the women of this Country, on the same terms as those of men.

SPREADING KNOWLEDGE OF PUBLIC QUESTIONS.

Realising that public work in the country should be based upon sound knowledge of present-day problems and with a view to cultivate such knowledge:—

(a) The All-India Indian Christian Conference institute six graded prizes annually amounting to Rs. 800 for the best essays on important public questions to be written by Indian Christian young men and women.

(b) A Board of Representatives be appointed to arrange and carry out the scheme.

(c) Indian Christian leaders be appealed to for finances.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

Resolved that this Conference, while expressing its appreciation of the endeavours made by the Government for the Industrial development of the country, feel that the measures hitherto adopted are sadly inadequate to meet the acute economic situation and expresses its conviction that for removing the industrial backwardness of India it is necessary:—

(i) That definite endeavours be made to materialise the schemes formulated in the various "Blue Books" and suggested by Indian economists for the imparting of industrial and technical education to the students of the country.

(ii) That far greater provision than at present exists be made for industrial and technical education by the establishment of the Technological Faculty at the principal Indian Universities.

(iii) That artificial and unjust barriers like the Preferential Tariffs and Excise duties on cotton goods and Railway Preferences on imports as compared with exports which favour the foreign manufacturer at the expense of the indigenous manufacturer, be removed.

PROHIBITIONS.

This Conference reaffirms the resolution on total prohibition which was passed in Calcutta 1919. That in view of the world-wide interest at the present time, in the cause of temperance and the growing volume of public opinion in India against the use of intoxicants the All-India Indian Christian Conference earnestly request the Government of India to prohibit the import, manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors and drugs in the country for other than medical purposes. And it further resolves that as the first minimum instalment the principal of local option be introduced in case of Municipal areas.

RESOLUTION ON RESPONSIBLE SELF-GOVERNMENT.

This Conference is of opinion that as a result of one year's working of the Reforms Scheme, a much larger measure of Responsible Self-Government should immediately be given to the people of India by asking the Provincial Governments to a greater extent responsible to the legislature and by making such modifications in the Government of India Act as would introduce the principle of responsibility in the Central Government.

INDIAN SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

The affiliated Associations be urged to send delegates annually to take part in the Indian Social Conference.

INDIANS OVERSEAS.

Resolved that this Conference

(a) Expresses its gratification at India being placed on a par with the self-governing dominion in the League of the Council of Nations.

(b) But at the same time it declares its deep disappointment at the attitude of the South African Representatives at the Imperial Conference in regard to the position and status of Indians domiciled in South and East Africa.

(c) And appeals to the Church in Africa to use its influence to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the present issue and to the Church in all Self-Governing Dominions in the British Common Wealth to use their influence in all such places where a similar spirit prevails in order to avoid the creation and growth of a spirit which will inevitably lead to disaster.

LABOUR PROBLEMS.

(a) The special attention of the affiliated Associations and individual members be drawn to the labour unrest in the country urging them to study carefully the problems in their respective areas and to render help in establishing right relationships among all parties concerned, and

(b) The Conference urges that the following are the particular needs of our labour:—(1) Hours of work of males, females and children; (2) wages; (3) Housing, (4) Education, (5) Compensation for Injuries, (6) Sanitation, (7) Abolition of drinking habit, (8) Old age pensions and maintenance, (9) Co-operative Societies and Trade Unions.

DEFENCE OF INDIA.

(a) The All-India Indian Christian Conference urges strongly that the time has come for the authorities to initiate and carry out a liberal military and naval policy to enable India to attain as early as possible the status of a self governing colony.

(b). This Conference strongly protests against the gradual disbandment of the 71st Panjabis.

(c) This Conference while protesting against the allowances urged upon the Indian Christians to enroll themselves in large numbers in the Indian Territorial Force.

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

May I bring to the notice of the Princes and Chiefs and the people of India the great importance of training their people in Industrial arts, which can be successfully carried out with a mechanical knowledge of modern machines. This knowledge is helpful not only in manufacturing industries but also in handling and local repairing of machines required even for agriculture. As a large mass of our people are agriculturists, the importance of technical training of the people cannot be overstated.

To bring down the dully-rising prices of food-stuffs, clothing, etc. within the means of the people, it is necessary to increase the output from land and other sources, and to cheapen the costs of production. Both these can be achieved by the use of scientific methods and labour-saving appliances. These appliances cannot be introduced until and unless the people know how to handle and locally repair, the modern machines. This art can be acquired only by a technical training for which purpose, we need technical schools with an equipment of machines, within an easy reach of the people. The provision of independent Technical Schools would be expensive, whereas a school can be established along with railway workshops at a comparatively small cost. As the Indian states have already provided railway workshops at many centres it is an easy matter to open Technical schools along with such workshops. Thereby the people of India will be quickly trained in all mechanical arts which are so necessary for the material advance of the country, both in agriculture and in manufacturing industries.

The importance of railway workshops as a place for technical school has been brought out in paras 86 and 155 of the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission 1918, and I have dealt with the matter in full detail in my books: "The Agricultural Co-operation in Denmark and Hints for its adoption in India" and "The Indian Railways". Both of them can be had from Mission Press, Ajmer. The books have been written after an extensive experience in India and travels in Europe, and have been published at a heavy expense, with the object of rendering a service to the Motherland. It remains with the Princes and the people of India to take advantage of the valuable information thus brought to their very door at a trifling cost.

Ajmer.

CHANDRIKA PRASADA.

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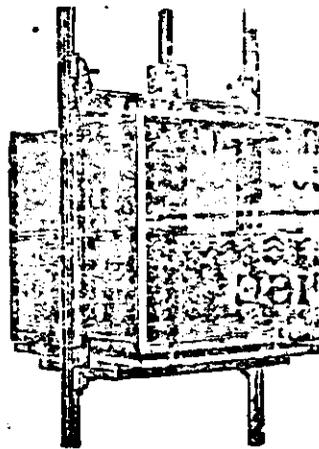
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 22, 1922.

THE CONFERENCE.

The Conference of representative persons to which reference has been made in the two previous issues of this journal, was held in Bombay on the 14th and 15th January. From the official statement, it will be seen that the representative character of the Conference was unimpeachable. The Conference met at 3 p. m. on the first day. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's strenuous exertions to arrange the details of the Conference during more than a whole week left him absolutely no leisure to compress his introductory remarks. But for this drawback, his opening speech was an eloquent exposition of the circumstances in which and the purpose for which the Conference was called. He ended by requesting Sir Sankaran Nair to take the chair as Speaker. Mr. Joseph Baptista promptly asked if the conveners of the Conference had exercised their legal right to nominate the Chairman, adding that if that was not the case, he had another proposal to make. Mr. Jinnah on behalf of the conveners replied that the conveners exercised their legal right and nominated Sir Sankaran Nair to preside over the Conference. Sir Sankaran on taking the chair at once called upon Mr. Jinnah to place the proposals drafted by the conveners before the Conference. Mr. Jinnah did so in a brief business-like speech. When he sat down, the Speaker invited Mahatma Gandhi to speak. The Mahatma's speech on this occasion was not as clear and definite as his speeches usually are, which led to his being asked as he was resuming his seat whether it was to be understood that, in the event of the Government carrying out what was required of

them in the draft resolutions, the Mahatma on his part would advise his friends to carry out the things that were required of them. The Mahatma in reply made another longish speech which failed to convey to many of his hearers what exactly he intended to do in the case put to him. The speech of the evening was by general consent that of Sir Hormusji Wadia whom, as the leader of the Poona Liberals, the Speaker requested to follow the Mahatma. Sir Hormusji's speech was one of the most cogent, clear and outspoken that this writer has had the good fortune to listen to for many a long day. Sir Hormusji's condemnation of the Government repression was as uncompromising as his denunciation of the violence of non-violent non-co-operation as illustrated in the Bombay riots. He told Government that law and order were precious things but that the country could not pay the price of loss of freedom demanded of it even to secure them and, speaking as one who has supported the Reforms, he made the admission that they had failed inasmuch as they had not prevented the adoption of the recent repressive policy. We had three Indians in the Government of India and Indian Ministers in Provincial Governments, but the policy of wholesale arrests and prosecutions, which was driving the country to desperation, went on. Turning to Mahatma Gandhi and speaking as an old friend, "if I may call him so"—Mahatma: "A privilege a privilege."—he exhorted him in earnest tones to confine non-co-operation to educated men who understood it, and not to expose the ignorant masses to sacrifices which they could ill afford. When Sir Hormusjee sat down, every one felt that the Conference had touched a very high level. It was a happy coincidence—entirely unintentional—that the three first speakers in the proceedings should be representatives of our three great communities—the Mahomedan, the Hindu, and the Parsi. Among the speakers who followed, Professor S. C. Mukerjee, who presided at the recent All-India Indian Christian Conference, made an excellent impression. An Anglo-Indian gentleman of Calcutta, Mr. Moreno, had insisted on an invitation being sent to him, but before he could get the reply, he had left for Bombay. His speech had a great effect on the Conference. He began by saying that he was of mixed parentage, Indian and English, and that he had always felt that the right policy was for his community to identify itself with Indians as sons of the same soil. He went on to speak of the duties and responsibilities of

Indian leaders in a well-balanced and impressively spoken speech. His presence, demeanour and speech was one of the influences which moulded the inner mind of the Conference somewhat obscured by the set phrases of the resolutions. There were other good speeches, especially one by Mr. J. A. Wadia, which impressed the Conference. After over five hours, the Conference closed on Saturday with a resolution appointing a Committee to revise the draft resolutions in the light of the day's discussion. This Committee met on Sunday at 10 a. m. and it was only after 6 p. m. that the Conference could be resumed to receive the revised resolutions. When the Conference met late on Sunday evening, Sir M. Visvesvaraya occupied the chair which Sir Sankaran Nair had abruptly left a few minutes ago when the Committee's discussions were nearing their end. The resolutions were passed without much discussion, and a Committee was appointed to carry out the resolutions. The Conference closed at 8 p. m.

THE SANKARAN NAIR INCIDENT.

The retirement of Sir Sankaran Nair from the Speaker's chair after presiding over the Committee stage the whole of Sunday, has naturally attracted much attention. It has been exaggerated on the one side as a blow to the Conference, while, on the other, inferences have been sought to be drawn from it as to Sir Sankaran's motives. To us, Sir Sankaran's action can be simply explained as due to his having somehow felt after the first day's meeting that a public dissociation from the Conference over which he had come to preside, was imperative on his part. Sir Sankaran arrived in Bombay on the 13th and had a full opportunity of discussing the subject matter of the Conference with the conveners and Mahatma Gandhi who made no secret of the fact that, as Non-Co-operationists, he and his friends could not participate in the voting at the Conference. It was a surprise when Sir Sankaran made this one of his grounds of thinking of withdrawal on Sunday, because this had been known all along and had, indeed, been emphasised at the first day's sitting in the Mahatma's speech. The Mahatma met this objection by undertaking to obtain from the Working Committee of the Congress a resolution complying with the requirements of the Conference. Sir Sankaran next turned to the release of prisoners convicted under the ordinary law for non-violent political offences, and he was backed up by other members of the Conference Committee. The Mahatma after the luncheon interval on Sunday, when things seemed to have come to a definite breach, agreed to the substitution of a Committee to investigate these cases, instead of the release of the prisoners, as a condition precedent of his party entering the Round Table Conference. After these important concessions, it was a painful surprise to see Sir Sankaran fasten upon the case of "the fatwa prisoners" as the one point on which he could not brook any compromise. We have made no secret of our firm belief that the Khilafat extremists' disclaimer of responsibility for the Mopla outbreak was untenable. The dignified remonstrance which

we printed last week from the Secretaries of Congress and Khilafat Committees in Malabar, against the misleading resolution of the Khilafat Conference, conveys its own moral. Sir Sankaran Nair naturally feels deeply for the wrongs done upon innocent men and women by Mopla ruffians, and no one who knows the facts can feel otherwise. But to argue from these distressing facts that "the fatwa prisoners"—those convicted of circulating a fatwa or declaration by Mahomedan divines—should not be released, is a bit of forced reasoning which no one else in the Conference Committee was able to follow. The matter might have been left there but for the statement which Sir Sankaran Nair published in the *Times of India* on Tuesday. That statement must have given pain to many sincere admirers of Sir Sankaran Nair. He was called as a friend to give the Conference the benefit of his guidance. Because it did not follow it in every respect, he not only left the Conference after taking note of all its proceedings in Committee, but he actually indited a severe denunciation based upon these notes of the whole Conference with the object of discrediting it and defeating its purpose. Sir Sankaran Nair must have been as much surprised as ourselves to see that, as far as Indian opinion goes, his action has done more harm to himself than to the Conference. Sir Sankaran has done distinguished service to India and deserves well of his countrymen. It is a pity that it has not been possible for him to appreciate the position of those who differed from him at the Conference. We respect his courage of convictions, his independence, and his patriotism. The conveners fully trusted him. A word of praise is due to Sir M. Visvesvaraya for the readiness with which he stepped into the breach literally at a moment's notice. He was not consulted about it, first, because there was no time, and, secondly, perhaps, if he had been consulted, he would have hesitated. Within a couple of minutes of Sir Sankaran's leaving the chair, Sir M. Visvesvaraya had been proposed into it, and was leading the proceedings as if there had been no interruption at all. The nation no longer lacks able and willing men to take the place of those who are called away by circumstance or inclination from it. Whoever may fall out of the ranks, the country goes forward. The nation's cause is no longer the concern of a few towering personalities. The average man has come into his own. As a patriot, Sir Sankaran cannot but rejoice that this has come to pass.

THE RESULT.

What has been the result of the Conference? We print a collection of opinions of newspapers published in India, as complete as we can make it, on the Conference. For our own part, we prefer to leave the events of the next few days to answer the question.

Social Reform among Vysyas. The Vysyas are the mercantile caste among Hindus and they are also the mainstay of orthodoxy. It is, therefore, with much pleasure that we notice the liberal principles of social reform embodied in the resolutions of the Arya-Vysya Conference held at Vizagapatam, which we print this week.

EXPENDITURE AND TAXATION.

(Contributed.)

RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICES.

While writing about Education and Taxation in the issue of the *Reformer* of the 1st instant, you remark that the Ministers when they are to meet educational expenditure are entitled to demand that they should satisfy themselves that all possible economy has been effected in the other, more especially, the reserved departments. This is, no doubt, essential; but, don't you think that before the Ministers interfere with the reserved subjects, they should see that the various posts in their own department which are not at all necessary are abolished at an early date? In this matter the Press and the general public should help them and point out the uselessness and superfluity of many of these posts.

There is a saying in the vernacular to the effect that when a big drum is required, a buffalo should be killed and not thousands of rats, for what can be achieved by the hide of one buffalo cannot be achieved by the hides of thousands of rats. So when the question of retrenchment is to be considered, not much saving could be done by reducing a number of menials or depriving them of their blankets or umbrellas hitherto given to them once in two years. If the Minister in charge of Excise and Forests, the two earning departments which are not reserved, were to closely study this question, he is sure to find that there are some big posts which could easily be abolished. I am sure that if he goes through the correspondence which passed when new posts were created in these departments, he would come to know that their creation was justified and urged more on the ground that the revenue brought by the particular department was enough to maintain the new posts created. Not much attention was paid to the question whether instead of creating a new higher post but only a subordinate one the same revenue could not be secured. I shall make my point clear by one illustration. Kanara yields a large amount of forest revenue. At one time there were only two Divisional Forest Officers. Their number has been gradually increased and now I think that there are some five or six of them there. Is it absolutely necessary that there should be so many of them to produce the present revenue? Cannot at least two of them be abolished and the sub-divisions reduced and more extra assistants created? After all the work required of the experts of the I. F. S. is general supervision; a wider area would not much affect it. Do not some of them spend four months in a year far away from their sub-division? If I am not mistaken, during the monsoon the Yellapur and Halyal officers have their camps in Belgaum.

Similarly the Excise Department contains more Superintendents than are absolutely necessary; even the abolition of one of the posts of the Deputy Commissioners would not affect the efficiency of the department. Except the coast districts and Kaira, in Gujarat, the vice of drink is not much prevalent in the Presidency. All the ghat districts and the

Dekhan districts are really very temperate and there need be no fear of any illicit distillation here. Opium smuggling is to be guarded on the railway lines near Rajputana. So for all these districts one Deputy Commissioner is more than sufficient. The areas in charge of the Superintendents can without any risk be extended.

Now, turning to the department in charge of the Minister for Education, there is the post of the Destroyer of Rats. It is difficult to understand whether all the large amounts spent on this work is properly spent. The public have not at all been informed what substantial work has been done by that highly-paid officer. The publicity department published a statement of the number of rats killed; but surely the mere destruction of rats does not require such an officer. There was already a medical graduate of the local University who was looking after this work. In what way has the new officer improved the situation? Now that he has gone on leave and Dr. Fisher is in charge of the department, has the work in any way deteriorated? If a separate officer is required for this work, cannot Dr. Fisher look after it in addition to his own work at the Vaccine Institute at Belgaum? If Dr. Strikland has special knowledge which would be useful in dealing with plague, can he not be appointed Deputy Sanitary Commissioner and benefit of his knowledge utilised when he occupies this post? All these questions require close study. Again, is Dr. Fisher's whole time required at the Vaccine Institute? During the war, he very often acted as Civil Surgeon at Belgaum and was also in charge of the German Prisoners' Camp; now he is in charge of Major Strikland's duty supervising the rat destruction work. So, cannot both these posts be amalgamated?

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Indian leaders in a well-balanced and impressively spoken speech. His presence, demeanour and speech was one of the influences which moulded the inner mind of the Conference somewhat obscured by the set phrases of the resolutions. There were other good speeches, especially one by Mr. J. A. Wadia, which impressed the Conference. After over five hours, the Conference closed on Saturday with a resolution appointing a Committee to revise the draft resolutions in the light of the day's discussion. This Committee met on Sunday at 10 a. m. and it was only after 6 p. m. that the Conference could be resumed to receive the revised resolutions. When the Conference met late on Sunday evening, Sir M. Visvesvaraya occupied the chair which Sir Sankaran Nair had abruptly left a few minutes ago when the Committee's discussions were nearing their end. The resolutions were passed without much discussion, and a Committee was appointed to carry out the resolutions. The Conference closed at 8 p. m.

THE SANKARAN NAIR INCIDENT.

The retirement of Sir Sankaran Nair from the Speaker's chair after presiding over the Committee stage the whole of Sunday, has naturally attracted much attention. It has been exaggerated on the one side as a blow to the Conference, while, on the other, inferences have been sought to be drawn from it as to Sir Sankaran's motives. To us, Sir Sankaran's action can be simply explained as due to his having somehow felt after the first day's meeting that a public dissociation from the Conference over which he had come to preside, was imperative on his part. Sir Sankaran arrived in Bombay on the 13th and had a full opportunity of discussing the subject matter of the Conference with the conveners and Mahatma Gandhi who made no secret of the fact that, as Non-Co-operationists, he and his friends could not participate in the voting at the Conference. It was a surprise when Sir Sankaran made this one of his grounds of thinking of withdrawal on Sunday, because this had been known all along and had, indeed, been emphasised at the first day's sitting in the Mahatma's speech. The Mahatma met this objection by undertaking to obtain from the Working Committee of the Congress a resolution complying with the requirements of the Conference. Sir Sankaran next turned to the release of prisoners convicted under the ordinary law for non-violent political offences, and he was backed up by other members of the Conference Committee. The Mahatma after the luncheon interval on Sunday, when things seemed to have come to a definite breach, agreed to the substitution of a Committee to investigate these cases, instead of the release of the prisoners, as a condition precedent of his party entering the Round Table Conference. After these important concessions, it was a painful surprise to see Sir Sankaran fasten upon the case of "the fatwa prisoners" as the one point on which he could not brook any compromise. We have made no secret of our firm belief that the Khilafat extremists' disclaimer of responsibility for the Mopla outbreak was untenable. The dignified remonstrance which

we printed last week from the Secretaries of Congress and Khilafat Committees in Malabar, against the misleading resolution of the Khilafat Conference, conveys its own moral. Sir Sankaran Nair naturally feels deeply for the wrongs done upon innocent men and women by Mopla ruffians, and no one who knows the facts can feel otherwise. But to argue from these distressing facts that "the fatwa prisoners"—those convicted of circulating a fatwa or declaration by Mahomedan divines—should not be released, is a bit of forced reasoning which no one else in the Conference Committee was able to follow. The matter might have been left there but for the statement which Sir Sankaran Nair published in the *Times of India* on Tuesday. That statement must have given pain to many sincere admirers of Sir Sankaran Nair. He was called as a friend to give the Conference the benefit of his guidance. Because it did not follow it in every respect, he not only left the Conference after taking note of all its proceedings in Committee, but he actually indited a severe denunciation based upon these notes of the whole Conference with the object of discrediting it and defeating its purpose. Sir Sankaran Nair must have been as much surprised as ourselves to see that, as far as Indian opinion goes, his action has done more harm to himself than to the Conference. Sir Sankaran has done distinguished service to India and deserves well of his countrymen. It is a pity that it has not been possible for him to appreciate the position of those who differed from him at the Conference. We respect his courage of convictions, his independence, and his patriotism. The conveners fully trusted him. A word of praise is due to Sir M. Visvesvaraya for the readiness with which he stepped into the breach literally at a moment's notice. He was not consulted about it, first, because there was no time, and, secondly, perhaps, if he had been consulted, he would have hesitated. Within a couple of minutes of Sir Sankaran's leaving the chair, Sir M. Visvesvaraya had been proposed into it, and was leading the proceedings as if there had been no interruption at all. The nation no longer lacks able and willing men to take the place of those who are called away by circumstance or inclination from it. Whoever may fall out of the ranks, the country goes forward. The nation's cause is no longer the concern of a few towering personalities. The average man has come into his own. As a patriot, Sir Sankaran cannot but rejoice that this has come to pass.

THE RESULT.

What has been the result of the Conference? We print a collection of opinions of newspapers published in India, as complete as we can make it, on the Conference. For our own part, we prefer to leave the events of the next few days to answer the question.

Social Reform among Vysyas. The Vysyas are the mercantile caste among Hindus and they are also the mainstay of orthodoxy. It is, therefore, with much pleasure that we notice the liberal principles of social reform embodied in the resolutions of the Arya-Vysya Conference held at Vizagapatam, which we print this week.

EXPENDITURE AND TAXATION.

(Contributed.)

RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICES.

While writing about Education and Taxation in the issue of the *Reformer* of the 1st instant, you remark that the Ministers when they are to meet educational expenditure are entitled to demand that they should satisfy themselves that all possible economy has been effected in the other, more especially, the reserved departments. This is, no doubt, essential; but, don't you think that before the Ministers interfere with the reserved subjects, they should see that the various posts in their own department which are not at all necessary are abolished at an early date? In this matter the Press and the general public should help them and point out the uselessness and superfluity of many of these posts.

There is a saying in the vernacular to the effect that when a big drum is required, a buffalo should be killed and not thousands of rats, for what can be achieved by the hide of one buffalo cannot be achieved by the hides of thousands of rats. So when the question of retrenchment is to be considered, not much saving could be done by reducing a number of menials or depriving them of their blankets or umbrellas hitherto given to them once in two years. If the Minister in charge of Excise and Forests, the two earning departments which are not reserved, were to closely study this question, he is sure to find that there are some big posts which could easily be abolished. I am sure that if he goes through the correspondence which passed when new posts were created in these departments, he would come to know that their creation was justified and urged more on the ground that the revenue brought by the particular department was enough to maintain the new posts created. Not much attention was paid to the question whether instead of creating a new higher post but only a subordinate one the same revenue could not be secured. I shall make my point clear by one illustration. Kanara yields a large amount of forest revenue. At one time there were only two Divisional Forest Officers. Their number has been gradually increased and now I think that there are some five or six of them there. Is it absolutely necessary that there should be so many of them to produce the present revenue? Cannot at least two of them be abolished and the sub-divisions reduced and more extra assistants created? After all the work required of the experts of the I. F. S. is general supervision; a wider area would not much affect it. Do not some of them spend four months in a year far away from their sub-division? If I am not mistaken, during the monsoon the Yellapur and Halyal officers have their camps in Belgaum.

Similarly the Excise Department contains more Superintendents than are absolutely necessary; even the abolition of one of the posts of the Deputy Commissioners would not affect the efficiency of the department. Except the coast districts and Kaira, in Gujarat, the vice of drink is not much prevalent in the Presidency. All the ghat districts and the

Dekhan districts are really very temperate and there need be no fear of any illicit distillation here. Opium smuggling is to be guarded on the railway lines near Rajputana. So for all these districts one Deputy Commissioner is more than sufficient. The areas in charge of the Superintendents can without any risk be extended.

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belonging to the Depressed classes as general Assistant Deputy Inspectors and so also men knowing Urdu. Just as officers are encouraged to pass vernaculars which are not their mother tongue, let these Inspectors be encouraged to pass the Urdu test and let there be only one class, not separate classes, one for Urdu the other for depressed classes.

The school-masters will supply a very good agency for publicity work. Let them be properly trained in their Training Colleges and then they would very usefully do this work. The publicity that I refer to is specially about Sanitation and Hygiene. The other day, I came across a person who is, I think, styled water demonstrator. He has to lecture to the village officers on the manner of keeping the water supply of the villages pure. I found the manner in which this work is done is quite useless, not being in actual touch with the village life, and having learnt his work in a laboratory his lessons are all of a type of laboratory lessons with the glass tube and glass tumbler. How many villages possess such glass vessels? I am afraid not more than one in a hundred. This demonstrator is expected to lecture to the village officers: how many of these village officers have the leisure or the inclination to teach the same lesson to their villagers? I am afraid few. So instead of spending money on the travelling allowance of this demonstrator, it would be better utilized on paying the school master an extra remuneration and the same work with infinitely better results could be extracted from them.

Don't you think that much of this multiplicity of posts and their continuation hitherto is due to the fact that the work done in the Educational and Medical departments is judged more by the money spent on it, calculated per head of the population than on the substantial work achieved by these departments?

The other department, transferred, in which much saving could be done is the Public Works Department. It is a very technical department and layman cannot suggest with confidence the methods of retrenchment. A Committee of our M. L. C's presided over by Dewan Bahadur Godbole might be very helpful in this respect. It should be asked to suggest both the ways of reducing the number of posts as also the ways by which much waste in the spending of money could be reduced. I have seen often concrete stored for miles and miles of a road and all the money sanctioned for a particular year for that road spent on this process; then for the subsequent years no further amount is sanctioned and so all that metal already collected is allowed to be washed away by the rain, the road not benefitting in the least by all that large amount spent on the metal for it. There must be several other instances of this kind. The Department in the case above mentioned could have improved a part of the road if, instead of taking 30 or 40 miles of it, they had concentrated their efforts on 10 or 15 miles of it and completed the whole process of macadamising of this.

* PRINCIPLES OF COMPARATIVE ECONOMICS

(Contributed.)

Dr. Makerji claims to "have attempted a re-orientation of economics in the light of recent advances in biology and psychology as applied to sociology; this has resulted in fresh economic theories and concepts concerning the problems of production and distribution, consumption and value, labour and population. (Preface p. xxiii)

We are, however, unable to find in this work an essentially new law of economics or new theory though, of course, there is plenty of novel, hyphenated nomenclature to hypnotise the reader into believing a achieved what the author claims to have attempted. It would be idle to deny that economics would gain enormously by a truer understanding of psychology which, under the guise of motives and stimuli, has not always been correctly understood by the still predominant school. But we doubt if Dr. Makerji in the volume under review, has succeeded in providing the student with a sort of Rontgen ray to analyse and interpret psychological factors in their economic reactions. The author depends for some of his basic propositions, e.g. the law of equivalence and substitution, upon the proper creation of a science of energetics which has yet to be developed; and he is accordingly forced to add:

"Experimental psychology has not proceeded far enough to supply us with an independent measure of effective or satisfactory value, on which we can build a calculus of utility. This is bound to come with advances in the direction of vitalistics and energetics, and of psychological experiments based thereon. The formulas we have stated are empirical generalisations which must await scientific elaboration and experimental verification." (p. 25)

We venture to think, however, that the promised elaboration and verification are as likely as not to prove illusory, since, from the nature of the subject-matter dealt with, the evolution of an objective standard of values seems almost impossible if economics is to remain a science. In any case the proper re-statement of the economic theories will be delayed unconsciously if we are to wait until psychology has evolved and perfected objective standards to test the strength of subjective stimuli and their reactions. The Weber-Fechner laws, even with the modifications of Makerji, leave us where we were.

The central theme of the author seems to be that Communalism would be an effective solution of socio-economic questions, and that proper attention to regional peculiarities would make economics more precise. We are unable to accept the proposition that Communalism, as defined by the author, is an effective substitute for collectivism, or that it is a cure for uncapitalism-cum-competition regime of to-day. The author considers his patent prescription as representing "The highest development of the principle of co-operation" wherein "groups are organised on the basis of natural and human relation-

* By Dr. Radha Kamal Makerji M.A. PH. D. (Published by P. S. King & Son Ltd. London)

ships, not in fragments or specific functions as in polymorphism, nor as semi-independent particulate jurisdictions as in the third stage, but as epitomes of the full life of the community interwoven with one another in one comprehensive web of social life." (p. 43) The author is perfectly at liberty to indulge in a highly coloured picture of the origins of Communalism and of its working as "Seeking to satisfy the totality of individual interests and life-values" (p. 217), and "checking the development of class egoisms antagonistic to the communal welfare" (p. 218). He must recognise for mere consistency with his own other idea of adequate consideration of regional factors that communalism, however snugly it can be fitted into the Indian picture, would be entirely out of place in other societies which have not been so fortunate as to develop on Indian lines and have not got the Communalism of India. Even in those parts of India, which are rapidly going through a transition completing the industrial cycle, there may be reasonable doubt as to the efficacy of Communalism as an antidote to the growing forces of capitalism. In fact, were we soured by the anti-Brahmin feeling prevailing in Madras, we would read Mr. Mukerji's eulogy of Communalism as an entirely unconvincing apologia for the perpetual tyranny of specially favoured groups. In any case it is impossible to accept the author's differentiation between his communalism and the commonly accepted notions of Socialism. Dr. Mukerji has entirely misunderstood the aim of socialism if he believes:

"In Socialism the state seeks to replace industrial competition by the exercise of a coercive authority through a bureaucratic organisation that discourages individual functioning by standardising social functions, and thus tends to stop individual variation in the species." (p. 44).

The introduction of the term "Bureaucratic organisation" is an astute bid for popularisation of the idea in a country suffering for centuries from unrestrained bureaucracy. But because the bid may have been unconscious we cannot acquit the author altogether of unfair tactics. A certain amount of coercion is inevitable in any society that pretends to have an organisation for uniting and co-ordinating. For our part we have serious misgivings if the pet idea of the author would really involve less coercion, for, under Communalism, on his own reasoning, "There is little room for the unattached individual or the social rebel." As a matter of fact a good deal of healthy regulation in socialised communities will not be in the nature of coercion, but rather to serve as a guide and a standard, for the want of which the generality of mankind would be at sea in deciding complex questions of social relations and values. In any event, even admitting the possibility of coercion under socialism of a disagreeable sort to some extent, we cannot agree to consider it as anything more than temporary measure to suit a stage of necessary transition, when mankind is sufficiently educated to dispense altogether with coercive and compulsory regulation for guiding its unavoidable co-operation in the common effort to make life more beautiful, more

liveable, and enjoyable. Coercion, even if necessary, is certainly not an end in itself or even an invariable concomitant of socialism.

Dr. Mukerji is quite right in stressing the importance of a proper study of regional environment for a truer conception of economic problems of a given section of humanity. He is also right in declaring that the prevailing school of economists had ignored this factor, though the criticism might have been less severe if it is meant to apply alike to the dogmatic exponents of the Manchester School and the more flexible doctrine of the German Historical School. The passages describing the constituents of a regional unit are as interesting as they are instructive, and the attempt to demarcate sub-regions display a creditable amount of learning. The requirements of the regional groups are analysed with the meticulous though ponderous precision characteristic of Dr. Mukerji's work at its best. We doubt, however, if he has really made out a convincing case for the sweeping assertion:

"In different economic zones the schemes of life values are different, and accordingly the proportions of moral and social justice suffered in the relative valuation of different grades and kinds of social functioning and services generally."—(p. 12).

The law of gravitation cannot be believed to be different in India because the South-West monsoon will not permit of aerial navigation in Indian regions by machines now in use for a considerable portion every year.

It is perhaps an unjustifiable criticism on a work apparently purely of an abstract scientific nature to urge that the reading leaves us disappointed at the absence of any constructive suggestions for some of the crying evils of the day. The writer does not aim in this work primarily at constructive economics in aid of practical statesmanship. He must therefore be immune from any tests of efficacy which his suggestions would have otherwise called forth. As it is, we must congratulate him on the production of a work, which, though not free from criticism, must be universally admitted to be original and striking enough to give rise to a violent fit of thinking, an absolutely indispensable preliminary to proper investigation.

THE BOMBAY CONFERENCE.

THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE OUGHT NOT TO BE RESORTED TO.
The following resolutions were passed at the Representative Conference on its second day, Sunday, 15th January:—

RESOLUTION I.

This Conference is strongly of opinion that the policy adopted by Government within the last few weeks of extending and applying the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act to various parts of the country and of misusing the ordinary law in connection with political offenders, leading to wholesale arrests and imprisonments, including those of some of the most respected leaders and citizens, constitutes an unwarranted encroachment upon the elementary rights of citizenship, of the freedom of the Press and liberty of speech and association, has defeated its own object by

alienating popular sympathy, and aggravating the general discontent and ought to be reversed without delay.

RESOLUTION II.

This Conference is further of opinion that, until it is clear beyond any doubt that no other means will secure a redress of the country's grievances and the status of full responsible government, the civil disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress ought not to be resorted to.

RESOLUTION III.

In response to the sentiments expressed by H. E. the Viceroy in his speech at Calcutta, on the 21st December, 1921, and in order to explore all methods of reaching a harmonious and honourable settlement of the important issues now before the country, namely, the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs, and the demand for swaraj or full responsible government on the Dominion basis, this Conference supports the proposal for a round table conference between the Government and popular representatives; and is of opinion that, in order to provide a favourable atmosphere for the dispassionate consideration of the points in controversy, all notifications issued and orders passed by Government under Act 14 of 1908, Part II, and the Seditious Meetings Act, should be withdrawn and all prisoners convicted or under arrest or prosecution under the aforesaid notifications or orders should be released, as also the Fatwa prisoners, and that, inasmuch as persons have been convicted for non-violent activities and other activities of an innocent character under cover of the ordinary laws, a committee should be appointed by Government, consisting of two persons, one to be nominated by Government, and the other by the Committee of the Conference, appointed by resolution no. 5 with power to them to appoint an umpire to investigate the cases of the person hereinbefore referred to and that such of them as might be recommended by the said committee, or umpire be released and that pending the results of the said conference, all hartals, picketing and civil disobedience should cease.

RESOLUTION IV.

This is likewise of opinion that, having regard to the critical situation in the country and the desirability of effecting an early settlement, the round table conference should be called as soon as possible and that His Majesty's Government should clothe His Excellency the Viceroy with the authority necessary for the purpose of arriving at a settlement.

RESOLUTION V.

Without at present going into the particulars of the demands of the country with reference to the Punjab, Khilafat and swaraj questions, this Conference hereby appoints a committee of the following persons to carry on all communications with the Government on the one hand and the important political organisations in the country on the other with the view of arranging the composition, the dates and other details relating to the holding of the said round table conference, and for all purposes incidental to the carrying out of these resolutions, including, when necessary, the convening of another representative conference. The committee to consist of:—

Sir M. Visvesvaraya, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Seabegiri Iyer, Sir P. O. Ray, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. M. B. Jayakar, Sir Dinshaw M. Petit, Sir H. Wadia, Mr. C. B. Reddy, Mr. Satyamurti, Professor S. O. Mukerjee, Mr. Joseph Baptista, Mr. Rai Zada Bhatram, Mr. G. M. Bhargri, Mr. B. Chakravarti, Mr. H. S. Gour, Pandit H. Kuzru, Mr. K. Natarajan, Mr. Hasan Imam and Pandit Gokarnath Misra, with power to co-opt.

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE'S
RESOLUTIONS.

The Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee met at Mahatma Gandhi's residence, Laburnum Road,

Bombay, on the 17th instant, with Mahatma Gandhi in the chair and nine members attending.

The Committee sat from 2 p. m. to 6 p. m. and passed among others the following resolutions:—

The Working Committee places on record its thanks to Pandit Malaviya and his fellow-conveners for convening the Conference of persons belonging to the various political parties in the country, for the purpose of considering the existing tension and having considered the resolutions of the conference the Committee resolves that the offensive civil disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress be not started till the 1st day of January, 1922, or pending result of the negotiations undertaken by the Committee of the Malaviya Conference for a Round Table Conference whichever may be the first date.

The Working Committee considers it necessary for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable for a successful Round Table Conference that, (a) All notifications and notices declaring illegal and prohibiting the formation of volunteer corps, public meetings, picketing and other normal activities of the Congress or the Khilafat Committee be withdrawn and prisoners undergoing prosecution or conviction in respect of such notices be discharged or released as the case may be. (b) All Fatwa prisoners including the All Brothers and their companions be released. (c) All other prisoners already convicted or under trial for non-violence or other innocent activities be dealt with and discharged in the manner appointed therefor in the third resolution of the conference and (d) that simultaneously with the performance of the foregoing acts by the Governments concerned and in the event of a Round Table Conference being called and pending such conference all hartals, picketing and civil disobedience should cease.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding about the Congress demands the Working Committee desires to draw the attention of the Committee appointed by the Malaviya Conference to the Khilafat, the Punjab and the Swaraj claims as stated publicly from time to time from the Congress platforms and to state that, therefore, the Congress and the Khilafat representatives will be bound to demand full settlement of the three claims.

THE BOMBAY CONFERENCE.

PARAS OPINIONS.

The *Hindu*, Madras daily, (Congress).

The Bombay Conference of leaders, whose proceedings are detailed elsewhere, certainly better deserves its name than did the Calcutta Conference. It was more comprehensive and more representative in personnel. It seems to have set itself to work really with a will to win. Above all, rid of parasitical views, it struck the right chord at the very commencement. Its conception of its duty was on a higher level than that which actuated at least some of the leading members of the Calcutta Conference. The latter, some of them at least, sought to play the role of disinterested peace-makers instead of that of patriots. They failed, and their failure is regretted by none. To the credit of the Bombay Conference, it must be said that it proceeded on patriotic lines. It did not pose as a disinterested, superior person. Its members did not think it a crime that they had a stake in the country. On the other hand, they realised that the unjust, the illegal blows which are now being mercilessly administered on the sacred rights of the citizen, the right of speech, of writing and of association are blows directed, not against the Non-Co-operation movement as such, but against the rights of citizenship in general.

Swarajya, Madras daily, (Congress).

The conference at Bombay is itself a sign that the conscience of the Moderates has been stung to the quick by the repressive policy of the Government. It is a sure sign of awakening that so many Moderate members of the Delhi Assembly have preferred to attend the Bombay Conference. They have now realised that when the nation's fundamental liberties are attacked, it is idle to sit and discuss futile resolutions. Nothing more is needed to convince the public that the Moderates have become restive as a result of the Government's present policy. They have failed to stem the tide of repression in all the provinces. The Moderates now perceive that the Reforms which they thought would advance the interests of the country, have not been able to check the uncontrolled exercise of bureaucratic authority.

New India, Madras daily, (Breant).

The Conference seems to have ended without much result, as might have been expected from the beginning. Mr. Gandhi proved to be determined to yield nothing, while he talked self righteous nonsense about penitence in the Government. Things would be more hopeful if Mr. Gandhi showed "a change of heart," and some penitence for the bloodshed he has caused, and the ever-growing danger into which he is luring the country. We are all suffering under the tyranny of his supporters, their insolence and brutality. We shall comment on the resolution and speeches in our next issue.

Bombay Chronicle, daily, (Congress).

The results are such as indicate an honourable way out of the present crisis, provided Lord Reading and his Government are genuinely anxious for a satisfactory settlement and are prepared courageously to rise to the occasion and immediately take the action that is demanded. Mahatma Gandhi made it clear at the Ahmedabad Congress that the door was open for Lord Reading to come to a settlement with the people. Only he demanded a change of heart as the essential condition precedent. The Conference which ended last evening has shown Lord Reading definitely and clearly how this change of heart of the part of his Government has to be manifested. The only satisfactory manner in which this change of heart can be manifested is, of course, for the Government to yield to the demands of the Congress unconditionally by transforming themselves into a truly Indian Government. However, the next best method, in the circumstance, is that pointed out by the Malaviya Conference.

Advocate of India, Bombay daily, (Anglo-Indian).

Evil associations corrupt good manners, and the Liberals are likely to find that this will be the only result of the Conference held in Bombay with the Non-Co-operation party during the week-end. A study of the resolutions adopted would indicate that the general political position remains unchanged, and the fact that a number of individuals present refused to vote for the resolutions, being content to let them be passed in silence, was very significant. Rightly or wrongly it seems that the majority of those present at the Conference recognised the futility of the resolutions. The object of the Conference was to find the means whereby an honourable peace with the Government could be obtained. Mr. Gandhi was the leading representative of the Non-co-operation party, and at the very outset of the Conference said that if there was to be peace it must be on his own terms. After this it was almost useless to continue, because it is well-known that his terms are impossible to fulfil.

The Leader, Allahabad daily, (Liberal).

The first resolution condemns the present policy of the Government and doing so does nothing more than express

the view that has been widely expressed by men and associations belonging to various shades of opinion in the country. That the present policy of indiscriminate arrest has weakened the moral position of Government by further alienating popular sympathy and aggravating general discontent, and has *pari passu* strengthened the position of Mr. Gandhi, admits of little doubt. We do not know whether the Government realises this fact. If it does, the obvious course open to it is to retrace its steps as gracefully as possible. The prestige of no Government, in the sense in which Lord Reading interpreted the term in replying to the deputation of Liberals that waited upon him some months ago, can suffer by the rectification of a mistake. The spirit of non-co-operation can neither be suppressed nor effectively combated by creating an additional grievance of a more or less acute nature. The remedy that has been applied has only aggravated the disease. The question is not so much, as the *Indian Social Reformer* recently pointed out, whether the policy adopted is just, as whether it is right. Is the Government prepared to arrest all those who have enlisted as volunteers and who have thereby committed the breach of the non-co-operation? If it is not, then what becomes of enforcing the law? The Conference expressed the view that until it is clear beyond doubt that no other means would secure a redress of the country's grievance, civil disobedience should not be started. We are in entire agreement with this view.

The Tribune, Lahore daily, (Independent).

If the Conference has done nothing else, it has certainly thrown a flood of light on the attitude of a very large section of the people in regard to the vitally important questions of civil disobedience on the one hand and the repressive policy of the Government on the other, and has also brought into existence a machinery for the purpose of arranging the preliminaries in connection with the holding of a Round Table Conference. As regards the first, the Conference, which represented all that is good and true in our public life outside the ranks of those who have either accepted office under the Crown as ministers and members of the Executive Council or are in prison as a result of the present collision between the Government and the non-co-operators, made it perfectly clear that on the one hand it is absolutely opposed to the present policy of the Government, which in its opinion should be reversed without delay, and on the other hand it is definitely of opinion that the civil disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress should not be resorted to "until it is clear beyond any doubt that no other means will secure a redress of the country's grievances and the status of full responsible government for India." Subject to one single reservation, we can think of no difference of opinion on either point among patriotic and self-respecting Indians. Unhappily that reservation touches the only practical issue involved in the controversy. What is the criterion by which we are to judge whether the time has or has not come for the country to conclude that no other means will secure its object? The non-co-operators, at any rate, believe that the time has come already otherwise they would not have decided to start civil disobedience. On the other hand, there are others, including not only the Liberals, but practically the whole of the Independent Nationalist party among whom we count ourselves, who believe that the time has not come. It is perfectly obvious that so long as an objective standard of judgment as between these contending claims is not evolved, all suggestions for the suspension of civil disobedience will fall on deaf ears, except on one basis.

Young India, Ahmedabad weekly, (Mahatma Gandhi).

The Conference was both a success and a failure. It was a success in that it showed an earnest desire on the part of

those who attended to secure a peaceful solution of the present trouble, and in that it brought under one roof people possessing divergent views. It was a failure in that, though certain resolutions have been adopted, the Conference did not leave on my mind the impression that those who assembled together as a whole realized the gravity of the real issue. The mind of the Conference seemed to be centred more on a round table conference than upon asserting the popular right of free speech, free association and free press which are more than a round table conference. I had expected on the part of the independents to declare their firm attitude that no matter how much they might differ regarding the methods of non-co-operation, the freedom of the people was a common heritage and that the assertion of that right was three-fourths of Swaraj; that therefore they would defend that right even with civil disobedience, if need be.

However, as the attention of the conference could not be rivetted on that point but on a round table conference, the discussion turned upon the essentials of such a conference.

My own position was clear. I would attend any conference as an individual, without any conditions. My purpose as a reformer is to convert people to the view I hold to be right and therefore to see everybody who would care to listen to me. But when I was asked to mention the conditions necessary for an atmosphere favourable for a successful conference, I had to press some certain conditions. And I must own that the Resolutions Committee approached my view point with the greatest sympathy and showed every anxiety to accommodate me. But side by side with this I observed an admirable disposition on its part to consider the Government's difficulties. Indeed the Government's case could not have been better presented, if it had been directly and officially represented in the Conference.

The result was a compromise.

Servant of India, Poona weekly, (Liberal).

Nor are we satisfied that the part which Mr. Gandhi took in the conference as an outsider was exactly of the kind to help create the favourable atmosphere for a Round Table Conference which it was the desire of the promoters of this preliminary conference to create. He demanded as a condition precedent to the holding of the Round Table Conference that the Government should show themselves penitent for the measures of repression which they have recently called into operation. Now, we are among those who have condemned these measures, but when you wish to confer with your opponent with a view to an amicable settlement of the dispute, you do not secure that result best by first insisting that he should confess his error. The promoters of the conference likewise call for a reversal of the present repressive policy of Government, but they do it, not so much because it is wrong in itself, as because it is calculated to impede their efforts to bring about a settlement. It is not their present purpose to consider the question of repression on its merits, but merely to take steps likely to produce a favourable atmosphere for negotiations as regards the points which are in issue between the Government and the people. It is necessary for such a favourable atmosphere to be produced, not only that the repressive policy should be discontinued in future but that those who have suffered in consequence of it in the past should be released. This demand we heartily endorse, but in connexion with the proposal for a Round Table Conference, on a ground entirely different from the one advanced by Mr. Gandhi. The Viceroy took the correct line in this respect, that, if any action is to be taken by Government or by non-co-operators preparatory to the holding of the conference, "no advantage

or triumph should be claimed on either side and no reproach should be made by the one to the other." The conference, of course, did not support Mr. Gandhi in his position, but the fact that he took such a position did not facilitate the work of the conference.

Indian Mirror, Calcutta daily, (Reactionary)

The proceedings of the Bombay Conference are not without a strong Gilbertian flavour. Mr. Gandhi is found seated, not at but on the table, and laying bare his heart. The heart is aglow with satisfaction with the non-co-operation movement. It refuses to yield to the entreaty of Pandit Malaviya and others to attend the Round Table Conference. It will, says its owner, require as the first propitiatory offering the release of all his disciples who are in jail. To be serious, one does not see what earthly good can result from the proposed Round Table Conference. The Government of India have clearly and definitely explained their policy—not once but many times over; and the gentlemen who are anxious for a 'settlement' know or ought to know that practically remains to be settled. Unless and until Gandhism makes its exit from the political arena, there is no chance of maintaining peace by normal measures. Violence must be restrained; loyal and law-abiding citizens must be protected; the country must be saved from the grip of Bolshevism. These are the outstanding issues.

The Times of India, Bombay daily, (Anglo-Indian)

We were led by the conveners of what has been called the political conference in Bombay to believe that the main purpose of this gathering was to devise means whereby it would be possible to open wide the door to an honourable settlement of the political issues which now beset the country. With a view to attaining this end Mr. Gandhi and some of his political associates were invited to be present. The expectations of those who thought, or who professed to think, that an honourable settlement was possible with Mr. Gandhi must have been based either on ignorance of the speeches and articles in which he has declared his political faith, or else on an amazing misreading of those speeches and articles. Now, however, the situation has been made clear beyond the possibility of doubt, not only in the report of the proceedings which has been published, but in the letter from Sir Sankaran Nair explaining the reasons which induced him to withdraw, which appears in this issue. The conveners of the Conference said they sought an honourable peace. Their word is accepted, for they are honourable men. Does Mr. Gandhi seek an honourable peace? Sir Sankaran Nair tells us as the fruit of his experience what in effect we all knew before, that Mr. Gandhi is bent on the humiliation of Government. What conceivable basis of an honourable peace is to be found here? Mr. Gandhi repeats in parrot fashion in his writings and speeches his three shibboleths, the righting of the Punjab wrongs, the redress of the Khilafat grievances and the immediate attainment of swaraj.

The Sind Observer, Karachi daily, (Independent).

The gentlemen who have invited the general political conference which is now being held in Bombay are men of great respectability and patriotism, and have behind them a good record of service to the country. They do not belong to the official Liberal party nor have they any sympathy with the disruptive doctrines of Non-co-operation. They are Nationalists with a strong constitutional bent of mind. Their abhorrence of repression is only equalled by their repugnance of all political methods of warfare which are in the nature of short cuts to Swaraj. They find that Government are not only too slow to move at a time when the world is moving in the track of centuries, but that they are following a distinctly

reactionary course, thus belying all the promises of the reformed era. They find, on the other side, the N. C. O. movement strengthened and consolidated by the recent policy of Government and are anxious to avoid a stern conflict between the two opposing parties, which is bound to work ruin for the country. They want to arrest the progress of repression and civil disobedience by acting as mediators in the interest of the country and of Government.

Justice, Madras daily, (Non-Brahmin).

Some three hundred people are reported to have attended the Conference held in Bombay on Saturday last "in order to arrive at some understanding to bring about a Round Table Conference between the Government and the people." We do not know what right or authority these estimable individuals who had taken the trouble to attend the Conference have to speak and act in the name of the country and on behalf of its people. For aught we know, many of these so-called "political leaders" are self-appointed, and possess no mandate from any appreciable body of our countrymen to assume the role of peace-makers as between the Government and its would-be subverters. Nor are they such disinterested individuals as they would fain have the public believe. Some of them were at the Conference, it is easy enough to surmise, mainly with a view to secure for themselves an opportunity for cheap self-advertisement and self-glorification. Barring these notoriety-hunters, there were, of course, a few others present at the Conference, but it is extremely doubtful as to whether all of them had gone to the Conference with unbiased and open minds.

THE ARYA VYSYA CONFERENCE.

The Eleventh Session of the Arya Vysya Maha Sabha was held at Vizagapatam on the 10th, 11th & 12th December at the Sri Raja Rajeswari Theatre. The proceedings commenced at 8 p.m. with prayers and the singing of Vande Mataram by a choir of ladies. There was a large attendance of delegates from various parts of the Presidency including a number of ladies. Sjt. Pasumurti Veerbhadraswami Garu, B.A., read his welcome address. Sjt. T. Adinarayana Chetty, Bar-at-law was duly proposed and on his taking the Presidential Chair he delivered his address.

The Conference continued its sittings on the 11th and 12th December. The following resolutions, among others were unanimously adopted. *Resolution 1.* In the opinion of the Conference it is desirable that girls ought to be married only after attaining puberty. This was proposed by Sjt. W. Bangarayya Setti, B. A., B.L. (Vizag); and supported by Vinakota Jagannatha Gupta (Vizag), Poliseti Adinarayan Gupta (Guntur), Pandit Namburi Venkatagopal Row (Rajmundry). A declaration giving assurance that the signatories would obey the resolution and actually promote post puberty marriage and undertaking not to put obstacles on the way of those who promote post puberty marriages and continuing in the community was signed by the delegates present.

Resolution 2. That in the opinion of this Conference the remarriage of Vysya Virgin Widows is not prohibited and the people who have already contracted such re-marriages should be considered as not having lost their place in the community. This was proposed by Sjt. K. Suryanarayana Gupta (Viza); seconded by Sjt. Balam Subbarao Gupta (Cocanada) and supported by Pandit Nambur Venkatagopalarao (Rajmundry); Sjt. P. Adinarayana Gupta (Guntur); and Sjt. Vinakota Jagannatha Gupta (Vizag); Sjt. S. Ramaswamy Gupta (Guntur) and Sjt. S. Subramania

Setty (Madras) spoke against the proposition. This was carried by a very large majority. The General Secretary then read out the names of the committee of the Arya Vysya Maha Sabha for the ensuing year. This was adopted by the Conference with the exception of the creed of the Sabha and to report to the Conference on the following day. That the constitution of the Arya Vysya Maha Sabha be altered as reported upon by the sub-committee. (Put from the chair and carried unanimously).

Resolution 3. That the conference recognises that Lingadhari are Arya Vysyas coming under the 102 clans (Gotras).

This was proposed by Sjt. S. Ramaswami Gupta (Guntur); seconded by Sjt. W. Bangarayya Setti (Vizag); supported by Pandit Grandi Rangaraju (Vizianagram); Sjt. Majeti Ramachandara Row (Ellore); Sjt. K. Suryanarayana Gupta (Vizag) and Sjt. S. Bapanayya (Rajmundry). The President also made a speech in bringing the discussion to a close. This was then put to vote and carried unanimously.

Resolution 4. The question of *Thoorpu Nadu Vysyas* was raised. The undermentioned gentlemen took part in the discussion.

After a prolonged discussion it was resolved that a Committee consisting of Sjt. Poosale Pedabrahmaji Chodavaram; Kaka Appalanarasimha Gupta (Parvatipur); Boddu Bangaru Setty (Vizianagram); Maidela Acharyulu (Anakapalle); Vinakota Durgarao (Viza) with P. Verabhadraswami of Vizianagram as President and convener be formed.

The above committee is to go into the question, take evidence and report the President of Northern Circle of the Arya Vysya Mahasabha within three months.

Resolution 5. In the opinion of this conference the Arya Vysya committee should take steps to promote the removal of untouchability from our society. This was proposed by Sjt. Achom Varasimhamurty (Palacole) and Seconded by Sjt. S. Ramaswami Gupta (Guntur). This was carried unanimously.

Resolution 6. In the opinion of this conference it is desirable that Vysya Seva Samithies should be established in every town, and district for the good of the community. This was proposed by Sjt. P. Adinarayana Gupta (Guntur) and seconded by Sjt. Darsi Chanchaib (Nellore) and supported by Sjt. S. Subramaniam Chetty B. A. (Madras). This was carried unanimously.

Resolution 7. In the opinion of this Conference it is the duty of every Vysya to promote Swadeshi by wearing Khaddar, by using Khaddar exclusively on both auspicious and inauspicious occasions and by introducing hand spinning in every house. This should be brought into force by Sankaranthi day. This was proposed by Sjt. S. Bananiash B. A. B. L., (Rajamendry) seconded by Sjt. P. Adinarayan Gupta (Guntur); supported by Sjt. W. Bangarayya Setti B. A. B. L., (Vizag) and Sjt. Acham Narasimhamoorthy (Palacole). This was carried unanimously.

Resolution 8. In the opinion of the Conference the employment of coolies, porters and servants who have not given up the use of intoxicants by Vysya merchants is highly advisable. This was proposed by Sjt. Pandit Kollur Jagannadham (Vizag) and seconded by Kandula Ekarambaraswara Rao (Ellore). This was carried unanimously.

Resolution 9. In the opinion of this Conference the employment of *nautch girls* in temples and on marriage occasions should be discouraged and that steps ought to be taken to induce them to abandon the wicked life they were leading. This was proposed by Sjt. Majeti Ramachandra Row (Ellore) and seconded by Acham Subbarao (Cocanada) and this was carried unanimously.

Resolution 10. It is desirable that arrangements should be made for starting a journal at Vizag bearing the name "Vysya" with the help of the Arya Vysa Maha Sabha. This was proposed by Sjt. V. Dargareo (Vizag) and seconded by Sjt. S. Venkatrao. This was carried unanimously.

Resolution 11. In the opinion of the Conference the accumulate Vysia Educational Fund should be utilised for the promotion of Educational, Industrial and National progress. This was proposed by Sjt. K. Lingamarthi B. A. L. T. (Rajamendey) and seconded by Sjt. V. Terapatti (Vizianagram). This was carried unanimously.

Resolution 12. In the opinion of this Conference the establishment of Vysia Chambers of Commerce and Vysia Banks in important centres is desirable. Proposed by Sjt. S. Venkatrao (Coonada) and seconded by Sjt. P. Verahadr-swami B. A. (Vizianagram). This was carried unanimously.

The title of Vysya Ratna was conferred on Sjt. Senezapalle Rameswami Gupta of Guntur for his invaluable services to the Community.

The President in bringing the proceedings to a close urged on the leader of the Community the early publication of the Conference Report and steps being taken to see that the Resolutions did not remain a dead letter. He welcomed the idea of Seva Samethis being established for carrying out the object. He would also urge on the desirability of the minorities loyally and cheerfully carrying out the wishes of the majority as the present critical time was not one for cherishing of private differences but for whole-hearted and zealous work for the good of the Community.

THE MOPLAH OUTBREAK.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Your correspondents, the Secretaries of Congress and Khalifat Committees of Malabar have done a distinct service to truth by putting real but useful facts before the public. They seem to be disappointed that the Khalifat Conference of Ahmedabad while passing a resolution of sympathy for the Moplah sufferers, had not a word of sympathy for the Hindu sufferers, victims of the Moplah atrocities. They doubt if the Hindu-Moslem unity is as deep as it ought to be. Allow me to suggest them that the Hindu-Moslem entente is only two years old. It is impossible for both the communities to forget the differences of some centuries in so short a time. It means that the wind has begun to blow in that direction and nothing more.

What we outsiders wonder is this: what is it that has made our Malabar Hindu brethren so unworthy of life that when their houses were plundered, their women were outraged, their children massacred, they could not make even a semblance of resistance? What is it that enabled our Parsi brethren to stand as one man in Bombay riots? Study of this question will benefit the Hindus of Malabar and of other places more than any amount of soothing words from Mahatma Gandhi and Khalifat Committees. Malabar Hindus have no right to claim Swaraj. Swaraj is the power of self-defence. It seems again they want to hang on the Moslems for protection. It only means a change of masters. In such miseries the tears we shed towards Heaven, fall on our own cheeks. A few words on Hindu-Moslem entente, and I finish.

It was fondly believed by some that the real point of disagreement between the Hindus and the Moslems was only a question of 'Cow-Sacrifice.' But thanks to the Moplabs, they have brought the long forgotten matter to the front. It is the question of forcible conversion. What does past history enlighten us on this point?

The entente between 70 millions of Moslems united on the solid principle of fraternity and worship of one God, and thrice the number of Hindu divided by hundreds of castes and worship of hundreds of gods is an alliance of a giant with three dwarfs jealous of each other. Honourable alliance is only possible, if corresponding to Moslem fraternity, there is Hindu fraternity. The menace of forcible conversion must be answered by killing caste and untouchability and by nothing else.

Yours etc.,
KARAKK K. G.

CHRISTIANITY AND ITS DISTINCTIVE CONTRIBUTION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I gather from papers that the Rev. Father Goodier, the Roman Archbishop, has said in the Catholic Conference recently held in Bombay that the distinctive contribution of Christianity in India must be Social Service. With all due deference to such an authority, may I take the liberty to say that if Christianity is going to hold its place, not only in India but in the whole world, it will not be so much by its Social Service as by its spirituality, i. e., conquest of sin and experience of salvation? True Christianity, which is the life in Christ, has always meant this and will always mean the same. It will be said that this is not a new thing peculiar to Christianity. This may be admitted, though with this reservation that Christianity has deepened this experience for man and given it an emphasis which is rarely to be met with elsewhere. It is due to this and this alone that Christianity has had comparatively the largest missionary agency all through its career. No doubt, Social Service must be there, but only as a necessary consequence and fruit of this higher spiritual life. Apart from that, Social Service is bound to degenerate into proselytizing or patronising work, which is very often unfortunately so, whether among Christian Missions or Indian Social Service Leagues etc. It is at best but a patch-work and a half-measure, and the world is weary of all such. What the world really wants is a new creation, the divine life, and it is this which Christianity of the true stamp promises to give. There is always room for such divine life in India, where possibly it will have to pass through a much more severe test than it has hitherto, a process which will be purificatory of much of what passes under the name of Christianity but what is only dress. It may be that Christianity itself will come out of this a purer thing than it has been hitherto for ages and will be more after the mind of Christ Himself. Thus while serving India the Christians will serve themselves and the whole world. Could there be anything more welcome than this to those who call themselves disciples and followers of Christ Jesus?

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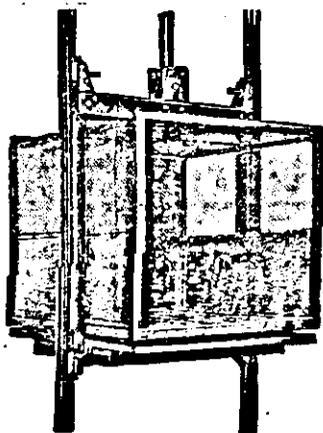
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Whose Freedom First? A. G. M. writes:—"I believe that Mr. Gandhi has rendered India a great service. All his methods do not approve themselves to one, yet he is teaching India a great lesson in self-control. Unfortunately comparatively few have learned the whole lesson. However, success in this matter has surpassed our hopes and all should be thankful for the progress made. On the other hand, I fear that Mr. Gandhi is in danger of an almost complete failure in regard to one of the principles for which he is contending. I mean the principle which he puts first in his programme, namely the striking from off the lives of sixty millions of his countrymen, the shackles by which they have been bound, for these many many centuries. Many of Mr. Gandhi's followers are putting this last, rather let me say, they are giving this no place at all in their pretensions of carrying out his programme. The *Indian Social Reformer* is to be commended for its attitude toward this matter and I hope that it will raise its voice yet louder until Mr. Gandhi at least will be unable to rest for the burden of it. As a young man, Abraham Lincoln chanced to see a negro slave on the auction block being sold as an animal. The sight stirred the blood of this young man to a passion and he vowed in his heart that if ever he got a chance he "would smite that thing, and smite it hard." His chance did come, as the President of the United States of America, and he penned his "Emancipation Proclamation" setting free several millions of slaves. There are ten times that number of serfs, practically slaves, in this land of India today, the great majority of whom are *breeding* the coming in of Mr. Gandhi's "Swaraj." How in the name of ordinary common sense can any one hope that India can be *one* in its desire for Home Rule so long as these millions are being depressed and deprived of the most ordinary of human rights? I am a great admirer of Mr. Gandhi, but to an American, it seems that some of India's internal conditions, which date back to ages before the English came, are so diametrically opposed to Democracy that to advocate the latter seems a travesty. May we not appeal to India's great leader to prosecute this revolution among and against his own followers before pressing to a crisis a revolution

against the Government? Not a few of India's own sons are regretting that the latter transference of power by the powers that be, seems to be so much nearer of realization than the former. Some of us who know the disabilities of the "Untouchables" would like to see the removal of these blotches emphasized a very great deal more than is being done."

Sir Sankaran Nair and the Fatwa Prisoners: The most weighty criticism on Sir Sankaran Nair's defection from the Bombay Conference comes from the Madras Liberal Journal, the *Citizen*. Says our contemporary:

His objection to the release of fatwa prisoners, especially the Ali brothers, is that they are real adherents of the violence party and that after they are free they will continue their agitation. The Ali brothers and the fatwa prisoners are not going to remain perpetually in gaol. As soon as their terms are over, they must be released and then they will be at liberty to follow their avocations. The object of their being granted freedom is to create a favourable atmosphere, and when Lloyd George shook hands with Irishmen whose hands were reported to be stained with blood, we cannot see why, in view of an amicable settlement, the fatwa prisoners should not be set at liberty in order to ease the tension. It is of course quite open to the Government to clap them into gaol again if they should preach violence. As regards those convicted under Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, Sir Sankaran Nair feels doubtful whether all of them can be released because some of them might have belonged to Associations for the Commission of acts which, in the opinion of the Government, were bound to lead to violence. It is a dangerous power which Sir Sankaran Nair wishes to give the Government, of pronouncing upon the probable results of even peaceful and legitimate activities of associations which, in conceivable circumstances, may lead to violence. If so, a social service league may be dangerous. The responsibility of Government to take measures to prevent the commission of those acts which would in all reasonable probability lead to violence which would cause suffering would really, take them to lengths which might vitally affect the liberty of individuals. It would not be the rule of law, but the enthronement of executive discretion, as the guiding factor.

Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill: The Legislative Assembly has rejected by a majority the motion to refer Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill to a Select Committee. Dr. Gour, perhaps, was not wise in exaggerating the probable effects of his measure if passed, but the rejection of it by the Legislative Assembly shows that the majority has not understood freedom except as a political formula. We shall revert to the subject when we have the official report of the debate before us. Meanwhile, we should not omit to express our surprise at the opposition offered to this modest measure by Mahomedan and Parsi members.

Malabar Relief Fund: We have received the following contributions to the Malabar Relief Fund: Mr. K. G. Karkare, Devlali Rs: 5 (monthly), Mr. A. G. MCGAV, Etah, Rs. 17-2-0.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 29, 1922.

GOVERNMENT AND THE CONFERENCE.

The Conference held in Bombay of representative Indian politicians met on the 14th January and concluded next day. On the 16th January, Rai Bahadur Pandit J. L. Bhargava asked in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi if Government proposed to hold a Round Table Conference as early as possible and invite thereto men of all shades of opinion including Non-Co-operation leaders. The Honourable Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, replied as follows:

The Honourable Member's attention is invited to His Excellency's speech of the 21st December, 1921, to the Calcutta Deputation in which the attitude of Government was clearly explained.

In the speech referred to by the Home Member, the Viceroy made plain that all discussion between himself and Pandit Malaviya preliminary to the deputation, which His Excellency was addressing, proceeded upon the basis of a genuine attempt, a disinterested and honourable attempt, to solve the problems of unrest by means of discussion and consideration at a Conference and that meanwhile there should be a cessation of activities on both sides, of unlawful operations on the part of the non-co-operationists and of Government prosecutions and imprisonments. The Viceroy went on to say:

I wish with all my heart that it had been possible to deal with these problems in a large and generous spirit worthy of such an occasion in the history of India. Had there been indications to this effect before me to-day in the representations which you have made in your address on the part of the leaders of Non-Co-operation, had the offer been made to discontinue open breaches of law for the purpose of providing a calmer atmosphere for the discussion of the remedies suggested, my Government would never have been backward in response. We would have been prepared to consider the new situation in the same large and generous spirit and I would have conferred with the Local Governments for this purpose. I should have wished, and I know that I speak not only my own thoughts but those of Pandit Malaviya in this respect—that, if such conditions had supervened, no advantage or triumph should be claimed on either side and no reproach should be made by the one to the other of having been forced to yield or of not having the courage to proceed with its campaign.

His Excellency deeply regretted that those were not the conditions present and "the discussion, which, I thought, was to have proceeded on the high level of a patriotic desire by temporary mutual concession and forbearance to the finding of a solution of India's present problems, takes the form, in its present aspect, of a request to the Government to abandon its action without any guarantee that the action which has led, or as we believed, forced the Government to take such action, would also cease." The Viceroy, therefore, could not comply with the request of the deputation, but His Excellency added:

But I should be sorry, indeed, if any observations I have made could be construed into a refusal for all time to consider

the convening of a Conference. Certainly I have not intended by the language I have used to convey that meaning to you. I have too great a regard for the value of discussion and for the consideration of suggestions and recommendations that may be made. I am not one of those who think that all wisdom is to be found in those who happen to be in positions of authority. I have had too great an experience of life not to appreciate that advantage may be derived from discussion and consultation with others who see from different angles and who may have views to put forward which had not occurred to us. But I can only act, at the moment, in view of the present existing circumstances and as they stand. For the reasons that I have given you, I must express my great regret that the essential conditions for peace are not forthcoming.

The conveners of the Bombay Conference were obviously encouraged by Lord Reading's speech to make an effort to bring about the conditions owing to the absence of which in December, His Excellency could not comply with the request to call a Round Table Conference. They got together at very short notice over two hundred representatives of the several schools of political opinion in the country. The net result of the Conference has certainly been substantially to bring about the supervision of the main conditions which His Excellency required. "Had there been indications to this effect before me to-day, in the representation which you have made in your address, on the part of the leaders of Non-Co-operation, had the offer been made to discontinue open breaches of law for the purpose of providing a calmer atmosphere for the discussion of the remedies suggested, my Government would never have been backward in response." Such an offer has been made on the part of the leaders of Non-Co-operation in the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee in pursuance of Mahatma Gandhi's undertaking at the Conference. The resolution reads:

The Working Committee places on record its thanks to Pandit Malaviya and his fellow-conveners for convening the Conference of persons belonging to the various political parties in the country, for the purpose of considering the existing tension and having considered the resolutions of the conference the Committee resolves that the offensive civil disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress be not started till the 31st day of January, 1922, or pending result of the negotiations undertaken by the Committee of the Malaviya Conference for Round Table Conference whichever may be the first date.

The Working Committee considers it necessary for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable for a successful Round Table Conference that, (a) All notifications and notices declaring illegal and prohibiting the formation of volunteer corps, public meetings, picketing and other normal activities of the Congress or the Khilafat Committee be withdrawn and prisoners undergoing prosecution or conviction in respect of such notices be discharged or released as the case may be. (b) All Fatwa prisoners including the All Brothers and their companions be released. (c) All other prisoners already convicted or under trial for non-violence or other innocent activities be dealt with and discharged in the manner appointed therefor in the third resolution of the Conference and (d) that simultaneously with the performance of the foregoing acts by the Governments concerned and in the event of a Round Table Conference being called and pending such conference all hartals, picketing and civil disobedience should cease.

Here is a distinct offer "to discontinue open breaches of law"—His Excellency's phrase—"for the purpose of providing a calmer atmosphere for the discussion of the remedies suggested" on the part of the leaders of Non-Co-operation. Certain conditions are attached to the offer, but the Viceroy himself had

suggested "a cessation of activities on both sides, of unlawful operations on the part of the Non-Co-operationists and of Government prosecutions and imprisonments." His Excellency declared that he hated the making of numerous arrests and prosecutions, and here is an offer to suspend actions which have led Government to resort to them, simultaneously with their cessation. In the wise words of the Viceroy "no advantage or triumph should be claimed on either side and no reproach should be made by the one to the other of having been forced to yield or of not having the courage to proceed with the campaign." This is as far removed as anything can be from Sir Sankaran Nair's random talk of "humiliating" Government. By the way, some of Sir Sankaran Nair's dissenting minutes, since published, while he was still a member of the Government of India, are not exactly calculated to enhance the prestige of Government!

If, as Sir William Vincent said, the Viceroy's speech to the Calcutta deputation last month continues to represent the attitude of Government to the proposal of a Round Table Conference, it is inconceivable that they should not call one now that the result of the Bombay Conference has been substantially to produce the conditions His Excellency desiderated. If they should not do so, the only conclusion possible is that though Sir William Vincent's statement might have been correct on the 16th of January, it is no longer so now when lengthy and more or less accurate reports of the Conference are before the Government of India. We should not be surprised if Sir Sankaran Nair's withdrawal and his subsequent statement in the Press of his reasons for so doing, have had the effect of embarrassing Government in carrying out its desire to call a Conference. Mahatma Gandhi, too, needlessly adopted a tone of peremptoriness in his references to Government, which, besides being out of keeping with his innate respect for his fellow-men, might provoke to irritation where conciliation to compliance is called for by the country's interests. We trust that the Viceroy will not let the ill-humour of Sir Sankaran or the didacticism of the Mahatma, swerve him an inch from the bold and statesmanlike course outlined in his Calcutta speech. We are firmly convinced that this is a most favourable opportunity for calling the Round Table Conference, and we earnestly trust that it would be made full use of.

Treatment of Political Prisoners. Statements have been published of the harsh treatment of political prisoners in some places, which have created much indignation. We trust that these cases will be enquired into and steps taken to punish those responsible for them. We are meanwhile pleased to know that there has been an improvement in this respect—at least so we understand the following passage in a letter from Mr. Mahadev Desai, now in the District Jail at Agra: "This is hardly a Jail. It is almost like the internment camps we had in war time. I am talking of course of Agra. I do not know if the conditions are different at Lucknow, Bareilly and Benares where also the District Jails have been converted into jails for political prisoners."

THE NEW SPIRIT IN INDIA.

(By MR. N. S. S. IYENGAR.)

The New Spirit is, I believe, an apt expression for denoting the subtle and many-sided character of the remarkable life-movement frequently described simply as Non-co-operation which began to make itself felt in so many ways throughout in India soon after the Special Session of the Indian National Congress which met at Calcutta in September 1920; when for the first time in modern history, India has been trying to prove her superiority over the West both in her spirit of self-sacrifice and patriotism. It has now been demonstrated, to the astonishment alike of East and West, that India which owing to her state of dependency and subjection, had come to be regarded as a negligible factor in modern world politics, might well bring about a state of things that would seriously affect the present balance of world power and necessitate a new order of national and international relationship. An Indian Nation might be able, I hope, in the course of three or four decades thoroughly to emancipate herself from the disabilities of years of dependency and subjection and to claim a place for herself in the world's programme by holding her own effectively with the progressive nations of the West. Such at any rate is the inference that may be drawn from the results of the Great European War and the present New Spirit in India. In dogged determination, in organising ability, in leadership, as well as in his humane treatment of the sick and the wounded, the Indian has proved himself, I believe, superior of his Western opponent. The year 1922 thus opens a new era in the modern History of India and in world politics. Momentous changes have taken place in the West and there can be no doubt as to the fact that Western nations have been called upon to revise all their conceptions with regard to India. She is no longer stagnant and impassive but throbbing with a new life-movement which is impatient of expression in every direction that makes for progress and confident of her ability to fulfil a great destiny. There has thus come to India a new consciousness of self-respect, a new vision of national responsibility, a new ambition for a recognised and honoured place in the world's programme and a new sense of spiritual mission to the human race. In India the presence and influence of this New Spirit has been most marked. It has already manifested many of the inspiring characteristics of a great movement and has completely transformed the political outlook. True political missionaries are deeply conscious of and thankful for the change which has taken place.

The most striking characteristic of this new movement in India is an intense patriotism, a passionate desire on the part of young men of the rising generation to be worthy sons of Hindustan and to devote their strength and manhood to the service of their 'beloved mother' for whom no sacrifice is too great. How intense this passion is can scarcely be understood by those who have not risen to the same level of consciousness.

The New Spirit in India may be best described as a great aspiration in several directions—political, social, educational and religious. It expresses the strong deep desire now felt by the people of India and more especially by students of the rising generation that the India of the future—New India—may enter into a truer and richer life and a life which shall be peculiarly her own. Before proceeding to deal with the various kinds of aspirations which are to be embodied in the national life of the future, a few words of general introduction may be necessary. It must already have been recognised by every thoughtful mind that there is a close correspondence between the national movement of the 19th century and this new movement of the 20th and that the present movement in India is but the complement of the former, the two making one great movement for the regeneration and enlightenment of India. In fact the struggle has been going on in deadly earnest for some time past and the unrest of which we have heard so much, is, in its ultimate analysis, simply the outward expression in various forms of the life and death struggle now going on in India between truth and error, light and darkness, with its strong purifying and uplifting ideals of human life.

It is now time that I should deal in turn with the five great aspirations which may be said to form the main contents of the New Spirit.

THE POLITICAL ASPIRATION.

The political evolution to which members of the Non-co-operation party look forward is representative government on a national democratic basis i. e. a basis which will include all sections of the peoples of India, irrespective of race, colour or creed. This party, so far as I am aware, does not desire the retirement of the British or any weakening of the ties that at present bind the British to India. It readily acknowledges all that India owes to the British and speaks in no grudging terms of admiration and loyalty of the 'Pax Britannica,' and all that it means in the way of efficient administration, impartial justice and public security. The great feature of the Non-co-operation programme is that it stands for the burying of all the old historic animosities, jealousies and divisions which in the past have rendered anything like national action impossible. There is to be an entente cordiale throughout Hindustan. The peoples of India, whether Indian or British, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, are no longer to strive against each other for supremacy or place. All sections of the people of whatever race or creed, are to sink ancient feuds and unite in a holy federation of brotherhood for the development of the highest national well-being of India. Such an ideal does not necessarily imply a general acquiescence in and full approval of the political and administrative system which prevails at present. In the hearts of the young Non-co-operators there beats a strong patriotic desire that their beloved motherland may soon cease to be regarded as a mere dependency of the British Crown and may be granted the privilege of becoming an integral and responsible part of the great British Empire. And farther there

exists the hope that, as time goes on, the sons of India as they qualify for positions of trust and responsibility by virtue of higher education and by strength of moral character, may be given an increasingly large share in the administration of their Motherland.

THE SOCIAL ASPIRATION.

Much more interesting to the reader than the previous consideration, is the question as to what shall be the character of the new social order which shall prevail in New India. I take it for granted that however much one may agitate for it, there can be no return to the past. The caste system, which has held India in bondage for so many centuries, can no longer be allowed to continue. But while rejecting the caste system, it does not follow that New India will accept 'ready made' any one of the social systems that prevail in the West. The coming social order will be one which will be peculiarly her own, and one which will best promote the great ends of Indian Nationalism. The adoption, without modification, of a Western system would be, as the Rev. Bernard Lucas has pointed out, 'to exchange one tyranny for another'. The Non-co-operators in constructing their political ideals, were greatly influenced, I believe, by two principles which had been already successfully observed by Japan when engaged in her task of political and social reconstruction about thirty years ago, viz:—(a) The principle of preserving all that was good in the past, and of incorporating with it all that is good in the present, and (b) the principle of adopting only such measures as would unite all sections of the people into a national whole. Applying these principles the new social order must be one which has lost nothing Eastern that is of value and it must be one in which there shall be no invidious distinctions as to race or caste or creed.

THE EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION.

With regard to the character of the present system of education in India to-day, there is a remarkable unanimity of opinion, whether the critics are European Viceroy's, Government officials in high position, heads of college or missionaries—or whether they are Indian gentlemen of any political party who have themselves received Western education—all are agreed that the present system of University education, based upon the model of London University, and introduced into India in 1857, with the very best intentions and purest motives, has altogether failed either to import culture or to produce a high type of manhood. The system has been too Western—'outlandish' as an Indian writer has styled it—and its non-religious basis has had a most debilitating effect upon moral and spiritual character. And it is a remarkable fact that from the time of the rise of this New Spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice, national institutions have steadily grown in popularity and influence. It is the students who have begun to think for themselves and are feeling the pulsation of the patriotic spirit, deliberately select national institutions for their place of education, because their moral and spiritual tone appeals to them and because they prefer to receive their education at

the hands of teachers who are themselves actuated by high ideals and with whom they can come into the closest personal and affectionate relationship. In view of this fact the importance of national education becomes supreme at the present time.

THE RELIGIOUS ASPIRATION.

We come now to consider the supreme question of the New Spirit; what is to be the character of the religion which will satisfy the great spiritual heart of New India and inspire it with such self-sacrifice and devotion as shall enable her to fulfil her great mission to her own people and to the world at large. We cannot believe that India's new national consciousness shall end in failure, nor can we think of Indian Nationalism as resting upon a non-religious basis. Mere Nationalism, on a materialistic basis, will never move the masses of the people or produce any great change. What then is the kind of religion that will satisfy and hold the heart of New India? It must be a religion (a) that is able to unify all classes of the people of India into a strong and enthusiastic brotherhood with a spirit of love and self-sacrifice which will express itself in humanitarian service on behalf of the people of India and of mankind in general; (b) that can provide for such work whether it be for the enlightenment of women and the elevation of the depressed classes in India or for the witness and ministry of the oriental religious consciousness in the world at large. Religion of the soul, as preached by Mahatma Gandhi, is such a religion and the only one that can meet the situation that has arisen in India at the present day.

The new movement is not a gospel of hate, as has been characterised and characterised wrongly by some; it is the gospel of self-sacrifice, patriotism and true love for our dear Motherland. It offers a new ideal of manhood. It stands not for the destruction of human nature but for the sanctification of every faculty of human life. It offers a high ideal of what National education can effect in the training of moral and spiritual character when given in the inspiring atmosphere of a national institution. It offers social unification for the national life which always leads to progress and freedom. It offers above all a living example of a man (Mahatma Gandhi) contact with whom makes a divine life possible even to the weakest human being. And if one desires to have a glowing vision of India in the future when transformed by a national acceptance of Mahatma Gandhi as the consummator of Indian Nationalism one must see it, not through the eyes of a foreigner, however sympathetic but through those of one who is both an Indian patriot and a devoted servant of the Motherland. Mahatma Gandhi, the great-hearted and high-souled leader of the movement. India is no longer the India of the past but a New India, inspired with a great ideal and determined to overcome by strength of purpose and self-sacrificing devotion to the Motherland whatever obstacles may stand in the way of her regeneration and of the exalted destiny which awaits her. India, Young India, will surely give a hearty response to the call of the Nation and be free. For independence is happiness and dependence misery.

Vande Mataram.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent).

London, January 5, 1922.

A HAPPY NEW YEAR!

We are hoping that the year 1922 will be a happier one than 1921 proved to be. There is ample need for a change for the better, since the past year has been so largely one of disappointment and disillusionment. Promise is perhaps the sign and symbol of the old year—promise unfulfilled, however. Perhaps the New Year may give us performance instead. It will be vastly more useful. Possibly we are ungrateful to the year upon which we have just turned our back. Possibly, too, we are too hopeful of the year that we have just welcomed in. If so, we are but human. Nevertheless, it would be real ingratitude to have nothing good to say of a year that has given us both a successful Irish Conference and a fairly successful Washington Conference, even though the Dail has not yet ratified the Treaty put forward by the first and Mr. Eugene Debs, upon his release from prison in America, has anathematised the second because, in his opinion, it is useless to discuss disarmament or limitation of armaments without discussing the causes of war.

LET US THINK WELL OF OURSELVES.

To Ibsen, if we may judge from one of his best-known plays, among the greatest offences against human nature is to destroy a man's belief in himself. To believe that he is working for some ideal and that some day he will attain it—though in our heart of hearts we know well that he is not doing the one or will ever do the other—is his mainstay and often the rock upon which his self-respect is established. To destroy this belief is to destroy his foundation and to cut him off from the future. Hence the danger and desolation of disillusionment. But it is not everyone that has that belief. Too many of us work with our noses to the grindstone. We lack imagination. We cannot see the forest for the trees.

"A primrose by a river's brink
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more."

The following story illustrates what I mean. It is told in the "Literary Digest," which asks: "How do you visualise your job?" Three stone-cutters were working on a stone. A stranger asked the first what he was doing. "I'm working for seven dollars a day," he replied. "And you?" the stranger asked the second. "I'm cutting this stone. Can't you see?" growled the latter. As for the third, his face lit up as he replied to a similar question: "I'm building a cathedral!" One raises one's hat, after this, to the fly on the wheel! So let us hitch our wagon to a star.

EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE.

We are suffering so severely from over-taxation that what is known as the Geddes "super-axe" Committee has been appointed to examine into the possibility of lopping off great branches of expenditure in our State Departments in the name of economy. There is no doubt that there are some departments

which overlap badly or which are greatly overstaffed for the real needs of the country, or which are far too big and expensive judged by the idealism and democratic reactions that have followed in the wake of the war. But it is, unfortunately, believed that one of the important economies recommended by the Geddes Committee is in the Education Department. This country has never really believed in sound education. It has never been too confident that it was right when it experimented in mass-education. Undoubtedly many of the products of that education are of a very dubious character. What, however, is wanted is not less, but more education and that of a higher quality. Yet if the Geddes report attacks the expenditure on education and is acted upon by the Cabinet, it will result very probably in the torpedoing of the Fisher Education of 1919 upon which reformers built so hopefully. In that event, 1922 will be a black year in the history of this country. The reformers and the educationists are already raising cries of alarm, and perhaps some heed will be given to their protests and premonitory warnings. Professor L. P. Jacks, the well-known editor of the "Hibbert Journal" and the Principal of the Unitarian College at Oxford, where he succeeded Dr. Euclid Carpenter, had some interesting things to say last week in his inaugural address to the delegates at the annual conference of Education Associations. He thought that in future the Minister of Education should be Prime Minister and that no Education Minister should be allowed to do odd man's work in the Cabinet. When our statesmen were educationists and our educationists were statesmen we might hope for a restoration of European civilisation and the stabilisation of social order. In the meantime, he demanded Dominion Self-Government status for Education, and would be content with nothing less. The Irish settlement had set the standard to be aimed at. Education should no longer be the handmaiden, the Cinderella, of politics and economics. It should be an equal partner in the association of national essentials, if not the dominant partner.

THE BLACK MAN AND HIS VIRTUES.

Germany has been making great play with the fact that France has quartered black troops in large numbers in the occupied territory west of the Rhine. France, of course, is anxious to economise and to free as many of her white troops as possible for the reconstitution and reconstruction of her ravaged provinces. This is, too, the origin of her official reasons for insisting upon her right to build large numbers of submarines and accessory ships. She needs them, she says, in order to convey her African troops and to protect her lines of communication. The argument is not convincing, but it has some basis in reality. But that is not at all the reason why Germany has raised loud protests against the black troops of France, alleging against them various horrible offences which independent British official observers have thoroughly disproved, especially by a comparison with offences of a like nature known to have been committed by German troops in the same areas before the war. Germany, however, is hoping to rely upon public

opinion in Britain and America to rid her of the French Army of Occupation by arousing the colour-antipathy she believes to be very near the surface in both these countries. Lately, too, American susceptibilities have been aroused by the choice of a full-blooded African negro as the recipient of the world-famous literary prize offered at regular intervals by the Academie de Goncourt. Such a choice would be impossible in America. It would be very difficult in England. But France has always been colour-blind, like Islam. She recognises no differences amongst French citizens, and she distributes her prizes and gifts upon black and white alike, without racial predilection. General Mangin must have disgusted our British and the American negrophobes by his whole-hearted praise of the African negroes, among whom he spent some of the most fruitful years of his life. He regards them as being as teachable and as responsive to cultural environment as the white races and demands that they should be afforded an equal opportunity with the latter of expressing their natural gifts and of contributing their special effort to the whole and universal culture of mankind.

ROLLESTON MEMORIAL LECTURE.

The first Rolleston Memorial Lecture arranged by the India Society was given at the Victoria and Albert Museum last week by Professor Strzowski, who spoke on Indo-Persian landscape in Northern art. Mr. Laurence Binyon, the chairman, said that this was the first of a series of lectures under the memorial scheme designed to recall the great work done for the India Society by the late Dr. T. W. Rolleston. The object of the Society was to stimulate interest in Indian art. Chinese and Japanese art had taken a permanent place in the minds of Englishmen, and India's achievements in that sphere should not hold a subordinate place. The lecturer defined Northern art as the Iranian art which grew up under the influence of Mazdaism (the religion of Zoroaster), and gave examples taken from Italy, India, and China to show that Iran was the centre from which had come landscapes in pictures in which no attempt was made to reproduce the actual forms of nature. He claimed that the source of this artistic direction was not Hellenistic, but Eastern Aryan art, which attained its development under Mazdaism, and afterwards exercised an influence over Christian as well as Buddhist and Chinese painting. In support of this claim he drew parallels between the landscape in the mosaics at Ravenna, the wall painting in the cave temples of Ajanta, and the shrine of Tamamushi at Nara.

THE PROPOSED ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

(By POLITICUS).

The idea of a Round-table Conference is going round. Here at the seat of the Government of India it has got a definite expression in a number of resolutions notice of which has already been given in both houses of the Legislature. The notable of these are, Maushi Lahwar Saran's resolution in the Assembly and the Hon'ble Mr. Bhargava's in the Council of State. There are two aspects of the demand behind the resolutions. The first is the abandonment

of the present policy; the second is the calling of a Round-table Conference. I am not in a position from all that I have seen and heard in private and open discussions, since my arrival here among official and Non-official members, to make a forecast of the ultimate fate of these demands. But I can submit certain important observations and impressions regarding them. It seems to me that the adverse results of prohibitory proclamations under the Seditious Meetings and the Criminal Law Amendment Acts and the promiscuous arrests and prosecutions following upon a cool, calculated infringement of these orders which culminated on the one hand in an impetus to the spirit of civil-disobedience, and on the other in an emphatic demand by the sober section of the people outside the Non-co-operation fold for immediate withdrawal of that policy,—which demand was reflected in the resolutions now before the Indian Legislature have made the Government, if not altogether realize the utter futility of the present policy, at least to stay their hands for a while and pause and think whether they should not take counsel with some responsible leaders of public opinion with a view to end the present breaking tension of the situation by more acceptable and *effective methods*. Thus far the notice of the resolutions and amendments about the present situation some of which amount to a censure of the Government Policy have had the desired wholesome effect, viz. reconsideration of the present policy. But it seems to me that there is little clearness and more confusion and conflict about the other and more important aspect of the resolutions regarding a Round-table Conference. The question is not one of mere calling forth a Conference; call a conference, but how and for what purpose? It is the fructification of such preliminaries and programmes for the Conference as would give it possibilities and potentialities of success and settlement. The absence of a positive working programme is due to Government apathy, Gandhi's obduracy of which the resultant is our legislators' present embarrassment. I believe this will also be the position at the Bombay Conference which has been convened by Pundit Malaviya, Messrs. Bhargri, Jinnah and others. But I hope the results of the joint deliberations at Bombay will give the country and our embarrassed legislators here a working basis for the Conference to materialise. If it does the postponement of Munshi Ishwar Saran's resolution will not have gone in vain, and will change its present dull and disheartening aspect into a bright and hopeful one.

What should this programme be? My submission is that between Gandhi's hard and rigid demand of *status quo* for Turkey in the matter of Khilafat, complete redress of the Panjab grievances and an incomprehensible Swaraj, and the Government's placid attitude and pious declaration that they have done all that was possible for the Khilafat and the Panjab, and that any further advance on the present reforms would jeopardise them and would be inopportune, there is yet a royal road with possibilities of a just and reasonable settlement which would rehabilitate the relations between the Government and the people. That royal road lies in the representatives of the people and the Government meeting in a Conference with clean hearts and *open minds*, and compare notes with each other on the question now at issue in a spirit of mutual forbearance, trust, goodwill and confidence. In that spirit each will have to make concessions, each one will have to accept the maximum—that is reasonably possible, viewpoint of the other and then see if a satisfactory settlement is not possible. *The only essential condition for this is that, the plenipotentiaries who will sit at the Conference table will go to it not committed or pledged to their parties' programmes, but with open minds ready to go the maximum*

length possible with the other, and with power to negotiate and conclude a settlement which will be binding upon the parties concerned *only after proper and formal ratification by each one of them*. Besides the three questions now at issue, viz. Khilafat, Swaraj and Panjab Grievances, the following three, in my opinion, may also form the subject of discussion at the Conference table:—the status of Indians abroad, the rehabilitation and recuperation of the present insolvent position of the country's finances and trade, and last but not least, Indianisation of the Army.*

Would Gandhi accept the above composition and terms of reference for the Conference? I have still faith in him that he would. But even if he doesn't, let not that be an excuse or apology for the Government against the holding of the conference. Let those who do, meet. Let them do their utmost to fulfil the legitimate wishes of the country, and let their deliberations be like an open book for all. That will prove the bonafide of the object of the Conference, and then there can be no possible excuse for the greatest Non-co-operator, if he be true to his creed and professions to boycott the Conference. In any case, if the enquiries and negotiations at the Round-table Conference, no matter by and between whom carried on, lead to a sound, just and reasonable settlement, the ground under the present discontent will have been cut, the wings of disaffection clipped, and there will be scope and resources to deal and deal effectively with those who disturb the peaceful and orderly progress of the country, for other than present legitimate causes.

THE BOMBAY CONFERENCE.

PRESS OPINIONS.

Rangoon Mail, Tri-weekly, (Congress).

The Leaders' Conference in Bombay stands apart from other great Conferences of the country as being the first of its kind in the annals of the history of British occupation in India. This is the first time in which great leaders have sat together in all seriousness to find a way out of the crisis which their own country is heading to. The resolutions of the Conference are specially significant. According to them: (i) The New Repressive policy ought to be reversed without delay. (ii) Other means are to be exhausted before Civil Disobedience is resorted to. (iii) A Round Table Conference ought to be called for to explore all methods of settlement of the issues of the Panjab and the Khilafat wrongs and demand for Swaraj or full responsible government. (iv) A committee of two ought to be appointed with power to choose an umpire to investigate into the present cases of repression pending which investigation, hartals, picketing and civil disobedience to cease. The conference has further appointed a committee of influential representatives to arrange the speedy bringing about of the Round Table Conference. To the question whether the conference has found a way out, it is rather somewhat early to venture an answer. All that we can say is that the Conference is fraught with infinite possibilities and it may even bring about a speedy settlement whose success or otherwise rests on the shoulders of the Committee itself.

The West Coast Reformer, Calicut Tri-weekly, (Liberal).

The Round Table Conference is the valuable product of Moderate wisdom! The surging spirit of hostility to Government among the Non-Co-operators should have been a clear

* The personnel of the Conference may be constituted as follows—6 representatives of the Government and non-official European Community; 2 members elected by the Indian Legislature; 2 by the Liberal and Nationalist Federations and 3 by the Congress.

warning to all who feigned to have discovered a golden way to peace in this conference against the futility of attempting the impossible. The moderates worked themselves to a frenzy over the inevitable arrests and legal incarceration of law-breaking 'politicals' and attempted to carry co-operation to absurd lengths by courting the non-co-operator's co-operation. The result has been a sudden bloating of the non-co-operator with his own importance in ordering the destinies of India. The conference held at Bombay reveals the impossibility of bringing round the non-co-operators to the proper angle of political vision.

The Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly Weekly, (Reactionary).

Sir Sankaran Nair's reputation for sturdy commonsense has been considerably enhanced by his manly protest against Mr. Gandhi's dictatorship. Sir Sankaran Nair is not a blundering, sentimental politician who falls a ready victim to charlatanism. Mr. Gandhi's political cult, if it can come under any definition of politics, is unmitigated charlatanism, and we are surprised that Sir Sankaran Nair did not succumb to its glamour. On the other hand, our surprise was that he should have at all consented to preside over a non-descript gathering of politicians, amateur and other whose slave mentality is so complete that there could be no prospect of their discussing any matter with their wits about them. A group of men who have surrendered their understanding to another cannot be of much purpose at a conference where independent thinking is necessary. A Conference that is willing to be led by one who deliberately told the members that he would not be bound by what they might say and he was there representing no one but himself, courted failure at the very outset and, of course, it failed. But it did one piece of good in spite of itself to the country, it provoked Sir Sankaran Nair into a forceful denunciation of the Gandhi cult.

Rangoon Daily News, daily, (Nationalist).

The Bombay Conference at which more than 800 leaders of all shades of opinion attended is a distinct step towards the bringing up of the differences of opinion between the various schools of Indian politics..... From the materials to hand, we realise, that it is too soon to prophesy as to the exact stand the Conference will ultimately take. It seems to us that most of the 800 members in the Conference will agree that repression must stop if the proposed Round Table Conference is to come off. On the other hand, they will almost all agree that mass civil disobedience must, at any rate temporarily, be given up before the Round Table Conference could sit. The Conference at Bombay is the last straw on which all our hopes are centered. If the Government will not come half way to grasp the hands of the Moderates and would persist in their career of repression the future of India will be dark indeed. But we have yet some faith in the statesmanship of Lord Reading, and we think that he will listen to Moderate counsels. The psychological moment for a reconciliation will soon pass off and the task of peace may be rendered as difficult as was the case with Ireland.

The Praja Bandhu, Ahmedabad weekly, (Independent).

The Conference of the Representatives of the various political parties in the country that met in Bombay towards the end of the last week has taken an important step for effecting an "honourable settlement" between the people and Government. It has appointed a Committee for convening a Round Table Conference, and urged upon Government to reverse its recent policy of repression and release prisoners including the Fatwa prisoners and others that might be recommended by a Committee consisting of a nominee of Government and of the Committee of the Conference with power to appoint an Umpire. It has also urged upon the Non-Co-operators to sus-

pend all hartals, picketing and civil disobedience pending the results of the Conference. The Working Committee of the Congress has already advised the suspension of offensive Civil Disobedience till the 31st of January or pending results of the negotiations of the Committee. It now remains to be seen what action Government takes.

The Maharashtra, Poona Weekly, (Congress).

The conveners of the Bombay Peace Conference deserve hearty congratulations for their efforts to act as a bridge between the two contending parties in the country—we mean the Congress and the bureaucracy. In the first place the Conference was representative of all sections of political opinion in the country and had there been some authorised Government representatives, this very Conference could have constituted itself into a Round Table Conference. Since the adoption of the unfortunate and short-sighted policy of secession from the Congress by the Moderates, there was not a single occasion when the leaders of different political thought in the country met together or exchanged ideas freely, always respecting the honesty of opinion in others. The Conference was a complete success in this connection as it succeeded in bringing all parties together and revealed to the bureaucracy and the world, the fundamental unity of Indian thought in matters of vital importance to the Nation, namely its right to Swarajya and its right to enjoy full freedom in the matter of speech, of thought and of association.

The Hitavada, Nagpur Weekly, (Liberal).

Has the Conference which met at Bombay during the last week at the invitation of Pandit Malaviya, Jinnah and others under the presidentship of Sir Sankaran Nair proved altogether abortive? The answer to the question is both yes and no. The Conference has failed in its immediate object viz, that of arranging the so-called terms of truce preliminary to a Round Table Conference with the Viceroy and Government of India in order that a way out may be found out of the present tangle to an honourable settlement. It has however, cleared up many collateral issues which in the present acute political crisis through which the country is passing cannot be said to be altogether fruitless. Mr. Gandhi and his followers have now stated in clear terms what it is they are out for. Mr. Gandhi himself in his individual capacity is prepared to attend any Round Table Conference which may be arranged with the Viceroy. But so far as the minimum demands under the three heads are concerned viz, the Punjab, Khilafat wrongs and Swaraj he, as the representative of the Congress party, has no open mind as regards them at all.

Can anybody imagine after this that there is any the slightest use to bring about a Conference with Government if this is the frame of mind in which Mr. Gandhi's party is going to approach the task?

The Citizen, Madras Weekly, (Liberal).

The Conference of two hundred representatives of all shades of opinion in the country held in Bombay on Saturday and Sunday last passed five resolutions and appointed a Committee. The question is where do we stand after this Conference. The outlook is not at all hopeful, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya again stands practically discomfited. Mr. Gandhi and his followers were not parties to the resolutions, though they were framed with the help and guidance of the former. Before we refer to his attitude and the decisions of the Working Committee, it is necessary to examine the resolutions themselves. The first of them was an expression of opinion regarding the recent policy of the Government in regard to the application of the Seditious Meetings Act and Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and almost the

very words of the Allahabad Federation were used to describe the results of that policy, and to demand its reversal. The second resolution is ambiguous in language. It says that "until it is clear beyond any doubt that no other means will secure a redress of the country's grievances and the status of full Responsible Government, the civil disobedience movement contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress ought not to be resorted to. Does that mean that the Conference contemplates a time when it may be necessary to have recourse to this weapon? The absence of any strong condemnation of the civil disobedience movement gives some support to the view that the Conference is of opinion that circumstances might compel the people to disobey all laws. And yet, looking to the composition of the Conference, it seems almost incredible that such a view was prevalent or contemplated.

The *Searchlight*, Patna Tri-weekly, (Independent).

It is not possible to essay at the present moment, with any degree of accuracy, the influence which the deliberations of the Bombay Conference will have on the direction and trend of political activities of the people on the one hand and the attitude of the Government of India on the other. Nevertheless the fact is that the Conference will remain as an important event in the political evolution of the country and it is undoubted that sooner or later the Conference will have a profound and far-reaching effect. It was a representative gathering in every sense of the term and it would be futile to ignore or minimise its importance. The defection from the organization of Sir Sankaran Nair is indeed unfortunate and will have, to a certain extent, an adverse effect on the utility of the Conference Committee. Sir Sankaran Nair's sturdy independence, patriotism and capacity are national assets and have never been questioned and it is a real pity that a public man of his position should have felt impelled to express his strong disagreement with the resolutions adopted by the Conference. The event, unfortunate and regrettable as it undoubtedly is, ought not to be magnified out of all proportions, for after all Sir Sankaran does not differ materially on the broad issues before the conference.

The *Express*, Bankipore daily, (Zemindar).

It seems that the Bombay political Conference had no plain sailing. A rift in the lute is not long in coming and men like Sir S. Nair and Pandit H. N. Kunzru left the Conference in utter disgust at the demeanour of Mr. Gandhi. Thus ends the Conference upon which so much hope had been built. It is true that the resolutions of the Conference are still there and there is also a Committee which has been appointed to negotiate with Lord Reading's Government on the one hand and Non-co-operators on the other. But the whole affair seems to have an ominous bearing because of the secession of Sir Sankaran and Pandit Kunzru and of the causes thereof. We have now very grave doubts that, in the first place, the proposed Conference, under the present circumstances, will be an accomplished fact, and in the second, the Conference, if it materializes, will lead to any satisfactory solution of the problem. We would however like to see that Lord Reading's Government should give the matter their best consideration and demonstrate to the world, beyond any shade or shadow of doubt, that they did not leave unexplored a single avenue which might lead to a satisfactory settlement.

NO TAX CAMPAIGN IN GUNTUR.

Mahatma Gandhi has addressed the following letter to Mr. Venkatappayya with reference to the movement in Guntur district to refuse payment of taxes, as a part of Civil Disobedience.

Dear Venkatappayya,—I have given much anxious thought to the 'no tax' campaign going on there. Apart from the possibility of suspension of Mass Civil Disobedience by reason of a Round Table Conference ever forthcoming, I think that you are not yet ready for non-payment of Taxes. Fifty per cent of the population of the area of experiment, has not yet, I apprehend, got rid of 'untouchability' nor is that proportion of population accustomed to ways of non-violence, nor to Khadder manufactured in the respective areas. I omit the other items such as the unity between races and creeds. In these circumstances I think it is the bounden duty of all of us to refrain from Mass Civil Disobedience till the masses have undergone the necessary discipline and self-purification. In any other case mass disobedience will be not *civil* but *criminal* and will, therefore, render us unfit to conduct our own affairs as an orderly civilized nation. I, therefore, strongly suggest that you advise the ryots in all the districts to pay up at least the first instalment and devote the whole of the time and the energy of all the workers to acquiring the necessary qualifications. This opinion, I know, will disappoint many ardent spirits, but I am sure our success lies in that disappointment, for if the people are really eager for Swaraj, and eager for Civil Disobedience, they will make the necessary mental change, under the pressure of that strong desire. The inimitable attitude of Andhra women for artistic spinning and of Andhra weavers for artistic weaving should make the production of Khadder in the respective areas easy of accomplishment. But whether the acquisition of these qualifications is difficult or easy, we dare not avoid it without endangering the attainment of our cherished goal.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Bombay, January 17.

GIFT OF A KICKING COW.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The Madras Government seems inclined to favour the members of the Depressed Classes. The land of the Non-Co-operators, refusing to pay taxes, which would have no bidding, would be bought and given to the D. C. members. The D. C. members must thank the Government for this their solicitude. But this action smells of the charitable spirit of a Hindu miser who would dispose of his wicked, mischievous cow which had begun to give kicks instead of milk, by making a gift of it to a Brahmin. Can not the Government find a more hard and tough Brahmin for this? The D. C. members have long suffered for their so-called sins. Charity of such a kind would bring them in conflict with the people. The D. C. members have to look to both the Government and the people for their salvation. Can not the Government select other land for them? Instead of exploiting social differences, the best way for the Government is to hold a Round Table Conference. If Mahatma Gandhi makes impossible terms and plays De Valera, I believe Griffiths will not be wanting.

Yours Etc.
K. G. KARKAR.

Devlali, 26-1-22.

"SUMMER SCHOOLS IN OOTACAMUND."

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The second season of the Summer Schools began last year by the Indian National Committee of the Young Women' Christian Associations at Grace Cottage, Ootacamund, will

open April 1st, 1922, when the house will be ready for the preliminary holiday period. The dates of the Courses are as follows:—

April 26th—May 16th, Association Members' School.
May 3rd—June 13th, School of Physical Education.
May 31st—June 18th, Bible School.

Among those who will participate in the programmes are Miss Ethel Cutler, B. D. of New York City, and the Hon'ble Miss Emily Kinnsard of London. A Prospectus giving courses and speakers, rates for European and Indian Board, and other information will be posted to any women interested upon application to the Training Secretary, Indian National Committee, Y. W. O. A., 5, Russel Street, Calcutta.

Yours truly,

ELIZABETH WILSON.

Publications & Training Secretary.

A DEPRESSED CLASSES WORKER.

To,

The Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Mr. Rudrappa Basappa Chawadi of Nidagundi District Bijapur belongs to a depressed class. He throughout the district all the year round, calls meetings of the depressed classes in all the villages and advises them by lectures to send their boys to schools, to abolish the system of becoming Basavis, to allow the Basavis to remarry, to dine among their different sub-castes. The result of these lectures during these five years is also good. Many boys about thousand among depressed classes are now attending schools. They are now abolishing the system of becoming Basavis. Many young ladies have now married and are now leading a good life as married ladies instead of leading a bad and debaucherous life. All this he is doing voluntarily. He does not care even for his family. At the cost of his own pleasures and at a great sacrifice he is doing this piece of benevolent work. He takes with him another lecturer and also two attendants who gather the people from the neighbouring villages at the place of lecture. He will have to support all these men by means of scanty subscriptions he can get from the sympathis. As the vast mass is illiterate the public do not appreciate his work and do not help him much, although I am of opinion no reforms will be beneficial to the people unless the depressed classes are reformed and are educated. The Government also has appreciated his work. Although it has appreciated his work it has informed him its inability to help him financially. It may help him next year. Under these circumstances it goes hard with him to continue his work. Yet he is working at great odds. The public should appreciate such work and help him by means of money. Still as he is working and reforming the depressed classes under the difficult circumstances mere words are not sufficient to thank him for his benevolent work done very silently. The great leaders should work also in this way and with the help of the lecturers and workers among the depressed classes should reform there.

Your faithfully,

REVANAPPA L. JAVALL

Head Master.

Bijapur, -21-1-1933.

New English School, Bijapur.

VIRESALINGAM MEMORIAL HALL.

The function of laying the Foundation Stone for the Viresalingam Memorial Hall proposed to be raised under the auspices of the Bangalore Cantonment Brahma Samaj came off on the 8th January 1922. A beautiful pandal was temporarily put up in the Compound of the Brahma Mandir (7, Ganga-Chetty Road) with suitable arches, festoons and ever-greens

to receive the invited guests. The Dewan Rajasevadhuriah Sir M. Kantaraj Urs, K. O. L. E., O. S. I. accompanied by his private Secretary Mr. C. Ranganatha Rao Sahab, arrived at the place punctually at 9-33 A. M., when the Boy Scouts received him with a salute, while the naga-waram was being played by the musicians employed for the purpose. At the gate he was received by the Members of the Managing Committee headed by Messrs. Mahadeva Mudaliar and V. Balasunderam Mudaliar and conducted to a raised seat on the platform. The proceedings commenced with a hymn sung by Misses Mahadeva Mudaliar and a prayer offered by Mr E. Subbukrishnaia, after reciting a few texts from the Upanishads. Mrs. Lalita Bai Subba Rao read the address expressing the gratitude of the Samaj to the Dewan on behalf of the members for kindly consenting to lay the Foundation Stone. After the reading of the address, Mrs. Lalita Bai Subba Rao presented the same enclosed in a beautiful velvet casket while the two youngest daughters of Mr. Mahadeva Mudaliar garlanded the Dewan.

Sir Kantaraj Urs, after replying to the address, laid the Foundation Stone and declared that it was well and truly laid.

Mr. Mahadeva Mudaliar proposed a vote of thanks to the Dewan for his kind solicitude for the social well being of the people in the Mysore State and observed that as Jinaraja Das said that if Mysore is heaven for having a civic and social progress association, it is bound to be a centre of social and religious reform for having this memorial for Viresalingam in their midst. Three cheers were called forth by Mr. Mahadevan to His Majesty the King Emperor, His Highness the Maharaja and the Dewan which were heartily responded to by the audience. The meeting terminated with the distribution of flower and sprinkling of rose water.

"NEVER-GET-ILL."

In this book the author wants to make clear his position by saying that the subject requires practical demonstration in the absence of which his book should be taken as a testimony heralding the happy message of the possibility of attaining the Never-Get-Ill standard of health with the help of the physiological knowledge of the present day. The reason of the loss of health being the heavy tax on the intellect, the author expresses doubt whether addition of Physiology to the encyclopedic curriculum would improve matters. Nor does he think that going to Nature solves the real problem. He advocates the necessity of having a clear vision of the Body-Ideal.

The complex problem of digestion is explained to the reader in two chapters—Key to Digestion which is reduced to the sensation of pleasant taste, and Why milk is not digested. On the subject of exercise the author urges that it is misunderstood to include only muscular exercise while all functional activity is equally necessary for the oxydisation of the living matter in order to keep the current flowing. In the matter of dress he prefers Dr. Jaeger's all wool or silk wear which does not absorb the volatile products of perspiration as cotton does. The personal experience of the author in successfully banishing illness which, he says, is miraculous when compared to his former ill-health, described in a separate chapter, forms the characteristic of the book. His attainment is thus backed up by theoretical considerations and his theory in its turn is illustrated by personal example. The author laying stress on his 'never getting ill' declares in case the claim is true, it is, in the interests of the public, a duty of the general public and especially the leaders to make full use of him and declare him at least 'Not Guilty'.

INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS.

The Art Section of the 1921 Club has decided to hold an Exhibition of Indian Arts and Crafts on the premises of the Young Men's Indian Association, Armenian Street, George Town, Madras, opening on Saturday, February 25th, and closing on Saturday, March 4th. The Exhibition is intended to be a demonstration of the work which is being done to-day in painting, sculpture, wood-carving, ivory work, metal work, weaving and dyeing, with a view to stimulating interest in indigenous craftsmanship and to restore certain crafts, which are in danger of extinction from want of support. Examples of the work of the modern Bengal School of Painting will be included, together with examples of the Moghal and mediæval Hindu styles of painting. The promoters of the Exhibition invite offers, in writing, of exhibits from artists, manufacturers, merchants and owners of Indian pictures and art-objects. A selection will be made in accordance with the available space and the affinity of the offered exhibits with the purpose of the Exhibition. Provision will be made for the protection and care of the exhibits, but the Club cannot make itself responsible for damage or loss through accident or theft. Exhibitors will have to make their own arrangements for sending and removing exhibits, except in the case of private loans and a few special cases of work by distant village craftsmen. For the expenses of the latter and for providing show cases, almirahs and picture stands, and the general expenses of the Exhibitions, offers of subscriptions are invited from persons interested in the development of Indian Arts and Crafts. Accounts will be published at the close of the Exhibition. It is intended to have lectures by prominent persons identified with the movement each afternoon, but full particulars of arrangement will be announced later. Meanwhile, intending exhibitors and subscribers will kindly write to the Secretary, Indian Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Y.M.I.A., Armenian Street, George Town, Madras.

JAMES COUSINS,
Secretary, Indian Arts and Crafts Exhibition,
Art Section, The 1921 Club.

THE PUNJAB VIDHVA VIVAH SAHAIK SABHA.

The Honorary Secretary writes: Under the auspices of the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha Lahore 27 widow marriages took place in the month of September 1921. The total number of marriages held during the current year (From 1st January 1921 to the end of September 1921) reaches to 224, as detailed below:—

Brahman	...	...	...	...	81
Khatri	...	...	...	...	88
Arora	...	...	...	...	66
Aggarwal	...	...	...	...	27
Kaith	...	...	...	...	8
Rajput	...	...	...	...	18
Sikh	...	...	...	...	14
Sud	...	...	...	...	2
Mis	...	...	...	...	25
Total					224

II

Under the auspices of the Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore, 29 marriages took place in the month of October 1921. The total number of marriages celebrated during the current year (from 1st January 1921 to the end of October 1921) reaches 253 as detailed below:—Brahman, 33; Khatri, 48; Arora, 78; Aggarwal, 27; Kaith, 8; Rajput, 14; Sikh, 14; Sud, 2; Miscellaneous, 29. Total—253.

III

Under the auspices of the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha Lahore, 30 widow marriages took place in the month of November 1921. The total number of marriages celebrated during the current year (from 1st January 1921 to the end of November 1921) reaches 283 as detailed below:—Brahman, 34; Khatri, 54; Arora, 96; Aggarwal, 29; Kaith, 9; Rajput, 14; Sikh, 16; Sud, 2; Miscellaneous 29. Total 283.

IV

Under the auspices of the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha Lahore 34 marriages took place in the month of December 1921. The total number of marriages held during the year 1921 reaches to 317 as detailed below:—Brahman 35; Khatri 67; Arora 104; Aggarwal 33; Kaith 10; Rajput 14; Sikh 16; Sud 2; Miscellaneous 36;—Total 317.

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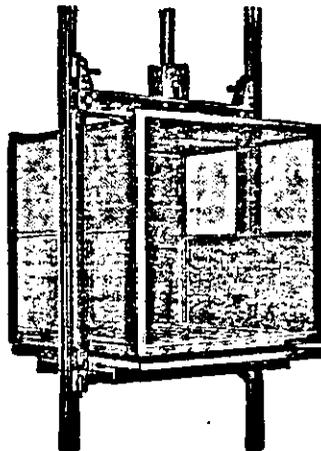
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Vol. XXXII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1922. No. 22

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

An Unfortunate Blunder: Since our leading article was in type, Mahatma Gandhi's letter to His Excellency the Viceroy in the nature of an ultimatum has been published in the *Bombay Chronicle* of Saturday. We can only say to-day that the manner of the letter is even more objectionable than its matter. The endeavours of the Malaviya Committee to bring about an atmosphere of conciliation cannot but be greatly hampered by the letter which falls far short of the lucidity and temperateness of the Mahatma's writings. We understand that the Committee has communicated to the Mahatma its strong disapproval of the step he has taken.

The Turkish Question: His Highness the Aga Khan arrived in Bombay on Friday and gave an interview to the *Times of India* on the present position of the Turkish question. He said that during his stay in Europe his public activities were mainly devoted or confined to the solution of the Turkish question in a way acceptable to them and if his countrymen wanted to know how the great problem stood today he would tell them that he was exactly in the position of the man who was swimming across a deep and dangerous lake and had gone half way and was then still as far from one shore as he was from the other. They were in mid-stream with deep waters with cross-currents hindering the progress. That is how he felt about the question personally and he was doing all he could not to sink but to reach the haven of safety. He thought that owing to various difficulties the question would not be settled one way or the other for several months but he for one was determined neither to lose heart or to recede in the least from the line of action that he had been pursuing and working for so far. He counselled patience and perseverance, adding that an influential section of the British public was in sympathy with the Indian point of view.

A Queer Arrangement. In a recent issue, we called attention to the deputation of an English member of the Indian Educational Service on a mission of political propagandism in the United States, though the Legislative Assembly had refused

to grant the sum asked for for that purpose. In reply to a question from Professor Kale in the Council of State on the 17th instant, it was stated on behalf of Government that Professor Horne, who is Professor of Political Economy at Patna College, was placed on deputation "to enable him to take up a temporary lectureship in Harvard University, at the invitation of the authorities of that University." The cost of his deputation, however, was borne by Indian revenues, "as the appointment enabled the Professor to lecture on Indian conditions generally, with a view to counteracting the false and mischievous reports regarding India appearing in a section of the American Press." Professor Kale in a supplementary question asked what special qualifications were looked for in Professor Horne that he was selected for this work. The answer was that "it was because he was well acquainted with conditions in India."

An English View of the Indian Problem. As a specimen of the kind of political propaganda carried on by English professors in America, may be cited the following passage in an article entitled "The Outlook for Civilization" by Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie in the current number of the *Yale Review*. He writes:

In Egypt the only real grievances of the people against the British Empire have been due to oppression by their native officials, who have profited in the name of the British.... The case is much the same in India as in Egypt. The peasantry do not wish for a change of management; only by appeals to religious fanaticism can they be stirred. The push comes from the upper classes: in some from ignorance of the real difficulties of governing and the self-sufficiency of their acquired culture; and in others from a wish to exploit all below them. The splitting off India and Egypt would mean either a gradual shifting back to harder conditions, or a complete bondage to a new Power. The Sudan would willingly conquer Egypt if it were left alone, and he would run the country better than the Egyptian. The Afghan would gladly rule India and rule it for plunder if he might.

The native Egyptian or Indian is the eternal exploiter, the Englishman never! He always suffers for the sins of the native! The Indian who aspires to self-government is ignorant or conceited or self-aggrandizing. As for the Afghan peril, surely Professor Petrie should know that the Sikh Confederacy had effectually countered it before the advent of British rule.

The Vices of Bureaucracy. Yet, in the same article, Professor Petrie when free from the racial obsession could write as follows of the vices of bureaucratic rule.

The growth of bureaucracy in quantity and dominance has laid a heavy burden upon us. The temperament needed

and cultivated in a public office is directly uneconomic; it favours routine rather than initiative; it dreads responsibility; it seeks the life of ease instead of improvement; it shelters oppression under official procedure; it becomes a conspiracy against the public.

If a native bureaucracy is all this, what should be said of an alien bureaucracy? The very fact of the excellence and efficiency of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, coupled with the backwardness of India after a hundred and fifty years of it in all nation-building activities, is the most conclusive proof that no nation can ever thrive under foreign rule.

The Blight of Vested Interests: A lurid illustration of how the vested interests of the British liquor trade have wrecked the wise policy of the League of Nations to prevent the alcohol-poisoning of the races of West Africa, is afforded by the article headed "A lost opportunity in West Africa," by Mr. A. E. Blackburn in the current number of *The East and the West*. The policy of total prohibition in Africa was accepted by France, which and Britain together rule two-thirds of the African continent, and received strong support from the Belgian, Portuguese and Liberian authorities. Lord Milner did his best to give effect to it. But, says Mr. Blackburn, British trading firms "were able to bring such weight to bear upon the Governments that the flag that had been so bravely unfurled, with its emancipating motto of prohibition of the liquor traffic in West Africa, was lowered, and what might have been a victory that could have added to British prestige throughout the world was allowed to be sacrificed on the altar of trade gain."

Indians in East Africa. Mr. Winston Churchill has at last declared what his policy with reference to Indians in East Africa is to be. There was much of the usual high-sounding generalisations, but the pith of the whole matter is that the highlands of East Africa are to be reserved exclusively for white settlers. The decision must be regarded as final and it is not intended to depart therefrom. Future immigration of Indians is to be strictly regulated, and only such Indians as pass a test in civilisation, approved by the white settlers, are to be given full citizen rights. Mr. Churchill added amid cheers that he did not contemplate any system which would prevent British East Africa from becoming characteristically and distinctly a British Colony, looking forward to the position of Self-Government. Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar are to be amalgamated, and Mr. Churchill anticipated in a few years the creation of a great East African Federation taking its place in the Empire on equal terms with the great West African Colonies now so prosperous. Lord Delamere representing the most reactionary type of white settlers in East Africa is said to have expressed his pleasure at Mr. Churchill's confirmation of the constitution of Kenya as a white Colony with the gradual evolution of self-Government. He hoped that the control of Indian immigration would mean its practical prohibition. We agree with Mr. Andrews who telegraphs to us that the news is incredibly serious to Indian interests.

British Policy in Egypt: It is not easy to follow the vicissitudes of British policy in Egypt or to refer them to any settled or intelligible principle. One day it is announced that a settlement on the basis of independence is in sight. A few days later, the Egyptians declare for Non-Co-operation and a number of them is arrested. Still a very few days later, these men are released, and the High Com-

missioner is called to London. The latest version of the terms offered to Egypt comprise the establishment of an independent sovereign state but closely controlled as to defence, foreign policy and jurisdiction over foreigners in the country. These conditions would necessarily be a constant source of friction between the two Governments. The independence offered will, in practice, be nothing more than freedom for the Egyptian Government to oppress its own subjects. Defence, foreign policy and complete jurisdiction over its inhabitants are the vital breath of a Sovereign State. Without these a state is not sovereign but servile. Why not trust the Egyptians and grant them real independence, safeguarding by a treaty conferring mutual advantages, the Suez Canal route to India and Australia? India and Australia as well as Great Britain and Egypt will have to be parties to such a treaty.

The Colour Bar in England: For some years past, as the result of Colonial influence in the English Universities, an increasing tendency to create a colour bar has been noticed. One of the ways in which this is crystallising, seems to be indicated in a Reuter's telegram regarding Indian and Chinese medical practitioners in parts of London. As usual it is sought to be made out that these men are more or less quacks preying upon the credulity of ignorant Englishmen, taking advantage, it is said, of "the superstition current in the working class districts that colored men are good doctors." There is often some truth behind a superstition, and we should not be surprised if the real reason for this new cry is that the Indian or Chinese doctor is really more painstaking and attentive to the poorer class of patients.

Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar. The current number of the *Indian Review* contains an excellent biographical sketch of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar from the pen of Professor M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar. Professor Aiyangar has not omitted any important contribution made by Sir Ramkrishna in the realm of Sanskrit research. He has wholly set out, however, what many would consider the best part of Sir Ramkrishna's life-work—his work of religious and social reform. The following appreciation of Sir Ramkrishna's career is nevertheless apt: "Accurate in scholarship, always sound in judgment, of pleasant manners and yet possessed of an indomitable will, Dr. Bhandarkar's early life and career is a source of deep inspiration to younger men of India. Thoroughly patriotic in the best sense of the word, Dr. Bhandarkar's life is a living example of what can be achieved by patience, perseverance and singleness of purpose."

Prohibition of Charas: We congratulate the Government of Bombay on their resolution to prohibit totally the consumption of Charas in the Presidency from the 1st April 1922. Charas, a product of hemp, is produced in large quantities in Chinese Turkistan, whence it is imported into India via Panamik on the Kburdang Pass (where all consignments are registered at the Preventive Post maintained by the Punjab Government) and Lahore. Here all the charas imported by this route is deposited in a warehouse and distributed to bonded warehouses in the Punjab, whence the Bombay Presidency receives its supplies. The consumption of charas is prohibited in all the districts of the Presidency proper, except Ahmedabad, and the town and island of Bombay. The consumption in Bombay last year was 6776 seers and in Ahmedabad 723 seers, while the revenue realised in the Presidency proper amounted to over Rs. 300,000.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1922.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

On the 16th January, Sir William Vincent the member of the Government of India in charge of the Home Department, said in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, in reply to a question, that the attitude of the Government to the proposal of a Round Table Conference to bring about a settlement of the present political discontents, was clearly explained in His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the Calcutta Deputation on the 21st December, 1921. It was no unwarrantable presumption on our part to infer that this meant that the conditions laid down in Lord Reading's speech, continued to be the conditions desired by Government when the reply was given. On this assumption we pointed out in our leading article last week that the Malaviya Conference, which met in Bombay on the 14th and 15th January, had succeeded in bringing about a substantial supervision of the conditions outlined in the Viceregal pronouncement of December last. The *Tribune* of Lahore, in its issue of the 31st January, independently expressed the same opinion. "It must at any rate be admitted by all fair-minded persons," it wrote, "that they (the assurances contained, in the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress at Mahatma Gandhi's instance in response to the Malaviya Conference resolution) do amount to the substantial fulfilment of the condition insisted upon by Lord Ronaldshay and the Viceroy as a preliminary to the suspension of activities on their own side, and the making of arrangements for a Round Table Conference." If Government are of a different opinion, they should in fairness state wherein the conditions stipulated by the Malaviya Conference are in excess or in defect of those defined in His Excellency the Viceroy's Calcutta speech, so that a further effort may be made to meet as far as possible the wishes of Government. If the terms of the Viceroy's speech have ceased to hold good, they ought to say so, in order that the public may not be left under the impression created by Sir William Vincent's reply to the question in the Legislative Assembly.

The Working Committee of the Congress in its resolution declared that the offensive Civil Disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress, would not be started till the 31st day of January 1922, or pending the result of the negotiations undertaken by the Committee of the Malaviya Conference for a Round Table Conference, whichever might be the first date. We do not think that the last clause is strictly within the terms of the understanding arrived at between the Malaviya Conference and Mahatma Gandhi. Negotiations in regard to such an important subject as a Conference to discuss and settle the complex political situation at present, could hardly have been expected to end within ten days or a fortnight, and the only interpretation of the clause which would make it fit in with the understanding, is that it referred to the

starting of negotiations as the result of the Malaviya Conference representations. When once such negotiations had been started, we understood that the suspension of Civil Disobedience would continue till the Malaviya Conference Committee declared that they had broken down. The Malaviya Conference Committee will have a right to complain if, when it was endeavouring to obtain from Government of India a further statement of their views in order to avert the collapse of the Round Table Conference proposal, Mahatma Gandhi should take any step calculated to hinder the free and open consideration of its representations. With the concurrence of Mahatma Gandhi, though he did not actually vote, the Malaviya Conference resolved that "until it is clear beyond any doubt that no other means will secure redress of the country's grievances and the status of full responsible Government, the civil disobedience contemplated by the Ahmedabad Congress ought not to be resorted to." Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has sent from Benares to Mahatma Gandhi a telegram which shows that he takes the same view. He says that, though circumstances may be unfavourable at present, he believes that a Round Table Conference must yet take place. He adds that the Bombay Committee will persevere towards that end. "In my opinion," he concludes, "country's interest demands you should postpone civil disobedience until Committee exhausts its efforts."

It has been objected, by the way, that by its resolution the Malaviya Conference committed itself to the acceptance of Civil disobedience as permissible in an extreme contingency. On the abstract principle, we are unable to see wherein lies the difference between a religious reformer discarding the injunctions of his religion, which he has come to regard as superstitious and degrading, or a social reformer refusing to obey the mandates of caste and custom, which he feels to be absurd or cruel, and facing the ecclesiastical and social penalties of such disobedience, on the one hand, and a citizen adopting civil disobedience to the State in regard to a law or order which he regards as unconscionable and oppressive. What one man may do, a body of men cannot be condemned for doing. But in the latter case it is a practical question how far each individual is prepared by conscience and conviction to undergo the ordeal which all established institutions offer to the dissenter as a test of his personal sincerity and of the worth of his innovation. In an ancient State, every Senator who proposed a change in the constitution, brought forward his proposal with a halter round his neck. If his proposal was accepted, he was acclaimed as a hero. If it failed to get acceptance, he was strangled as a traitor. This is a symbol of what happens to every reformer, religious, social or political. On principle, therefore, we can not and do not rule out civil disobedience as inadmissible in any circumstance whatsoever. But, as we have repeatedly declared, and as Mahatma Gandhi himself will not deny, civil disobedience on any appreciable scale in the present political conditions of India, spells ruinous civil war the result of which is incalculable. A large section of Indians,

and that by no means not the least intelligent or patriotic, while keenly feeling the grievances of the country and strongly holding that the Government policy is utterly unjustifiable, is at the same time seriously apprehensive of the consequences of civil disobedience which, it believes, is a remedy worse than the disease that it is intended to cure. Mahatma Gandhi will be making a serious mistake if he thinks that he need pay no heed to these men so long as he has got a large following among the masses. We have much respect for the Mahatma. But the interests of the country are paramount. Those who are striving to bring about a peaceful settlement can not turn back because Government or Mahatma Gandhi are at the present moment not amenable to their advice. They must persevere seeking by every means to conciliate differences, but determined in any case to avert methods which can only breed strife and disaster.

THE CIVIL MARRIAGE BILL.

The motion to refer Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill to a Select Committee was lost in the Legislative Assembly by two votes, 25 voting for and 27 against it. The ruling of the President at the outset that the acceptance of the motion would commit the Assembly to the principle of the Bill, frightened some timid members into opposition. The most remarkable feature of the debate was the nearly unanimous opposition of Mahomedan members. Only one Mahomedan member voted with the minority, while at least there were nine who went into the opposition lobby. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy opposed the motion but he was the only Parsi who voted against it, while three others of that community supported Dr. Gour's motion. The weight of responsible opinion was in favour of the motion, though, of course, some of the Hindu supporters wished some points relating to succession, family worship and so on made clear in the Select Committee. The oppositionists had for their sole argument the old familiar cry of religion in danger. It is as painful as it is surprising to find foremost among such reactionaries, a gentleman so prominently known for his advanced political views as Mr. T. Rangachariar. Mr. Rangachariar's speech in opposing the motion bordered on the hysterical. His description of the Hindu marriage, however true it might have been in old Vedic times, is hardly true today of at any rate the English-educated class of Hindus.

The two best speeches in the debate were those of Munshi Iswar Saran and Mr. Seshagiri Iyer. Both these gentlemen are sincere Hindus but they recognised that social conditions, and social opinion with it, have changed and are changing. As Munshi Iswar Saran put it, if we take into consideration the changed conditions, it is necessary for the preservation of Hindu society itself to make some change in the marriage laws. Mr. Seshagiri Iyer clearly showed that the declaration required by the present Special Marriage Act has become in practice a mere subterfuge. He said:

Last December I attended a marriage between two persons who were undoubtedly as good Hindus as anybody sitting in

this House, and they had to go through the formality of declaring that they were no longer Hindus before contracting the marriage; unfortunately I was one of those who had to sign the register of this marriage as a witness. I know that subsequently and before the marriage the couple have been living as any good Hindu can be expected to live. Now, the result of saying that as Hindus they cannot contract these mixed marriages is to drive these people to a subterfuge. Is it to the good of the country, is it to the good of the community that these people should be obliged to have recourse to this kind of subterfuge?

Dr. Gour was prepared to make large concessions to meet objectors. If the bulk of Mahomedan opinion was against the Bill, he was prepared to exclude Mahomedans from its purview. So also with Parsis and all other castes and communities. As regards Hindus, he gave a clear undertaking that he would leave the question of collateral succession, the question of adoption, the right of residence in the family dwelling houses, and the question relating to religious endowments, to the Select Committee to decide. He even took exception to the President's ruling that referring the Bill to a Select Committee would commit the Assembly to the principle of the Bill. But all in vain. Bigotry is blind to reason, and bigotry carried the day.

The small majority by which the Bill was thrown out is full of hope. It was admitted at the Assembly that the outside opposition to Dr. Gour's Bill was both in quantity and quality less than that offered to Basu's Bill and Patel's Bill. The Legislative Assembly as at present constituted does not adequately represent the vital, progressive elements in the country. Many of the members have been elected on the strength of their social conservatism, and for them to give a vote in favour of the Bill would have meant political extinction. The next Bill, we hope and trust, will be introduced by a Government which will feel no need to shelter itself behind the meaningless plea of neutrality. It is a hardship and a disgrace that men and women should be obliged to resort to subterfuge to contract marriages beyond the narrow circle of their sub-castes. Those who say that the passing of a permissive civil marriage law, would revolutionise Hindu society, greatly under-rate the enduring principles in which that society is rooted. Hindu society will be the stronger, not the weaker, for a liberalisation of its present cast-iron customary codes of social conduct. With caste and untouchability gone, with child marriages abolished, with women given the fullest opportunity for education, Hindu society will become a great power for good among the nations of the world. A reformed Hindu society alone can give steadiness and strength to the Indian national movement. A divided, weak Hindu society is a source of danger to the body politic, a snare and a temptation to all other communities.

LONDON LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

January 19, 1922.

LABOUR PARTY'S UNPREPAREDNESS.

If any one had asked, about two weeks ago, whether or not, at an early date, there was going to be a general election, the would-be far-sighted politicians

would have answered in a wise and knowing way, certainly, most certainly. It is true that events were all pointing in that direction, and, in consequence, a break-up of the present Coalition was prophesied. The Coalition Liberal Press assumed for certain a General Election in February and Parties were mustering their forces. Labour was apparently preparing for a big struggle and intended to contest about 400 seats out of a possible 602 seats in England, Scotland and Wales. Then a big cry was put up that before the present Ministry went out of office it must complete its present task in Ireland, and an important and totally unexpected hitch occurred at Cannes. At once overwhelming arguments were given against an immediate election until at the present moment responsible opinion is quite against it, and it looks as though the present Ministry has still a longer life to run, even though it be but a few months. Labour could not have been very sure of itself or of its preparedness for an immediate struggle for preponderating parliamentary power, for little seems to be said by its leaders against the postponement of the great day of trial.

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

The Washington Conference is drawing to its close, and though the big humanitarian ideals which brought the Conference into being are not likely to be realised in their entirety this year or, perhaps in the lifetime of the present generation, so much has been done, that we may rightly rejoice at the work of the Conference, and feel fresh hope stimulating us for a further working out of desires and plans for a World Peace. The discussions at Washington have not been all smooth sailing. Many difficult situations have arisen and sometimes it looked as though the real spirit of the Conference was going to evaporate, but in each trying situation the better heart has prevailed, and a working part of the ideal arrived at. The limitation of navies and the ban on the most horrible engines of destruction in war are worthy pacts; and though, when the first flush of enthusiasm dies down, there may creep out from their hiding places the old horrors, it is for the world to see that the pacts now entered into are kept. And the responsibility for keeping these pacts in the spirit and the letter of honour depends not upon one nation alone, but upon all those who have taken part in the Conference, and have accepted the principles there enunciated as being true and right, and what is more, possible for human life in its present stage of development.

IRISH LABOUR PROBLEM.

It looks as though Ireland is going to have her domestic problems angrily thrust upon the notice of her new Parliament even before she settles into her work of Home Rule. A few days ago a labour deputation waited upon Dail Eireann and claimed attention. It appears that Labour's views on the Treaty were not publicly expressed during the time of the negotiations, and it regards the present settlement with little favour. Its avowed aim, so says the Irish Labour correspondent to a big London daily, was to establish a "Workers' Republic." What actually took place between the deputation and the Dail Eireann we do not know, but we do know that a Workers' Republic was not promised by the Dail.

Of course the reason underlying the deputation was the same in Ireland as elsewhere, unemployment; the latter also being the cause of Labour's strength in Ireland at the present time, these being about 900,000 organised workers and the misery and discontent caused by the scarcity of work and consequent lack of life's necessities. But this incident shows that the new Irish Parliament will have immediately to see about constructing a policy to enable the workers to improve their conditions, otherwise the mass of the workers will be against the Government whether it happens to be Irish or English, for to them it will spell capitalism either way, and exploitation.

GEDDES ECONOMY.

What is now known as the Geddes economy axe is threatening education and, as a result, a storm of protest has arisen. It is claimed by the fighters for education that the Council classes are already too large and that smaller classes are necessary; that teachers' salaries must not be decreased, for teaching requires the best of the best people and must be paid for; that schools must be airy, well-built and well-equipped if we would build a worthy people; that one of the fundamentals of a modern nation is the dispelling of ignorance. In short, wherever cuts are made, they must not be made in education; that must be kept inviolate. The Educational Associations Conference met a few days ago at University College. Sir Charles Stewart, Director of Marconi's Wireless Works, who presided, said that in Germany no firm would consider itself properly equipped without seven or eight chemists; the result was that in definite directions they had reaped their reward in research work. He could see no better means of reinstating trade and commerce than through the young men and women who entered on a business life. But at the present time they were not given a fair chance, so far as he could see there was no real machinery for providing for the great mass of young persons leaving school at the age of fourteen. We ought not to be satisfied with this state of things, and great industrial concerns should make themselves sure that those young people were made thoroughly useful to the nation. It was absolutely necessary that the industries themselves should enter upon this work. Continuation and trade schools should be fully and freely used and the curriculum of such schools should be studied with interest by employers, and where it seemed necessary, suggestions should be made as to the subjects. Every factory should either possess a library, or co-operate with a public one.

Professor Gilbert Murray in his speech, dealing with the League of Nations and international Education, at the same Conference, uttered a diatribe against the general newspaper. "The essential trouble", he said, "seemed to be that the newspapers which gave the information on which the country depended for its most vital public and political action, provided it, in a form which, with its twisting and exaggerations made it attractive to an uneducated public."

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE SOCIETY.

It is now three years ago that the Industrial Welfare Society made itself heard in the cry "Humanity in Industry". Evidently it was heard, and, what is

more necessary, understood, for the response was sure and effective. To-day, notwithstanding all the troubles in the English Industrial world, there are about 1,000 welfare workers in the employ of manufacturing firms throughout the country. A short time ago, the society received an enquiry from the Italian Government for details of the movement. Welfare work is indeed very varied and calls for much tact and sympathetic understanding on the part of its workers. There is sick-visiting to be done and first aid treatment in emergency cases, rest rooms to be arranged for, canteens to be organised, sports grounds to be supervised and in every department of activity to make the worker feel that his or her welfare is a matter of concern of the employer. The people chosen by large firms for this work are, as a rule, chosen very carefully. They must be people of about middle age with a good, but not necessarily higher, education. They must be sufficiently conversant with the dangers and temptations besetting youth to guide and advise wherever possible, and sufficiently broad-minded to recognise that an error of youthful ignorance, while it must be paid for, must not be allowed to spoil the whole chances of a life.

KENYA INDIAN DELEGATION.

There is now in England a Deputation, headed by Lord Delamere, representing Kenya European settlers. This Deputation is taking a strong stand for the most outrageous European point of view. In order to counteract its activities, the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress has appointed to represent Kenya Indians a delegation consisting of Messrs. A. M. Jeevanjee, Hy. S. L. Polak, and Colonel Wedgwood, M.P., who will be acting in co-operation with the India Office.

THE CONVERSIONS OF EARLY CHRISTIANS.

(By MR. K. G. KARKARE)

In the *Angelus* of the 15th January, a well-informed article has appeared on this subject. The article is too long, I therefore wish to give only important facts from it. Rev. Manuel de Sa, who has written it draws his own conclusion; I give the facts on which he bases his conclusion, and leave it to your readers to draw their own conclusions.

The Vicar-General of Goa, Fr. Michael Vaz returned from Portugal in 1546 with a letter containing orders from the king to destroy all heathen places of worship, their idols and pagods. Dr. Gerson de Cunha gives a summary of the more important of the twenty-five spontaneous or memoranda into which Bishop Albuquerque divided the said letter:

1. It is the duty of Christian Princes to prevent or put a stop in the dominions to their worship of idols.

2. The king has learnt with regret that the heathens are allowed to perform freely their religious ceremonies in his dominions.

4. He commands the idols to be broken to pieces, and the individuals who make the idols to be punished.

6. That the converts be granted privileges of all sorts, among others that of exemption from forced labour.

10. That a Church be built of the invocation of St. Joseph at Bassein at the expense of his Treasury.

12. That from duties paid at the Custom-house 300 fanegas (a corn measure) of rice be for ever distributed among the new Converts made by the Vicar General Miguel Vas at Chaul.

18. That protection be afforded under the advice of Mestre Francisco to the trade on the Fishery Coast avoiding all aggressions and extortions.

21. That he forbids the heathens to make Christian images for sale.

23. That colleges be built for the instruction and religious education of the Catechumens and also for the heathens, that the latter may receive the light of the Gospel.

25. That the new Christians be well treated in order to gain their affection.—(Origin of Bombay, pp. 136-7).

Fr. Alexander Valignann, the Visitor of the Jesuit Province of Goa, wrote in September 1795:

"As to the first regarding the conversion of infidels in these parts it is not commonly by preaching and teaching, but by other just means, as, by forbidding their idolatries, and by punishing them for such, by denying them favours which can justly be refused, and by giving them to new converts, and by honouring, helping and assisting in need the latter that the former may be converted by these means."—(Archivo Port Or, F. V. No. 1022-II).

Of a like nature were the orders of the Governor of Goa, Francis Barreto (1555-7). Four Jesuits approached the Governor and told him that he would acquire more glorious and immortal renown than he could deserve by the force of his arms in great and famous battles, if he took efficacious means to convert to Christianity all the vassals of the State. With their advice, orders were published with great solemnity in Goa and afterwards extended to the other Portuguese possessions.

"Those orders (provisions) forbade the infidel vassals of the State under grave penalties, all the rites, ceremonies and feasts of the gentiles in our lands; all the offices of the state; to serve as ministers or officials of the king; to administer taxes, there being a Christian, to bid equally on them; it was ordained that the wives of pagans after conversion should have half shares in the property of the house, according to the Laws of Portugal; that the orphans of pagan parents before having the use of reason should be seized and baptized even in case there should be the mother or any direct older relation, and that after they came to the use of reason they should be under Christian guardians until they came to the age of 14 years."—O. C. P. I. O. I. D. 11 S 28).

These laws of Governor Francis Barreto were repealed in 1677 and though they had been passed at the instance of Jesuits, two members of the same order voted against them. In their place a new law we made that orphans who had no direct relations on the paternal or maternal side should be baptized or taken care of by the Pai dos Christaos.

A third way of bringing the heathens to the Faith was to hold grand and imposing ceremonies on the occasion of the conversion of some important person who was in turn expected to exert his influence towards the conversion of others. Such a thing

happened on the occasion of the conversion of the Brahmin Procuniochi in Basseln.

The fourth way which was very fruitful in making conversions was the above law of Francis Barreto whereby the Pai dos Christians at once baptized the infant children of a deceased father even if there was a mother or older direct relations to protest against it. Those who had the use of reason were kept in seminaries or Colleges until they were 14 years old and then baptized if they wished it, else they were sent home.

The Jesuit Father Manoel Godinho, who had been the Pai dos Christians in Thana says that these 'Fathers of the Christians' baptized every year between three hundred and four hundred souls.

Another important ordinance of the Government of Goa which helped the conversions was that "if any brahmin or person prevents a pagan or any other infidel from becoming a Christian or should give advice to this effect, shall be made a prisoner and sentenced to the galleys of the King, my master, and shall forfeit all his property in favour of the works of the blessed Apostle St. Thomas." (Ordinance of D. Constantino de Braganca of the 17th February 1560 Arch P. O. Fix S. Part I No 334.)

The result of all this legislation, which was carried into execution, was that some Brahmins and Pagans fled from the Portuguese possessions leaving their property behind. Commerce suffered. In Salsette of Goa the most fertile fields remained uncultivated for want of persons to farm them.

The immediate successor of Dom Constantine found that the Ordinance of his predecessor should be mitigated and in 1561 passed another that the pagans who had fled on their return should have their houses and property restored to them. Dom Constantino had ordered that 'If all the pagans who had gone out of this and because they said that they made them Christians by force, did not return within a certain time they should lose all their property' (lb No. 391).

The legislation with regard to the Conversions was communicated from one part of the Portuguese possession to the other parts. The following is the royal order on the subject dated 1st March 1571 :

"I the King, make it known to those who see this alvara (order) that I find it good and it pleases me that my orders, which are passed in favour of Conversion and Christianity of some parts of India be communicated, fulfilled and kept in all the other parts where there is Christianity, in those matters, which can be applied to them." (B. I. No. 710).

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

With many others I regret to see such a sane judgment as yours, and a man so level-headed, taking the side of those who in the least degree countenance civil disobedience, and give a place even to the probability of adopting a course which will result in breaking the laws of the land. Surely you are aware that you are heading straight for civil war with all its

horror, and for the postponement of the opportunity and even of the capability of self-government. Are the Reforms so lately introduced unworthy to be tried and used as means of progress? They are meant to be such. Are they to be scorned and thrust aside for the delusion of some swifter method of attaining what your countrymen prove in countless ways they are not yet capable of performing? Turn back from being a mere copyist and from following with the hot-headed crowd. Give your readers safer and cooler advice. Keep to Social Reform and avoid the extreme of Politics.

I would commend to your remembrance the words of the poet:—

"How few of all the ills that men endure

Are those that Kings and Crowns can cause or cure."

and the wise saying of one of India's great sons, now I fear being forgotten, "The longer one lives, observes and thinks, the more deeply does he feel, there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted, or self-assumed, and, therefore avoidable evils than the Hindu community."

RAJA SIR T. MADHAVA ROW, K. C. S. I.

and also the opinion of one of the sincere lovers of India, who worked and thought for her good through long years,

"The permanent remedies for the poverty (and other evils) of India rest with the people themselves."

SIR W. W. HUNTER, L. L. D., C. S. I.

There is no objection whatever to the wise criticizing of Government. Government would welcome such. It is the way of constitutional Reform and advance. But to suppose that any Government on earth will in any way allow its laws to be flouted and its measures to keep peace and order for all its peoples to be called 'repression' is to suppose that Government will cease to perform its functions.

Dear Mr. Editor, try to walk on the slope that leads to a precipice.

I am not acquainted with Mr. Gandhi, nor have even seen him or heard him. So I have formed no decided opinion as to his character or intentions. He may be a very well-meaning man and a sincere patriot. I don't know. But I do know that it is possible for me to form an opinion as to his methods; and I don't approve of them. He is no true reader of human nature. He has no clear vision of the future, still less has he planned out a clear course to reach it. He has no real conception of what Swaraj means. His cry for Swaraj within a year, for *khaddar* and *charka*, as the panacea for the evils of the present state of things are all mere child's play, and have nothing of the vision of a statesman. How could he come within 1000 miles of guiding India in all the complexity of its relationship? He may have beautiful ideas but they are not to become fact not by the methods he advises.

Urge your readers, Mr. Editor, to cease vain aspirations. Tell them to keep on the path of steady progress by constitutional means. Let them observe strict self-control, and the promotion of brotherhood; let them seek to eradicate social wrongs, caste unfriendliness; to ally accept all methods of co-operation,—which is the law of life,—and so, strongly the power and knowledge gained through years of increasing experience, find the greater reforms to be acquired by self-development.

Madras,

31st January, 1922.

G. H. M.

[Our correspondent writes under a misapprehension. We have repeatedly declared that in the present state of the country, civil disobedience means nothing less than devastating civil war, and we are doing our best to avert such a disaster in any shape or form. But we do feel that a people may be driven by bad Government to civil disobedience as a last desperate resort, and what we are anxious about is that that may not happen in India under British rule. Our correspondent is good enough to give us credit for sane judgment, and we hope he does not think that we have suddenly lost our sanity. If he understood the situation as we do, he would not think very differently from us. —Ed.—I. S. R.]

SELF-DISINFECTION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I hope you will allow me some space to reply to the extract from the *Shield* which you quote in your issue of the 15th instant. I must begin by saying that the article in the *Shield* seems to be written by an extremely careless writer and this makes me very doubtful about his statements. I shall point out only one instance of this. He wants to know if Mr. Charles Gibbs is right or wrong in his opinion that gonorrhoea is frequently infected directly into the urethral canal and is therefore quite unaffected by outside application. Obviously Mr. Gibbs is entirely right, but who ever advocated any outside application against gonorrhoea?

This simply shows that the writer has not studied the subject on which he undertakes to write an article. These moral people are so anxious to prove their point that they do not think it necessary to obtain information, or perhaps they think it immoral to obtain it! The disinfection methods which are considered safe by the greatest authorities include an irrigation of the urethral canal, which is intended to reach gonorrhoea germs. The kind of misstatement this writer indulges in prevents one from believing even in his statistics, especially when they differ from other peoples'. Here are some.

Dr. Sabouraud (St. Louis Hospital) wrote in 1918 in the *Presse Médicale*: From previous statistics it appears that, in peace times, from 7 to 8 p. c. of American Soldiers who had chance intercourse were contaminated. The proportion rose to 12 and 15 p. c. during the Cuban and Philippine wars. With the prophylactic measures now in use, it is only 1.2 p. c. In one prophylactic surgery at Bordeaux which I know, 1,000 soldiers submitted to prophylactic treatment between July 25 and November 10 of last year, without their afterwards exhibiting a single case of contamination due either to gonorrhoea or soft chancres or syphilis.... By quite analogous prophylactic remedies, the Australian army has presented only one case of contamination out of a thousand men (*British Medical Journal*).

Dr. Salmon (Institut Pasteur) wrote in the *Bulletin Medical* (1906): Krauss of Vienna has practised preventive instillations in some regiments of the Austrian Army, and venereal morbidity has decreased. Lesser, Tandler have published observations collected on German ships. While the sailors thus treated preventively nearly all escaped, others caught venereal disease. A medical student, being convinced of the efficacy of the method, offered himself to be experimented upon. Inoculated with the pus of two syphilitic chancres, then rubbed with calomel ointment, he did not catch the disease.

Dr. Chastang, Fleet-Surgeon, wrote in 1914 (*Presse Médicale*): So far, indeed, to my knowledge, no man who has been submitted to preventive treatment under medical control, has presented a specific chancre case.

Dr. Frank Kidd states (Report of Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases). If within one or two hours of connection the man injects into the urethra a little 10 p. c. protargol in petroleum jelly, he will never contract the disease. Dr. Balzer (Physician to St. Louis Hospital) wrote in 1915: This excellent preventive prophylaxis, practised by the doctor, has yielded the best results in the United States, in Italy, and in France, in the Army Corps in which it has been adopted.

Sir William Osler, the greatest authority on medicine at present in England, and author of a standard work, says:

The evidence before us (Report of the Birth-Rate Commission) is that these measures carried out in a proper way, are effective. It has been shown in the Army—in the American Army—that prophylaxis immediately after the act is a measure that can be effectively carried out..... I do not think there can be any question in view of the experience of such an expert as Colonel Walker and others. He quotes from a letter from Colonel Bullock of the American Army (a clergyman): Upto the present there has been no authenticated case where either V. D. G. or V. D. S. has developed after the use of the prophylactic tube and the medicated irrigation within twenty-four hours after exposure to infection.

In the same report we find even Dr. E. B. Turner who takes a moral point of view admitting that if he wanted to kick over the traces, he believed he could succeed in protecting himself from any risk whatever (p 234).

In the same, Sir Bryan Donkin says: My opinion is that permanganate of potash is sufficient to rely upon as a prophylactic for both diseases used if immediately after the act.

A question for Moralists: In order to safeguard the doubtful morals of the few who are deterred by fear from illicit intercourse, are we to endanger the health and the lives of those innocents who are infected without intercourse or illicit intercourse, whose number, as Sir William Osler, says, far exceeds that of the guilty so far as syphilis is concerned?

None but a confirmed traditionalist can approve of this cruelty.

Yours sincerely,
R. D. KARVE.

[Why does Mr. Karve ignore the statistics referred to by the *Shield* of the extraordinarily high percentage of infection in the British Army on the Rhine and the Baltic, instituted in self-disinfection? Ed, I S R.]

INDIANS ABROAD.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

The present time is critical not only in the history of India but also that of Indians abroad. Efforts are being made by the Union Government to get rid of the Indian population there, our countrymen in Kenya have to face a great agitation by the European Colonists, while the condition of our brethren in Fiji is growing worse every day. The troubles and difficulties of these people are too numerous to be related here.

At this time when India is passing through a crisis, it cannot be expected that the Indian public will be able to devote a great deal of attention to the problems of Indians abroad, still it is our duty to do something for these unfortunate countrymen of ours. We cannot neglect them altogether.

With this view in our mind we have decided to do propaganda work for the colonial Indians in an organised way. We shall be thankful if our countrymen in the colonies will send to us regularly accounts of their difficulties, which will be circulated here through the English and Vernacular papers. Any suggestions for proper organisation of this work will oblige us.

Satyagrah Ashram
Sabarwadi.

Yours etc,
Tota Ram Sureshya,
Benarsi Das Chaturvedi.

UNTOUCHABILITY IN THE WEST.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Lynchings, burnings and lootings of the 'Niggers' on the slightest pretext—their segregation—denial to them of

the commonest civic rights—much less equality of civic opportunity—separate hotels (even for the 'Hindus')—separate trams—separate compartments in trains—separate schools, colleges and what not—separation and segregation all round to this day! Is this not untouchability enough and to spare? And this going on in your self-righteous correspondent's own jolly 'democratic' country! Are pogroms in Russia and S. Africa entirely things of the past? In Europe, it is enough to mention the Jewish ghetto, and in America, the Indian reservations. What are these but rank forms of untouchability, *etc.*, and unapproachability too? Surely it does not lie in A. G. M.'s mouth (though he patted you, Sir, a thousand times over) to harp on the mote in his Hindun neighbour's eye whilst he is blind to the beam in his own.

Yours etc.,

S. D. NADKARNI.

Karwar, 1, Feb. 22.

[Two wrongs do not make a right.—ED., I. S. R.]

THE MALAVIYA CONFERENCE.

(The Modern Review.)

We consider the object and deliberations of the Conference to be very important. . . . It has been objected that only the Liberals and the Independents present thoroughly identified themselves with it, that the Non-co-operators did not at all take part in it; and that Mr. Gandhi, who attended on behalf of the Non-co-operators adopted an attitude of aloofness. Mr. Gandhi has fully explained his position and attitude in his speeches and in *Young India*. Our opinion is that the settlement desired to be arrived at is really and practically to be effected between the conflicting views, aims and attitude of Government on the one hand and the Congressists or Non-Co-operators on the other. Therefore, if the absence of one of the parties, *etc.*, the Non-co-operators, be brought forward as an objection, we do not see why the absence of a representative or representatives of Government is not also to be considered an objection. Perhaps the objection under discussion is based on the conception that Government stands in the position of an Earthly Providence and, therefore, anybody representing the People or any section of it, who wants to have anything to do with Government, must "approach" it as a suppliant. That is not the opinion of Non-co-operators, as we understand it, nor is it ours. Whoever speaks for the People is an equal of anybody else. Mr. Gandhi, we take it, meant to say this in effect, when he said some time ago that there should be no leggar in the Round Table Conference. If our view is correct, the function of the gentlemen who met at Bombay at much sacrifice of time and money arranged the preliminaries of a Round Table Conference between Government and the people's representatives. That neither official delegates nor Non-co-operators attended the Conference does not take away a jot from the usefulness and importance of the Conference, and is therefore, no valid objection.

Another objection brought forward is that Mr. Gandhi refused to suspend the enlistment of the People's Volunteers during the truce. We do not see the force of this objection. Has Government been requested by the objectors to keep in abeyance the appointment of policemen and other officials, who in addition to their ordinary duties, may be employed for purposes of repression, should the Round Table Conference not come off or should it be infructuous? The objectors forget that the Conference must be between equals, and, therefore, whatever condition is laid down for one party, must be laid down for the other party too; we mean the identical condition or an equivalent condition.

THE SADHU AND MR. GANDHI

The Sadhu has authorized us to state that he received a very kind invitation from Mr. Gandhi to pay the latter a personal visit at his *ashram* in Gujerat and that he spent two days there on his way to Bombay. It would be beyond our province to speak of the personal fellowship between these two great sons of India but it is permissible to report that there was genuine admiration for one another, that Mr. Gandhi investigated for himself the motives leading the Sadhu to a full consecration of himself to Christ, and that the Sadhu had equal freedom in cross-questioning Mr. Gandhi concerning his methods of agitation. After the evening meal Mr. Gandhi introduced the Sadhu to his household and *ashram* students and asked the Sadhu to speak to all assembled in whatever way he might desire, the Sadhu giving a plain Gospel address, followed by intimate fellowship with individual students. Concerning the problems of the hour, Mr. Gandhi sends to West through the Sadhu the message that he desires India to have nothing but friendship with the world on an equal footing with all other countries, while the Sadhu made quite plain his profound disapproval of Mr. Gandhi's present methods, telling him in so many words that they can lead India to nothing but ruin and useless suffering.—The *Dayanodaya*.

WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

Miss Sadie Miller writes to us:

The Women's Christian Temperance Union of India has just had its triennial convention, one of the most successful that has ever been held by the ladies of that organization. The last one was held in Lucknow. This one was held in Madras from the 26-31 of January and marks a great epoch in the history of the W. C. T. U. for India.

Many of you know Miss Mary Campbell, the W. C. T. U. World organizer, who has been to so many parts of India and done such successful work. At this convention it was decided that she return to U. S. America for the national convention of that country which has seen prohibition for several years. This will be held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in the month of November 1922. The ladies of America are known the world around for their great leadership in this worthy cause.

The Presidential address given by Mrs. F. R. Price who is the national President was one of great credit to her as well as the splendid way in which she conducted the entire convention throughout. She enumerated the various ways in which women of to-day are doing their part in the progress and betterment of conditions everywhere in the world.

In this address we were reminded of the fact that the W. C. T. U. was born in prayer. In the State of Ohio, U. S. A. one woman who was tremendously interested in the welfare of the boys and men of her country as well as her own sons and her husband, began this good work by praying that the saloons should be wiped out of her town. She soon had others following her and in the course of time several scores of Godly women and mothers were joining in this splendid work.

This mother's little girl had a grand part in it too for she requested her mother to read, at the prayer meeting, the 146 psalm. The W. C. T. U. had made this one of its most favorite psalms ever since.

These earnest women did more than these Temperance workers are doing today, in that they went in couples to the liquor shops, prayed for and pleaded with hardened rum-sellers to throw away their intoxicants and close down their public houses. You would perhaps call that picketing today in India.

A power beyond all human effort or expectation was in those prayers to the God of heaven and earth and great bar-

rels of alcoholic drinks were rolled out of the shops, their heads burst in and the streets literally ran red with wine and other liquors.

The business was given up by many rum-sellers, never to be resumed again. This spread to twenty-five towns in the State and then from State to State until in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1871 it crystallized in the organization known as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. From the United States it spread from nation to nation and in 1883 it was proposed to have an international organization. Mrs. Margaret B. Lucas of England was its first President, Francis Willard was its founder. Miss Willard was President from 1891-98, Lady Henry Somerset from 1900 to 1906. The Countess of Carlisle was elected in 1906.

Lady Carlisle died in 1921 the middle of the year. She was a most capable woman. After the birth of a daughter who was not given the welcome as a son would have received by near friends, Lady Carlisle decided she would do more than she ever had for the uplift of womanhood and bring her status where she felt it belonged. The W. C. T. U. has been the means of giving woman her place and not putting a discount on her simply because she is woman. Some one told Lady Carlisle she should have been Prime Minister for England to which she replied—I lived too soon for that.

A memorial service was held for these splendid ladies who had done so much for the temperance cause, especially in the W. C. T. U. Ladies Carlisle, Somerset, Mrs. Debold Sunder and Mrs. Stephens, all having passed to their reward since the last national convention. Mr. Donald Sunder, husband of Mrs. Sunire, very thoughtfully and graciously sent greetings to the convention, as well as presenting beautiful banners to both the Bengal Divisional and National conventions, in behalf of his wife. He is one of the best friends of the W. C. T. U. in giving splendid financial help to the association from time to time. We need more such friendly gentlemen for the work we are proposing to do as a forward movement in this great cause.

Many excellent papers were read showing what work has been done the last two years. One kind gentleman has kindly presented a lovely Union Jack to the Association to be given to the Division which makes the greatest progress in gaining numbers from one convention to another. The Bombay Division has been a back number until the last year and a half some have wakened up, been busy, so that the Union Jack came to them as a prize to be held until some other division outdoes them. Will not the people all over Bombay Presidency lend a helping hand in this great work of Temperance and help to form new W. C. T. U., Young People's Branches, Loyal Temperance Legions, and Blue Ribbon Units so as to get all informed as to the evil effects of Alcohol on the human body? You will be helping make the empire prohibition by helping this organization.

There is a place for every boy and girl, man and woman, in these different divisions. No excuse for any one to be exempted. He who is not for temperance is against it. In union is strength, the higher the number the greater the strength.

The second evening Mr. Legh, I. C. S. was chairman of the convention and gave a splendid address. We sometimes hear people say government opposes the work against the liquor traffic but feel sure this is a mistake. Mr. Legh constantly uses his influence against liquor and showed in candid terms the evils of alcoholic drinks. Miss Campbell who meets government people everywhere wants all to know that government lends a helping hand to any sane method of procedure against the use of liquor.

Rao Bahadur Kandaswamy Chetty gave a good paper also on what the W. C. T. U. stands for, the work of women in these modern times and how we can help to bring about prohibition. He believes firmly in the education of women. The men are what women make them therefore theirs is the greater mission in life, with such a wife influence. He believes in prayer and the fact that the W. C. T. U. was born in prayer has much faith in what this organization accomplishes. He felt the fact that women had done so much good in the world, it is a pity they did not begin sooner, especially in India.

The Sunday services throughout the city, some ten different churches, were conducted by ladies of the conference, each on giving a temperance address about half of these being given in either Tamil or Telugu, so that Madras has received much new information on Temperance through this convention. The report of the proceedings, with two separate leaflets containing the president's address and the address of Mr. Kandaswamy Chetty will be printed so that any one wishing these can receive them by ordering from headquarters of the Literature Dept., Deaconess Home, Lucknow, conducted by Miss Joan Davis. Don't fail to get these for they are full of good things and first hand information.

There are now eight different divisions organized and others will be added as the work progresses. They are Assam, Bengal, Bombay, Central Provinces, Madras, Punjab, Rajputana, United Provinces. South India has yet much to be done. The help of all who are interested and willing is solicited.

The efficient help of several lady doctors has given the W. C. T. U. literature on the evil effects of alcohol, narcotics and the many other drugs that are doing so much ruin in India today. These together with a well outlined course for scientific teaching in schools, has been adopted and mission schools are taking it up as fast as possible so as to get the young properly informed about the effect of these on the human body. Some of the ladies go home with the thought and hope of getting it introduced also in the Government schools that no one need be ignorant any longer concerning these poisons and what misery and ruin they really do cause. All who know about prohibition in U. S. A. know that this was the largest step toward winning the day for the States. If such a course could be made compulsory in schools to be taught there it would be very agreeable indeed and give all interested a great hope for the same results that were forthcoming there.

OFFICIAL

The Temperance Record organ of the W. C. T. U. for India, has been very ably edited by Miss M. E. Archibald, of Chicago, Madras Presidency. At this meeting the Record and Indian Temperance news submerged and will hereafter be known as *Temperance News and White Ribbon*. It will be edited by the W. C. T. U. but a number of pages in it furnished by a member of the staff of the former Temperance news, a gentleman, so that the magazine, a monthly, will be one of greater interest than either has been hitherto. This Magazine is printed at 41, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

AN INTER-PROVINCIAL MARRIAGE.

The marriage of Shrimati Sushila, B. A. grand daughter of R. B. Diwan Kearamai with Mr. Sachindra Nath Sarcar, nephew of Sir Nil Ratan Sarcar took place at Karachi on the 28th January according to Brahma rites. Bhai Sitaram of Lahore acted as a Minister. The marriage was registered under Act 3 of 1872.

A RESOLUTION IN A FOREST.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Kindly spare a short space of your esteemed weekly for the following:—

I am in a forest, where love, joy and freedom blow freely and profusely. The hills which surround me, cover themselves in green 'sarees' like bashful maidens. The high cliffs which stand at the farthest end expose shame-facedly their baldness and nudity wishing perhaps to pass for sages. The birds soar up high in the sky. They bathe their silky wings and tender limbs in the bright rays of the morning sunshine. The purest mountain air fills up their lungs. They drink deep the splendour and vigour of the God-created world. Beauty and joy burst on them. They break into music and love pours down from their eyes. They descend slowly and settle themselves on the branches of a neighbouring tree. I am convinced that God has created this world neither as a prison nor as a hell to make us suffer for the 'sins of the past lives.' Here comes no priest with his old Sanskrit books to kill God's laws and to poison their *jio de vivre*. I uttered the word 'Priest' in such a disgust that it caught the ear of one of the birds. The bird asks another bird "Ma cherie, what is a priest?" 2nd Bird:—Suppose my jahan (a pet name for a male young one of a bird) loves your mimi and your mimi also loves my jahan the priest blesses them.

1st Bird—Oh! let us have him, but my mimi is only one month old! How can I say she will love your jahan, when she grows up.

2nd Bird:—When a priest marries them, she must love my jahan.

1st Bird:—And your jahan will not love my mimi, what has the priest to say?

2nd Bird:—He says my Jahan can have ten mimis, if he wants, but your mimi must have no other jahan. If my Jahan dies before your mimi begins to love him, her God-given silky wings are to be pecked out. She must mourn and she must die.

At this answer, mimi's mother got so much frightened that she fainted and fell on the ground. This created a sensation amongst all the birds. They came to hear the frightful account. When mimi's mother recovered her senses, to calm her motherly heart, they all said "This lovely forest is out of bounds to all priests and our heartiest sympathies go to the victims of so-called religion."

A Forester.

Jawhar 29-12-21.

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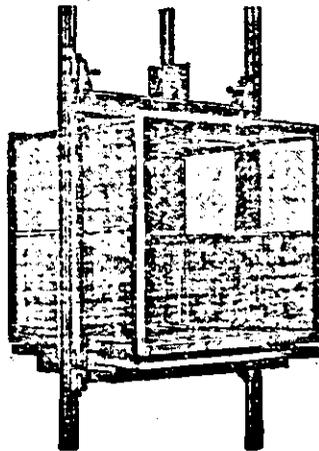
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Vol. XXXII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1922. No. 23

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

10:

The Latest Non-Co-operation Tragedy: In a leading article we point out the bearing of the murderous outbreak at Chauri Chaura in the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces, on the contemplated civil disobedience at Bardoli in the Bombay Presidency. The outbreak seems to have had for its proximate cause the frustration by the police of an attempt on the part of Congress volunteers to picket the bazar and to prevent the sale of fish, drugs and liquor. It is reported also that an Ahir, a Government pensioner, an ex-convict who had become a volunteer was called up and threatened with deprivation of his pension. The volunteers determined three days later to picket the bazar forcibly and overawe all opposition by numbers. They attacked the police station with bricks, burnt it down, and murdered all the twenty-one policemen and officers at the station, and threw their bodies on to the fire. Two of the rioters are reported to have been killed. A noteworthy feature of this incident is that there is no disposition on the part of the local Congress officials to dispute the facts as given in the official version. In fact, the messages sent out by the latter, are much more lurid and they frankly acknowledge that non-violent Non-co-operation has been absolutely discredited in Gorakhpur. In a foot-note to a statement signed by several citizens who visited the scene, including Syed Sobhanulla, President of the District Congress Committee, this gentleman says that he had witnessed the affair himself and "it was really such a horrible scene that non-violence in this district appears to be impossible and, therefore, I append my signature to this report."

The Malaviya Committee and the Gorakhpur Affair: In spite of the discourteous response of His Excellency the Viceroy the explosive epistles of Mahatma Gandhi, and the scoffing of a section of the Press, the Malaviya Committee in Bombay persisted in its work of finding a means to facilitate a settlement. The Gorakhpur tragedy gave it an unexpected and undesired opening of which it has not been slow to avail itself. The indelible veteran, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, had been called up

from Benares for consultation on the situation created by the Mahatma's ultimatum to Government and the Government reply to it. Mahatma Gandhi had also been invited to come to Bombay, and the whole of Thursday the members of the Malaviya Committee and the Mahatma had a very frank and full discussion from which fruitful results are expected. A meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress was to have been held at Bardoli yesterday, and the Pandit and some other members of the Bombay Committee had been invited to attend it. There is every reason to hope that the projected civil disobedience at Bardoli will be practically abandoned and the whole programme of Non-co-operation revised so as to facilitate the endeavours of the Malaviya Committee to devise a means of conciliation consistent with the best interests of the country.

The East African Debate in the Legislative Assembly: Though Mr. Agnihotri's motion in the Legislative Assembly on Thursday related to the position of Indians in all parts of Africa, it virtually narrowed itself down to a discussion of Mr. Winston Churchill's recent speech to the East African deputation in London. The two remarkable features of the debate were the opposition to the motion, of the two representatives of British Commerce in India in sympathy with their fellow-Whites in East Africa, and the absolute silence of Government as to whether Mr. Churchill spoke for himself or for the Cabinet. Mr. Sarma's speech on behalf of Government does not at all make it clear whether the Government of India itself had been consulted in the matter. Surely there was sufficient time for Government to have ascertained by cable the real inwardness of the Colonial Secretary's pronouncement, and we can hardly imagine that it had not done so. Mr. Sarma's reticence, therefore, leaves on us the uneasy feeling that Mr. Churchill spoke not for himself but as the mouthpiece of the Cabinet. Mr. Sarma's plea that the political situation in India made it difficult for Government to plead the cause of Indians in East Africa, is palpably absurd, considering that in the most peaceful times, representations on behalf of Indians received no better consideration. It is more true to say that the speech of the Colonial Secretary has worsened the political situation in India than that the political situation brought about the speech.

The Mopla Waggon Tragedy: A Reuter's telegram contained the comments of an English newspaper on the report of the Knapp Committee which enquired into the circumstances of the death by asphyxiation of some sixty Mopla convicts in a railway waggon on the South Indian Railway. The Madras papers thereupon strongly criticised the action of the local Government in not publishing in the country a report of such importance simultaneously with its publication in England. The Government of Madras has now published a telegram giving a summary of the findings of the Committee which they sent to the Government of India for

transmission to the Secretary of State. They naively state that they had no idea that publication in England was contemplated in advance of publication in India. The use of vans for the conveyance of prisoners is justified, but the failure to submit each van for inspection before use is condemned, and the responsibility for such failure assigned to the Railway Company (which has no soul to be damned nor body to be kicked) and its local representative, the Traffic Inspector. May not the Railway Company urge in its own justification what Government urge in justification of its officials that over 2,000 prisoners had been conveyed in similar vans (without separate inspection for ventilation) on 32 different journeys! No wonder the London paper calls this "sickening, shuffling hypocrisy"!

India in Parliament: It is announced that an amendment relating to India to the address in reply to the King's speech, will be moved in the House of Commons on Tuesday next. We hope that Mr. Montagu and the Prime Minister will have something to say upon their policy in India which will be less of a declaration of bankrupt statesmanship than Lord Curzon's declarations in the House of Lords. The ex-Viceroy practically closed the door of conciliation and opened wide the portals of repression as the sole remaining expedient for the pacification of India. There will be no further constitutional reform. Repression and suppression are to be the order of the day. We wonder that Lord Curzon has not learnt the lesson of the Partition agitation which owed its origin to his imperious imperialism. He does not understand the temper of the country which has vastly changed since he drew his memorable contrast between the veracity of the East and the West. It is most unfortunate that His Majesty's Government should have no better spokesman in the House of Lords than this ex-Viceroy who may be said with truth to have originated the policy of exasperating the Indian people which has borne such bitter fruit under his successors.

Cow Protection in Canada: The excellent monthly, the *Social Welfare* of Toronto for December, is a child welfare number. In the course of an important article on milk as an essential food, we read: "The people of Canada have gradually been learning the value of having healthy milk. They have, however, been sadly lacking in an appreciation of the value of milk as a food, as a food for adults but more especially for children. This appreciation can only be gained by a movement of popular education—hence the milk campaign. People were gradually getting out of the habit of drinking milk. This was especially true of children. A survey of 14 schools in a Canadian city revealed the rather astounding fact that only three-fifths of the children were milk-drinkers. The need of correcting this condition was obvious to organizations and individuals interested in child welfare, so the co-operation of the leaders of the milk industry was secured to re-educate the public in a revived appreciation of the value of milk. These health workers did so at the risk of being accused of boasting what is supposed to be a closed and lucrative combine. The movement was justifiable and justified. Canadian boys were taught that milk makes muscle; their sisters that milk was the true secret of that "schoolgirl complexion." You see it was necessary to cater to both sexes. Cabinet ministers milked cows at public meetings. The return in milk was scanty but the publicity was excellent—for the movement if not for the cow. The cow bids fair to regain her ancient prestige as a sacred animal. This is fitting, for she is the fountain of one of our most essential foods." The progress of the movement in a very modern country like Canada to restore "the ancient prestige" of the cow as "a sacred animal," ought to be of

great interest to us in India where, happily, the sanctity of the cow is yet a living faith though often sadly neglected in practice.

A New Version of Caste: No apologist of the *Varnashrama Dharma*, not even the Maharaja of Dur-bangab, has ever put forward such an absolute and uncompromising plea for a rigid, iron-bound caste system as President Harding did in the remarkable address on the Negro question which we print to-day by the courtesy of Professor Hannum of the American Foreign Press Service. "Politically and economically," said the President, "there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, for limitations of the individualist's opportunity, provided that on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial." He would inculcate in the coloured race the wish to improve itself as a distinct race with a heredity, a set of traditions, an array of aspirations all its own. "Out of such racial ambitions and pride will come natural segregations, without narrowing any rights, such as are proceeding in both rural and urban communities now in southern states, satisfying natural inclinations and adding notably to happiness and contentment." Our American Christian missionary friends, we trust, will have something to say to this new Hardingian *Varnashrama*, while our upholders of caste, we are sure, will hail the President as a modern Rishi endorsing their own inveterate prejudices.

A Pioneer Women's College. Along with the bright and sprightly quarterly which records the sayings and doings of the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, we have received a copy of the *Lal Bagh Review* containing a record of the progress made by the Pioneer Women's College in India during the twenty-five years, 1896-1920. The Review is a brief history of higher education for women in upper India, and should find a prominent place in any list of publications relating to social reform. The Hon. Mr. Chintamani, speaking at another Christian College in Lucknow the other day, paid a high and well-deserved tribute to the work of educational institutions conducted by Christian Missions. Among such institutions the Isabella Thoburn College will always occupy an important place. We wish the institution a long life of ever-increasing usefulness and prosperity.

Malabar Relief Fund. We are requested to announce that there will be a musical concert in aid of the Malabar Relief Fund, Bombay, under the distinguished patronage of Lady Meherbai Dorabji Tata on Sunday the 12th instant at 5-30 P. M. in Sir Cowaji Jehangir Hall. The infant musician, Master Manbar Barve who, we are told, is a musical prodigy, will entertain the public of Bombay with his music. The Hon. Dr. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Kt., L. L. D., will make an appeal on behalf of the Malabar Relief Fund. The rates of tickets are Rs. 10, Rs. 7, Rs. 5, Rs. 3, Rs. 2 and Re. 1. Tickets can be had and seats may be reserved at the Sir Cowaji Jehangir Hall on Sunday the 12th instant from 12 Noon to 5 P.M.

Treatment of Leprosy. The January issue of "Without the Camp," the quarterly magazine of the Mission to Lepers, records progress in many directions of the work of the Mission during last year. It calls attention to the definite advance made in the medical treatment of leprosy, adding that while it is not possible so far to say if permanent results have been obtained, undoubtedly advance has been made of a most encouraging character. We print today an account of the hopeful results obtained under the Mission's auspices in Korea by Dr. Wilson of Kwangju.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1922.

CHAURI CHAURA AND BARDOLI.

We had just time last week to indicate in a few sentences our general impression of the open letter which Mahatma Gandhi had addressed to the Viceroy. What strikes one most unpleasantly on first reading it, is its pragmatic tone which accentuates the general confusion of issues throughout the letter. The sum and substance of it is that Bardoli is to refuse to pay taxes in order to vindicate the freedom of the press, freedom of speech and freedom of association that have been infringed by recent Government measures. The Bombay Presidency, and Bardoli, have not been subjected to these measures. The only reason for the selection of this Taluka for the first adoption of civil disobedience, is that Mahatma Gandhi believes that the movement has the most chances of success there because, let it be frankly said, the Bombay Government may be relied upon to deal with it with due regard to justice and humanity. Thus, for its virtues the Bombay Government is to be penalised by being made to bear the first shock of civil disobedience. The unfair, unjust and ill-judged choice of a Taluka in the one Presidency where Non-Co-operationists have been treated with the most consideration, must be evident to all thinking men. The Government of Bombay has been harrassed beyond all other provincial Governments by the random efforts to capture the machinery of municipalities for Non-Co-operation purposes, and this choice of Bardoli as the scene of the first experiment in civil disobedience caps them all. That Government has been virtually forced by the erratic action of the non-co-operationists in the municipalities of Sarat and Ahmedabad to suspend these bodies. What action they may have to take to deal with the civil disobedience at Bardoli, we do not know, but whatever it may be, if it is characterised by the same strength of patience and forbearance as their attitude in the case of the municipalities, they may be assured of public support in the same measure.

We have condemned in unsparing terms the policy of wholesale arrests and prosecutions adopted in other provinces since November last, and the procrastination in redressing the grievances of the people. In view of these serious delinquencies of Government, the essential unsoundness and weakness of many of the items of the non-co-operation programme have for the time being been forced into the background. We have urged the reversal of the repressive policy and the adoption of early steps to settle all outstanding questions by a Conference, as a necessary step in the process of averting civil disobedience and other non-co-operation methods. The refusal of Government to call such a Conference has greatly embarrassed efforts to this end, but the consequences of civil disobedience at present are bound to be so disastrous to the country as a whole that we cannot allow the failure of Government to affect our attitude towards it. When civil disobedience was proposed to be undertaken in

November last, the disgraceful Bombay riots came as a rude reminder that the line between non-violence and violence in movements affecting large masses of people is so thin as to be imperceptible. The Bombay riots came as a thunder-clap on the fond hopes of non-co-operation leaders, and they were obliged to cry halt for the time being to the movement of civil disobedience. The brutal murder reported last week of seventeen policemen at Chauri Chaura in the Gorakhpur district in the United Provinces exceeds in its calculated ferocity anything that has happened before. If the Bombay riots were a reason to postpone civil disobedience, the Chauri Chaura massacre is a strong reason for abandoning it altogether. We trust that Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues on the Working Committee of the Congress will take immediate steps to stop the contemplated action at Bardoli. If they do not do so, they will discredit themselves finally in the eyes of all thinking persons in the country.

It is high time that the fallacy that a mass movement originating in and depending for its momentum on the persistence in and repetition of wrongs by Government, can be non-violent for any length of time, is recognised and abandoned. Malegaon, Malabar, Bombay, and now Chauri Chaura, cry aloud against it. Insatiable, indeed, should be the thirst for slaughter which in the face of these terrible precedents, asks for further proof that non-violent non-co-operation has failed repeatedly as a practical programme. Mr. C. F. Andrews in one of his illuminating addresses to students, has well pointed out that there may be certain forms of violence far more terrible than that which is physical. He has shown how absurd is the limitation which only thinks of violence as meaning the use of physical force. He has given illustrations of "mental violence far more deadly than a blow with the fist." As a matter of fact, physical violence almost always is but the manifestation of mental violence. The most noteworthy exception is the surgeon using the knife as a means of healing. Even the administering of physical chastisement to children by parents has become inadmissible because in practice few parents are able to prevent their filial love for the moment from being clouded by the angry passion which is subjectively invoked by the administration of violence. Persistently to provoke violent emotions in the mass-mind and preach non-violence at the same time to the crowd, can have no effect except that of deluding oneself into a sense of false security. Mr. Hasrat Mohani had logic on his side when he said at Ahmedabad that either non-co-operation should be given up or non-violence because the two can never function together except in a few highly disciplined minds. It is better to acknowledge that violence is admissible and strictly control and regulate such violence, than to proclaim non-violence which, in effect, has meant uncontrolled and insensate violence in Malegaon, Bombay, and Chauri Chaura. As between the violence of the organised force of Government and that of unorganised mobs, the former, with its many shortcomings and failures, is

the lesser evil, if only because its moment of starting and cessation at any rate is capable of exact determination. Non-co-operation leaders would be standing in their own light if they force the country, by their thoughtless persistence, to face these alternatives.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE MALAVIYA COMMITTEE.

The Committee of the Malaviya Conference received on the 30th ultimo the letter of the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, stating *inter alia*, that His Excellency had considered the proposals of the Conference, but was unable to discover in them the basis for a profitable discussion on the subject of a Round Table Conference and that no useful purpose would therefore be served by entering into any detailed examination of their terms. On the same day, the Committee telegraphed in reply, stating *inter alia*, that the Committee were anxious to know why His Excellency was unable to discover in them the basis of a profitable discussion on the subject of a Round Table Conference and that the Committee would be grateful to know which terms of the Conference proposals were not acceptable, because the Committee would, in that case, endeavour to meet His Excellency's wishes. No reply to this request has been received up to date. Meanwhile, however, in the *communiqué* issued by the Government of India, in respect of Mr. Gandhi's manifesto, there is a paragraph animadverting on the proposals put forward by the Malaviya Conference. In the fourth para of the Government's *communiqué* it is said:—

It remains for the Government of India to deal with the allegation that His Excellency summarily rejected the proposal for a Conference, although the terms put forward by the Conference at Bombay and accepted by the Working Committee of the Congress were quite in keeping with His Excellency's own requirements as indicated in his speech at Calcutta. How far this is from being the case will be manifest from a comparison of His Excellency's speech with the terms proposed by the Conference. His Excellency in that speech insisted on the imperative necessity, as a fundamental condition precedent to the discussion of any question of a Conference, of the discontinuance of unlawful activities of the non-co-operation party. No assurance on this point was, however, contained in the proposals advanced by the Conference. On the contrary, whilst the Government were asked to make concessions which not only included the withdrawal of the notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment and Seditious Meetings' Acts and the release of persons convicted thereunder, but also the release of persons convicted of offences designed to affect the loyalty of the army, and the submission to an arbitration committee of the cases of other persons convicted under the ordinary law of the land, there was no suggestion that any of the illegal activities of the non-co-operators other than hartals, picketing and civil disobedience should cease. Moreover, it was evident from the statements made by Mr. Gandhi at the Conference, that he intended to continue the enrolment of volunteers in prohibited associations and preparations for civil disobedience. Further, Mr. Gandhi also made it apparent that the proposed round table conference would be called merely to register his decrees. It is idle to suggest that terms of this

character fulfilled in any way the essentials laid down by His Excellency or can reasonably be described as having been made in response to the sentiments expressed by him.

The *communiqué* says that "no assurance on this point (discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the non-co-operation party) was, however, contained in the proposals advanced by the Conference." In the very next sentence, however, it is admitted that there was the assurance that hartals, picketing and civil disobedience would cease. These have all along been considered as the principal offensive activities of the non-co-operationists, and the fact that the resolution of the Conference provided for their cessation does not bear out the Government's statement that no assurance on this point was contained in the proposals of the Conference. The only other activity specified in the *communiqué* to which exception has been taken, is the enrolment of volunteers in prohibited associations and preparations for civil disobedience. It was part of the proposal of the Conference that the notifications prohibiting these associations should be withdrawn, and when this was done, enrolment of volunteers for them could be no longer illegal. If, after that, they were engaged in any unlawful activity by way of preparation for civil disobedience or otherwise, they would be liable for their actions under the ordinary law.

It will thus be seen that in respect of all the important offensive activities of the non-co-operators, the Conference had secured the promise of cessation simultaneously with the reversal of the repressive policy of Government. Then it is said that Mr. Gandhi made it apparent that the proposed Round Table Conference would be called merely to register his decrees. The Conference obviously cannot be held responsible for anything outside its resolutions. But as to this inference from the appearance of what Mr. Gandhi said or did at the Conference, it is relevant to cite the following from a note to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in which Mr. Gandhi has explained his real meaning. It was read by Mr. Seshagiri Iyer in his speech in the Legislative Assembly:—

What I mean is that until I am convinced that my demands are unreasonable, unjust or impossible of fulfilment, I would not recede from them. I would not consider the unwillingness of the Government or Parliament to grant any of these things to be a ground for reducing the demands. The value of a Round Table Conference consists in understanding each other's difficulties and of making allowances for them. Hence my insisting that Government must change their heart. If they entrench themselves behind their armed forces, the Conference would be not only fruitless but unachievable. They must try to appeal to our intellect just as we must appeal to theirs. If the Government or anybody, therefore, shows that any particular demand is unreasonable or untenable, I would certainly give in as I did yesterday on the question of the motion of securing the release of political prisoners other than the two classes mentioned in the resolution No. 3.

It may be added that though Mr. Gandhi in the speech at the Conference said that volunteering would continue, he qualified it by saying that "the prepara-

tion will not be of an offensive character, nor of a hostile character." He explained this further in an article in *Young India* of the 19th ultimo:

We could not take up new offences, whilst the negotiations for a Conference were being conducted by responsible men. I further undertook to advise the Committee, on the event of the proposed conference coming off, to stop all hartals, pending the Conference. This I hold to be inevitable. Hartals are a demonstration against Bureaucracy, we cannot continue them if we are conferring with them for peace. Workers will bear in mind that as yet no activity of the Congress stops save general Civil Disobedience. On the contrary, enlistment of volunteers and Swadeshi propaganda must continue without abatement. . . . Civil Disobedience being an indefeasible right, the preparations for it will continue even if the Conference comes off. And the preparations for Civil Disobedience consists in:—(1) The enlistment of volunteers (2) propaganda of Swadeshi (3) removal of untouchability, (4) the training in non-violence in word, deed and thought, (5) unity between diverse creeds and classes. I hear that many are enrolled as volunteers in various parts of India, although they do not wear Khadi, do not believe in complete non-violence or if they are Hindus, do not believe in untouchability as a crime against humanity. I can not too often warn the people that every deviation from our own rules retards our progress. It is the quality of our work which will please God and not the quantity.

We cannot help thinking that these and other points, might most suitably have been communicated to the Malaviya Committee in response to their request of the 30th ultimo. in reply to the letter from the Viceroy's Private Secretary. We regret the omission of Government to do so in a direct manner, because the task of endeavouring to secure a peaceful atmosphere in which to consider the questions arising out of the present situation, has been thereby rendered more difficult than it would otherwise have been.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA.

(By MR. A. O. BUCK).

I am sure we all realize the necessity for scientific Physical Education as an essential part of any well-thought-out system of education. Physical exercise is as necessary as the air we breathe but it must be based on physiological principles, it must take cognizance of rules of hygiene and sanitation, and it must be under the direction of educated and specially trained experts if it is to serve its highest purpose. Lala Lajpat Rai in his book "The Problem of National Education in India" says "I want my country-men to realize that the problem of Physical Education is a national problem of the first magnitude and they should apply themselves to its solution with all the energy and the force of soul they possess". It is not only a national problem, it is a world problem, and each and every nation must take more seriously the old statement that "Only as a nation is physically fit can that nation long endure". India in her national aspirations must realize this truth and must devote herself more strenuously to making herself physically fit in order that she may be better able to cope with the exigencies of the many and varied international relationships which are bound to devolve upon her. India's future depends upon

her boys and young men and in order to insure a successful and happy future those boys and young men must be physically fit. As we study history from the viewpoint of Physical Training, we find that practically every nation in the world in its early development carried on some form or forms of physical activity. We note also, however, that these early activities were in connection with the preparation of men for war, for the hunt, and for but very few games. It is plainly evident, as we study the oldest writings and inscriptions, that various races realized the value of physical training when national life depended on physical stamina and training in arms. Also in early times it was forcibly thrust upon the minds of the people that nations rose or fell as they practised physical training.

In ancient India physical training was practised chiefly by the Kshatriya or warrior castes, and not by the masses. In fact, we find no record of a conscious attempt on the part of India as a nation, either empirically or scientifically, to raise the physical status of her entire people. A certain amount of indigenous games and indigenous exercises have always been prevalent throughout India, numerous games and sports have been introduced here by the English, exercises in the schools have been conducted by so-called drill masters, and games and sports have been one of the prominent features of Y. M. C. A. work in India, Burma and Ceylon for many years; but it was not until 1908 that the broad modern programme of physical education and welfare, as typified by the work of the specially trained physical director, was inaugurated. It was in 1908 that the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A., sent, from America to Calcutta, Dr. J. H. Gray as Y. M. C. A. Physical Director and Adviser to the Government of Bengal on matters pertaining to physical education, to pioneer this work of scientific physical training in India. As a servant of the Y. M. C. A. and in an attempt to carry out their policy of "All sports for all," or the programme of both body-building and character-building by means of wholesome games and physical activities for everybody, the first years had to be spent in demonstrating just what was meant by physical education—a process fairly well completed, so far as Calcutta was concerned, by 1911. By means of Dr. Gray's efforts a realization of the value of scientific physical training was brought home to other parts of India so that by 1914 the Imperial Government and the Madras and Punjab Governments, in addition to Bengal, sanctioned substantial grants for the extension of the type of work which the Y. M. C. A. physical department had been demonstrating.

The work done in connection with the various Governments has consisted of lectures and demonstrations in the school and at Training Colleges; classes for drill masters, of whom hundreds have been thus trained: school inspection of hygienic and sanitary features and physical activities—meeting the problem of the weak boy with no desire for exercise, improving gymnastic drill methods and apparatus work, introducing purely recreative programmes and stimulat-

ing interest in physical training; standardising of school athletics, and the framing of standard physical efficiency tests for Indian boys: inspection tours and miscellaneous advisory duties to Government. Special services have also been rendered from time to time, e. g. advising as to physical welfare facilities at the Dacca University, testifying before the Calcutta University Commission on physical education and welfare in colleges. Physical training drill textbooks in English and Urdu have been produced for the Bengal and Madras Governments. Assistance has been given to various municipalities in connection with the initiation and development of public play grounds, notably in Calcutta, Madras, Colombo and Hyderabad. Several notable exhibitions have been carried through, by way of demonstrating the possibilities of mass play and of giving adequate and enjoyable exercise, not merely to a few picked boys but to large numbers who have no special inherent capacity along these lines. The Department has also been able to render aid to Mission Schools by means of special training classes during holiday seasons. Twice at Mahableshwar, once at Sat Tal and once at Hyderabad, such classes have been conducted with from seventeen to fifty in attendance.

In the regular physical department activities of the Y. M. C. A. itself emphasis has throughout been laid on encouraging regular habits of normal, recreative exercise among the rank and file of the membership through gymnasia, swimming, out-door games, individual physical examinations and the prescription of corrective exercises, and general instruction in personal physical welfare. In the Calcutta Student Hostel Playground much has been done toward the solution of the problem of providing adequate opportunity for exercise to student communities living in the midst of a congested city. The various members of the staff have been able, in their personal relationship to a large number of students and others, to impart wise and much-needed education and advice in matters of sex. Particularly in Lahore and Madras a study of indigenous games has been carried on as to the relation of the weight and height of boys to athletic achievement. Many demonstrations of mass play and physical training have been given in various parts of the field. Some inter-high school track and field meetings have been held; also inter-collegiate tennis tournaments and other similar activities. Some of the local Associations, notably: Lahore, Calcutta, Madras and Colombo have engaged in the International Hexathlon contests.

The outstanding problem of the Physical Department is the training of Indian, Burmese and Ceylonese physical directors. Only so can the great opportunities for service in this aspect of life be met. Foreign physical directors can never be secured in sufficient numbers, even if that were desirable. Adequate plans must be made for all such training which can possibly be secured in India and Ceylon: even then it will be desirable for at least some years to send picked men abroad for additional study. The beginnings of a school of Physical Training were made in August, 1920, in Madras under the leader-

ship of Mr. Noehren and Mr. Buck. Five men were given instruction in the following subjects: Principles of Physical Education, Methods of Physical Training, Play and Playgrounds, Anatomy, Physiology, Hygiene, First Aid to the Injured, and Sex Hygiene, etc. The Y. M. C. A., National Council have provided the necessary funds. These five men are now conducting physical training programmes in Y. M. C. A. and schools in various parts of India and four men are undergoing training this year. The school of physical education is open to educated young men of good moral character with a desire to serve God and country. In some cases we might accept men who are only passed Intermediates, but we prefer to recruit men who are college graduates.

PRESIDENT HARDING ON THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

One of the most striking utterances on the race question made by any public man within a generation is that recently made by President Harding in Birmingham, Alabama, a city in the heart of the south, in which he gave voice to the principle of political and economic equality for the Negro, with racial and social separation. This manner of meeting the race issue is recognized as a challenge of the greatest importance to both the white man and the Negro in all parts of the United States. It has its political implications, however. It will be remembered that the Southern white man through fear of Negro domination in parts of the south where white men are in a minority, is almost invariably a Democrat. The southern Negro is almost invariably a Republican asset. The effect of this alignment is virtually to eliminate the party system in a large section of the United States, for the nomination of a Democrat assures his election, irrespective of the broader issues at stake. As a result, the action of the south is regularly discounted and its influence is circumscribed. The negation of political freedom is lent in such a situation can readily be comprehended. Republicans before this have tried to change it, and it is the prevailing opinion that the President's main purpose in his recent expression of principles in regard to the Negro race is to break the so-called "Solid South" by doing what he could to make the southern white man feel that there is a place for him in the Republican party. The racial and political phases of the President's speech came after an eloquent tribute to the remarkable progress of the south in industrial development, especially since the opening days of the Civil War. "If the Civil War marked the beginnings of industrialism in a south which had previously been almost entirely agricultural, the World War brought us to full recognition that the race problem is national rather than merely sectional," he said. There are no authentic statistics, but it is common knowledge that the World War was marked by a great migration of colored people to the north and west. They were attracted by the demand for labour and the higher wages offered. This slow movement had been in progress for decades before, but it was vastly accelerated because of the war, and has continued at only a slackened pace since. It has brought the question of race closer to north and west, and I believe it served to modify somewhat the views of those sections on this question, has made the south realize its industrial dependence on the labor of the black man and made the north realize the difficulties of the community in which two greatly different races are brought to live side by side. In another way the

World War modified the elements of this problem. Thousands of black men, serving their country just as patriotically as did the white men, were transported overseas and experienced the life of countries where their color aroused less of antagonism than it does here. Many of them aspire to go to Europe to live. These things lead one to hope that we shall find an adjustment of relations between the two races, in which both can enjoy full citizenship, the full measure of usefulness to the country and of opportunity for themselves, and in which recognition and reward shall at last be distributed in proportion to individual deserts regardless of race or color. Politically and economically there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, for limitations of the individual's opportunity, provided that on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial. When I suggest the possibility of economic equality between the races, I mean it in precisely the same way and to the same extent that I would mean it if I spoke of equality of economic opportunity as between members of the same race. In each case I would mean equality proportioned to the honest capacities and deserts of the individual. Men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of social equality. Indeed, it would be helpful to have that word 'equality' eliminated from this consideration, to have it accepted on both sides that this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference. We shall have made real progress when we develop an attitude in the public and community thought of both races which recognizes this difference.

Take first the political aspect. I would say let the black man vote when he is fit to vote; prohibit the white man voting when he is unfit to vote. Especially would I appeal to the self-respect of the colored race. I would inculcate in it the wish to improve itself as a distinct race, with a heredity, a set of traditions, an array of aspirations all its own. Out of such racial ambitions and pride will come natural segregations, without narrowing any rights, such as are proceeding in both rural and urban communities now in southern states, satisfying inclinations and adding notably to happiness and contentment. On the other hand, I would insist upon equal educational opportunity for both. This does not mean that both would become equally educated within a generation or two generations or ten generations. Even men of the same race do not accomplish such an equality as that. They never will. The providence that endowed men with widely unequal capacities and capabilities and energies did not intend any such thing. But there must be such education among the colored people as will enable them to develop their own leaders, capable of understanding and sympathizing with such a differentiation between the races as I have suggested leaders who will inspire the race with proper ideals of race pride, of national pride, of an honorable destiny, an important participation in the universal effort for advancement of humanity as a whole. Racial amalgamation there cannot be. Partnership of the races in developing the highest aims of all humanity there must be if humanity, not only here but everywhere, is to achieve the ends which we have set for it. And so I would wish it might be in this matter of our national problem of races. I would accept that a black man cannot be a white man, and that he does not need and should not aspire to be as much like a white man as possible in order to accomplish the best that is possible for him. He should seek to be, and he should be encouraged to be, the best possible black man, and not the best possible imitation of a white man. Just as I do not wish the south to be politically entirely of

one party; just as I believe that is bad for the south, and for the rest of the country as well, so I do not want the colored people to be entirely of one party. I wish that both the tradition of a solidly Democratic south and the tradition of a solidly Republican black race might be broken up. Neither political sectionalism nor any system of rigid groupings of the people will in the long run prosper our country. With such convictions one must urge the people of the south to take advantage of their superior understanding of this problem and to assume an attitude toward it that will deserve the confidence of the colored people. Likewise I plead with my own political party to lay aside every program that looks to lining up the black man as a more political adjunct.

Let there be an end of prejudice and of demagoguery in this line. Let the south understand the menace which lies in forcing upon the black race an attitude of political solidarity. The greater hope, the dissipation of hatred, the discouragement of dangerous passions lie in persuading the black people to forget old prejudices and to have them believe that, under the rule of whatever political party, they would be treated just as other people are treated, guaranteed all the rights that people of other colors enjoy, and made, in short, to regard themselves as citizens of a country and not of a particular race."

MALABAR RELIEF FUND, BOMBAY.

A public Meeting of women was held on Thursday the 2nd February, 1922, in the Vanita Vishram Zaverbai Hall, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay.

Mrs. JAIJEE J. PETIT presided. After the President's introductory remarks, Mrs. Janakibai Bhat (Lady Superintendent of the Poona Seva Sadan) made a statement in Marathi on the circumstances which led the Council of her Society to send her to Malabar and the work the Bombay Ladies' Deputation did there. The following resolutions were passed.

1. Resolved that this meeting of the Women of Bombay in full sympathy with the objects with which the Malabar Relief Fund is started here accords its whole-hearted support to the Resolution passed at the Public Meeting of the said Fund held on January the 6th, 1922, dealing with the special needs of women and children refugees in Relief Camps and itself resolves that:—"In view of the fact that a large majority of the sufferers that are being helped by this Fund in Calicut and other parts of Malabar are women and children, this meeting appeals specially to the women of this Presidency to come forward in large numbers to support this Fund in all possible ways."

Proposed by—Dilshad Begum.

Seconded by.—Dr. Miss Nowrange, B. A., L. M. & S.

Supported by.—Miss Engineer, M.A., LL. B.

2. Resolved that in pursuance of Resolution No. 1 and in order to organize the work and carry out the proposals embodied therein this meeting hereby constitutes and appoints a ladies' Sub-Committee of the Malabar Relief Fund, Bombay, in accordance with the proposal made at the preliminary meeting of October 20th 1921, the said Sub-Committee to be composed of(1) all the lady members of the permanent Committee of the Fund; and

(2) all the conveners of the present meeting, with power to add such other ladies as are in full sympathy with the objects of the Fund and are willing to promote its work.

Proposed by—Mrs. Sonabai Jayakar.

Seconded by.—Miss Reuben, B.A.

Supported by.—Mrs. Mackenzie, B.A.,

8. Resolved that the ladies' Sub-Committee thus constituted be requested to approach the various Women's Associations in this City and Presidency of the Bombay and the Indian States generally and request the Presidents and Secretaries thereof to interest themselves in the work of the Fund and help to facilitate its collections.

Proposed by.—Mrs. Rasikmani Desai.

Seconded by.—Shrimati Satyavati.

Supported by.—Maganbai Manekehand.

9. Resolved that the contributions both in kind and coin secured through the labours of the Women's Sub-Committee may be set apart preferably for the relief of the women and children while they are in camps as also when they repatriate in view of the fact that they form a large majority of the refugees.

Proposed by.—Miss K. Natarajan, B.A.

Seconded by.—Mrs. Ratanbai Pauri.

Miss Javeri proposed a vote of thanks to the President.

THE MALABAR QUESTIONNAIRE.

Malabar disturbances appear to be well nigh at an end. We, therefore, desire to solicit your co-operation in framing some adequate scheme of reconstruction. These questions have been framed to facilitate a clear understanding of the problems involved in the process of moral and material reconstruction.

We are fully conscious of the limitations of this questionnaire; but we should be glad if we succeed in arousing the interest of the public in this important matter so that all the people and the Government alike, may co-operate in rehabilitating Malabar. In compiling this questionnaire, we beg to acknowledge the valuable help received from gentlemen of all shades of opinion resident in Malabar.

The questions are designed to cover the whole field of enquiry, as far as it can be outlined at this stage. It is not, therefore, necessary that all the questions should be answered. If any one wishes to give his views on any points relevant to the enquiry which have not been included in the questionnaire, it would be convenient that such points are dealt with in a supplementary statement.

I. ECONOMIC.

(a) Grants and Loans.

1. Will it be necessary to make free grants of money to the poorer classes of the people so that they may purchase cattle and seed; build or repair houses; store provisions until the next principal harvest? If so, what amount will approximately be required for the several amounts? (You may state approximate figures for the amount with which you are familiar).

2. Would you recommend long or short term loans? If so, specify for what purpose and for what classes? On what conditions should such loans be issued?

3. How far do you consider it possible for private enterprise, Co-operative Societies, Local Bodies, Charitable Institutions and Government to provide the necessary funds?

4. Would it be feasible to utilise the Co-operative Societies (the Urban Central Bank, the District Banks, and primary societies) for the distribution of loans, Government supplementing their financial resources?

5. Would you suggest loans in cash or in kind?

6. Through what agencies can this work be best administered?

7. At what rate of interest are loans generally available to the various classes of tenants in Malabar?

8. What steps should be taken to assure the villager obtaining loans at reasonable rate of interest?

b. Land.

9. To what extent can Jemmies help in the reconstruction process affecting the position of the tenants?

10. Do you anticipate any dearth in agricultural labour owing to present troubles? If so, what is the remedy?

11. Do you consider it advisable for Government or some Government agency to manage for a time the estates of Jemmies who express their desire for this course? If so, can you suggest the best way to do so in the interests of both Jemmi and tenant?

12. Have you any improvements to suggest in the present system of land tenancy?

II. INDUSTRIAL.

13. Has the rebellion created in the district any serious increase in unemployment?

14. Should any industries be organised in order to absorb the unemployed? If so, what industrial development is most suitable?

15. How far can co-operative production be organised for this purpose? Suggest a workable scheme.

16. What facilities will be required for developing cottage industries as a subsidiary occupation?

III. EDUCATIONAL.

17. Will a better understanding among all communities be created by starting common schools for their children? What difficulties do you find in such a scheme?

18. How can education be popularised among the Moplahs?

19. Are you satisfied with the present type of Moplah Education?

20. How far can Local Boards and Government finance any new scheme?

21. Would vocational and adult education be useful and practicable?

22. To what extent can private organisations in India help in the work of civic and moral education?

IV. CIVIC.

23. Do you think the inauguration of any scheme like the village patrols by young men, with some training and discipline, will help to create the amount of confidence necessary to check temporary local outbreaks in the future?

24. How can a healthy feeling of common citizenship, irrespective of caste and creed, be created?

V. GENERAL.

25. What measures do you propose to ensure the safety of the Hindus who have been forcibly converted and have reverted to their faith?

26. Do you consider that there are any areas in Malabar where there is likelihood of famine?

27. What facilities should be provided for the re-building of houses destroyed during the rebellion? Do you think there is scope for co-operative housing scheme for this purpose?

28. What schemes are necessary for the immediate development of communications, roads and railways, in the affected areas of Malabar?

29. What urgent reforms are necessary in the present relations between the landlord and the tenant in Malabar to remove agrarian discontent?

30. What development of industry in the affected areas would help the general advancement of the district?

31. Are there any other grievances which will have to be removed to promote permanent contentment of the people?

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W. HINDLE

K. G. SIVASWAMY.

Y. M. C. A., Secretaries.

R. SURYANARAYANA RAU.
Secretary of India Society.

PUNJAB VIDHYA VIYAH SAHAIK SABHA.

Under the auspices of the Vidhya Viyah Sahaik Sabha Lahore, 26 marriages took place in the month of January, 1922 as detailed below:—

Brahman 8, Khatri 8, Arora 4, Aggarwal 8, Kaisth 2, Rajput 2, Sikh 4, Total 26.

A MESSAGE TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE.

We are requested to publish the following message from the General Assembly of the Indian Presbyterian Church to the People of India:

Fellow-Countrymen,

At this crisis in our history we, the members of the General Assembly, extend to you the hand of sympathy of our Master. The General Assembly is the supreme representative body of the Indian Presbyterian Church, and is composed of different nationalities—Indian, English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, American, and Canadian—the large majority being Indians. Marked by different shades of opinion, both conservative and radical, they are yet harmonised and reconciled through faith in one common Lord and Master, the Lord Jesus Christ, and devotion to Him. As His disciples we cannot but feel that for all concerned—the Government and the people alike—a larger measure of His spirit will alone evolve peace out of the present strife and give form to the hopes and aspirations struggling within us at this hour.

We rejoice at the cleansing and the purifying which marks so much of the life of to-day, and at the deep concern for all that make for the welfare of the Motherland. We would like to take this opportunity of assuring our countrymen that the Christ stands for the fulness of life, and in His name we claim the right for our development to the fulness of our stature in every department of life. As followers of the Prince of Peace we cannot but believe that the path of law and order, and of friendly co-operation with the lawfully constituted Government of the land, is the one by which this development for us will be best attained. We cannot but tremble to think of the disintegrating and calamitous consequences that may arise as a result of treading the other course. And we appeal, at this juncture, to you, our fellow-countrymen, to do everything in your power to bring about an atmosphere which will help to remove misunderstandings; let each of us see the strong points of the other, and thus hasten on what we have been taught to pray for, the coming of the Kingdom of God, when His will will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

On behalf of the General Assembly,

J. A. GRAHAM,
Moderator of the Assembly.
YOHAN MASIH,
Clerk of the Assembly.

A BRAHMO MARRIAGE IN BANGALORE.

An intercaste widow remarriage was solemnized between Mr. K. Sanjeeva Rao, Salt Sub-Inspector, Bhadrachellam and Sreemathi Lakshmikantam, daughter of Mr. T. A. Girkrishna Pillai of Manaparai, in the Cantonment Brahma Samaj Mandir on Friday the 3rd instant at 6.30 p.m. The marriage was done according to Brahma rites, Mr. E. Subbukrishnaiah, Brahma Missionary, officiating as Minister. The marriage was as usual registered under Act III of 1872. This is the seventh reform marriage celebrated in Bangalore under the auspices of the Bangalore Cantonment Brahma Samaj.

SUCCESSFUL TREATMENT OF LEPROSY IN KOREA.

The following from a Report by Dr. Henry Fowler, is reproduced in the current number of "Without the Camp," the quarterly magazine of the Mission to Lepers:

The treatment of leprosy has for ages been most unsatisfactory. Leprologists in modern times, in many lands, have been endeavouring to help to prevent the ever-increasing spread of leprosy by experimental work of all kinds. In the absence of a suitable medium all attempts at the culture of the *bacillus lepra* have so far proved unsuccessful. So-called sera, vaccines, or specifics, have from time to time been before the medical world and as often have been discredited.

Experiments in recent years have again been made with the old Indian remedy, Chaulmoogra oil. Unfortunately the real oil has at times been difficult to procure—a much inferior article having been substituted for it. Failure to secure any positive reaction or curative results may in some cases have been due to this. The chief hindrance to the use of the drug, however, has been its irritating effects on the mucous membrane of the intestinal tract. Intense nausea follows its repeated use *per ora*, and naturally lepers in our institutions have rebelled against it.

Dr. Heiser, now of the Rockefeller Foundation, working in the interests of lepers segregated in the Philippines, some few years ago recommended a method to obviate this irritating property of the oil and to secure a larger quantity of it being taken by the patient. We ourselves with many other workers among lepers in the Far East, gladly undertook to faithfully administer the suggested formula in the manner prescribed. Inter-muscular injections of chaulmoogra and camphorated oils, with resorcin, given week by week, gave but little success. To avoid the possibility of technical errors we ourselves prepared the formula and administered the injections, but all without much purpose. In the main we got little but negative results.

From Korea, however, came reports of wonderful results from this same formula. We were the more puzzled to understand why we were so unsuccessful with our cases. Was it possible that in different districts there were varying degrees of virulency of the disease, and that in Central China, for instance, we had a specially active bacillus, which offered resistance to all attempts at treatment?

Paying a visit to Korea a few weeks ago, we looked forward with some eagerness to a critical examination into the whole matter. Arrived at Fusan and Kwangju, we secured confirmation of all we had heard. The treatment was certainly having remarkable results. Even advanced cases of anæsthetic and nodular leprosy were being helped. What did it all mean? Not till we were returning to the coast did we by accident learn the cause.

Our Korean friends, failing to secure any rapid results from the original formula, had tried an heroic dose of the drug and found that it could be tolerated and give startling results. Ultimately, instead of using camphorated oil, camphor was simply dissolved in the chaulmoogra oil itself and full doses prescribed for the original formula given. Ultimately even the resorcin was omitted with equally good results. It was found that the majority of the lepers could stand the larger quantities of the oil for some considerable time. For this experimental work we have to thank Dr. Wilson of Kwangju.

For the sake of those who, like ourselves, have been disappointed with the action of the drug, we give herewith the method of preparation of the oil and its dosage.

Bring 1 lb. of chaulmoogra oil to the boil in a water bath, then add 100 grains of pulverised camphor. Keep it in the water bath with the cork of the bottle partially closing its mouth until all the camphor is dissolved. Then tightly cork the bottle and all is ready for use. The number of the bottles which can be dealt with in this manner will depend upon the size and character of the water bath.

With some hundreds of cases to inject weekly it will be convenient to have a specially large water bath made, or the ordinary large koh, or boiling pan used by the Chinese everywhere, could be substituted for it.

Directions for injecting the oil into the deep gluteal muscles. Procure say a dozen Japanese or home Record

syringes permitting the injection of at least 6 c.c., preferably all glass with stout steel or better still, platinum needles. Boil these each time they are used for at least 15 minutes. While they are in course of being used place them in a tray of boiling olive oil or any allied substitute. Prepare the patient by a dab of Tr. Iodine on the point selected for the injection; fill a syringe, taken from the tray with a pair of forceps, with the required dose of liquified Chaulmoogra oil and camphor and inject. After withdrawal of the needle apply a pledget of cotton wool to the spot. Keep the patient resting thereafter for say 15 minutes, then permit him to go about his usual occupation.

DOSE.

Start with 2 c.c. once a week for the first month,
then give 3 c.c. " " second month,
" " 4 c.c. " " third month,
" " 5 c.c. " " fourth month,
" " 6 c.c. " " fifth month.

If the patient can stand it continue to give 6 c.c. If on the other hand he feels ill, return to the smaller dosage and again increase it until it is tolerated. It is found convenient at Kwangju in Korea, to give the injections every Saturday afternoon and for the patient to rest as much as possible on the Sunday.

If the open ulcers are difficult to heal the following ointment should be applied to them:—

R Ichthyol	...	...	2 per cent.
Chaulmoogra oil	...	...	5 "
Resorcin	...	...	1 "
Fuchsin	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 "
Sulphur	...	...	2 "
Vaseline	...	...	q.s.

Under such treatment in three or four months patients say they feel stronger and more cheerful. As sensation returns to previously anæsthetic areas patients are encouraged to continue the treatment, with results which often are both astonishing and pleasing. The patient becomes rid of his thickened nodular appearance. In case of an anæsthetic patient it is sometimes difficult even for a specialist to tell that he has been a leper subject.

It should of course be stated that equally good results seem to be reported from India, Honolulu and the Philippines, where other preparations of Chaulmoogra oil are being used. This modified form of treatment described above has however proved so successful, and is so easy to prepare and administer to large numbers, that I confidently advocate its extended use in the Far East.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL MORAL EDUCATION CONGRESS.

The Congress will be held at Geneva from Friday, the 28th July, to Tuesday, the 1st August, 1922 under the distinguished patronage of the Swiss Federal Council and of the Council of State of the Republic and Canton of Geneva.

Since the two International Moral Education Congresses held at London, 1908, and the Hague, 1912, the War has taken place and has moved the problem of moral education to the very front rank. The material and moral injury produced by the conflict is not merely the result of an unalterable past, but also foreshadows a future which may be disastrous to civilization unless all men of goodwill unite in opposing the menace. To repair is not enough; we must reconstruct. We invite you to aid this constructive work.

The Organizing Committee of the Third International Moral Education Congress has placed two important subjects on the Agenda:—I. The International Motive, with special reference to the Teaching of History. II. The Motive of Service.

The importance of these subjects at present time must be obvious to all. As the future depends upon the present, so the present is the result of the past; hence we ought to learn the laws that have governed this past, and ascertain the ways along which humanity has evolved, in order that we may direct it towards an era of larger justice. On the other hand, educators should foster in our young people the spirit of mutual help. Theoretical instruction will not suffice. Practical exercise avails more than words in rebuilding the ruins and

preparing a nobler future. By way of example, we give a few items, which show what the Committee has in mind regarding the two leading Subjects on the Agenda.

THE INTERNATIONAL MOTIVE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

From local history to national history, and thus to the history of mankind. How the civic and national ideal may be brought into relation with the spirit of human brotherhood. Mutual aid in the early ages of civilization. History of governments and history of peoples, history of industry; history of freedom. Adaptation of history-teaching to various school grades. History text-books and historical truth, etc.

THE MOTIVE OF SERVICE.

The idea of co-operation in theoretical moral instruction. Mutual help in home education. Means to be adopted, both at home and at school against the dominating influence of money. Mutual aid in the work of the school (e. g. mutual instruction). Manual training at school with a view to social service. Self-government at different stages of school life, and especially in adolescence. Practical service of others in Leagues of Kindness, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Junior Red Cross, Leagues of Youth, etc. Conception of social service and choice of profession. Adolescent individuality related to the idea of social service, etc.

In choosing these topics, the Committee's desire has been to limit discussion, and to give the first place to facts and actual experiences. It is better to deepen knowledge than to extend it superficially. The Committee will be greatly obliged if you will fill in, and return, the annexed form of application for membership as soon as possible, should you (as we sincerely trust will be the case) wish to receive further announcements, and to take part in the Congress (Address:—Secretariat du III^e me Congrès International d'Éducation Morale, Institut J.-J. Rousseau, Taconnerie, 5, Genève, Suisse).

The following Memorandum on the Basic Ideals of a Reformed History Teaching is drawn up by Mr. Frederick J. Gould.

History is the most important medium of moral education—personal, civic, and international. A general view of world-history is an indispensable constituent of education. Such an outline of world-history should be framed on a general plan for all nationalities, with local modifications. History-teaching is essentially a description of the process of civilization. Cultural elements should be so emphasized that the elements of mistrust and strife may be subordinated, but without explicit insistence on this subordination. Patriotism, considered as loyalty to the national civilization, should naturally prepare the way for the larger loyalty to human civilization. The civilization complex implies Industry, Art, Literature, Science, Morality, Civics, Religion: these being the elements to which mistrust and strife are subordinated. We should study methods by which the teaching-body preserve living touch with social institutions and forces represented by artists, philosophers, scientific thinkers, industrial organizers, travellers, statesmen; it being recognized that history-teaching is, in a sense, a critique of experience, and therefore to be kept free from pedantry. It is necessary to survey text-books and varieties of apparatus, including aesthetic and dramatic aids. The possibility might be considered of a World-book for Youth, in which the leading communities are portrayed in their best aspects of civilization; each nationality being depicted by a non-member of that nationality; the whole being edited on a uniform plan, and destined for many translations. Educators should study William James's principle of the *Moral Equivalent of War*,—i.e., combat of evils menacing human life and development. A few lines may here be quoted from James' essay (1919):—"I do not believe that peace either ought to be, or will be, permanent on this globe unless the States peacefully organized preserve some of the old elements of army discipline. A permanently successful peace economy cannot be a simple pleasure economy..... We must make new energies and hardships continue the manliness to which the military mind so faithfully clings..... Patriotie pride and ambition, in their military form, are, after all, only specifications of a more general competitive passion. They are its first form, but that is no reason for supposing they must be its last form."

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and boil for ten minutes. To this add two dessert-spoonfuls of Robinson's "Patent"
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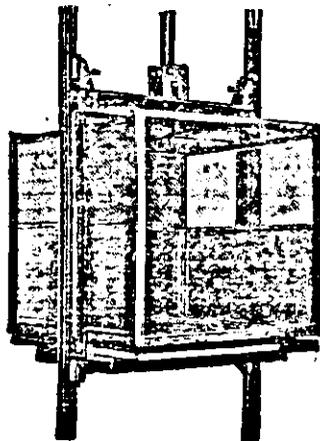
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

101

India in Parliament: The vote of censure moved by a member of Parliament on the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons, was defeated by an overwhelming majority. The debate on both sides, however, was not such as to satisfy Indian aspirations. Mr. Montagu's speech showed insight into and sympathy for the Indian point of view, but even he had to indulge in not a little rattling of the sword in the scabbard in order to conciliate Junkers of his own party. Mr. Lloyd George's speech was, perhaps, just the kind of Parliamentary fencing that was needed for the occasion; but where it was not meagre and inconsequential, it was an ostentatious banging of the door upon all early hope of full responsible Government in this country. There is practical unanimity among Indians that the early grant of full responsible Government is absolutely essential to national well-being, and the Prime Minister's refusal will only harden that feeling in this country. There is, indeed, already a growing volume of opinion which favours concentration of the national energies on the speedy attainment of *Swaraj*, to the exclusion of all other questions which it is inclined to regard as subsidiary. Full self-government is the key to all other problems. The argument that Indians should train themselves for it by rehearsing in the course of a conveniently long series of years the whole drama of English history from Canute to King George V, is as silly as it is selfish. Nature compresses ages of biological evolution in a few weeks of early embryonic life in the mother's womb. Mr. Lloyd George, if he had the ordering of Indian life, would evidently require every child to live for years like a monkey in order to prove its right to be a man like himself. The case for *Swaraj* is simple. It springs from the psychological fact that an environment which constantly suggests dependence, incapacity, inferiority, to the men and women who live in its midst, has the effect of depressing, debilitating, and degrading them in their own estimation. This is a defect which the best foreign rule can never be free from. The daily, hourly, conscious and subconscious suggestion of inferiority, is, when all is said, the ineradicable defect of an alien domination. By incredibly painful and reluctant steps, have many countries, who started public life with far fewer advantages than the British. That even it has been able to preserve this trust, is the most important argument for full self-government whether on form or any other.

Treatment of Political Prisoners: In the *Reformer* of January 29, we quoted from a letter from Mr. Mahadev Desai, now serving a term of imprisonment in Agra jail, showing that the treatment of political prisoners in that jail had been greatly improved. The *Leader* publishes a summary of the revised rules laid down for the treatment of political prisoners. Their principal features are that political prisoners are exempted from solitary confinement, penal diet and flogging among measures for enforcing jail discipline. They will be allowed to have their own clothing, bedding, cooking utensils etc.; will be allowed special diet similar to that given to European prisoners, will be at liberty to purchase extra articles of food at their own expense, and to cook their own food if desired; will not be put to any labour except such exercise as will keep them physically fit; will be permitted to retain the hair and beard or allowed, if desired, to shave; they will not be required to wear neck and ankle rings, will be allowed to put on caste marks, if desired, and also such religious and other books as are not considered objectionable by the Superintendent. Interviews will be allowed once a week with not more than five persons, and letters may be received and written once a fortnight. These arrangements, it is stated, are independent of the special scrutiny to which all political cases are being subjected in order that the government may satisfy themselves that the proceedings are legal and exhibit no undue straining of the law and that the sentences are not excessive. Bitter complaints have been made regarding the stripping naked of political prisoners for examination, and the requirement, which seems to be peculiar to the Bombay Presidency, that every prisoner should open his mouth, raise his arms, and cry "*Sarkar eh hai*" whenever any European official visits the jail. We trust that the new United Provinces rules provide against such practices calculated to wound the self-respect, personal and national, of political prisoners. We should be glad to know that the Bombay Government propose to introduce improvement in the treatment of such prisoners.

Gratuitous Criticism: The Associated Press in summarising certain correspondence which passed between the Malaviya Committee and Mahatma Gandhi introduced a sentence containing its own estimate of the Committee's sentiments. Some of our contemporaries have commented on this sentence as if it were the Committee's. As a matter of fact, the Committee's feeling was, as precisely stated in its letter, one of regret that the Mahatma should have sent the letter to His Excellency the Viceroy when he did. The best proof that there was no basis for the Associated Press' exaggeration about the Committee's last ray of hope having been extinguished by the letter, is that the Committee continued and continues to exist, and that Mahatma Gandhi promptly acknowledged that he did not think that the despatch to His Excellency of his letter of the 4th instant, would be regarded by the Committee as hampering its work.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1922.

THE BARDOLI PROGRAMME.

We print to-day the text of the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Congress at Bardoli, the Malaviya Committee's resolutions thereon, the views expressed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others, not of the non-cooperation party, who attended on invitation the meeting of the Working Committee at Bardoli, and opinions of leading newspapers representing different schools of thought and shades of sentiment. The magnitude of the change wrought by the Bardoli resolutions in the political situation in India, was reflected in the debate on the vote of censure in the House of Commons in London on Tuesday, when it was announced that orders issued for the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi had been suspended as a result of the Bardoli programme. The almost unanimous consensus of responsible Indian opinion hails the Bardoli decisions with unalloyed satisfaction. The Anglo-Indian *Times of India* regards the new programme as one with which all can sympathise, even if they can not actively co-operate. The newspaper which Mrs. Besant edits, and which is seldom blind to the faults of Mahatma Gandhi, is for the moment melted into appreciation of his leadership at Bardoli. The *Liberal Servant of India* writes of the momentous event with a warmth of generous eulogy for a political opponent, which does it honour. The eyes of the country are turned anxiously to the Government of India. The prompt suspension of the order for the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, clearly shows that they are sincerely anxious to avoid such measures. A month ago, Sir William Vincent told the Legislative Assembly that the attitude of Government to the proposal of a Round Table Conference remained as explained by His Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the address presented by the Malaviya deputation in the previous month at Calcutta. As pointed out by the Committee of the Bombay Representative Conference, the Bardoli resolutions go farther than the conditions laid down in His Excellency's speech. If the All-India Congress Committee endorses the Bardoli resolutions, it will be impossible for Government, even if they wish to do so, to postpone further the summoning of such a Conference.

Meanwhile, it is relevant to point out that the Bardoli development has a strength and vitality of its own apart from the All-India Congress Committee. On the surface, the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee at Bardoli, were the direct result exclusively of the Chauri Chaura tragedy. Mahatma Gandhi and the other members of the Working Committee have said so and no doubt they honestly think that that is the case. But really the Chauri Chaura murders were merely the last in a chain of circumstances which brought about this radical change

of the Congress programme. The riots at Bombay and Madras, to which reference is made in the resolutions, and those at Malegaon and the Malabar outbreak, to which reference is not made, have had their share in shaping Congress opinion. But more potent than these exhibitions of violence, has been the gradual, to a large extent silent, but nonetheless effective change in opinion as the result of reflection within the body of the Congress and even of the Non-Co-operationists that has been growing within the last few months. The numerous negations of the Congress programme have provoked something like disgust in the more virile minds of the Congress. This was voiced in a remarkable speech by Mr. M. R. Jayakar some months ago at a Conference at Akola. A comparison of the several suggestions made in that speech, with the modifications of the Congress programme adopted at Bardoli, shows that the new programme, though to all appearance it is a sudden inspiration born of the burning and bloodshed at Gorakhpur, has really a deeper and more solid cause for its coming into being. If this were not the case, we should be inclined with several hostile critics to doubt the permanence and reality of the conversion of the Congress to constructive methods. Because we know that the new programme has not been called into existence in any such happy-go-lucky fashion, because we know that it has the deep thought and solid sentiment of many thoughtful Congressmen behind it, we do not share these suspicions and we look upon the revised programme as permanently and truly reflecting the real sentiments of the country. There can be no going back upon it. The All-India Congress Committee to which it is to be submitted in less than a week, and even the Congress itself, can only improve upon it. They cannot revert to the negations of the old programme, dead and buried at Bardoli. It would be strange, indeed, if some taint of the old does not cling to the new. It will take some time for the Congress and Congressmen wholly to cast off every vestige of the discarded programme. It depends entirely on the efforts of patriotic Indians who can look above and beyond party politics, how soon the Congress will completely assimilate the spirit in which the Bardoli programme has been conceived and adopted.

Both appreciation and criticism have naturally fastened upon Mahatma Gandhi but for whose courageous love of truth, the revision of the Congress programme in keeping with the views of the riper mind of that party, would have taken longer time. An English paper has written of the Mahatma as one whose eyes are fixed upon the dim past of India. As a fact, however, there is no more English-minded leader in all India today than the Mahatma. His virtues as well as his faults are almost all not Indian but English. His rigorous punctuality, his passion for time-tables, the scrupulous and almost superstitious regularity of his daily routine, are all un-Indian and almost wholly English. English his disbelief, amounting to contempt, of slight regard for and knowledge of his

faith in muddling through as the best method of conducting national affairs. The *Servant of India* has compared him with admirable insight to Mr. Lloyd George. The resemblances between the British Prime Minister and the Mahatma, with one fundamental difference, is so striking as to be uncanny. There are people going about mysteriously whispering to the credulous their prophesy that the Mahatma as an Indian political leader is as good as extinct. These pessimists will soon realise their mistake. If the Civil Disobedience programme at Bardoli had come off, the Mahatma's leadership would have suffered a severe check. The stopping of that calamitous project at the moment of its being launched, is the strongest proof that could have been given of the Mahatma's inborn gift of leadership. We are warned that there may be difficulties in carrying the Bardoli resolutions through in the All-India Congress Committee next week, with so many of the front-bench men of the Congress in jail in different parts of the country. This is undoubtedly the most serious difficulty which the Mahatma and his friends will have to face and overcome.

We are told that we can not expect the Government of India in their present mood—it is only in India that a Government and its head are spoken of as subject to moods of which wary politicians should take account—to move their little finger to make smooth the path of the Mahatma. It is doing an injustice to the Government of India to represent them as being likely to be swayed by personal bias in the determination of a question of such enormous public importance. But, assuming that the pessimists are right, we would ask those who rightly sympathise with the imprisoned leaders—the Malaviya Committee has placed on record its opinion that they should be promptly released—how the resumption of the old programme would in any way benefit these leaders. Farther, the members of the All-India Congress Committee should remember that they should not approach the question of doing right in the spirit of bargain either with Government or the official Moderates. If they do so, they may not succeed. Even if they succeed, a large part of the educative and moral value of their effort at self-purification would be lost. Civil disobedience might have embarrassed Government; but Government could have found means of getting out of the embarrassment. But if the popular leaders do right even when Government do wrong, they would be putting Government in a position from which they can emerge with credit only by heeding the wishes and interests of the people. Let Indian leaders take warning by the example of Government. Let them swerve by an inch from a settled policy under the pressure of anger. Emotion is a luxury for which we have no present use in this country. The *khaddar* that should wear next our skins is not the cloth of the Sabhas, the reason spun and woven out of the public and hard necessities of our everyday

THE FIRST SOCIAL SURVEY OF AN ORIENTAL CITY.*

(By PROF. PATRICK GEDDES.)

I.

Before this substantial and readable volume, with its label as above, the Indian and European reader—in a country long filled with great Universities and their colleges, all more or less laying increasing stress on Economics, and in cities accustomed to think themselves more progressive than any in the land of historic and social conservatism—may well pause for reflection. And surely most of all in Bombay, most western of oriental cities, oldest and foremost of great marts and meeting-places of East and West. Without going into the wider discussion of the current transformation of China, one definite point of explanation of this striking publication is manifest. It is the fruit of wise and generous American policy. For, after the ruthlessly German-led Boxer war of which the Kaiser's "Attila" speech is not forgotten, and the heavy exaction of indemnities in which all the great powers had shares, the Americans gave up their part in merciful fashion, which has proved not a little shrewd as well. For by this to them small sacrifice they surprised the Chinese by a vision and hope of helpful friendship or amid a world seen by them as too much a vast wolf-ring of barbarian enemies. So after the crisis of their internal revolution, the main tide of students from China to the West has streamed eastward across the Pacific and into the States; and each returning scholar has not only sent two and more to fill his place in their universities, but has inevitably continued to act at home as an emissary of American culture as well. How this is affecting imports and exports, economists and even politicians in the West were beginning to see; and now the Washington Congress, with its disgorgement of Shantung by Japan, has made the widest issues plain. This book is a notable contribution to the same enlightenment: for it shows not only the American Missions but the American colleges at work in China on a great and growing scale, and with a wholesale work of education primary and secondary, higher and adult, under a leadership which not even our good and progressive Sadler, Hartog and colleagues could rival here, had powers and funds been given them—that of John Dewey, today perhaps the world's foremost type of teacher and psychologist in one. Our authors are justly proud of this, but are too modestly sparing of details of his great work.

Their object and method are, however, social survey a movement we know here mainly from Dr. Harold Mann's initiatives in Deccan villages, and later ones as of Professors Slater and Makerjee; but which has been for these past thirty years struggling for foothold in Britain. Its most notable expression is of course in the ten volumes of Charles Booth's great "Survey of London;" and the schools of geography and social study of Edinburgh and Oxford, the London

* Peking, a social survey conducted under the Princeton University centre in China and the Peking Y. M. C. A. by Sidney D. Gamble, M. A., and John Stewart Burgess, M. A. Geo. H. Doran & Co New York, 1921. Price Net, Rs. 15.

school of Economics as well, have been increasingly applying and spreading its methods, though the old statistical and census routines, directed mainly towards taxation estimates, everywhere remain bureaucratically stereotyped in power. All this backwardness is essentially due to that idea-tight state of British education to French methods which lasted so firmly up to the war, and still holds on after it, and as American science has been perhaps even more sub-Germanic than our own, it was in the British form of the nineties that the Americans acquired their impulse to social surveys some full twenty years ago, and have developed it to nation-wide proportions, until the "Know-your-City" movement is as well nigh familiar a phrase as "the three R's" in England, and its literature runs to hundreds of volumes, thousands of papers and graduation theses. Some of it is rough and ready, much of it is careful and detailed, but all as yet is too empirical, too simply absorbed in the collection of facts, in general useful categories no doubt, but not standardised for comparison, and still less digested to interpretation of each type and sample of social evolution selected. It is needful indeed to say, at a time when social surveys are coming in to India, that it is not enough to start again as Frederic LePlay did three generations back, but to work out as he gradually did, and as his disciples Demolins and others have increasingly done, the ways in which survey of place and its advantages, survey of work and its conditions and progress, survey of people and their developments and institutions, qualities and defects, have to be correlated and interpreted; and all these in their interactions in their past and present, in their possibilities as well.

This is the aim of perfection: but it is also time to be appreciating that our authors have at any rate set their faces in the right direction and gathered a mass of reading of genuine value and interest under each of their headings—History, Geography, Government, Population, Health, Education, Commercial life, Recreation, the Social Evil, Poverty and Philanthropy, Prisons, Type section of town, nearest Neighbours, Church survey, Religious work, and Peking community service group—and each chapter with its share of details in the appendix. Here then is certainly a book with which the social enquirer in India can begin to look into his own town or village, be it great or small: though he would do well to look into other survey exhibits and literature—as of the Cities and Town planning Exhibition now in Bombay—for clearer correlations of them, though everywhere still too imperfect.

II

But at last to the book itself. It shows us clearly the strange medley of the great old capital with its long and not uneventful history, its many quarters, yet of simple and orderly planning, its population of 8 lakhs and more, congested of course, indeed thrice as much as in American cities, yet less badly per acre and mile than the bazaar quarters of Indian cities. The writers make us realise something of the difficult

political transition from ancient empire to modern democracy, the yet more economic strain and tension between ancient hand-workers' guilds and modern factory methods, the passing of an old education and the coming of a new. They realise too the need of further and fuller work alike for social studies and constructive programmes. They strongly emphasise that "there are two movements in Peking and China: the Renaissance and New Thought movement among the educated classes; and Protestant Christianity reaching all classes; and both of these movements have been taking an increasing interest in practical community service enterprises." Their discussion of each of these movements is sane and temperate, sympathetic and hopeful; and their initial summary of these chapters offers far more for quotation than space can afford. Thus for the correction of our traditional impression of the backwardness of China in general and Peking in particular, it is not a little interesting to learn and on such first-hand authority that "though the government of Peking is a Chinese puzzle—and with many and various boards whose powers are determined by custom rather than law . . . each official claims to know what to do in any emergency, while the police, whose organisation is modelled after that of Germany and Japan, exercise beyond the usual functions those of Board of Health, Fire Department and Census Bureau, and manage the most of the charitable institutions, so that Peking is well called one of the best-policed cities of the Orient" and with many improvements, begging greatly restricted, city cleaned up and sewered, and sanitation greatly improved—death rate only 25.8 per thousand! This is of course greatly helped by the enormous excess of men, who number a round two-thirds of the population—largely of young men, as students, and office-seekers in absurd numbers—again a factor towards social change. A vast educational city too as of old, and now with wide diffusion of popular and university extension teaching, as well as of all ordinary and extraordinary school and college kinds, and with technical and vocational instruction as well even for the blind; and often with new phonetic script replacing the old Chinese characters which took a lifetime to learn.

Our authors' account of the Renaissance or new intellectual movement will specially interest the Indian reader, with its bold aim "to re-make civilization" and for which "we emphasise democracy and science." Its attitude is critical, the transvaluation of all values; Chinese customs, Confucianism, old learning and thought, being all challenged to justify their value for society in the present age. Yet the long characteristic conservatism is not forgotten: old customs, theories and ideas are to be arranged and investigated in character and in effects; yet all in face of the modern outlooks and enquiries we find in America or Europe—social, governmental, religious and literary. Each too in characteristic detail; thus under the social heading, we have reconstruction, emancipation of women, parity, Confucianism, educational reform, the relation of father and son, economic

"labour problems"—a formidable list, and with reference to current authors in all countries from Russia to America.

To bring us back, however, from speculative thought to survey proper, no chapter is better than that of commercial life. The outstanding features of the business life of Peking—still hardly touched by modern industry and not yet admitting foreigners—are the merchant and labour guilds, the chamber of commerce and a few factories. Every trade has its guild of employers and employees together, and entered by three years' apprenticeship. "Centuries of experience have proved to the Chinese that competition is not fitted to their system of life. . . . They combine rather than compete." The power of resistance of these guilds to excessive taxation, their development of internal settlement of disputes without reference to public law, yet their loyal co-operation with all reasonable administration, taxation and justice make up an attractive picture. Curiously enough the oldest of all the guilds, which claims to have records reaching back 2000 years, is that of the blind, with their business of singing, story-telling and entertaining; and their organisation and procedure are of striking complexity, and a whole local government in itself. Yet with ritual, concert and feast to follow reports and court proceedings. Besides fixing prices, wages, hours, apprenticeship, it has been the guilds, not the government, which have established and maintained trade standards of weight, measure and quality; and relations between the traders and the public, among merchants and between employers and employed, are all covered by guild rules. Industrial troubles are usually short, and quickly settled by discussion and compromise; but when questions can not be settled in this way the strike and the boycott are the weapons used, and the genius of the Chinese for organisation and the power of the group are such that the strike is 100 per cent effective, and the boycott nearly so. Public interests are looked after by the Chamber of Commerce, and it steps in as mediator between employers and employees, but wages disputes are rare. And so on, through a whole web of life in which antique usage and modern adaptations seem striving to settle down anew, though how they will stand the strain of the mechanical age when it fully comes to bear on them has still to be seen. Does it not seem, however, as if this wise old China may get through its changes with less difficulty than Europe, America or India and even with suggestiveness to these?

Here then space compels us to leave the fascinating volume with congratulations to writers and recommendation to readers.

P. GEDDES.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN THE NATIVE STATES.

(By MR. L. G. GANU B.A., LL.B.)

The reports of the State Assemblies or Dhara Sabhas or Praja Parishads, ought to attract more public attention, than they usually do. At the in-

auguration of the New Regime in British India, a pious wish was expressed that the heads of several states would introduce proper reforms in the administration so as to harmonise with the administration obtaining in the neighbouring British territory. Some of the progressive states had already begun the work and it was merely a question of time with them to develop a full responsible Government. There are others who have only made a beginning and there are still others who are yet to begin. The subjects of the states have not been sitting idle all the while, and fortunately or otherwise, the present tension in the political atmosphere in British India, has given an impetus as it were to the demands of the people. Demands of the subjects in some cases may have been extravagant or premature in others, just as there may be monarchs, and absolute monarchs, in the year of grace 1922. Leaving aside both the extremes, there can be no two opinions as to the ideal of responsible Government engaging the attention of both the rulers and the ruled, in the near future. Theoretical grounds apart, history tells us that a well-governed country cannot afford to have as its neighbour a country which is ill-governed and the M. C. Report reiterated the same truth. It is high time therefore that the rulers bestir themselves and play their honourable part in the evolution of responsible Government in their States.

If the States are not personal estates and the institution of Government is not merely a farce, then there can be no better foundation of it than public opinion. Just as extremism is said to spoil a case, so also over-cautiousness on the part of those in power may retard the progress of society. The report of the Baroda State Assembly shows that, under the presidency of Nek Namdar Diwan Sahib, a resolution was moved to the effect that, in addition to the expansion of franchise in Municipal and other bodies, an appointment of an elected representative to the State Executive Council, was also proposed. Discussion followed and the President giving an assurance that the matter was under consideration, the resolution was withdrawn. Even this assurance is an index to the progress of events in the State. It need hardly be said that such assemblies ought to meet more often than they usually do, if they are to effect any good at all. The rulers ought to adapt themselves to the changed times, as H. E. the Viceroy said on one occasion and must put up with the ideal of responsible Government, as one, if not desirable, yet inevitable, from their own point of view. Unfortunately the significance of the warning seems to have not been brought home to many a prince; but the sooner it is realised the better.

It is not to be supposed that the responsibility of evolving a modern form of Government rests on the shoulders of the rulers only. The ruled in their own way, ought to educate themselves for the proper discharge of the new responsibility that is cast on them by a modern form of Government. Just as removal of the root-causes of the grievances of the subjects is the only way to win over public opinion, so also agi-

tion, as far as the present stage is concerned, ought not to transgress all reasonable limits of legitimate constitutional agitation. Just as it behoves all well-meaning rulers to rid themselves of the old idea that they should keep who *have* the power and they should take who *can*; so also people ought not to resort to short-cuts in this field of politics. The bitterness of the struggle between the two forces may well be avoided if both put their shoulders to the wheel in all seriousness and reasonableness and sincerity. It must be said in all fairness to the rulers that time has not come to stand at bay and the challenges given by some subjects of the States leave much to be desired. It lies in the hands of the rulers to keep the subjects contented and happy and the spirit of desperation exhibited by the subjects has its origin in the policy of the rulers. The report of the Bhor Praja Parishad, shows that even the subjects of the Native States are electrified by the tension of feelings in the political atmosphere of the country but it cannot be ignored that the subjects of the States are feeling their pulse for the first time.

The Pant Pratinidhi of Oadh has set a fine example in this part of the country, by laying the foundation of responsible Government in the State and the Chief Sahib ought to be congratulated on his being the pioneer in this field. The Singli Praja Parishad or Dhara Sabha, is said to meet very shortly. Let us hope that an early opportunity will be taken by the enlightened Chief Sahib to lay the corner stone of the fabric of responsible Government. It need hardly be said that people have got to be trusted in order to deserve the trust, just as the proper use of liberty can *only* be learnt by breathing in a free atmosphere only. The Indian Princes have been represented in the Imperial and Inter-National Conferences, it is but meet therefore that they should be the respecters of western political thought in their own territory. Would that both the parties leave aside the extremes and come to a common understanding as to the ways in which each is to play its part in building up a responsible Government. Let a beginning in that direction be made before it is too late, so that the ill-feelings and misunderstandings may be avoided.

PRESIDENT HARDING ON THE RACE PROBLEM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

"Politically and economically," you quote President Harding as saying, "there need be no occasion for great and permanent differentiation, for limitations of the individual's opportunity, provided that on both sides there shall be recognition of the absolute divergence in things social and racial." And you proceed to criticise and reject this doctrine in the most uncompromising manner.

May I remind you that Booker T. Washington also preached the same doctrine over and over again, using on one memorable occasion the picturesque image that the two colours might be united as the hand in things political and economic, but must nevertheless be separate as are the fingers of the hand in matters social and racial?

If you want to oppose this tooth and nail, you are free to do so, of course, but you should at any rate realise what it is that you are up against: it is one of the deepest instincts of human nature, an instinct common to representative and self-conscious races of all the principal colours—white, black, yellow, and brown,—and one that is as strong today as it was in the dawn of human history. If we, the reformers of the world of today, are to wage a war with the one object of ending all war for ever, one of the campaigns which we must wage incessantly must be against racial intermarriages. The Aryan Ramachandra and the un-Aryan Ravanastra cannot possibly bury the hatchet and settle down together as friends and brothers, as long as there lingers the slightest suspicion of promiscuous intentions, conjugal or bestial, on the part of the male-folk of either race towards the female-folk of the other.

B. K. T.

18-2-1922.

SURAT MUNICIPALITY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I am so glad to read your mild condemnation of Surat Municipal Non-co-operationists. But I wish the condemnation had not been so brief and mild.

In this letter, I intend to show you how the Non-co-operationists of Surat work up the people's passions.

(1) When the Surat Municipality delegated—I believe unlawfully—its entrusted task, the management of primary schools to an unauthorised, unregistered association, and closed the schools to avoid an inconvenient situation, the authorities requested the Non-co-operationists to open the schools so that the authorities may take peaceful possession of the school buildings.

It was not till last Thursday that the people were told about the request. Thus the breaking open of the schools was allowed to appear, and also deliberately represented, as the blackest act of violence on the part of the authorities.

(2) But I draw your serious attention to the following facts and I hope you will write disapprovingly of them.

On the suspension of the Municipality on Wednesday, a public meeting was held on Thursday evening. It was to be held in the Queen's Garden which was Municipal property. But the Collector had put up a notice that the property had lapsed to the Government, and that permission should be previously obtained on all occasions when a meeting was desired to be held there.

So there was a meeting on the beach. What hurt me most was the speech of Mr. Vithalbhai Patel. He said: "The suspension of the Municipality had clearly demonstrated that local Self-Government was a sham because the Government would not allow the people's representatives to do what they chose in the matter of local primary education!"

Will self-governing India allow such defiance of law and provincial authorities on the part of municipalities? Does local self-government mean city States?

Before I could find time to put these questions to Mr. Vithalbhai, the meeting had dissolved. When I approached him and requested him to allow a question I was told to see him at his place.

So this suspension is made a local grievance, and non-payment of local rates is advised. Mr. Vithalbhai also said that

he could not help advising an unpermitted enjoyment of the garden!

Yours sincerely,
GATULAL, D. BARFIVALA.

UNTOUCHABILITY IN THE WEST.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

'Two wrongs do not make a right';—much less, I suppose, do three wrongs make a right.

There is (1) untouchability in unhappy, benighted India, along with (2) untouchability in the jolly 'democratic' West and there is too (3) the Pharisaical self-righteousness—the cheap, handy Mrs. Jellyby spirit impatient of setting one's own house in order first, but only too ready to patronise Borrioboola Gha. (A dose of Dickens cannot but be salutary to such as are apt to lose sight of the counsel: 'First cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye,' as also the saying, 'Charity begins at home.') Well might the cynic suspect: Does it 'pay' to grasp at a neighbour's faults? By all means let us fight the untouchability at our doors,—but, Sir, it was wrong No. 8 that I ventured to expose in my last, with the result (I am sorry) that you have entirely misunderstood me. In further proof of wrong No. 2 you will please turn to your own London correspondent's remarks thereon in your issue of the 29th ult., and his mention of how American susceptibilities have been aroused by the choice of a full blooded African negro as the recipient of the world-famous literary prize offered at regular intervals by the Academie de Goncourt (in France).

Yours etc.,
S. D. NADKARNI.

Karwar 8 Feb.

A HISTORIC SCENE.

The completeness of the reversal of British policy towards Ireland was well illustrated on Monday when executive power was formerly transferred from the British authorities in Dublin to the Irish Provisional Government. In the first official announcement of the new Administration it was bluntly stated that "the members of the Provisional Government received the surrender of Dublin Castle at 1-45 p. m. to-day. It is now in the hands of the Irish nation." The word "surrender" must have given a twinge to many a disillusioned Unionist when it appeared. Nevertheless it seems to describe what actually occurred. Mr. Michael Collins and his colleagues were privately received by the Lord Lieutenant, who proceeded forthwith to acknowledge, formally and officially, the authority of the new Government. The machinery was at once set in motion for transferring the control of all departments to the Irish Ministers, one of whose first effective strokes was to secure a temporary solution of a menacing railway strike. It is significant that there was no swearing in of the newly installed Ministers, and in the King's telegram to the Lord Lieutenant there was no reference to 'My Government in Ireland.' His Majesty simply expressed his gratification at the successful establishment of the Provisional Government and his confidence that Lord Fitz Alan would do all in his power to help its members to accomplish their task. Dublin Castle is to be put to the purposes of a museum. It would be no home for a free Irish Government. Patriotic Irishmen look upon that ugly building very much as the French regarded the Bastille.

THE BARDOLI PROGRAMME

THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS.

The Working Committee of the Congress met at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th instant and passed the following important resolutions:—

CHAURI CHAURA AFFAIR.

(1) The Working Committee deplores the inhuman conduct of the mob at Chauri Chaura in having brutally murdered constables and wantonly burned the police thana and tenders its sympathy to the families of the bereaved.

SUSPENSION OF MASS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

(2) In view of Nature's repeated warnings—every time mass civil disobedience has been imminent some popular violent outburst has taken place, indicating that the atmosphere in the country is not non-violent enough for mass civil disobedience, the latest instance being the tragic and terrible events at Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur—the Working Committee of the Congress resolves that mass civil disobedience contemplated at Bardoli and elsewhere be suspended and instructs the local Congress Committee forthwith to advise the cultivators to pay the land revenue and other taxes due to the Government and whose payment might have been suspended in anticipation of mass civil disobedience, and instructs them to suspend every other preparatory activity of an offensive nature.

(3) The suspension of mass civil disobedience shall be continued till the atmosphere is so non-violent as to ensure the non-repetition of popular atrocities such as at Gorakhpur or hooliganism such as at Bombay and Madras, respectively on the 17th November, 1921, and the 13th January last.

CONGRESS ACTIVITIES TO BE RELAXED.

(4) In order to promote a peaceful atmosphere the Working Committee advises till further instructions all Congress organizations to stop activities especially designed to court arrest and imprisonment, save normal Congress activities, including voluntary *hartals*, wherever an absolutely peaceful atmosphere can be assured, and for that end all picketing shall be stopped, save for the *bona fide* and peaceful purpose of warning visitors to liquor shops against the evils of drinking, such picketing to be controlled by persons of known good character and specially selected by the Congress Committee concerned.

DEFIANT MEETINGS AND PROCESSIONS.

(5) The Working Committee advises till further instructions the stoppage of all volunteer processions and public meetings merely for the purpose of defiance of the notifications regarding such meetings. This, however, shall not interfere with the private meetings of the Congress and other committees or public meetings which are required for the conduct of the normal activities of the Congress.

ZEMINDARS AND RYOTS.

(6) Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that ryots are not paying rents to the zemindars, the Working Committee advises the Congress workers and organizations to inform the ryots that such withholding of rents is contrary to the resolutions of the Congress, and that it is injurious to the best interests of the country.

(7) The Working Committee assures the zemindars that the Congress movement is in no way intended to attack their legal rights and that even where the ryots have grievances the Committee desires that redress should be sought by mutual consultations and by the usual recourse to arbitrations.

VOLUNTEER RULES.

(8) Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that in the formation of volunteers corps

great laxity prevails in the selection and that insistence is not had on the full use of hand-spun and hand-woven *khaddar* and on the full observance by Hindus of the rule as to the removal of untouchability, nor is care being taken to ascertain that the candidates believe fully in the observance of non-violence in intent, word and deed in terms of the Congress resolution, the Working Committee calls upon all Congress organizations to revise their lists and remove from them the names of all such volunteers as do not strictly conform to the requirements of the pledge.

(9) The Working Committee is of opinion that unless Congressmen carry out to the full the Congress constitution and the resolutions from time to time issued by the Working Committee, it is not possible to achieve its objects expeditiously or at all.

(10) The foregoing resolutions will have effect only pending the meeting to be specially convened of the All-India Congress Committee, and thereafter, subject to confirmation by it, the secretary to call such a meeting as early as possible after consultation with Hakim Ajmal Khan.

INSTRUCTIONS.

Whereas the Gorakhpur tragedy is a powerful proof of the fact that the mass mind has not yet fully realized the necessity of non-violence as an integral, active and chief part of mass civil disobedience, and whereas the reported indiscriminate acceptance of persons as volunteers in contravention of the Congress instructions betrays want of appreciation of the vital part of Satyagraha, and whereas in the opinion of the Working Committee the delay in the attainment of the national aim is solely due to the weak and incomplete execution in practice of the constitution of the Congress and with a view to perfecting the internal organization, the Working Committee advises all Congress organizations to be engaged in the following activities:—

(1) To enlist at least one crore of members of the Congress.

Note.—(1) Since peace (non-violence and legitimacy) and truth are the essence of the Congress creed no person should be enlisted who does not believe in non-violence and truth as indispensable for the attainment of Swaraj. The creed of the Congress must, therefore, be carefully explained to each person who is appealed to join the Congress.

Note.—(2) The workers should note that no one who does not pay the annual subscription can be regarded as a qualified Congressman. All the old members are, therefore, to be advised to register their names.

(2) To popularize the spinning-wheel and organize the manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven *khaddar*.

Note.—To this end all workers and office-bearers should be dressed in *khaddar* and it is recommended that with a view to encourage others they should themselves learn hand-spinning.

(3) To organize national schools.

Note.—No picketing of Government schools should be resorted to. Best reliance should be placed upon the superiority of national schools in all vital matters to command attendance.

(4) To organize the depressed classes for a better life, to improve their social, mental and moral condition, to induce them to send their children to national schools and to provide for them the ordinary facilities which other citizens enjoy.

Note.—Whilst, therefore, where prejudices against the untouchables is still strong in places, separate schools and separate wells must be maintained out of the Congress funds, every effort should be made to draw such children to the

national schools and to persuade the people to allow the untouchables to use the common wells.

(5) To organize the temperance campaign amongst the people addicted to the drink-habit by house to house visits and to rely more upon appeals to the drinker in his home than upon picketing.

(6) To organize village and town *panchayats* for private settlement of all disputes, reliance being placed solely upon the force of public opinion and the truthfulness of the *panchayat's* decision to ensure obedience to them.

Note.—In order to avoid even the appearance of coercion no social boycott should be resorted to against those who will not obey the *panchayat's* decisions.

(7) In order to promote and emphasize unity among all classes and races and mutual good-will, the establishment of which is the aim of the movement of non-co-operation, to organize a social service department that will render help to all, irrespective of differences in times of illness or accident.

Note.—A non-co-operator, whilst firmly adhering to his creed, will deem it a privilege to render personal service in the case of illness or accident to every person, whether English or Indian.

(8) To continue the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund and to call upon every Congressman or Congress sympathizer to pay at least one-hundredth part of his annual income for the year 1931; every province to send every month 25 per cent, of its income from the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to the All-India Congress Committee.

(9) The above resolutions shall be brought before the forthcoming session of the All-India Congress Committee for revision, if necessary.

(10) In the opinion of the Working Committee a project is necessary for the purpose of finding employment for those who may give up Government service and to that end the committee appoints Messrs. Mian Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chotani, Jamanlal Bajaj and V. J. Patel to draw up a scheme for consideration by the said special meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

MALAVIYA COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS.

At a meeting of the Committee of the Representative Conference, held in Bombay on Tuesday evening, the following resolutions were passed:—

1. (a) The Committee of the Bombay Representative Conference places on record its profound satisfaction that the Working Committee of the Congress, at its meeting at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th instant, adopted resolutions suspending the contemplated civil disobedience, suspending aggressive non-co-operation activities and modifying the Congress programme so as to emphasize its constructive moral, social, and economic, as well as political aims.

(b) The Committee confidently hopes that the All-India Congress Committee will confirm the resolutions at their meeting, which has been specially convened for the purpose.

(c) The Committee wishes further to express its appreciation of the high courage and patriotism with which Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues of the Working Committee have acknowledged the significance of the deplorable events at Chauri Chaura, and of the promptitude with which they have revised the Congress programme.

(d) The Committee conveys its thanks to Mr. Gandhi and the Working Committee for their courtesy in inviting the members of this Committee to attend the meeting of the Working Committee at Bardoli, and in giving Pandit Malaviya and Messrs. Natarajan and Jayakar, who attended it, the opportunity of expressing their views before the Working Committee.

2. The Committee feels it its duty to record its considered opinion that the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Congress at Bardoli, when they are confirmed at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee specially convened for the purpose, will ensure an even more favourable atmosphere than that contemplated in His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the Deputation which waited on him on December 21st at Calcutta, for convening a Representative Conference to consider the grievances and demands of the people.

3. In view of the new situation created by the resolutions of the Working Committee of the Congress, this Committee is of opinion that the Government of India should give immediate effect to the recommendations, contained in Resolution 3 of the Bombay Representative Conference, for the withdrawal of orders and notifications and the release of prisoners.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S PENITENTIAL FAST.

Mr. Gandhi is announcing a fast of five days which commenced from Sunday evening and ends on Friday at 6. p.m.

Writing to *Young India* on the Chauri Chaura tragedy, he states that as the author of civil disobedience he feels specially responsible and must do additional penance. He says all fast must be secret, but he announces the present one, because he regards it both as a penance and a punishment. It is a punishment for those who have committed the brutal murders, which he contends no amount of provocation could possibly justify. He says "Love can only punish by suffering."

He advises the criminals voluntarily to deliver themselves to the authorities and make a clean confession of their crimes. He dissuades Congress workers from copying his fast, but strongly urges them to prosecute the new constructive programme mapped out by the Working Committee. Mr. Gandhi regards the Chauri Chaura tragedy as the third warning of God against hasty embarkation on mass civil disobedience. He describes the crimes of Ahmedabad and Viramgam in 1919 as the first warning and the Bombay riots of November last as the second.

Following as it does, immediately upon his letter to His Excellency the Viceroy and his rejoinder to Government's reply, he calls his third retraction the bitterest cup of humiliation. But he says such humiliation, ostracism and even death are preferable to any countenancing of untruth or violence. He says in his article that he feels stronger for its confession and is sure that the country will gain by starving for truth and non-violence.

Mr. Gandhi pays a tribute to the members of the Working Committee and those who were with him on Saturday for co-operating with him in his desire for suspension of mass civil disobedience and minor kindred activities.

PANDIT MALAVIYA'S TRIBUTE TO MAHATMA GANDHI.

Before leaving Bardoli, Panditji addressed a public meeting there, which was attended by several hundred persons. Mahatma Gandhi was also present, so also were Mian Haji Chotani and almost all the other leaders who were at Bardoli. Panditji congratulated the people of Bardoli on their readiness to undergo, in the interest of the national cause, the very serious sacrifices, and hardships which civil disobedience must involve. He explained why under Mahatma Gandhi's wise and large-hearted guidance the Working Committee had decided to suspend civil disobedience. The decision would disappoint those who ardently desired that it should begin. But in view of the tragedy at Chauri Chaura the decision was both patriotic and righteous, Panditji warmly admired

Mahatma Gandhi for having come to that decision. Panditji said that it was only a truly high-souled man like Mahatma Gandhi who could calmly arrive at that decision, after having so recently expressed his intention in his letter to the Viceroy to start civil disobedience at Bardoli. It proved beyond dispute that Mahatma Gandhi was absolutely opposed to violence. He also stated that Mahatma Gandhi had arrived at that decision purely from the point of what was right and righteous, and without any reference to the attitude of the Government in the matter of civil disobedience.

Panditji explained the programme, namely, the enrolment of a crore of members for the Congress instructed in the purest patriotism, free from any taint of ill-will towards Englishmen, but which would teach them to regard it a matter of deep shame to continue to live under a foreign bureaucratic system and inspire them with an unshakable desire and unflagging endeavour to establish Dominion Home Rule in the country at the earliest possible date; the promotion of the use of hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar or Swadeshi cloth which would contribute materially to the economic uplift and independence of the people at large; the total prohibition of the use of intoxicating liquors; the uplift of the depressed classes by education and all other reasonable means, the discouragement of the spirit of litigation, and the establishment of arbitration courts in villages and towns; and the promotion of national unity not only between Hindus and Moslems but amongst all sections and classes of the people and cordial co-operation between persons of all shades of political opinion for the purpose of achieving a redress of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and the early establishment of Swaraj and strongly recommended that all the lovers of the Motherland should sink or obviate differences and unite in giving effect to the programme and thereby hastening the advent of Swaraj.—The *Bombay Chronicle*.

A LETTER TO MAHATMA GANDHI.

Messrs. Jayakar and Natarajan have addressed the following letter to Mahatma Gandhi under date the 14th instant:

Dear Mahatmajji,

We feel we ought to write a line to tell you how highly we value your rare courage and statesmanship in putting through the Bardoli Resolutions in the Working Committee. Neither of us, as you know, has the bump of hero-worship inordinately developed, but we assure you that the pure motive and high principle of your leadership which we witnessed at Bardoli have moved us deeply. That your action has saved the country from what, in our opinion, would have been a dreadful calamity, is a matter for which we are grateful. But we feel still more grateful that our country has had the high privilege of learning from your example what true patriotism is and how it meets situations where right seems to conflict sharply with the claims of personal prestige. You have taught us all by your attitude and conduct at this eventful crisis, that the highest truth is also the highest expediency in national as in personal affairs.

We earnestly pray that you may have health and strength vouchsafed to you for many years to lead the country through honourable and self-respecting ways to the goal of *Swaraj*, in all the height and width of individual and national self-conquest. For ourselves, we shall ever feel it a great privilege, in such small measure as is given to us, to do all we can to help the prosecution of your high mission. The differences in regard to the several items of the Congress programme, have been reduced to a minimum by the Bardoli Resolutions which we trust will be endorsed and amplified in one or two respects by the All-India Congress Committee. With a few

more modifications in the direction of the Bardoli proviso, the Congress programme will closely approximate to what, we believe, is the most suitable and advantageous programme in the present circumstances of the country, and the Congress will in a larger measure than ever come to represent the living forces at work among us.

With deep respects,

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) K. NATARAJAN.
(Sd.) M. R. JAYAKAR.

PRESS OPINIONS.

The Times of India, Bombay daily, (Anglo-Indian).

There is little in the new programme of the Congress on which we cannot all unite, if not in joint work then at least in benevolent sympathy. The use of khaddar and the popularising of the spinning wheel embody great and beneficent ideals. They hold before us the ideal of a stern and uncomfortable simplicity in life and living, in contrast to the slothful materialism of the day; they embody the equally fine ideal of domestic industries and laborious living, in contrast to the miseries of the factory system and an indulgent leisure. If we cannot wholly subscribe to them it is not from lack of sympathy with the ideals they embody, but from the conviction that no movements of this character can be permanent unless based on sound economic considerations, and the spinning wheel is not economic and we doubt if it ever can be. The organisation of schools goes to the root of one of the greatest Indian problems, her illiteracy; there is room and to spare for every form of educational activity, provided it is constructive and not the mere disruption of the established system of education with nothing better to put in its place. The promotion of temperance is one of the greatest needs of the day. But temperance was never promoted nor ever will by importing the hired bravo with his latbi to threaten the man who wants his dram; it demands long and painful education, in which legislation and administrative reform should march hand in hand with the temperance advocate. The organisation of village and town panchayets for the private settlement of disputes is a cause we all have at heart, so as to reduce the waste of substance involved in litigation. We are all one in the cause of social services. Here then is a programme of constructive social work which will unite instead of dividing, which will heal the wounds of India and not inflame them. If that is the programme of the Congress, then we can say All's Well; India can go straight ahead, working with zeal and confidence to full self-government, to an Indian State in which we shall be happy to live, which we shall all be proud to serve. But if we are to live all the time on the borderland of revolution, then our last state will be so infinitely worse than the first that it is far preferable to have the fundamental issue between the two vitally opposed policies of evolution and revolution, law and no law settled at once, no matter what the present cost may be.

The Bombay Chronicle, daily (Congress)

Our opponents will doubtless describe the Working Committee's decision as another admission of failure by the Mahatma. Nor will they be wrong. But in their further conclusions they will most assuredly deceive themselves. For every such honest admission of failure hastens the advent of Swaraj and the defeat of our opponents with their "Politics" and Repression. The copy books of the West are prone to give instructive little stories about people who surrender present advantages—even life itself—rather than compromise with sin. These people are called martyrs and their refusal to have truck with evil is hailed as a great moral victory of

the most immense benefit to their cause. So it is with the Bardoli decision. It has strengthened our cause—the cause of Swaraj. The evil of Chauri Chaura has been discounted, and, though they will not admit it yet—indeed they will hardly realize it—our opponents have been discomfited. The Mahatma's wise words we quoted yesterday must remain the only and the most complete justification of the Working Committee's decision. "Stubborn and impleacable resistance against internal corruption is enough resistance against the Government. As soon as the process of self-purification is complete, we shall miss the system we appear to be fighting."

As to the lines on which the process of self-purification should develop the Working Committee's resolutions are clear and unequivocal. Merely condemning the Chauri Chaura is not enough. Nor is our mere dissociation from those who do violence all we must do. We must convert the rioters and all potential rioters to our view. To do this we must live the Truth we preach. We declare and believe that our movement is irresistibly strong and put our faith in its power to win Swaraj. To prove its strength to the sceptical we must give evidence of our self-restraint by suspending certain activities. It may seem a hard task after Repression has been rampant. It may seem to hurt our pride. But we cannot claim to be masters over ourselves if we fail in so simple a test. For the misjudgement of our opponents—their eager but miscalculating jubilation at what they deem our failure—must be things too small to move us. And if they cannot hurt us we must pity them in their impotent malevolence. When we can all do this, Swaraj is ours indeed. The Working Committee's resolutions are more than advice. They constitute a profession of faith and a moral code. And since the faith and the Code is one to which every good Muslim, Hindu, Christian or Parsi must subscribe, India will most certainly act as the Working Committee desires. It is the only way to that Swaraj for India which is already in the possession of each one of us waiting for us to realize the fact of our ownership. And so simply honest are the Working Committee's resolutions—so crystal clear—that none need expounding. Granting that we are honest men, fighting an honest battle with the weapons of honesty we cannot help but act in the only way open to us—honestly.

The Hindu, Madras Daily, (Congress).

To those who, like ourselves, had serious misgivings as to the wisdom of embarking on civil disobedience at the present time the decision of the Working Committee to suspend the programme of offensive Non-Co-operation will come as a great relief. The horrible affair at Gorakhpur has shown that the necessary atmosphere of non-violence, without which mass disobedience is fraught with terrible results, is emphatically not present over some parts of the country. We are aware that the Mahatma is not the man to launch on civil disobedience unless he was perfectly satisfied that it was possible nay, certain, to preserve non-violence in the area of his selection. While it is therefore probable that non-payment could have been pushed to a successful issue in Bardoli, we must not overlook two important considerations. One is the practical certainty of the Mahatma's arrest the moment the campaign begins. How far in the natural indignation such a step is sure to evoke it would be possible to ensure against violence even in places which have assimilated the true spirit of Non-Co-operation must remain open to doubt. In the second place it would be impossible to avoid elsewhere in India the repercussions of the struggle in Bardoli. Bardoli itself might suffer in peace but there are areas which might attempt to translate their sympathy and enthusiasm into unpleasant shapes. The decision therefore, as we said, is a

wise one. We must also draw pointed attention to the fact that the decision implies the suspension of all offensive activities thus going beyond the terms of Mr. Gandhi's offer in connection with the abortive conference proposals. It is no longer open to Congressmen to disobey laws, however iniquitous. To suffer in patience is part of the penance imposed on the country for its irresponsiveness to the call of absolute non-violence. That, we need hardly point out, does not imply the cessation of Congress activity. With wise forethought the Working Committee has provided a constructive programme of work which if less spectacular than civil disobedience will go far unobtrusively to strengthen the foundations of the national edifice. And the programme has the outstanding merit that, as it is one to which no sensible Government could reasonably take exception, it ought likewise to appeal strongly to those Indians who were apprehensive of certain features of the Non-Co-operation movement. Men like Mr. Malaviya may with an easy conscience do their best to help while "enfants terrible" of the type of Mr. Jamnadas may be persuaded to refrain from hindering.

The *Leader*, Allahabad daily (Liberal)

The resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Congress indicate the dawn of reason and the triumph of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the members of the Bombay Conference Committee and the moderates among the non-co-operators like Mr. Jayakar, who were opposed to the destructive items of the non-co-operation programme and who fully realized the grave dangers involved in the starting of mass civil disobedience and calculated defiance of authority which has been going on especially since the issue of notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The resolutions passed outline a constructive programme of social, educational and political work and are calculated to minimise occasions of friction between the lawfully established authority and the non-co-operators. They are subject to approval by the All-India Congress Committee. They will bring about a relaxation in the existing tension and induce a peaceful atmosphere, comparatively speaking, if they are strictly followed by the non-cooperation workers throughout the country and are not departed from in letter and spirit as so many other resolutions of the Congress Committee have been.

This revision of the Congress policy in the light of the experience gained, as desired by a large number of the Deccan non-co-operators, does not remove the fundamental objection that the aim of the Congress activities is to destroy the existing system. But in so far as they have been given constructive turn, this objection need not be seriously urged. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others who have thus succeeded in bringing about the modification of the Congress policy, for which they are indebted in a large measure to the ferocious madness of the non-co-operation volunteers at Chauri Chaura, are now likely to concentrate their efforts on the Viceroy to bring about a round-table conference. May it be hoped that no fresh offensive will be taken on the part of Government at the present juncture? It should wait and see if the resolutions are faithfully followed by the non-co-operators in the country and are ratified by the All-India Congress Committee. The situation has been so altered that if the Government contemplated taking any decisive action it has to pause and reconsider the whole situation. For civil disobedience has for the time being been postponed and the defiance of the notifications by means of processions and meetings has been prohibited.

The *Tribune*, Lahore daily, (Independent).

It will thus be seen that the atrocities perpetrated at Gorakhpur have done what the combined activities of the

Government, the Liberals and the Independents had failed to do, and that not only mass civil disobedience but all civil disobedience now stands suspended, not for a short and specified period, but practically *sine die*. For although all these resolutions are subject to confirmation by the All-India Congress Committee which is about to be convened, there is absolutely no reason to doubt that that Committee will only register the present decision. After all Mahatma Gandhi is at present the Committee, as he is the Congress, and once his mind is made up, it is perfectly certain that the rest of the process will follow automatically. This, then, is the soul of good, which all who were for one reason or another opposed to some of the most prominent activities of the non-co-operators, will find in that terrible evil which has during the last few days shocked the country from end to end. Now that providence has so unexpectedly brought about a radical change in the situation, the question which every one will ask is, what is the Government going to do? It has had more than the Viceroy or any one else ever asked for. All the conditions laid down by the Viceroy, the Governor of Bengal, the Home member or by one else have now been completely satisfied. It is not, therefore, in the fitness of things that the Government should at once rise to the height of its duty and its God-given opportunity and redeem the pledged word of the Viceroy in his Calcutta speech? All those non-co-operation activities which have hitherto been represented as a stumbling block in the path of peace now definitely cease. What excuse then can the Government have either for not withdrawing the notifications and releasing all those arrested or sentenced under them or for not calling a Round Table Conference properly representative of the people? We can see none, and we do hope Lord Reading and his Government will see none.

New India, Madras daily, (Basant).

To-day brings an eminently satisfactory telegram from Bardoli, dated 12th, and we learn and that the Working Committee met on Feb. 11 and 12. In view of the massacre at Chauri Chauri, the Committee suspends Civil Disobedience until it is certain that such popular atrocities and such hooliganism as that at Bombay and Madras will not recur *i.e.*, till the Greek Kalends. The Government and the country will have a sigh of relief. Further, all activities intended to court arrest and imprisonment shall cease, and all picketing except that of peaceably warning visitors of the evils of drinking, even such picketing is to be superintended by persons of known good character, specially selected by the Congress Committee of the place. All Volunteer processions, and public meetings, merely for the purpose of defiance of the notifications shall be stopped. Rents are to be paid to Zemindars, even when tenants have grievances, and these should be settled by consultation or arbitration. Complaints having been made that great laxity has been shown in the enrolment of Volunteers, the Congress organisations should revise their lists, and remove all Volunteers who do not fully carry out the conditions laid down, and strictly conform to the pledge. Normal Congress activities should go on, and voluntary hartals may, be carried out only where an absolutely peaceful atmosphere is secure. A number of suggestions for work are made of a useful kind, including the lessening of racial bad feeling, and there should be no social boycott. A meeting of the Congress is to be called to confirm the resolutions. If the Congress confirms them, and thus returns to legitimate and constitutional paths, we venture to suggest that the Governor-in-Council should advise the Local Governments to set free all who have been imprisoned under the notifications, and thus wipe away the memory of the controversies which have arisen over them and their result.

The Servant of India, Poona Weekly, (Liberal).

The news from Bardoli—that mass civil disobedience and other hostile activities of non-co-operation are to be suspended—is the best that a distracted India has had now for ever so long. We sincerely and unreservedly congratulate Mr. Gandhi on the step taken by him and Working Committee on their endorsement of it. His enemies may mock him for it: but for ourselves we consider that in nothing does Mr. Gandhi show such true greatness as by the frankness with which he avows his own mistakes. He is being reproached for the alleged facility with which he makes these avowals. He has often been told, that it is a poor reparation after a great disaster has been brought about to say, "I am sorry, I made a mistake." Comparisons are odious: but one cannot but compare the attitude of Mr. Gandhi with that of Mr. Lloyd George, after they had both made "Himalayan" mistakes. Mr. George's "policy" reduced Ireland to complete chaos and savagery, but when he found that he had perforce to retrace his steps and reverse his policy completely—never a word did he breathe of having originally blundered; to this day we have never yet had from him any avowal, frank or otherwise, of the huge mistake his Irish repressive policy was from start to finish. From Mr. Gandhi we have learnt to expect a more lofty attitude—simply because he is not a mere opportunist, but a man of principle; a man quite unlike Western "statesmen," in that he believes that his principles, his ideas and his religion (call it what you like), because true, are therefore also practical politics.

In congratulating Mr. Gandhi and his Congress fellow-workers first, we would not imply that others deserve less congratulations. Pandit Malaviya's share in moderating Mr. Gandhi's civil disobedience enthusiasm is well known and to him and to those striving with him to find a *via media* to peace the thanks of the country are due for their unremitting labours which have now been crowned with such splendid success. Incidentally it has proved that the best, in fact the only way of stopping what now everybody admits was a wrong policy on Mr. Gandhi's part, was to have left him to settle it with his fellow-countrymen. Neither Prince nor Viceroy, neither repression nor bureaucracy, can claim any share in the happy ending of what looked ominously like the greatest blunder of Indian history. One wonders whether this lesson will also sink in and be taken to heart by all those Englishmen who would be our friends—that to leave India to Indians is not only not to court strife, but the only method of ensuring peace. Meanwhile, our congratulations are also offered to those Indian administrations, like those of Bombay and the Central Provinces, that during a nerve trying time have shown the supreme wisdom of staying their hand, where their clumsier fellows have essayed the mailed fist.

Last but not least, our congratulations go not to the whole of our Metherland for having just in the nick of time been saved from a gigantic catastrophe. And more than that: India must be congratulated that at last her greatest son to day has turned from a will-of-the-wisp to devote once more all his energies to his great and truly germane task—of kindling the spirit of unity and quelling that of strife; of calling us all back to the ideals of plain living and high thinking; of promoting those additional opportunities for work and education, which are so dear to him; and above all, of delivering India out of the cruel bondage of vice and untouchability. In such work need we assure Mahatmaji that he will be able to count on the wholehearted co-operation and support of all men of good-will, of every party and of every race: and not least of those, who have all along been inspired along such

lines by the memory of the man, whom Mr. Gandhi himself has claimed as his own Guru—our late Mr. Gokhale.

The Sind Observer, Karachi daily, (Independent).

Meanwhile, it is good news that comes across the wires from Bardoli. The incurable optimist, Pandit Malaviya, believes all is not lost. He has the unconquerable hope that the high resolves and solemn vows of the opposing parties will not materialise. Having warned the N. C. O. leader of the danger that will be caused to the country and his own movement of mass civil disobedience by his Bardoli campaign coming in the wake of the latest incidents at Chauri Chaura, he has gone over there and brought him round to his own line of thinking. At the meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress at Bardoli which came off yesterday, the secretaries of the Bombay Conference were present to discuss the situation. The superstrategist he is, Mr. Gandhi must have taken to heart the strong remonstrance of the secretaries that he was precipitating the issue by his No-Tax Campaign in Bardoli, and, to win the support of the independents once more, has advisedly given up the cause for a time. We are thus to have a breathing space. The impending calamity of civil disobedience has thus been averted. Pandit Malaviya has succeeded in his attempts. Nature has warned many times that civil disobedience, though not immoral, is anti-social, but the Congress has heeded it not. Mr. Gandhi realises it now, and we are glad of it. The lesson of Chauri Chaura has gone home. There is the old talk in the resolutions of the Congress Working Committee, which appear elsewhere, about a complete non-violent atmosphere being obtainable at one time or another, when the campaign may be begun afresh. Let us not grudge Mr. Gandhi the luxury of happy hopes. Meanwhile, what is material to our consideration is that he has called off his campaign. Now, by their studied dilatoriness, the Government of India would be trying the patience of Mr. Malaviya and his friends, and, having cut the ground from under their feet, drive them into the camp of the N. C. O. In fact, this aspect of the situation Mr. Gandhi might have taken into his reckoning, while making the present surrender. "Government have nothing to add to their Monday's communique," is no answer to the situation that demands, "stern action"—of course, in the right direction.

Swarajya, Madras daily, (Congress).

The Resolutions of the Working Committee give a totally different turn to future Congress work. The Gorakhpur outbreak, following on the Bombay disturbances, and the Madras hooliganism showed up the weaknesses of our organisation. It has made a revision in our programme imperative. It would have been extremely unwise to ignore the lessons of Gorakhpur. The Committee which met at Bardoli has now directed the country to set the house in order before it commences offensive operations. Volunteer organisations have to be thoroughly overhauled, insistence being laid more on quality than on quantity. Enrolment of members to the Congress, collections to the Tilak Swaraj Fund and an intensive Swadeshi propaganda have to be renewed. Above all the supreme necessity, of non-violence has to be driven home into the massmind. It now becomes the religious duty of every Congressman to help in securing a perfectly non-violent atmosphere. In short, our country has to pass through another period of stern and self-imposed discipline which would make the recurrence of the Gorakhpur or Bombay happenings an impossibility.

The Dnyanodaya, Bombay Weekly, (Christian Missionary).

Thanks to the sleepless vigilance and timely intervention of Pandit Malaviya and his noble compatriots, also to the

'repeated warnings' of Malabar, Malegaon, Dharwar, Bombay, Madras, and now Gorakhpur, India is spared at least temporarily the 'heroic folly' of civil disobedience. All classes may unite in the revised programme for Indian Social Reform, and we hope the Malaviya Committee will work on for permanent reconciliation.

Justice, Madras daily, (Non-Brahmin).

Thus, the present programme, if followed in its entirety, will prove to be innocuous, and as such there will be few people who will be disposed to take any exception to it. But the question is—how far the present injunctions will be obeyed by the large mass of hooligans and rowdies who have joined the ranks of the non-co-operators and who have revelled so long in the opportunities afforded by the previous programme to indulge in their nefarious predilections towards violence and lawlessness? There is however, one consolation, and that is that the Congress has now entirely dissociated itself from the provocative aspect of the propaganda which its adherents have so far been pursuing. This emphatic withdrawal of support from the unruly elements will give the Government a free hand to deal with the latter in the way the law allows them to without incurring the slightest disapprobation from the Congress. The Congress has enjoined the cessation of all violent activities such as picketing, holding public meetings and processions in defiance of Government orders, and so forth; those who violate these injunctions will now have no reason to expect any the slightest encouragement or sympathy from the Congress quarters. Naturally, therefore, the Government can now exercise their sway, enforce their laws, and assert their authority, without coming in for needless abuse or denunciation in the non-co-operation journals. This, in itself, is no small gain, and it now remains for the authorities to check the wave of lawlessness that has been set a-surgung by the non-co-operators, but from which they have now arisen themselves.

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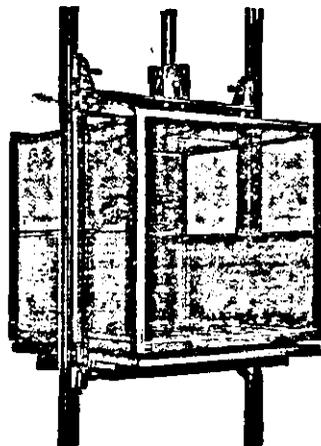
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The New Varnashram: We published last week a letter from a Hindu correspondent endorsing President Harding's views on the Negro problem in the United States, and declaring that intermarriages are an evil which a determined effort should be made to prevent. On the other side, the Rev. Stanley Jones, himself an American, writes to-day to say that he regards the President's views as un-Christian. Apart from the religious aspect of the question, where is the line to be drawn without which marriages are not permissible? The full-blooded Negro and the full-blooded white represent the extreme ends of the colour spectrum. But even in America, there are, as the result of the white man's promiscuity, intermixtures of various shades and degrees. If intercourse outside marriage is not barred to the white man with black women, why should inter-marriage be banned between them? Is it to the good of either community that all persons of mixed parentage should be illegitimate, with all the demoralizing consequences of such a slur upon their birth? A principle of the kind laid down by President Harding, in order to be valid, must apply to cases outside America as well as to those within. The moment such a test is applied, the theory ignominiously breaks down. The real question is not whether inter-marriages are ethnically and ethically the most desirable kind of marriages, but whether they violate any principle in the interests of which the personal liberty of individuals should be abrogated by the action of the Legislature. Have our white friends any principle or have they only prejudices to guide them in their relations with non-white peoples? Are machine-guns secure foundations for a civilization? That, ultimately, is the question they should deeply ponder.

The Suspension of the Surat and Ahmedabad Municipalities: A correspondent from Surat writing last week blamed us for having given only a mild support to the action of the Government of Bombay in suspending the Surat and Ahmedabad Municipalities. The *Praja Bandhu* of Ahmedabad, on the other hand, rebukes us for according our support to the suspension. To begin with, we may explain that our support amounted to very little more than the recognition that, under the circumstances, Government had no alternative but to take the action that they have done in the case of the two Municipalities.

The part of the Non-Co-operation programme which, in our opinion, was the most ill-judged and most fraught with evil consequences, was the part of it relating to education. The boycott of Government and aided institutions and the withdrawal of students from them, have put back educational progress. This was bad enough in the case of Colleges and High Schools, but it was absolutely wicked in the case of primary schools which are the class of schools conducted by municipalities. In the primary schools, education is given wholly through the medium of the Vernacular, and it is idle to pretend that the curriculum of primary schools in a national system differs in any material respect from that followed in them at present. Such being the case, the refusal of Government grant by the Municipalities was an addition to the burden on the rate-payers without any excuse for it, and a willful reduction of the quantity of education which, with the grant, the Municipalities can provide. The inspection by the Government agency at present may not be very efficient, but that is not the point at issue. The two institutions that should be most tenderly treated by true nationalists are education and local self-government. The non-co-operations in Surat and Ahmedabad Municipalities chose these for their first onslaught.

A Point of Jail Discipline: In the course of a communication refuting certain allegations made by a contemporary regarding the treatment of a prisoner, not a political prisoner, in Hyderabad Central Prison, the Bombay Director of Information has the following explanation of a practice to which reference was made in an editorial note last week. "When the Superintendent or any official visits the prisoners," the Director observes, "the latter stand with their hands open, the arms being at right angles to the elbows and the elbows in at the sides. The object of this is to show that there is nothing concealed in the hands with which an assault can be attempted." This attitude is not, it is added, of a Muslim raising his hands in prayer. Here is nothing said by the Director as to the repetition of the formula "Sarkar ek hai" to which we referred and the newspaper report which he is contradicting also referred. We quite understand that it is necessary to take precautions against criminals concealing missiles but if, as we are informed, this practice is extended to political prisoners who are as little likely to assault visitors as the Jail officials themselves, it is a superfluous precaution and may well be dispensed with. The utterance of the formula does not seem to serve any purpose, and should be put a stop to.

Lack of Goodwill: The following cable from London taken from the *Times of India* will be read with interest:—Sir Alfred Hamilton Grant, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., former Chief Commissioner of the North West Frontier Province, India, in a letter to the *Times*, London, draws attention to the deplorable lack of goodwill towards India in public criticisms at home. The situation, he admits, is not unnatural.

British opinion has been irritated by the agitators' slights to the Prince of Wales and by the general unrest. But goodwill, he insists, is essential. Without it the efforts of wise and moderate Indians who would support law and order must remain ineffective and sterile. The view that machine-guns are a panacea for unrest is as false as the Prussian doctrine of frightfulness. Law and order must be ruthlessly maintained, but we should deplore rather than welcome the necessity for drastic measures. Many young men, Sir Alfred concludes, go to India with the most pernicious and distorted views as to the way Indians should be treated. These views are usually shared by their women folk. Hectoring, bullying, and wanton discourtesy must not be countenanced by public opinion. They harm the position in India and make the re-establishment of goodwill between Europeans and Indians impossible.

Mission to Lepers: Her Excellency the Hon'ble Lady Lloyd has issued the following appeal on behalf of the Leper Mission: "The excellent work which this Mission has done in India and especially in the Bombay Presidency during the 48 years of its existence needs no repeating and at the present 10 Asylums containing 602 leper inmates in the Presidency are either owned or financially assisted by the Mission. As a result, moreover, of the improvement in the treatment used a good number of lepers have been sent away from asylums as being apparently free from the disease. I need hardly add that the Mission has the very warm support and approval of Government from whom grants are received. But these are not sufficient to maintain it and the public is now asked to contribute a sum of Rs. 50,000 for the work in the Bombay Presidency which includes the establishment of a new Asylum at Palghar and additions to the already existing one at Pui. I am most hopeful that this much needed sum will be subscribed with little delay to Sir Henry Proctor (Messrs. Killick Nixon & Co., Home Street, Bombay) and that the Bombay public will loyally support my appeal as they always have done before."

The Gokhale Anniversary: The seventh anniversary of the death of Gopal Krishna Gokhale was celebrated in Bombay on Sunday the 19th instant in the Servants of India Society, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, Vice-President of the Servants of India Society presiding. Leaders of all shades of political opinion were present to pay their respects to the departed patriot. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the principal speaker, in a lengthy speech gave a brief sketch of Mr. Gokhale's life and paid a touching tribute to his high character, patriotism and statesmanship. He said: "Let Indians consolidate and carry on the work, not separately, not in opposite camps, but with one heart and one soul." Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who next spoke paid an eloquent tribute to Gokhale and his various services to the country. Another meeting was held the same evening under the auspices of the "Indian Round Table" at Hirabhag, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya presiding, when Messrs. M. R. Jayakar, D. G. Dalvi, R. S. Paddidri and Swami Satyadev spoke on the various qualities of Mr. Gokhale and paid glowing tributes. Although all speakers were unanimous in their appreciation of Gokhale and his services, each one of them viewed his life from different view-points. Meetings to celebrate the anniversary of the death of this illustrious statesman were held in all parts of India and not only Indians of all shades of opinion joined to pay their tributes to Gokhale but also Englishmen as will be seen from the speech of Sir Thomas Bennett, C.I.E., M.P. at a meeting held in Madras. We are sure his memory will ever remain as a source of inspiration for national workers for all time to come.

The Industries Department: A suggestion: We owe the following to a correspondent whose writings are characterised by practical knowledge of men and things:—I wish to bring to your notice a typical illustration of want of a proper sense of proportion on the part of the Industries Department of our local government. That department has for the last two or three years engaged a fishery expert on a fat pay to investigate the possibilities of developing fish industry here. Upto now he has not been able to show that such a special industry could be started. Comments about his special qualifications were made and criticism about the want of wisdom in pursuing that subject appeared in the Press—for, that is a subject already investigated by Government through Mr. Lucas who was then the Excise Commissioner for Bombay. But all that has not in the least affected the Department and it is still wasting so much precious public money after it. The Advisory Committee, as it does not consist of a single Indian acquainted with the western coast line, or for the matter of that not more than two Indians who have anything to do with fish, has not been able to do anything in the matter. The want of a sense of proportion is shown by the department by giving so much attention, or rather I should say money, to this fishery business, while it has cruelly neglected a tree which grows wild in the barren sands on the coast and whose potentialities even to a layman are very great. I refer to the cashew or kaju tree. This tree grows wild all over the coast and specially from Ratnagiri to Mangalore and south. The tree yields gum and a juicy fruit with a nut at the end. For the present there is a large business of export of the nut only. The rind of the nut, which is allied to the marking nut, yields good oil, the kernel is turned into butter and sold in the West. It is there known as cashew butter. In India this is used as food and largely in pastry. Why should the Industries Department not investigate the method of preparing this cashew butter here for export? The oil from the rind also is sure to be utilized in a number of industries.

Then there is the juicy fruit, which is also called cashew apple. In Goa a kind of liquor is prepared from this juice and that liquor is very popular there. The British Government has prohibited not only the manufacture, but the importation and also possession of this liquor. It is recognized that the kaju liquor contains a large amount of alcohol; then should not our Industries Department think of utilizing this for the various industries which are dependent on alcohol? There is the question of introducing alcohol as a substitute for petrol for motor vehicles. Upto now only mhowra liquor has been considered in this matter. Why should kaju liquor be neglected? This has an additional advantage over mhowra in that on account of the sweet juice of the fruit it would yield sugar also. As the British Government has prohibited the manufacture of liquor from kaju juice, the question of manufacturing sugar from it was not touched by a single witness before the Sugar Committee, where the possibilities of getting sugar from dates was discussed. For investigating all these possibilities I don't think any new hands need be engaged. There are already chemists working in this department and there is the Forest Department and Agricultural Department. These can be asked to investigate the problem of the cultivation of the tree and its gum-producing qualities. I trust some reader of your paper would take interest on this topic and throw greater light on this so as to induce Industries Department to direct its attention to it.

Ramakrishna Anniversary: We are requested to announce that the eighty-seventh birthday anniversary of Bhagvan Sri Ramakrishna Deva will be celebrated at the Matb, Belur, Howrah, on the 5th March 1922.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1922.

THE IMPENDING DECISION.

There is some speculation as to whether the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Delhi on Friday would endorse the Bardoli programme formulated by the Working Committee of the Congress on the 11th instant. While from all over the country, have come comments welcoming the Bardoli decisions, a few voices have been raised, mainly from the ranks of Non-co-operationists, against them. Swami Satya Dev in a speech delivered in Bombay last week demanded that Mahatma Gandhi should step aside from the leadership of the National Congress and the *Mahratta*, in its insidious way, clothes the same view in the language of simulated appreciation. The pith of the opposition is that it is impossible to expect perfect non-violence all over India at any time. In other words, these critics had all along professed non-violence while not really believing in its possibility. The Bardoli decisions have compelled them to disclose their real mind. It is obvious that believers in violence and believers in non-violence, cannot go under the same flag. And as the Mahatma has repeatedly declared that his chief mission is to inculcate non-violence above everything else, and that he bases his whole work on that principle, those who believe in the opposite, either absolutely or with qualifications, can not obviously continue to profess to be in the same boat with him. But is it true that absolute non-violence is impossible at any time in this country? Our Vedic ancestors were addicted to the Soma juices whose praises they hymned in numerous verses. They were, moreover, eaters of flesh, including that of the cow. Any one living in the Vedic age would have scouted the idea that the Hindus would become total abstainers and vegetarians as the vain dream of a visionary. But this happened. Though even to-day there are many Hindus who eat meat and drink liquor, it remains nevertheless true that the Hindu community as a whole is firmly fixed in the principles of abstinence from meat and liquor. Not only that, but Hindu religious culture evolved the grand principle of *Ahimsa* which is the basic principle of Buddhism and post-Buddhist Hinduism. Non-violence is an inadequate English rendering of *Ahimsa*. He who is not actively kind, said Ruskin, is cruel. Even so he who is not actively helpful is harmful. *Ahimsa*, therefore, means not merely the negative of *himsa* or hurtfulness, but it means positive and active helpfulness. For as a matter of simple experience, the surest guarantee against doing harm is to be helpful to others. Nor is it necessary that every one of the twenty and odd crores of the people of India should be converted to the gospel of helpfulness, in order to ensure non-violence in our public life. One Mahatma Gandhi, firmly fixed in *Ahimsa*, has been able to influence hundreds not previously so inclined to adopt the same principle. Who can say what tremendous effect would follow if, say,

we have a hundred or two hundred men of his type and determination among us? The fear of violence is the greatest obstacle to political freedom, both in the minds of the rulers and the minorities among us. When this fear is removed, the way to perfect freedom is open, and, indeed, we have it at once. The Mahatma's insight is nowhere more sure than in his vivid perception between non-violence and political freedom.

We trust, therefore, that the All-India Congress Committee will endorse the Bardoli decisions without any abatement. By doing so, it will be getting behind it the support of the whole country, irrespective of political differences on the other matters. It will be the most signal proof that it can give of its confidence in the Mahatma—the greatest son of India to-day, as the *Servant of India* aptly wrote of him. We quite understand the feeling of those who point to the thousands of persons in jail for no offence except that of enrolling themselves as volunteers in pursuance of the policy of protest adopted by the Congress, and ask whether it is fair to turn back on this policy so long as they are not liberated. Government could and should have done something to meet such an objection by at least intimating in so many ways open to them that they, on their part, are prepared to respond generously to the new conditions ushered in by the Bardoli decisions. We are grieved that Government have not done this which would have had an excellent effect on the situation. But the omission or failure of Government should not deter the All-India Congress Committee from doing the right thing by the country. Mahatma Gandhi with the simple directness which is the true secret of his greatness, told an interviewer that the case of these persons in jail had to be left out of consideration because of the evil example of the Chauri Chaura outrages. Those who persist in thinking that the outrages have not greatly weakened the Congress programme, and materially deprived the leaders of the strength and energy required to carry it out, are grievously mistaken. The Mahatma from his watchtower sees what other men from their lower elevation are unable to discern. The burning and bloodshed at Chauri Chaura burnt away much of the power of the Congress programme. The ten thousand prisoners in jail have no cause to complain of the Bardoli decisions, and every cause to complain of the Gorakhpur massacre. They went to prison in vindication of the freedom of the subject, but that freedom has been besmirched a thousand times more by the violence of the Gorakhpur mob than by the notifications of Government under the extraordinary laws. The force of the Congress, wedded as it is to non-violence, must now deal first with the violence of the people before it can hope effectively to deal with the violence of authority. That this is perfectly understood by the incarcerated leaders, is shown by the reported statement of Moulana Mahomed Ali to a friend who met him at the Ahmedabad Railway Station, while on his way on being transferred from the Karachi to the Bijapur Jail. It is our certain belief that after the All-India Congress Committee endorses the Bardoli resolutions, Govern-

ment cannot detain these thousands of prisoners in jail. His Excellency the Viceroy declared in his Calcutta speech in December that he hated to have these imprisonments which were forced on Government, as he thought, by the policy of non-co-operationists. Now that that policy has been radically revised, we cannot think of any Government persisting in the wasteful and irritating and unnecessary policy of maintaining several thousands of its subjects in prison. If after a reasonable interval after the All-India Congress Committee ratifies the Bardoli programme, Government still continue to arrest and imprison congressmen in the way they have been doing since November last, it will be time to consider what further efforts should be made to induce Government to modify their methods in sympathy with the constructive programme formulated at Bardoli and affirmed by the All-India Congress Committee. We are quite clear that it would be a huge mistake on the part of the Committee at its session on Friday at Delhi to modify in any material particular the Bardoli programme except by way of strengthening and broadening its constructive and non-provocative character. The Mahatma is a host in himself, but it is necessary that all those who understand his principle in their full depth and truth should lend him all the weight of their support in this momentous crisis of his leadership. Our earnest good wishes and prayers are with him and them in their resolve to tread the path of right as the only true path to national salvation.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

(By MR. C. N. ZUTSHI, M. B. A. S.)

All parties in India will admit that the political atmosphere is heavily surcharged with the most disquieting elements and the policy of repression inaugurated to calm it rather tends to aggravate it. Is it not unfortunate that such a policy should have been adopted when the Prince is in the country? and is it not still more unfortunate that the wholesale arrests of the leaders should have commemorated the Royal visit? The Government is surely going the wrong way. It is indeed regrettable that the Englishman in spite of his 150 years' connection with India has not yet been able to understand the psychology of the Indian mind.

Are we really in the era of reforms? And is it the way how India will soon become the self-governing partner in the Empire? In view of the present situation the promised land appears to be no better than a mirage and the reforms no better than the dead sea fruit. The policy of repression has brought about a change—nothing short of disillusionment—even in the hearts of those of us who regarded the reforms as an adequate first instalment to be followed by others in due succession as steps towards full responsible Government to India. Besides the policy has strengthened the Non-Co-operators whom it has furnished a tangible objective for action. It is foolish to think that repression will stop the fight for further reforms in the country. It is idle to think that the arrest of

a few leaders will arrest the whole movement. The history of liberty tells quite a different tale. Instances can be multiplied *ad infinitum* to prove the futility of repressive methods to allay any popular movement.

Who can not say that there was as much scope for repression under Lord Minto as it is today; but it is unfortunate indeed that the fullest use is made of this scope under the aegis of a lawyer-Viceroy. The Government of India has surely taken a wrong move in adopting the policy of repression which has not only brought the Government in bad repute but also accounts for a great deal the tension of feelings that is growing every day in the country and the wall of misunderstanding which is growing thicker and thicker between the ruler and the ruled. It is impossible for the Indian people to associate themselves with the policy of arrests and the result is that the people and the Government are drifting apart.

How long will this state of things continue to last? What will be the result? And what is the solution to the present situation? These are the questions which every patriot in the country must face and which I may most pertinently ask in the interests of the country and the Government. For the peace of the Government and the progress of the country it is necessary that the policy of repression should be put an end to; the interests of the country demand this. I am candidly of opinion that the suggested Round Table Conference will do immense good and make good understanding yet possible, the policy of trust will be successful in removing the growing unrest which is witnessed in India to-day. In this connection one can not but regret Lord Reading's speech to the Moderate deputation and Sir Joynson Hicks' speech moving the amendment to the Address in the House of Commons on February 14th, which are characteristic of taking the bull by the horns and which, evincing traces of strong excitement, explain their support to the policy of repression. A successful Round Table Conference will be one of the first acts of Lord Reading's Viceroyalty, and, it is hoped that the Viceroy will not miss his great chance and prove himself wanting in tact in the face of a delicate situation like the present. Let us hope that the Government will be well advised to remit the repressive campaign and adopt some methods of reconciliation and compromise for removing the root-causes of the present discontent, which alone will ease the situation and solve the present difficulties, promoting good understanding between the ruler and the ruled. I say this in all sincerity, as I am anxious that the British connection should be maintained and the friendship between England and India should grow from more to more.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, Feb. 2.

PROTECTION OR LIBERTY?

The greater the protection by the State of the community, the less liberty is there for the individual. A very interesting case in point was argued before

the Divisional Court a few days ago. A man was fined for failing to comply with an order for the attendance of his daughter, aged 12 years, at an elementary school. On second occasion, apparently acting on instructions from her father, the girl refused to submit to medical examination. On a third occasion, when the doctor touched her, she repelled him. After this the local education authority expelled her from the school. The father insisted upon her presenting herself at the school, but she was refused admission. In 1908, a Children's Act was passed, one of the sections providing that a local education authority may direct its medical officer to examine the person and clothing of any child, with the object of ascertaining whether the child is dirty or verminous. The issue was whether a section which is permissive only, so far as the education authority is concerned, implies an obligation on the part of the parent to submit a child for examination. The judges decided that the section imported an obligation on the child to submit to examination, and that the father, in sending the child to school in circumstances in which he knew she would not be received, had no reasonable defence to the summons for her non-attendance.

POPLAR AGAIN!

The Poplar trouble, which assumed such big proportions a few months ago and resulted in the imprisonment of many members of the Poplar Borough Council, has again reached a crisis. The aim of the Poor Law is the relief of destitution, but it never was and never can be allowed to compete with a fairly decent working wage, which is what the Poplar Guardians are making it do. The average working man's wage in Poplar is about £3-15s., but if he can class himself among the unemployed and has a wife and four children, he can secure from the relief funds £4-2s.-6d., thus giving the non-worker an advantage over the worker. However, the Ministry of Health informed the Poplar Guardians, a day or two ago, that their new scale of relief is unlawful. They have consequently to make a choice between revising this scale of relief or submit to the procedure provided in an Act passed last session. This Act disallows repayment from the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund in respect of relief granted in excess of the scale prescribed by the Minister of Health, and provides for the appointment of a receiver, with power to levy rates if the Guardians refuse the necessary precepts. The immediate effect of the Board of Health's present action being to deprive the Poplar Guardians of their power of borrowing and to render them personally liable for any costs incurred in paying relief in excess of the prescribed scale. They have submitted to the Ministry's requirements with such grace as the circumstances permitted.

DECLINE IN DEATH RATE.

The provisional statistics dealing with births and deaths in England and Wales are just out, and again a remarkable decline in the death rate is seen. For many years now, this declension has been steady and continuous. It would be difficult to point to any one special factor and say, it is due to this or that; so

many things have contributed to make the laws governing life and health understood. Sanitation, medicines, scientific investigation and research, careful observance of physical facts, and application of knowledge gained have all played a part in this desirable result. Public opinion has grown, and ignorance and superstition have lost their hold upon the people. In time we may reasonably hope that disease and early death, apart from accidents beyond ordinary control, will become things of the past, and no country will be able to call itself civilised that has a large percentage of preventible disease and a high mortality rate.

EMIGRATE.

The question of unemployment is one of critical importance for this country, which as the Prime Minister has frequently pointed out, of late, is a country in the main dependent upon its foreign trade. I have recently discussed the situation with two authorities holding very different views on things in general. One of them is an ex-Prime Minister of one of the Dominions. In his opinion, at the end of the war, the Prime Minister should never have spoken of making this a land fit for heroes. He should, rather, have pointed out to the people that the country had been enormously impoverished, that the Dominions, which had, before the war, been good markets for British manufactured goods, had learnt during the war to manufacture for their own needs, and that foreign countries, to whom we had formerly sold, were so near the brink of ruin that they could no longer afford to pay the price at which alone we could manufacture our commodities, whilst financial stringency at home was so severe that consumers would have to make one article of necessity do for as long as three would formerly have done. In the circumstances, as only two-ninths of the population could in normal times be fed with home-grown food and the remaining seven-ninths were fed with foreign-grown food for which we paid in manufactured goods, which now were not being purchased for the reasons given above, the only thing for large numbers of people to do was what their ancestors had done in other days, after war, and especially after the Napoleonic wars, emigrate. But as most of the would-be emigrants must come from the skilled operative classes and be drawn from the towns, particularly from those industries catering for the luxury trades, if they emigrated to the Dominions they would only resort to the towns and swell the numbers of unemployed there, instead of going on to the land, where the greatest need for labour exists. My other authority is a distinguished Socialist and one of the brainiest men in the Fabian Society. He told me that he considered the shortage of the necessaries of life so serious, that in his opinion, almost inevitably the State would have to resort to some system of rationing such as we had had during the war. These are things worth thinking over.

MR. CHURCHILL ON THE KENYA PROBLEM.

I am afraid that we are in for a good deal of trouble as regards Kenya. Though the Cabinet are not yet committed to those views, Mr. Churchill, on

Friday last, at the Kenya Colony dinner, made it quite clear that he regarded the Imperial Government as committed by pledges (which have never seen the light of day) to reserve the Highlands in perpetuity for white settlement, that, in the interests of the white settlers and the native population, Indian immigration should be severely restricted which is synonymous with virtual prohibition, that Kenya should be developed towards responsible government (by white settlers) as a British (white) Colony, and that he hoped that, in course of time, that Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar, and Tanganyika would be administered as one great Dominion under white control, of course. If, as seems likely, in view of the relative positions in the Cabinet of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Montagu, the Cabinet upholds the former, there is bound to be a clash of vital principles between India and this country, for it is intolerable that at the behest of a few white settlers, holding a pistol at their heads, the Home Government should defy all decency and throw overboard the resolution of the Imperial Conference last year. Even more sinister is Mr. Churchill's veiled attack upon the Montagu policy in India. He would obviously prefer not to apply the democratic systems of the West to Eastern countries, and it would be worth while to keep observation upon Mr. Churchill's policy in Mesopotamia and Ceylon.

PRESIDENT HARDING ON THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In a recent number of the *Indian Social Reformer* you quoted the speech of President Harding on the racial question; and you expressed the hope that American Missionaries would speak out on the question.

When the speech was first made and the summary of it cabled out a missionary friend read it and turned to me and said, "Aren't you ashamed of the weak straddling position that President Harding has taken on the racial question?" I heartily echoed the sentiments of my missionary friend. I would only add one word: the position is not only "weak and straddling," it is *unchristian*.

Ahmedabad }
February 17, 1922 }

Yours faithfully,
E. STANLEY JONES.

BEING AND DOING.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The Rev. G. F. Andrews, in a very interesting article in the *Modern Review*, is at some pains to prove the necessity for a return to simple and primitive village life. He would apparently lay at the door of modern urban life, the root cause of half the ills that stir the turbid waters of our social existence. Let us give all credit to those earnest and sincere thinkers and workers for the common good and let us ask them at the same time to bear with those of us who not a whit less earnestly and sincerely, though by a different route, are endeavouring to find the way to the same goal. What is the root of the argument used here? Is it not when stripped of its jewelled setting, the bold statement that simplicity is goodness and vice versa? That the man

with the *clarks* must inevitably become a saint, while the man who works the machine-driven spinner can only end in becoming a machine himself and a worker of satanic devices? It is this question of the relationship between goodness and the material things of nature, that would appear to need a little examination in order to get a right perspective in the whole matter. Is there not a danger here of putting a wrong emphasis on the power of material things and ignoring the human factor? No doubt, environment does have a tremendous effect in the moulding of character and the determining of the lives of men, but in the last analysis man is the determining factor. "Each man is the Captain of his Soul". Given two equal environments two human beings, will produce two characters as divergent as the poles. If this is so, surely the insistence upon the superiority of this or that occupation to produce goodness is to miss the point and to misdirect effort. We suffer more than can be calculated from misdirected energy. Great and noble tasks are waiting to be done calling for more and more willing workers and we are blindly running backwards and forwards like volunteer helpers at a fire, colliding and bumping into one another and spilling on the ground the sadly-needed water.

But for a moment let us see whether the claim for rustic village life and its purity is well founded. It may be granted right away that the means for wrong-doing are not so manifold in the village, and as the poet says "How oft the sight of power to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done". But this only affects the quantity of evil done and not the quality which it may be argued can be and is often of a very vigorous kind. History tells us that robbery and murder were very prevalent in ancient times until King Arthur established a firm rule and one of his methods was the establishing of good communications, roads, education etc, so bringing the people more in touch with one another. People were compelled to live together in a fortified place under some powerful overlord, so as to be secure from plunderers. Read the history of the Scotch clans in the old days and study the life of the wilder tribes in many parts of the earth today and one will be compelled to say that in nature itself there is no civilizing or taming principle, that it is "red in tooth and claw" and that some other outside force is necessary if man is to learn goodness or the principle of brotherly love and justice between man and man. On the other hand, it may be shown that although modern civilization provides increased opportunity for wrong-doing, it also makes possible all the humanising influences that are abroad today. In fact in many instances the direct outcome of material civilization has been the founding and discovering of some of the greatest boons that man has ever received at the hands of his own kind. Some of the loftiest spiritual ideals have been born in the midst of the rush and whirl of the greatest cities in the world and some of the noblest souls in history have while labouring at a machine, been inspired to see visions and dreams and more than that, to see them carried to a splendid fruition.

In "Outlines of Sociology" Professor Blackmar says that "the moral and religious influences of nations are extended through the channels of commerce", and that "sometimes this means is more effective in introducing new customs than that of direct missionary effort". And again "how important Commerce may be in supplying means whereby religious ideal and practices are spread may be seen by a study of the spread of Christian religion in the first few centuries of its history throughout the Roman Empire. The travelling Christian artisan and peddler were the most numerous and

successful early missionaries, if we may trust the historians.' Even the great mystic and prophet, Mr. Gandhi, realises the value of a commercial centre like Bombay, knowing that from that busy hub will go out the ideas that will lead India tomorrow. Think of what the machinery connected with printing has done for the spread of spiritual ideal and the uplift of people, while the mere labour of producing a paper or book can be as unhealthy and soul destroying as any other occupation. If we may for a moment liken the spiritual ideal to leaven, the object of leaven is to spread itself through the meal and change its character. The leaven cannot work without the meal. Our task is not to despise and abuse material things, but to use them wisely and transform them into things of beauty and joy and make them of service to the needs of humanity. It is man who decides whether the labour of his fellowman shall be sweet or bitter and it is to this point that our attention must be directed. Right relationship between men and their duties to one another must be the first objective and material things, be they in village or in town, will take their rightful place.

Bombay,
20th Feb. 22. }

B. C.

PHYSICAL CULTURE IN THE DECCAN.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I appreciate the noble efforts of your correspondent Mr. A. C. Buck, and his Y. M. C. A. in popularizing Physical Culture in our country, but I fail to appreciate his tone of writing. We must be thankful, nay grateful, to all these brethren, whether Indians or Christian Missionaries who are doing their bit to uplift our Motherland.

In appreciating the selfless work of our countrymen we must not be blind to the great impetus which the Christian Missionaries have given to our National progress by their educational activities. But when these Christian Missionaries assume superior airs and make us feel as if we are their 'protégés' and they are our saviours, we have to gently warn them that they go too far.

Your correspondent writes in such a way as if his Association is the only body that has brought physical culture to India, quite a new thing to us till now. He presumes to be a historian and remarks that he finds no record of conscious attempt of raising the physical status of entire people. He slightly refers to or totally neglects all the physical systems of culture, which are already existing here. He makes us believe that he believes that his Western systems of Physical Culture are alone scientific, while the other systems, well-known to us, are not scientific.

Those people who want to help us in being strong and healthy must study our history, our own different systems of physical culture, with sympathy, and try to preserve what is good in them, before transplanting any foreign systems of Physical Culture in this land. They must not indulge in remarks which will go to injure the patriotic feelings of the people whom they want to help. Can your correspondent believe that without the widest spread of physical culture amongst the masses, the Mahrattas could fight heroically against the mighty Moghal? Was it possible for the Sikhs to stand against the Afghans and to guard the door to India without a sound system of physical culture for training their youths? Could India pour down troops in this Great War if our masses were strangers to physical culture? Could the British or the French take advantage of the greatest discovery of the Frenchman—Dupleix, if our masses were not fortified in their limbs and muscles by our own physical systems? He

must know whether Akbar fought, Dupleix fought, or Clive fought, real war material in men they collected, belonged to this land. He talks of Kahatriyas of the Vedic time, but why does he ignore the Modern History?

Before the dawn of the Mahratta power, we had a galaxy of saints, who brought a torch of Religious Faith at every cottage. The untouchables even were not neglected. Some of these saints made it their life business to start gymnasiums in every town and every village. Every village had a temple and a gymnasium. Even to-day we can see these gymnasiums in most villages of the Deccan. The untouchables have even now their own gymnasiums. The Brahmins have also their own.

Balam Bhat Dada, Narayan Guru, Damodar Guru, these great Brahmins made it their life-work to start gymnasiums. To-day from Miraj to Benares, these institutes can be seen. These institutes are open to Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. Many Mahrattas and Mahomedans did the same. Let us not speak slightly of these self-less workers to whom India owes so much. The great Institute started by Jumadada and improved on modern lines by his disciple Prof. Manikrao of Baroda can be seen to-day. Our gymnasiums whether of the Brahmins or of the Mahrattas, or of the Mahomedans or even of the untouchables, are conducted with religious zeal. The Vastads and Gurus receive not a pie. The suspicious attitude of the Government hampered them a great deal. If the Government has changed its attitude, it should encourage in every way possible these institutes, due to the self-less work of which, India could offer a large number of strong, healthy, young men in this great war.

The foreign systems of physical culture are extremely costly. A poverty-stricken country like India cannot afford to have them. These systems can be useful for the rich and the middle classes but not for the masses. As regards popularizing games and sports, as a practical worker, I realize the difficulties of securing spacious plots for play-grounds. If city-fathers and Government will be particular as regards this point, I assure you, our boys will be grateful to them and will take advantage of their kindness.

DEVALI,
15th February 1922. }

Yours, etc.
KARKARE K. G.

DR. RAMAKRISHNA BHANDARKAR,

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your editorial comment on the article of Prof. M. S. Ramaswami Iyengar on Dr. Bhandarkar you regretted the omission of the "religious and social reform work" of the Doctor in a sketch of that type. In reply I should say as one who had been following the articles of the Professor in the *Indian Review*, that he was considering the work of eminent scholars in the field of *Historical Research* only. The writer has thus limited himself to a particular aspect of the subject of the sketch. I agree with you when you say that a life sketch of Dr. Bhandarkar should contain a prominent mention of the great services he did for the cause of social reform. All the same, I feel constrained to say that Prof. Iyengar justly omitted it in an account of the Doctor's contribution to History.

MADURA,
17th February 1922. }

E. S. SUNDA,

THE BARDOLI PROGRAMME.

Malabar Journal, Calicut weekly, (Independent).
The country owes this welcome change in the Congress programme to Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues as much

as to the non-party patriots who have striven hard to achieve it. For, it has always been Mr. Gandhi's way to retrace boldly on finding his error. So he did in South Africa. Shall we hope that the Government also will modify its attitude since the circumstances which necessitated its drastic steps have now dramatically vanished? The Congress decision must have reached Parliament before the Indian debate. The Government might wisely take this opportunity to adopt such pacifying measures as would render the resumption of disobedience an unattractive proposition.

The India Mirror, Calcutta daily, (Reactionary).

The position, in brief, is this. The Government have brought the situation under control by initiating a wholesome policy of the repression of the revolutionary elements. This policy requires to be continued with unabated vigour. The Bardoli resolutions amounting as they do to sheer *comoufflage*, must not induce the Government and the loyal community to glide into any sense of security. Lastly, we submit that it is the duty of the Government to take such steps as will render it impossible for Gandhi to commit any further mischief. From Mr. Montagu's speech in the House of Commons, it would appear that Gandhi's arrest has only been postponed in order to ascertain the results of the Bardoli resolutions. We are afraid, a waiting policy will lead to no good. Gandhi is too shrewd a tactician to do anything which may lead to any immediate outburst of violence; but his venom will remain to poison the minds of the masses. From all appearance, he is engaged upon a new campaign of underground operations. That being the case, it ought to be seriously considered whether he should be allowed to remain at large.

The Citizen, Madras Weekly, (Liberal).

There can be no doubt about the tremendous effect of Mr. Gandhi's decision; it has eased a very critical situation felt acutely by all alike. All preparations for civil disobedience are now at an end and it is a psychological moment which the Government would do well to turn to good account. There are thousands of men now in gaol who have been convicted under the special ordinary laws for political offences. It would be an act of statesmanship if those among them who are not guilty of violence or preaching violence are released, the notifications under the Special Acts withdrawn and further action against non-co-operators of a technical nature put a stop to. The Government committed a grievous blunder when they gave a handle to non-co-operators by this policy of indiscriminate arrests and by enforcing Acts which have been recommended to be repealed. Two Local Legislatures have condemned Government for taking such action and a third has warned them against abuse of the powers. It would be a capital stroke of policy if the Government utilise this unique occasion of gaining the confidence of the public by taking the measures which we have indicated. In his speech at Calcutta, the Viceroy asked much less than what has now been done by the Working Committee. If there is no hartal, or picketing or disobeying of orders, and if Mr. Gandhi ceases to enlist volunteers, then the Government are bound to recognise the change in the situation and act in accordance with equity and good conscience. The collapse of aggressive civil disobedience has no doubt been brought about by non-co-operators themselves; but we hope that the authorities would not take unfair advantage of it and pursue a career of repression which has roused the indignation of the people from one end of the country to the other and given the movement a fillip which it did not deserve. If even no further development in the way of overtures for settlement happens, the *status quo ante* would throw non-co-operators on their own resources.

The Hitavada Nagpur weekly, (Liberal)

The changes in the programme outlined by Mr. Gandhi in Congress Working Committee's resolutions are such as would secure general assent. But frankly we have not the least

hope that they will be carried out in practice even if Mr. Gandhi himself were to drop out of the ranks of non-cooperators. But nobody has any right to expect anything more from Mr. Gandhi himself than this. But as we have said, we have not the least hope that Mr. Gandhi will take the only sensible course that he ought to take. The sort of direct action that Mr. Gandhi and the non-cooperation party contemplate can but lead only to one result *vis*, Civil war and revolution, for people who do not want the country to be deluged with blood—whether it be our own or that of those who are responsible for carrying the present Government—have no option but to stand by the only machinery which can afford equal protection to all. We hold that all governments are bound to be more or less satanic at certain times and on certain occasions—and Gandhi *raj* itself, if it comes will not be an exception to the rule—the only way to rectify mistakes which all Governments are prone to, is for the governed to obtain gradual control of the governing machinery by a policy of peaceful penetration which the Reformed Government now makes fully possible. Between a satanic Government and a satanic mob, the choice is not very easy to make—but none but those who are wilfully blind will refuse to recognize the steady progress India is making in the direction of complete dominion status. Peace and progress are on the lips of Mr. Gandhi—but murder, arson, civil war, tyranny, reaction, revolution are the words writ large on the measures he is launching one after another.

Mahratta, Poona Weekly, (Non-co-operationist.)

Direct action is the supreme sanction which any people in the world can claim for themselves to support their resistance to their rulers in a political struggle. And though the Mahatma could have taken on himself alone the responsibility for stopping or suspending civil disobedience in Bardoli, he could not have, even as the Dictator that he is, gone back upon the principle enunciated by the Ahmedabad Congress that civil disobedience is the only civilized and effective substitute for an armed rebellion whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or corporations has been tried. The temporary set-back which the reversal of Mahatmaji's policy has given to the Non-co-operation movement, will no doubt be resented by many people who look at politics only as politics and not a hotchpotch of rights and righteousness, and patriotism and piety, and incarcerations and incantations, and legislation and liturgy, and so on. But these have still, we take it, the willing assurance of Mahatmaji that though he has banished civil disobedience out of sight he has not banished it out of mind. It must, however, be admitted even by Mahatma Gandhi that his second attempt to raise the storm in the old fashion will be necessarily more difficult than the first. His policy of shocks and jerks has once more snapped the chain of sustained and coherent activity; and though we have otherwise the same old programme of the Charaka, the Khaddar, the Congress membership and the collection of the Tilak Swaraja Fund; still the main-spring of motive for action will not be so vigorous or bubbling as it was before, when there was an active preaching of the direct action as the spear-point of agitation, and the winning of Swaraja within a definite period was the professed objective. A retreat, we know, is sometimes as essential as advance on the field of battle. But it must be admitted that in retirement the goal becomes more distant with every step. And this disheartens the soldier though it makes no difference to the General himself.

Searchlight, Patna tri-weekly, (Independent).

The resolutions adopted by the Working Committee of the Congress, although they may prove as a sort of damper to some over-enthusiasts, have been received with general feeling of relief and welcome by a very large majority of people in the country.

The question now remains what is now going to be the attitude of the Government in regard to redressal of the main grievances over which almost all sections of the people are more or less united. It is inconceivable that the Government can be permitted to avoid doing what the country demands. We have had recently more than one sabre-rattling declaration by "statesmen" of the ilk of Lord Curzon and Lord

Birkenhead, and a lot has been said and written about vigorous enforcement of law and order. We wonder if Imperialists of the school of Lord Birkenhead and Lord Curzon realise that it is impossible to govern a nation merely from the narrow point of law and order and that no amount of force, as British statesmen have had good reasons to realise and appreciate, can conquer the awakened national consciousness of the people. It is all very well to indulge in platitudinous harrangues about might and force. What they had seen in South Africa, in Egypt, and Ireland have left no doubt that physical force alone was an impossible and absolutely impracticable doctrine and that considerations of force have to give way before the justice and righteousness on the part of people struggling for their just rights. We have emphasised this aspect of the matter because the decisions of the Working Committee make it absolutely imperative that the Government of India must make an immediate move in the direction of arriving at a settlement by means of negotiations on the lines suggested by Malaviya Conference. Not only is there now not a ghost of justification for the continuance of the notifications under Criminal Law Amendment Act but it is essential that there immediately should be a Round Table Conference and we are glad to find the Malaviya Committee have lost no time in moving in the matter. The measure of the advance that the Government of India now make will be the test of the *bonafides*.

Indian Witness, Lucknow weekly (Christian Missionary)

The decision of the Working Committee of the Congress at Bardoli, on the 11th and 12th instants, to suspend civil disobedience until the "atmosphere is non-violent" was both wise and welcome. The Committee advises all Congress organizations to cease activities designed to court arrest, all picketing except warning against the evils of drink, all "volunteer" processions and public meetings merely in defiance of authority, and all withholding of legal rents to zemindars; also, to revise the lists of "volunteers" and remove the names of unworthy characters. The Committee further advises peaceful industries and propaganda, in the promotion of good will and suitable employments. The resolutions were proposed by Mr. Gandhi, in view of the Gorakhpur, Bareilly and other tragedies, and, with slight verbal alterations, were finally accepted. This settlement meets the approval of all political parties and even of extremist papers, as this procedure is most likely to restore peace and to accomplish the desired ends.

The Rangoon Daily News, (Liberal).

The eyes of the country were directed for the last few days towards Bardoli, a Taluqa in the Surat District of the Bombay Presidency, where Mahatma Gandhi proposed to begin his fateful experiment of undertaking Mass Civil Disobedience on the 8th instant, the day after the expiry of his one week's ultimatum to the Viceroy. Such a step was viewed with the deepest anxiety and concern, and with the gravest apprehensions not only for its own sake, but also for the immediate result it will bring in its train in the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the Non-Co-operation movement. It is, therefore, with a sigh of relief that we learn that the Working Committee of the Congress that met at Bardoli on the 11th instant has passed a series of resolutions regarding the activities of Non-Co-operation movement, the most important of which is the suspension for the nonce of the Mass Civil Disobedience contemplated by Mahatma Gandhi at Bardoli. No doubt we realise that it must have cost him great pangs of heart, but the resolutions are what we have always expected of him. When once in his heart of hearts he feels that the moment for the supreme sacrifice for which he has been preparing the country has not arrived, he is not the person to rush headlong. He has always been insisting on certain conditions precedent, preparatory to the step as essential to his programme, but at every turn he finds himself baffled. One popular outburst or other has made him feel that the time has not come. If it is true that these acts of violence are committed by National Volunteers who have taken a vow of non-violence, it is all the more criminal and dastardly, and carries with it its own moral. Such an incident, shocking in all conscience, has made Mahatma Gandhi pause and cry again "Halt". It has driven him to the extent of fasting for five days as a penance. Such an act of self-immolation he imposes upon himself, taking the sole responsibility upon his shoulders.

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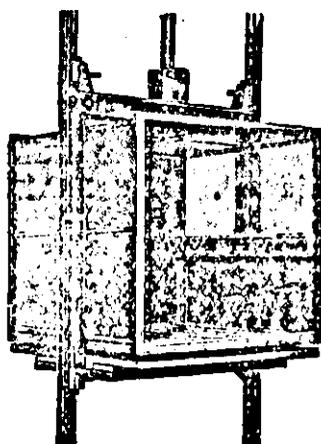
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BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MARCH 5, 1922.

No. 27

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Indian Finance: The Budget which the Finance Member of the Government of India presented to the Legislative Assembly on Wednesday shows the enormous deficit of 32 crores or 320 million rupees. This is met by additional taxation, on an unprecedented scale, affecting all classes, the poor the most. The salt duty is doubled, matches and kerosine oil will pay special duties, the post card will cost half instead of a quarter of an anna. The minimum letter postage is increased to one anna. An extra 4 p. c. excise duty on cloth produced in Indian cotton mills is proposed. The duty on machinery is raised from 2½ to 10 per cent. The general tariff of import duties is raised from 11 to 15 per cent, the special rate on luxuries being put at 30 instead of 20 per cent. as at present. Sugar will pay at a special rate of 25 per cent. Imported yarn is to be brought under the tariff for the first time. The rate of income tax is enhanced on incomes of more than Rs. 30,000 per annum. The net result of this additional taxation will be seriously to raise the cost of living, hamper industrial development, retard the economic rehabilitation of the country, and to promote only political unrest. The absence of any serious effort at retrenchment even in these circumstances, reveals the weakest point of the present system which, without much support from abiding social forces is obliged to pay an increasingly higher price for every service it needs. Sir Malcolm Hailey sought to make out that the disastrous financial situation was due to world causes. This is true to some extent. To a much larger extent it is due to gross mismanagement during the past few years—the price of which the country is being called upon to pay. The want of any coherent plan or principle in Indian finance is well exemplified in the Bombay budget which, while closing a High School of long standing and considerably increasing the fees in Government schools and colleges, is able to find several lakhs for a liquor factory in Nasik. This, in our view, is nothing short of a scandal, and gives point to the frank statement which Mr. Dass made recently regarding his experience as a Minister in the Bihar Legislative Council.

Sir William Vincent on the Bardoli Programme: In reply, it was whispered in Delhi, to an inspired question in the Legislative Assembly, if Government would make an announcement of their policy in view of the Congress Working Committee's decisions at Bardoli, the Home Member, on the eve of the All-India Congress Committee's meeting at Delhi, said (we quote the relevant part of his remarks):

The Government have seen and considered the resolutions referred to. They can discover in them no indication of any fundamental change in the attitude and policy of the non-co-operation party. Whilst civil disobedience is to be postponed for the present, there is no suggestion that it should be definitely abandoned as an item in their programme. On the contrary, the clear intention of the resolution is that this step should be merely suspended till the ground has been adequately prepared for its inauguration on a large scale. The resolutions thus point merely to a temporary change in the tactics of the party and not to any reversal or radical alteration of its aims, which are directed as before to the subversion and paralysis of the lawfully constituted Government of the country. The Government of India desire to make it clear that unless and until there is a complete cessation of the illegal activities of the non-co-operation movement there will be no change in their own attitude in regard thereto.

On the 16th January, the same Home Member, in reply to a question, stated that the attitude of the Government to the proposal of a Round Table Conference is but a training for the other. After having solemnly banned mass civil disobedience, to bless as solemnly individual civil disobedience, is, in the circumstances, a broad farce. Individuals make the mass, and it is more than we can say at a given moment where the individuals end and the masses begin. A few hours' sleeping on the resolution made the Mahatma uneasy as to the reality of this distinction, and he promptly ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Government~~ ^{Government} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~repair~~ ^{repair} the mistake as well as possible by mutual concessions and forbearance to the finding of a solution of India's present problems, takes the form, in its present aspect, of a request to the Government to abandon its action without any guarantee that the action which has led, or as we believed, forced the Government to such action, would also cease.

The Bardoli decision did not ask for any response from Government, but that is no reason why those interested in bringing about a peaceful solution of present problems should not take advantage of the conditions created by it, to make an advance in that direction. The question of consistency between the varying positions of the proposer of the enactment as well as of the recent repeal of the Rowlatt Act, does not trouble many people, but many are asking if the Home Member's reply relating to the Bardoli programme correctly represented the views of His Excellency the Viceroy.

A Delayed Letter: We complained in a recent issue of the discourteous treatment extended to the Bombay Representative Conference by His Excellency the Viceroy. We publish today the correspondence relating to the miscarriage of an important letter, which led to the creation of such an impression, both by way of recalling our complaint and as a record of an occurrence as rare as it was, in this instance, unfortunate in the even course of official epistolography. The imputation of discourtesy now wholly disappears, but there are a few points in regard to this letter which rather puzzles us. The telegram of the Committee, to which the undelivered letter was a reply, was sent on the 30th January. It contained a request the importance of which was appreciated by His Excellency, and concerned a matter that had been under consideration since at least a month previously. But the reply is dated the 7th February or full one week later, which does not, to say the least of it, speak for the prompt disposal of correspondence in the office of His Excellency's Private Secretary. Napoleon dealt with his correspondence on the principle that most letters answered themselves if left unnoticed for six days. In this case, the week's delay saved Mr. Hignell the trouble of thinking out a pertinent reply to the Committee's enquiry. Mr. Gandhi came to his rescue with his famous Bardoli manifesto which he, in his simplicity, sincerely believed would be helpful to the Committee in their endeavour to find a way to a peaceful settlement. If the Mahatma had still any lingering doubts on the point, Mr. Hignell's letter should set them finally at rest. If the Bardoli letter had not been sent, His Excellency would, it seems have indicated to the Committee his views on the points referred to in its telegram of the 30th January.

Mr. Sastri on Mahatma Gandhi: One of the ways, as insidious as effective, by which a dominant race maintains its position in relation to a subject one, is by sending out a steady stream of suggestion that the best men of the latter are in no sense comparable with its own best men. This is the simple explanation of the encouragement given to endeavours to pull down any Indian who acquires some influence among his own people except in directions acceptable to the ruling race. We would warn our countrymen to be on their guard against this tendency which is in full swing at present.

W

DYNAMOS

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16-5-20.

ALWAYS I
ESTABLISH

FOR PAINS

observes:

The writer of these lines is not one of Mr. Gandhi's political followers or a disciple of his in religion. But he claims to have known him for some years and to have been a sympathetic student of his teachings. He has felt when near him the chastening effects of a great personality. He has derived much strength from observing the workings of an iron will. He has learned from a living example something of the nature of duty and the worship due to her. He has occasionally caught some dim perception of the great things that lie hidden below the surface and of the struggles and tribulations which invest life with its awe and grandeur. An ancient Sanskrit verse says: "Do not tell me of holy ways or stone images; they may cleanse us, if they do, after a long period. A saintly man purifies us at sight."

Unconditional Loyalty: The modifications introduced in the Bardoli resolutions by the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi, are open to legitimate criticism. But we can hardly call it legitimate criticism to condemn them as inculcating conditional loyalty. "Though Thou slay me, yet will I trust in Thee" is all right as a religious creed, but it is hardly applicable to the relation between subject and State in any modern country. The theory of a "social compact" has been greatly developed by political thinkers but every one recognises that the loyalty of the subject is a duty arising out of the adequate discharge of its duties by the State. One may think that the Reforms have conferred all the powers necessary to get State policy adjusted to public necessities, but that is an opinion shared by few Indians outside the official circle. When the State becomes organically responsive to public sentiment, there will be no need for conditional loyalty, because responsiveness will be the condition from which it derives its own life and authority. While, on this subject, we may call attention to an important address delivered not long ago by Mr. V. S. Ramaswami Sastry, editor of the *Citizen*, the Liberal weekly paper of Madras, in which he avows himself a complete convert to the view that diarchy has failed and can never succeed, and that the idea that the Reforms should be strengthened by conventions growing out of experience, is impossible of realisation.

The Change within the Congress: The *Servants of India* casts doubt on our view that the change indicated by the Bardoli resolutions, though avowedly the outcome of the Chauri Chaura outrage, was really the cumulative effect of a widely diffused discontent with the negative character of the old Congress programme. We think Mahatma Gandhi himself has said somewhere that his mind was moving in the same direction when Chauri Chaura came as the last straw. The present writer has had occasion quite recently to discuss the matter with several ardent Congressmen, and he is convinced that only the absence of leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Dass in Jail prevented the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi from undertaking a root-and-branch revision of the Congress programme.

Lying Propagandism. India has all along been one of the worst sufferers from the vagaries of the foreign press, and at no time more so than at present. But we are not the only sufferers. Our readers will be able to judge from the proceedings, which we reprint from the *Challenge*, of a meeting in London, presided over by Lord Robert Cecil, to support Dr. Nansen's appeal on behalf of the people of Russia, how honest and God-fearing men

in England view the present day methods of the most blatant section of the British press. Lord Robert in introducing Dr. Nansen as his revered friend for whose magnificent capacity and devotion to suffering humanity he expressed his profound admiration, denounced as utterly untrue the misrepresentation in the Press of Dr. Nansen as a pro-German and a Bolshevik. Dr. Nansen himself described as a campaign of lies, spread throughout the Press, that the relief trains had been looted and pillaged—shameless lies which had horrified him and meant the death of millions of people who might have been saved. The Government of India themselves have recently been the victim of this sort of lying propagandism as shown by their contradiction of the utterly false news transmitted to the English press of one of the Prince of Wales' motor cars being shot at while travelling from Delhi to Patiala.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 5, 1922.

THE DELHI MUDDLE.

It is deeply to be regretted that the All-India Congress Committee, which met at Delhi on the 24th and 25th February, did not endorse the Bardoli programme without modification. The Press comments which we reprint to-day on the Delhi resolution, are in notable contrast to those on the Bardoli resolution in one important respect. Of the latter, they were almost unanimous in their appreciation. The comments on the Delhi resolution are characterised by the absence of any such solid agreement. On the contrary, their general trend may be summed up as an elaboration in varying degrees of shrewdness and perspicacity of the sentiment: "We don't know where we are." This is notably the case with the *Bombay Chronicle* and the *Swarajya* of Madras. They hail the Delhi modifications with the same warmth of approval as they did the Bardoli resolutions. To them, the Mahatma can do no wrong. All their ingenuity is exercised in discovering or evolving reasons to support the accomplished facts with which the Mahatma loves to confront his friends and followers. The *Times of India* and the *Leader* which had no fault to find with the Bardoli programme, find, of course, in the Delhi amendments confirmation of their settled convictions regarding the Congress and its methods. For really illuminating criticism of the Delhi programme, one must turn to the comments of such independent nationalist organs as the *Hindu* of Madras and the *Tribune* of Lahore. The *Tribune* is of opinion that the All-India Committee lost a great opportunity of putting Government in the wrong by not adopting intact the Bardoli programme, and the only excuse it can find for the mishap is that for Mahatma Gandhi to have insisted on this being done, would have meant the end to his leadership. But the most instructive part of its comment, however, is the criticism, conveyed in the form of a hint to Government, that individual civil disobedience is but a preparation and training for mass civil disobedience. The *Hindu* is more outspoken. Its criticism of the Delhi amendment is one of the most weighty pronouncements on a national policy that we have come across. To our mind, it was the plain duty of the Mahatma to have demanded from the All-India Congress Committee a categorical confirmation of the Bardoli resolutions, even if it involved the laying-down of his leadership. His subsequent advice to the Provincial Committees not to use the permissive amendments introduced at Delhi, reiterated with emphasis in the last *Young India*, shows how strongly he feels with those who were opposed to any alterations in the Bardoli programme. The Mahatma was, no doubt, moved to make the amendments by the appeal of the ten thousand and odd persons held in imprisonment for becoming Volunteers in pursuance of the resolution of the Ahmedabad Congress. He could

thrust aside this consideration unceremoniously in writing for his paper in his own sanctum, but not face to face at Delhi with the fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters of those imprisoned. It was human weakness which prompted his acquiescence at the moment, but it was weakness all the same. If he had resisted it, there might have been a schism in the Congress ranks, but he would have still had with him a considerable party closely compacted by means of common ideals. As the consequence of his momentary surrender and subsequent attempt to retrieve its consequences, faith in his leadership has been shaken and the morale of his party has correspondingly suffered. The prospect of augmenting its strength by accessions from outside which was so bright after Bardoli, has been dimmed by the wobbling at Delhi.

The Delhi addenda are the result not of deliberation but of distraction by the outcries of the less thoughtful section of Congressmen on one side and, on the other, by the calculated provocation of Sir William Vincent's comment in the Legislative Assembly on the Bardoli resolution on the eve of the All-India Congress Committee meeting. We have referred to the former in the previous paragraph, and have shown in another paragraph the untenable character of Sir William Vincent's querulous exposition of his view of the Bardoli decision. That Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Committee should have thought it necessary and right on their part to respond to Sir William Vincent's invitation with a tautological statement of the right of civil disobedience, lays bare a weakness of that body as at present constituted—the fatal weakness of want of concentration on a central purpose. If this declaration was a waste of words, the distinction sought to be drawn between individual and mass civil disobedience, as the *Hindu* well points out with reference to public meetings, represents no tangible difference between the two. The one, in fact, as the *Tribune* puts it, is but a training for the other. After having solemnly banned mass civil disobedience, to bless as solemnly individual civil disobedience, is, in the circumstances, a broad farce. Individuals make the mass, and it is more than we can say at a given moment where the individuals end and the masses begin. A few hours' sleeping on the resolution made the Mahatma uneasy as to the reality of this distinction, and he promptly set about to repair the mistake as well as possible by advising the Provincial Committees not to use the powers vested in them only a few hours before. As regards the picketing of shops selling foreign cloth, we are unable to see what the difference is in principle between the selling of foreign cloth and the selling of any other foreign commodity such as sugar. We have been against picketing even as a measure of temperance on the ground of its uncertain effects, though on this point several Christian missionaries and other temperance workers have taken a different view. But surely there is a vast difference between selling the poison of alcohol and the selling of foreign cloth. The peaceful picketing of liquor shops permitted by the Bardoli resolutions,

might be unobjectionable as a temperance measure. The picketing of shops selling foreign cloth, is nothing but a purely arbitrary measure without any social or moral purpose inspiring it. It ought not to form part of a constructive programme which it was the object of the Bardoli decision to formulate. There is one other matter which we should not fail to notice in this context. We strongly deprecate the use of language without any purpose other than that of wounding or exciting feeling. Phrases such as "bringing Government to their knees," which are not as infrequent as they ought be in educated and instructed controversy, are as undignified as they are ineffective to advance any good cause. As a matter of simple truth, what the Government in this country needs, is to stand upright on its feet as the organ of a great and historic land with a culture and tradition extending to a score of centuries and resources in men and material capable of sustaining the highest type of civilisation. To sum up: the Delhi resolution has introduced confusion where the Bardoli programme had induced clarity. But there is no reason to despair. The *Servant of India's* tragic strain is surely a bit overdrawn. In any case, the question of the Mahatma's leadership is less important than that of the future of the Congress. The mistake can and should be set right. The most hopeful feature of the situation is that Mahatma Gandhi as well as many other thoughtful men in the Congress Committee fully realise that a mistake has been made. Annotations in interviews and in the columns of *Young India*, however, are extremely inadequate and unsatisfactory as means of rectifying the Delhi muddle. A special Congress session should be held preferably in Bombay to overhaul the whole programme by frankly discarding items that have become obsolete, have already been tacitly abandoned, have failed, or have been shown by experience to be unfruitful. A heavy dead-weight of such putrescent matter encumbers the Congress programme. The next thing is to amplify and adopt the Bardoli programme as the sole authoritative programme of the Congress. Till this is done the Congress movement cannot freely function as a constructive movement of national rehabilitation.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

London Feb. 16.

THE GEDDES REPORT.

Last week the Geddes report was published, and since then the days seem filled with discussions of its recommendations and conclusions. The full report shows a way to a saving of about one hundred million pounds, but even with such a cut it would still leave a deficit in the national exchequer, for expenditure during the past few years has been on so lavish a scale that however great the economies made in the immediate future, it is almost impossible to speedily get rid of the tremendous inflation in expenditure the war years brought. Although everyone has been demanding economy cuts, each school of thought on scrutinising the report refuses to have the cut made in

the special branch of activity that it has adopted as its own. The admiralty have already made out a strong case against the recommendations that apply to them. Yet the admiralty claims great eagerness to combine efficiency with economy, the same applies to the army. Yet here, to take one instance alone, which can be understood by the man in the street, without any technical knowledge of army matters. In the army transport companies, there is practically one cleaner to every vehicle. The big omnibus companies employ one cleaner to five vehicles, and the tramway companies employ two cleaners to five double decked large trams. The suggested police cuts are also coming in for a vast amount of hostile criticism. That a great economy in our prisons can be made to-day is scarcely questioned; for some years now some prisons have been half (or more) empty, but the expenditure has not been lessened much thereby as the staff and upkeep of the buildings is the same. The prisons could be closed and the buildings either sold or put to some other national service. But any economies to be applied to the police force itself do not seem to meet with willing approval or acceptance even by the public. It is believed to be one of the most efficient in the world, but it has been brought to this condition by slow growth and repeated experiments, and one wonders if large modern cities can afford to attempt to economise on so vital an order of national service.

The suggestions that the school age should be raised from five to six and to reduce expenditure on higher education continues to meet with most vigorous opposition. Infant instruction, it is claimed, is of priceless value to the working class child, and we have only lately made ourselves proficient in this branch of activity, after years of specialised thought and energy, and we cannot afford to cut this out now. However, before any of the major economies are put into practice, there will probably be so much revision in detail as to almost alter the original suggestion altogether; but that economies on a big scale will take place is certain, because they must. This country could not continue to spend in the future as it has been doing in the past, and the report has done this for the country, it has made concrete various vague proposals, and from these action will come.

THE POPLAR TROUBLE.

Mr. George Lansbury, the one-time popular Poplar-poor Man's leader, has suffered a rebuff from his own people. For months he and his followers on the Board of Guardian have been fighting to enable them to give to Poplar unemployed a dole equal to, or more than equal to, a fair average working wage. Then they came in conflict with the Ministry of Health and found it was impossible to give out relief exceeding a certain sum. But when they told their unemployed that they no longer had the power to give such generous doles, the unemployed grew angry and the extremist section sent a deputation to wait upon the Board and insisted upon receiving full maintenance at more than the rate of full employment. The Board tried to reason with the deputation, which, however,

refused to reason and eventually at 9 o'clock at night locked up Mr. Lansbury and the Board in its own room, after telling them that they were nothing but bulwarks of the capitalist class. The extremists then took possession of the building and sang songs to keep them all cheerful. At two o'clock Mr. Lansbury pointed out that by ten o'clock in the morning there would be 1,800 poor people, including widows, waiting for relief. This appeal however, brought no response, and the night continued to pass. At 4 o'clock Mr. Lansbury got up, pulled on his coat and said "I am going home" and he and his son then fought their way to the street door. When they arrived there they found a body of police had arrived and the siege was over. But Poplar now says when the next election of Board of Guardians come off in April next, every socialist will be opposed.

A PLAY IN PRISON.

An interesting innovation occurred at one of the big English prisons the other day. The Governor had suggested and the Prison Commissioners had agreed to allow a play to be performed in the prison. One of the Jerome K. Jerome's had been chosen, and this was played by a good company. It was received with tremendous appreciation, and at the close, one of the prisoners got up and in an emotional speech thanked the performers for this evidence of interest in their less fortunate brethren. Before the improvised theatre broke up, all heartily sang the National Anthem.

MR. CHURCHILL AND THE KENYA INDIANS.

Mr. Churchill is not going to have it all his own way, I learn, in regard to the question of Kenya. He has got into the habit of believing that he is, for all practical purposes, the British Government, but the strong protests that have been made against his "pronouncement" at the Kenya dinner by the Government of India, the Indian Assembly, the Kenya Indians, the Kenya Indian delegation now here, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri, who returned this week from Washington together with the rest of the British Empire delegation, Mr. Montagu in his speech at the 1920 Club, last Friday, important sections of the British Press, and several prominent members of Parliament, of all parties, during the Indian debate on Tuesday, have opened the eyes of the Cabinet to the danger of allowing Mr. Churchill to throw petrol on the fires that are smouldering in India. Sir Valentine Chirol made a fierce attack upon this super-Imperialist in the "Times" on Monday, pointing to the harm that his intervention had caused in the matter of the Egyptian settlement, and Mr. Churchill sang on a diminished note when Col. Wedgwood tackled him on the subject of his post-prandial oration at the Kenya dinner. It is quite clear from his own admissions, that he did not consult or intend to consult the Cabinet about the matter. He reckoned without his colleague, the Secretary of State for India, and it is very unlikely, in the circumstances that the Cabinet will let the matter remain where it now stands.

INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.

The debate on the amendment to the Address in Reply, moved by Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, on Tuesday,

was really in the form of a motion of censure upon the Secretary of State for India, and not of want of confidence in the Government, though it came from the Diehard benches. At the same time, the members responsible must surely have known that they had no real chance of success in carrying their amendment, for, so long as the Secretary of State at present holding office continued to be a member of the Government, the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility was bound to be maintained even by the Coalition Government that allows Cabinet Ministers to do much as they like, without real control from the Prime Minister. It was natural, therefore, that the Government Whips should be put on, and the amendment was defeated by a majority of nearly four to one, the Labour Party not voting, not because they wanted to throw Mr. Montagu out of office, but because the course of the debate had been such as to prevent any of their spokesmen from having an opportunity of taking an effective part in the debate, though Col. Wedgwood got up several times but did not succeed in catching the Speaker's eye. Nevertheless, it was a bad day for India, and Indian affairs have undoubtedly received a serious, if temporary set-back in British opinion, thanks to the non-co-operation movement and its consequences and to the boycott of the Prince, which has gone home deeply in influential quarters. People here, for the time being, simply will not listen to Indian demands as they might have been prepared to do even three months ago, and Mr. Sastri, in today's "Times", notes the immense difference in sentiment prevailing here from that with which he was familiar when he left here for Washington. No-one will listen to anything until it is seen that the reforms are loyally and fully worked and the Gandhi movement kept under control by Indian public opinion. In the meantime, much advance may be made if, instead of concentrating upon statutory changes, the question of the development of constitutional conventions received full examination and attention at the hands of the Indian leaders. If things settle down in India during the next few months, Indian public men may be able to do a great deal of effective work in London during this summer. It is a mistake, in the opinion of those best able to judge, to suppose that any useful result may be achieved by boycotting British public opinion that counts and that may be very helpful. At the present time, even the friends of India here are compelled to dumbness.

THE NON-BRAHMINS UNDER THE HINDU LAW.

(BY MR. A. B. LATTHE, M.L.A.)

Though the Hindu Law as administered in our Courts recognises the existence of four Varnas, for all practical purposes the vast majority, if not the whole of the Non-Brahmin community, consisting of several casts of varying sizes, are treated as Shudras by the Law Courts in British India. Apart from the degradation which this means to many communities which claim to be Non-Brahmin Dwijas, there are some very

undesirable results springing from this view of the Courts which it must be the desire of all Non-Brahmins to avoid. One result of the Non-Brahmins being treated as Sudras, is that they have to put up with the most immoral law of succession of illegitimate sons. So far as I know, there is no civilized community in the world which gives such sons, the offsprings of an immoral life, rights very similar to and, sometimes, the same as the rights of children born in wedlock. This is not in fact wholly justified by the old texts of Hindu law. The definition of the word Dasiputra as accepted by our Courts is not correct in so far as it is held to include the children of continuously kept women. *Dasi* really means a slave-girl and, as the Bengal High Court has held, the institution of slave-girls having been declared illegal, there can now be no Dasiputras who can lawfully claim any rights of succession. The other High Courts have however taken a different view and though there can be no Dasiputra succession among the Dwijas, among the Sudras, which practically means most of the Non-Brahmins, they occupy a position in the Hindu family, which is very much, though not exactly like, that of an ordinary son. The second consequence, which is equally deplorable, is that an unchaste Sudra widow may adopt a son to her deceased husband presumably for his spiritual happiness. As a matter of fact, no Hindu husband would ever like to entrust his spiritual welfare to a wife who would lead an immoral life. The unchaste widow does not care a pin for these extra-mundane considerations. What she intends by the adoption is to defeat the rights of her husband's *bhaubands* and to divert his property to some one who may contribute to her lax methods of living.

I have no doubt that all thinking Non-Brahmins deplore this. Great communities like the Lingayets or the Marathas keenly resent being called Sudras and being subjected to degrading views of family law applicable to them. The Indian Legislature must be approached with a view to effect an amendment of the Hindu law in this connection. This may be done in two ways. Any community which does not like to be treated as a Sudra community may be enabled by legislation to declare itself to be a Non-Sudra community and this declaration should be binding on the Law Courts. This would certainly flatter the vanity of many of our communities and emancipate them from many demoralising ideas and customs. But they will also have to submit themselves to some disabilities attaching themselves to Dwija-hood. Inter-caste marriages, allowed among Sudras, are not legal among sub-castes of the twice born Varnas. Several restraints are placed on the powers of adoption among Dwijas from which the fortunate Sudras are free. By claiming to be twice-born, the so-called Sudra castes will have to accept these inconveniences along with the advantage of being freed from the stigma of illegitimate succession and adoption by unchaste widows.

The other course open to the Non-Brahmins is to let the name Sudra remain attached to them in the Law Courts and to insist that the law on these two points may be amended and brought into line with the law of Dwijas. This will enable them to retain the advan-

tages of Sudrahood while enabling them to discard its immoral incidents. A third and better but more difficult course for the so-called Sudras is to get the Legislature to recognise their higher social status and to try to modify the family law of the Dwijas to which they will then be subjected in the way they may like.

Which of these courses would the Non-Brahmins prefer? May I request Non-Brahmin leaders, especially lawyers, to consider this question and give expression to their views for the guidance of their representatives in the Legislature?

SOME SUPERFLUOUS APPOINTMENTS.

(BY RAMBLER.)

Until not very long ago, we had at the head of the Salt Department in Bombay the "Collector of Salt Revenue" who made a tour of the whole Presidency for the purpose of inspecting the works and subordinate offices, and controlled the Department. There was and still continues higher up a Commissioner, as the combined head of the Customs, Salt and Abkari departments, who was repeating the Collector's work. The late Mr. Wood, while holding the appointment of Collector, is reported to have often expressed and even formally placed before the Government in some connection, the view that the appointment was a sinecure and might be abolished. It may be easily understood that, having regard to the usual tendency of departments to at least perpetuate themselves, if not also to gather accretions, any proposal of this kind had but a small chance of support from other quarters, and matters continued as they were until Sir George Curtis became a member of the Bombay Government during Lord Willingdon's regime. He then foisted upon the Presidency the scheme on which he had set his heart and which he had previously pressed upon Government without success, namely, replacing the Collector of Salt Revenue by three Deputy Commissioners of the combined departments of Customs, Salt and Abkari.

In the case of measures not open to the glare of public criticism, it is rarely difficult to manipulate proposals of this kind so as to make the double show of extra efficiency and no extra cost, though at the expense of voiceless subordinates; but, beyond the half dozen gentlemen at the top who may have benefited by the change, few men are presumably enamoured of it and little beyond echoes of the grumbling of subordinates is said to be heard in the districts. Government have not been compelled to cast about for means of economy. Personal Assistants to Collectors, who first came in by way of extraordinary help to the heads of districts during famines, and have since become the ordinary appendages, are being abolished; the tours of all district officers are being curtailed; rates of travelling allowances are being revised; transferred branches of the administration, dealing with important questions of the peoples well-being and advancement, are likely to starve. At a time like this, occasion ought to be taken for clipping off superfluities, like these Deputy

Commissioners and the whole of the arrangements involving useless and obstructive duplication of work should be overhauled.

As in the case of Mamlatdars in the Revenue Department, the real brunt of the work and worry has always fallen on men of the rank of Sar Karkoon; and whatever supervision may be necessary over them can always be exercised by the Assistant Collectors of the Ranges. The tours of all supervising officers have always been a source of much needless trouble and annoyance to the heads of the respective Talukas; but these heads in the case of Customs, Salt and Abkari departments are, it is notorious, often exposed to the added misery of harassment at the hands of intriguers on the top and elsewhere. In the interests of good administration alone, these supervising agencies ought to be rigorously kept down both to the minimum; and when the additional consideration of economy is insistent, the suitability of selecting this class of expenditure for cutting down can hardly be disputed. As Government are already taking action in the direction of curtailing district officers tours, the Council is entitled to expect co-operation from them in thoroughly sifting such a proposal and, we trust, it will be taken up for consideration. *Prima facie* this may look like opening up too large an administrative question on a budget discussion, but it will be remembered that only last year in the Central Provinces, the Council by a majority passed a far more radical motion, namely, the abolition of Revenue Commissionerships, and although Government strenuously opposed it, they loyally carried out the proposal when passed.

Treatment of Political Prisoners: In reply to a question in the Bombay Legislative Council, put by Sardar V. N. Mutalik, asking for information about the number and treatment of political prisoners in this Presidency, the Hon. Mr. Hayward professed not to know who precisely were political prisoners as the Criminal Law made no such distinctions between prisoners. And yet the same Mr. Hayward had answered only a few days ago a similar question put by Mr. G. H. Kassim, a Sind member, without experiencing any such difficulty. The United Provinces and the Bengal Governments have framed rules for the special treatment of political prisoners. The Government of India recently stated in the Legislative Assembly that they were in communication with Provincial Governments regarding the treatment to be accorded to political prisoners. Unless the Government of Bombay alone were exempted from this category, Mr. Hayward must have been furnished with a definition of the term by the Government of India. From the reply given to Mr. Kassim, it appears that, except that they are not put in solitary cells, political prisoners "are otherwise treated exactly like other prisoners convicted by the criminal courts" in this Presidency. That is to say, no distinction is made between a prisoner as well educated and refined as any Member of Council, who, had he held a different set of political opinions, would probably have been a Member of Council, and another who is sent to jail for forgery or murder. Mr. Hayward may imagine he has scored off the Sardar, but he has not placed the Government of Bombay in the best light before the world of civilised opinion.

THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE RESOLUTION, DELHI.

RESOLUTION CONFIRMED.

The resolution, as finally passed by the All-India Congress Committee reads:—The All-India Congress Committee having carefully considered the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at its meeting held at Bardoli on the 11th and 12th instant, confirms the said resolutions with the modifications noted therein and further resolves that individual civil disobedience, whether of a defensive or aggressive character, may be commenced in respect of particular places, or particular laws, at the instance of, and upon permission being granted therefor, by the respective Provincial Committees.

Provided that, such civil disobedience shall not be permitted unless all the conditions laid down by the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee are strictly fulfilled.

Reports having been received from various quarters that picketing regarding foreign cloth is as necessary as liquor picketing, the All-India Congress Committee authorises such picketing of a bona fide character on the same terms as liquor picketing mentioned in the Bardoli resolutions.

The All-India Congress Committee wishes it to be understood that the resolutions of the Working Committee do not mean an abandonment of the original Congress programme of non-co-operation or the permanent abandonment of mass civil disobedience, but considers that an atmosphere of necessary mass non-violence can be established by the workers, concentrating upon the constructive programme framed by the Working Committee at Bardoli. The All-India Congress Committee holds civil disobedience to be the right and duty of the people to be exercised and performed whenever the State opposed the declared will of the people.

INDIVIDUAL CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

Note.—Individual civil disobedience is disobedience of orders or laws by a single individual or an ascertained number or group of individuals. Therefore, a prohibited public meeting where admission is regulated by tickets and to which no unauthorised admission is allowed, is an instance of individual civil disobedience whereas a prohibited meeting to which the general public is admitted without any restriction, is an instance of mass civil disobedience.

Such civil disobedience is defensive, when a prohibitive public meeting is held for conducting a normal activity, although it may result in arrest. It would be aggressive, if it is held, not for any activity, but merely for the purpose of causing arrest and imprisonment.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S VIEW.

Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Young India*: "I was prepared for a certain amount of depression, disappointment, and resentment, but I confess I was totally unprepared for the hurricane of oppositions. It became clear to me that the workers were in no mood to do any serious work of construction. The constructive programme lent no enchantment. They were not a social reform association. They could not wrest power from the Government by such humdrum reform work. They wanted to deliver 'non-violent' blows! All this appeared so thoroughly unreal. They would not stop to think that even if they could defeat the Government by a childish display of rage, they could not conduct the government of the country for a single day without serious and laborious organisation and construction.

We must not go to gaol, as Mahomed Ali would say, 'in a false issue.' It is not any imprisonment that will lead to

Swara]. It is not every disobedience that will fire us with the spirit of obedience and discipline. Jails are no gate-way to liberty for the confirmed criminal. They are temples of liberty only for those who are innocence personified. Let us be truthful. It is through 'show of force' that we wish to gain Swara], let us drop non-violence and offer such violence as we may. It would be a manly, honest and sober attitude—an attitude the world has been used to for ages past. No one can then accuse us of the terrible charge of hypocrisy.

But the majority will not listen to me. In spite of all my warnings and passionate plea for rejecting my resolution, if they did not believe in non-violence as indispensable for the attainment of our goal, they accepted it without a single material change. I would ask them therefore to realize their responsibility. They are now bound not to rush to civil disobedience but to settle down to the quiet work of construction. I would urge them to be indifferent to the clamour for immediate action. The immediate action is not courting imprisonment, nor even free speech and free association or free press, but self-purification, introspection, quiet organisation. We have lost our foothold. If we do not take care we are likely to be drowned in the waters whose depth we do not know.

It is no use thinking of the prisoners. We who are outside have tried and failed. The prisoners can now only gain by serving the full term of their imprisonment. Those who went under false pretences, or under any misapprehension or under a mistaken understanding of the movement can come out by apologising and by petitioning. The movement will be all the stronger for the purging.

Therefore the duty of the majority in their respective provinces is to face taunts, insults and if need be depletion in their ranks but determinedly to pursue their goal without swerving an inch. The authorities mistaking our suspension for weakness may resort to still greater oppression. We should submit to it. We should even abandon defensive civil disobedience and concentrate all our energy on the tasteless but health-giving economic and social reform. We should bend down on our knees and assure the moderates that they need fear no harm from us. We should assure the Zamindars that we have no ill-will against them.

PRESS OPINIONS.

New India, Madras daily, (Besant).

Mr. Gandhi has once more proved his dictatorship by bending the weak wills of the so-called "leaders" to his strong will, and, as though to show his contempt for them, he has executed another *colta-faci* by forcing his new resolution through the All-India Congress Committee. He has already forgotten Chauri Chaura, under the shock of which he passed the Bardoli resolutions suspending mass civil disobedience. The Committee has obediently confirmed these resolutions "with modifications," the modifications entirely changing the resolutions. The modifications restore the *status quo ante*-Bardoli. The "conditions" have always been insisted on, so there is no change except that the Bardoli disobedience, abandoned on the spur of the moment, is not definitely revived. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's proposal to confirm the Bardoli resolutions, and the abandonment of Civil Disobedience and N.-C.-O., found no support. Swami Shradhananda, from whom courage might have been expected, did not attend the meeting, but withdrew his amendment by letter. We hear nothing of the Khilafatists, but they have really carried the day, for Civil Disobedience is permitted to them, and they can ensure that it leads to

violence, which they consider necessary. The Congress Committee has cast the fatal die, and we must prepare for the struggle. Volunteering with the object of destroying the Government is to be pressed, and thousands of more boys will be flung into gaol by this action of the Committee. All good citizens who are against anarchy must now stand out to save the country from revolution. If the only Government in the country is destroyed, all India will become a Kalabar, and it is the great Hindu population that will be the sufferers.

Swara]ya, Madras daily, (Congress).

In our opinion, the suggested modifications will hardly affect the Bardoli programme if the injunctions of the Working Committee are strictly adhered to. One cannot neglect the fact that we have to deal with a Government which believes in an insane use of power as the only answer to a Nation's just demands. The fertile mind of Sir W. Vincent is sure to twist and distort the so-called law of the land to stifle even swadeshi and Temperance work. The weapon of individual civil disobedience, which is now reserved, will be useful to defeat any such attempts on the side of the Government. It will not interfere with the intensive programme of work which is framed to organise and discipline the people in non-violent methods. We heartily commend the All-India Congress Committee for the ready acceptance of the lead given by the Working Committee. It has stood true to the great ideas of the movement, for it has, with true vision, seen that it would be fatal to sacrifice the creed of non-violence for an imagined political expediency. At a moment when heroism and wisdom was needed, it has shown it. The next few months will disclose the wisdom of the Bardoli decision. The country has already shown that for the great cause it is prepared to meet suffering meekly and bravely. We have firm faith that it will now, with patience and energy, put the new programme into successful operation. It will demonstrate to the world that non-violence can, and will, disarm the desolating hand of power.

The Bombay Chronicle, daily, (Congress).

It is was this true view of Carson-Sydenham Imperialism that impelled the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi to make no compromise with the thing they had come to loath. For, either of the two alternative policies urged on the nation were a part of this brand of Imperialism. Some would have had the Congress be diplomatic. They worked for a peace of dishonour, though to be fair to them they knew not what they did. They would have had the nation truckle in some measure to this Imperialism-*cum*-Princelanism by refraining from answering in plain words Sir William Vincent's latest threat. But the nation's leaders have chosen otherwise. They have given the world plainly to understand that their decision has no concern or connection with threats which cannot touch the people's composure and their confidence.—And further, they have made it clear that the vanguard of the people's army have taken no step in retreat. They have merely halted that the rearguard and the stragglers may come up and the army will then resume its march. The countenancing under due safeguards of previous volunteer activities such as picketing when repression interferes with the Congress' routine work emphasises that no step has been taken in retreat.

And as for those who counselled immediate Civil Disobedience—their was also a counsel savouring of thought-processes such as move and guide the Imperialism of the type we have mentioned. They maintained that a movement affecting to shrink in horror from the ghastly thing, should

at the same time make use of the arguments of expediency," and the hypocrisy which mutilates its countenance. To do this were similarly to disfigure the face of Non-co-operation till it looks as ghastly a thing as the corpse of sham Imperialism, stripped of all pretence to the life of morality, lying in the centre of the stage. The Congress has been true to itself, to the people it represents and to the saint, its leader. It could hardly have been otherwise.

The Tribune, Lahore daily, (Independent).

In the circumstances it is not unreasonable to think that had Mahatma Gandhi stood by the Bardoli resolutions as Pandit Malaviya did, one of two things would have happened. Either he would have been defeated, or even if he had proved victorious the forces would have been so evenly matched as to make the victory of doubtful value. In either case, having regard to the strength and volume of the prevailing feeling on one side and on the other something like a schism would in practice have been inevitable. So far as Mahatma Gandhi himself is concerned we know from the latest issue of *Young India* what defeat would have meant. "I am not likely to give up the lead of the movement," he said in reply to an anonymous correspondent from Lahore, "unless I have a clear indication that the people want me to. One method of giving that indication is an adverse vote of the Working Committee, or the All-India Congress Committee."

The other thing that is certain is that the Government has it in its power even now too make the part of the non-co-operation programme relating to individual civil disobedience inoperative. It has only to withdraw the two notifications and other measures of a repressive character for the non-co-operators to find that they have little or nothing to resist. Let the Government remember one thing. The individual civil resistance of to-day is with non-co-operators a definite part of their preparation for mass civil disobedience at a later time. They look upon it, among other things, as a part of the training that is necessary to equip them for the bolder enterprise. Is it not the duty, Government's duty as well as interest to see that they are not afforded the opportunity of having this preparation and this training? And how can you prevent them from having this preparation and this training except by taking away all those measures which they can resist without violating their basic creed of non-violence?

The Leader, Allahabad daily, (Liberal).

The resolution finally passed by the All-India Congress Committee which, in addition to confirming the Bardoli resolutions, also sanctions 'individual' civil disobedience, does not, we are told, strictly reflect Mr. Gandhi's view. It means that for the first time the Mahatma has been overruled. His personal view was, we may take it, represented by the Bardoli resolutions, but we learn that the motion put forward by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that the Bardoli resolutions be simply confirmed found no support in any quarter of the house. The decision of the All India Congress Committee, therefore, clearly signifies an adverse vote against Mr. Gandhi.

The Congress Committee's resolution cannot but strengthen the position of Government and weaken that of the peace makers like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and his colleagues in the Bombay Conference Committee. Peace can only come when those who have made up their mind to fight to the bitter end, in disregard of all consequences, realize the need of it and not before.

The Servant, Calcutta daily, (Congress)

The latest news from Delhi is bound to give rise to a feeling of satisfaction all over the country. The spirit which

animated the Bardoli resolutions has been kept intact at Delhi though the programme has been modified in two respects. On the representation of the several provincial leaders it has been decided that picketing should be organized not only as regards liquor shops but also to prevent the sale of imported cloth. Individual civil disobedience of an aggressive character has also been sanctioned in order to enable those who feel that certain laws should be disobeyed to give expression to their resentment against what they consider intolerable encroachments on their freedom of speech or action or association. The main consideration which has led to the Bardoli resolutions and which is also responsible for the nation's decision at Delhi is the absolute necessity of maintaining an atmosphere of perfect non-violence in the country in order to ensure the success of the national movement. The recent exhibition of impulsiveness might have created a feeling in the popular mind that the country was ready for Mass Civil Disobedience and that the people at large were prepared to suffer everything in a spirit of non-violence, but we have to face enormous risks in advising the people to resort to Mass Civil Disobedience and this cannot be done lightly. It is therefore with a full recognition of the heavy responsibilities that lie upon them that a majority of the members of the All-India Congress Committee have decided to accept the resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi and suspend Mass Civil Disobedience for the present. But the important reservation has been made that "the resolutions of the Working Committee do not mean an abandonment of the original Congress programme of non-co-operation or permanent abandonment of Mass Civil Disobedience" and the Congress Committee is of opinion "that an atmosphere of necessary mass non-violence can be established by the workers concentrating upon the constructive programme framed by the Working Committee at Bardoli." It has also been definitely stated that "the All-India Congress Committee holds civil disobedience to be the right and duty of the people to be exercised and performed whenever the State opposes the declared will of the people." This finally dispels all the foolish forebodings of the "croakers" that the Bardoli resolutions mean the end of the non-co operation programme. Let us now hope that the country will settle down to a whole-hearted acceptance of the programme defined by the leaders and thus prepare the nation for the goal on which it has set its heart.

The Times of India, Bombay daily, (Anglo-Indian.)

The All-India Congress Committee met at Delhi to decide whether or not to endorse the decisions; the Dictator of the Congress had to submit dictatorship to the dictated. Well, amid the anxiety for disobedience and revolution at Delhi the fervent white heat of peace at Bardoli died into an angry glow. We are told that the long resolution which he submitted to the Committee did not reflect Mr. Gandhi's own feelings, but he compromised in order to meet the wishes of the majority. And what emerges from Delhi? Nothing less than a state of optional citizenship. The first duty of the citizen is to obey the law. If he does not like the law, then he has the constitutional opportunity of amending it. The first right of the non-co-operating citizen, according to the Delhi Programme, is the breaking of the law. Individual civil disobedience, whether of a defensive or aggressive character, may be commenced in respect of particular places or particular laws at the instance of and upon permission being granted therefore by the respective provincial committees. That is to say, the non-co-operators reserve to themselves the right of breaking the law in every province, when they think fit to do so. The usual

fiction of the complete satisfaction of the conditions laid down by the Congress Committee is preserved but readers of *Young India* know full well what a complete and abject fiction that is. The essential point then which emerges from the Delhi resolutions is that the Bardoli programme is a programme *pour rire*; the real programme is the establishment in India of such a Soviet system as existed in Russia before the expulsion of Kerensky, whereunder Congress Committee will decide what laws they will observe and what laws they will break and the time and place therefor. If these Soviets are tolerated, we know the next step; the actual seizure of political power and the establishment of a communistic despotism, if they are permitted to bring the law, and the Government which is the working agency behind the law sufficiently into disrepute.

The Dnyanodaya, Bombay Weekly, (Christian Missionary).

All right-thinking men must deplore the latest decision of Non-co-operation to allow individual civil disobedience, for this really means in practical working that every man may be a law unto himself. That Mr. Gandhi agrees to this, probably against his own better judgment, more than ever confirms the view which has been expressed that Government has a policy but unfortunately no prophet to champion it, while Gandhism has its prophet but no worthy policy. 'A sincere visionary but a political bungler who makes colossal mistakes and owns up' is as good a characterization as we have yet seen of the 'dictator.'

Justice, Madras daily (Non-Brahmin).

From the text of the resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee which was printed in our impression of yesterday it will be noticed that picketing of liquor shops and cloth bazaars is to continue, that mass civil disobedience is not to be abandoned but only to be suspended pending the arrival of a certain kind of atmosphere. In the meantime, it is perfectly legitimate for individuals and groups of individuals to practise civil disobedience. It is apparent that between the prohibition of mass civil disobedience and the permission for groups of individuals to practise civil disobedience there is only a distinction without a difference. We may take it that a few misguided individuals, the dupes of Mr. Gandhi and his Moslem friends would either individually or in combination with others offer civil disobedience, a phrase which translated into plain practical English means the defiance of law, authority and ordered Government. This will undoubtedly end in bloodshed and loss of human life, and as the contagion spreads, the spirit of revolt would assume wider and larger proportion necessitating the requisition of martial law and similar measures for affording protection to the life and property of the law abiding citizen. These calamities we should try to avert by non-official efforts to reclaim these victims now under Mr. Gandhi's spell.

The Hindu, Madras daily, (Congress).

We must frankly say that we wish the All-India Congress Committee had endorsed that decision in its entirety instead of adopting an attitude which might easily be mistaken for one of the "willing to wound, but afraid to strike" type. How far they reacted to the violence of Sir William's gesture it is impossible to know and unnecessary to discuss, but they would certainly have been better advised to show more of the introspective spirit of Bardoli and less of an attitude savouring of a half-hearted answer to a challenge. By all means, if we must fight, let us. But we venture to think that the course adopted is to invite defeat in detail. The authorising of aggressive and defensive disobedience affords a plausible excuse for Government to persist in repression and with all due de-

ference to the exponents of purification by suffering, we can only envisage a campaign of attrition. We do emphatically think that if the big fight must be postponed there is no sense in wasting our strength in minor skirmishes and the individuals who are expected to come forward to offer individual civil disobedience, who will presumably be the leaders, would be much better employed in pushing forward the excellent constructive programme sketched out at Bardoli than in congesting the jails, and in furnishing their followers with a series of thrills any one of which might on occasion upset their equanimity. It is besides throwing a heavy responsibility on the provincial organisations, who are expected to draw up a prospective roll of honour. Again, while it is possible to perceive the distinction between mass and individual disobedience the illustration given as a note strikes us as unhappy and one sailing too close to the wind. A public meeting is none the less public because admission is by tickets. The responsibility devolved on the local organisations is thus a heavy one and there is always the danger of self-delusion as regards the fulfilment of the conditions precedent to civil disobedience.

The Servant of India, Poona Weekly, (Liberal).

The situation is developing rapidly and ominously. Mr. Gandhi has retained the leadership of his party at Delhi, but one must be blind not to see that this leadership has become so attenuated as to be little more than purely nominal. He no longer leads, he follows, and what is so melancholy, is to see the great opportunity that Mr. Gandhi missed.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men....."

Mr. Gandhi had the chance of a lifetime at Delhi. If only he had had the boldness of standing up to all the malcontents and of making the issue plain; Here Ahimsa, there violence—who is for Ahimsa and for me? That would have been greatness; however much defeated, he would have remained truly victor. The situation would have been cleared; people would have been brought to realize where exactly they stood and whither exactly they were heading—whether towards violence, and anarchy or towards non-violence at all costs and self-discipline. Mr. Gandhi had an opportunity for a magnificent dramatic exit in the one case or for an equally magnificent restoration to power and leadership in the other. He has chosen neither and stands discredited instead, both in the eyes of the party of Violence and of that of Non-Violence. The former will make use of him as a figure-head for a little longer, in fact for just as long as his name proves still a popular asset—and for not a minute longer. Mr. Gandhi to-day is a prisoner—not of Government who have shown perspicacity of a high order in refusing to yield to the English Dickrads' clamour for his arrest, but of his own extremist followers, who have tied him up in the meshes of the Delhi resolutions and in the avowal of his impotence against Provincial decisions. Unless by some gigantic blow Government restore Mr. Gandhi's power, that power has now departed from him definitely.

THE VICEROY AND THE CONFERENCE.

The following letters have been issued for publication:—

VICEROYAL LODGE,
DELHI, 24th February, 1922.

My dear Mr. Jinnah,—The enclosed letter, addressed to the Honorary Secretary of the Representative Conference at Bombay and despatched on the 7th February, has just been returned to me by the Post Office authorities as undelivered.

It is very regrettable that this letter failed to reach you or one of the other Secretaries who signed the letter to which it is a reply. I hope that you will explain the facts to the persons concerned.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) S. K. HIGNELL.

Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of the 30th January, 1922. In this you observe that your Committee are anxious to know why His Excellency is unable to discover in their proposals the tests for a profitable discussion on the subject of a round-table conference and that they would be grateful to know which terms of these proposals are not acceptable, because, in that case they will endeavour to meet His Excellency's wishes.

In reply, I am desired to refer you to the *communiqué* of the Government of India of the 6th February. For the reasons explained therein His Excellency is of opinion that the proposals of your conference, which are substantially identical with those of the working committee for the Congress, in no way fulfil the essentials laid down by him in his speech at Calcutta, and he must adhere to the view that they cannot reasonably be described as having been made in response to the sentiments then expressed by him. His Excellency appreciates the statements that your Committee will endeavour to meet his wishes in regard to any terms which are not regarded as acceptable, but in view of the attitude taken by Mr. Gandhi in his manifesto of the 4th February His Excellency considers that any further discussion in present conditions of a round table conference would serve no purpose.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) S. K. HIGNELL,
Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE RUSSIAN FAMINE.

Lord Robert Cecil, M. P., presided on Tuesday at a meeting in Queen's Hall, London, at which Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, High Commissioner for the Russian Famine and formerly Norwegian Minister at the Court of St. James, was the speaker.

Lord Robert Cecil read a letter from Lord Weardale, Chairman of the Save the Children Fund, which, with the Russian Famine Fund and the Friends' Relief Committee, was responsible for organising the meeting, regretting his enforced absence from London. It was lamentable, said Lord Weardale, that in some quarters the very existence of the famine was denied while even political prejudices were inflamed to prevent the public from contributing to the relief of its victims. He hoped that the British Government would take some steps to help in remedying this overwhelming disaster, and that the ever-charitable British would continue their aid.

A TRIBUTE TO DR. NANSEN.

Lord Robert called attention to the fact that a very large and representative gathering had assembled. Anyone, he said, who knew anything of the work of the three societies responsible for that meeting would agree that humanity owed a great debt to them for their self-denying labours. He understood that one of those societies had been subjected to some criticism, and he could only hope that the critics had done one-hundredth part of the good to humanity that that society had done. It was not given to many of them to say they had taken an active part in saving the lives of tens, even hundreds of thousands of helpless children. Secondly, he wanted to say what a great satisfaction it was to him to be

once again on the same platform as his revered friend Dr. Nansen. It has been his fortune to be brought into contact with Dr. Nansen on a number of occasions and he hoped he would forgive him if he expressed his profound admiration, admiration which was shared by hundreds of thousands of his fellow countrymen and countrywomen, for his magnificent capacity and devotion to suffering humanity. He had heard Dr. Nansen described as a pro-German during the war. That was utterly untrue. He had seen him described as a Bolshevik or the friend of Bolsheviks. Except in the sense that he was the friend of all humanity that was untrue, and even ridiculous. They might almost as well describe the Duke of Northumberland as a Bolshevik. Dr. Nansen had in this matter, as in all his career, been directed solely by an altruistic desire to serve humanity, a desire which many others would do well to imitate if they could. He was there on a world-wide tour. He was making a great appeal for the assistance of the world in meeting a world disaster.

Dr. Nansen, who was received with great applause, the audience rising in their seats, recalled his abortive negotiations with European Governments and with the League of Nations. He had asked for Government credits for Russia only the sum of five million pounds, less than half the cost of one battle cruiser, and that to be shared among all the Governments, but the Governments had refused. Passing on to describe the famine, he said it was even worse than he anticipated. Millions were doomed to die. What could they do? If the Governments would act now, as he had asked them to act, and as he should continue to ask them to act, great things might be done. In the next few months they must find means to cultivate the desolate fields of Russia and send grain to sow in the fields. At least ten millions were living in actual starvation, and millions must inevitably die. From the economic point of view he did not believe anyone was seriously convinced that it was wise for Europe's granary to become a depopulated desert. Neither did he believe the people of Europe could stand by, while millions of men, women and children were dying.

After outlining the principal causes of the famine, the greatest of which was the drought which had overtaken the Volga provinces, Dr. Nansen said whatever its cause it was beyond the control of the Russian people. Dealing with the question of charitable relief, he said that everyone who had given and who would give, in England to the funds for the relief of these unhappy people might be absolutely certain that their gifts reached those for whom they were intended. Every penny given from Britain was administered by the British agents on the spot, whether for the Save the Children Fund, the Russian Famine Relief Fund, or the Friends' Relief Committee. He denied emphatically that any of the relief goods had been pillaged.

A CAMPAIGN OF LIES.

Lies, he said had been spread throughout the Press that the relief trains had been looted and their consignments pillaged. There was not an atom of truth in such assertions. Answering the objection that even if the goods arrived safely the Soviet authorities might misappropriate them, he said he was convinced that they were absolutely safeguarded by their system of delivery only against check receipt. Every ounce of food given reached those for whom it was intended.

Much harm had been done, distrust had been created, by the shameless lies which had been given currency, lies which had horrified him, lies which had meant the deaths of millions of people who might have been saved. In conclusion, Dr.

Nansen said twenty million men, women and children were looking death in the face. Half must die; half might be saved if food were sent. He wanted to wear the conscience of all Europe with the knowledge of this horror which was going on. He wanted the peoples to know what was happening and to make the Governments act, so that millions whose lives were now at stake might be saved.

Miss Mauda Royden moved a resolution to the effect that that meeting, representing all shades of religious and political opinion, realising that private charity was inadequate to meet the position beg the Government to take steps to mitigate the world disaster of the Russian famine. This was seconded by Lord Emmott and carried with applause.

During the meeting a cinematograph film taken under Dr. Nansen's direction depicting scenes in the famine zone, and a number of lantern slides taken by himself were shown. *The Challenge, London.*

A FALSEHOOD CONTRADICTED.

A Government of India *Communique* dated Delhi, March 1, states:—There is no strength in the rumour telegraphed to the press in London to the effect that a Motor car conveying members of the suite of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was fired on between Delhi and Patiala. The facts, on which the rumour appears to have been based, are as follows: On the 21st February the motor cars for use at Patiala, left Delhi by Road, an aide-de-camp of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales travelling by one of them. When this car was passing a point about fifty miles on the Delhi side of Ambala, some object, probably a stone, hit the front door of one of the motors. Examination of the dent in the door showed that it was certainly not caused by a bullet; it may have been caused by a stone thrown by some person unknown, or kicked up by the car from the road. No one could have known that His Royal Highness' motors were likely to travel along this road, as they are usually railed in advance and the Royal departure from Delhi had been publicly announced for 11 p. m., which was many hours after the occurrence.

FACT VS. FICTION.

(The *National Advocate* New York.)

Fiction.—Prohibition was hastily enacted.

Fact.—For more than 100 years prohibition was intensively and extensively studied and discussed. No question ever decided by the American people was better understood.

Fiction.—Prohibition was the will and act of the minority.

Fact.—Before national prohibition went into effect 34 States acting separately had adopted prohibition for themselves. More than three-fifths of the people and four-fifths of our territory were under prohibition. The Amendment was submitted by a vote of more than two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, 65 to 20 in the Senate and 282 to 128 in the House, and ratified by fifteen-sixteenths of the States. The three States which failed to ratify have less than one-twentieth of the population and less than one-two-hundredth of the area of the United States.

Fiction.—Prohibition was "put over" while our soldiers were away.

Fact.—The Congress which submitted prohibition to the States was elected (November 1916), five months before we even declared war on Germany. (April, 1917.) Our soldiers are not drunkards. They helped Kentucky to enact

prohibition after their return in 1919, raised the prohibition majority in Ohio from 28,000 to nearly 42,000 and in Michigan from 68,000 to 207,000.

Fiction.—Prohibition is unconstitutional.

Fact.—By a unanimous opinion of the United States Supreme Court, 1920, both the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Enforcement Code were declared to be Constitutional.

Fiction.—More liquor is consumed than before we had prohibition.

Fact.—In 1917, the last year before war prohibition went into effect, 600 distilleries in the United States produced 168,000,000 gallons of spirituous liquor. In the same year 1,800 breweries produced 1,885,000,000 gallons of beer. The first year under Constitutional prohibition three distilleries were in operation and 28,000,000 gallons of spirits were consumed, while beer practically disappeared. The liquor imported was less than one-half of one per cent. of the consumption of pre-prohibition days.

Fiction.—Prohibition interferes with personal liberty.

Fact.—So do the Ten Commandments, according to the testimony of every liar, thief, libertine and blasphemer.

Fiction.—Prohibition cannot be enforced.

Fact.—Prohibition and every other law for the good of the people, can be enforced by placing men in authority who have the inclination, courage and ability to do what they are paid and sworn to do.

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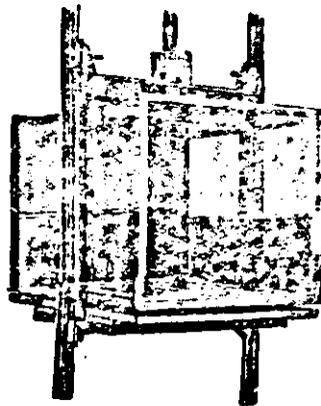
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No. 28

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Mahatma Arrested. As the last proofs are being passed, we read in the *Times of India* a press note of the Government of Bombay announcing that Mahatma Gandhi was arrested at Ahmedabad on the evening of the 10th instant on charges of sedition under Section 124 A, Indian Penal Code, by order of the Government of Bombay, with the concurrence of the Government of India. A person is presumed to be innocent until he is found guilty by a Court of Law, and the omission of even the common courtesy of Mr. before the Mahatma's name in the Press Note is as premature as it is regrettable.

Mr. Montagu's Resignation: Since writing our leading article, we have seen the report of the questions and answers in Parliament regarding Mr. Montagu's resignation. The reason officially given is that Mr. Montagu, in contravention of Cabinet practice, authorised the publication by the Government of India in this country of their despatch to the Secretary of State, expressing their views on the Turkish settlement for consideration at the forthcoming Paris Conference. This despatch, it appears, was published in India before it reached Mr. Montagu, so that if he did authorise its publication, he must have done so without a knowledge of its precise contents which were an uncompromising plea for a sympathetic consideration of the Indian point of view. Its publication, under the circumstances, seems very much like one of those "calculated indiscretions" which have often enabled statesmen to tide over a crisis without serious consequences to themselves. We are inclined to agree with the *Times of India* that this is only the nominal reason for Mr. Montagu's resignation. The real reasons, perhaps, include those to which we have referred.

The Despatch. The Despatch was dated the 7th instant and was published in the morning papers on the 9th, as from the Associated Press. It was stated that the Government of India despatched it to the Secretary of State for India on the 28th February last, after consulting and receiving the general concurrence of all the Provincial Governments except Burma which it was evidently thought unnecessary to consult about the matter. The Despatch ran as follows:

On the eve of the Greco-Turkish Conference we feel it our imperative duty to lay once more before His Majesty's Government the intensity of the feeling in India regarding the necessity for a revision of the Treaty of Sevres. We are fully alive to the complexity of the problem and conflict of the interests that have to be considered. But India's services in the great war and more especially in Mesopotamia and Palestine where success was achieved by her army with its complement of Moslem soldiers, the vastness of her Moslem population, the intense stirring of religious feeling over the Turkish question among it, the large degree of support the Indian Moslem cause is receiving from India at large, all these entitle her to claim the utmost consideration of her aspirations and their fulfilment in so far as they are just, equitable and reasonable. We are conscious that it may be impossible to satisfy India's expectations in their entirety but we urge upon His Majesty's Government three points which, due provision having been made for safeguarding the neutrality of the Straits and the security of the non-Turkish populations we urge as of the first importance. First evacuation of Constantinople, second Sultan's suzerainty over the Holy Places, third restoration of Ottoman Thrace, including the sacred Moslem city of Adrianople and the unreserved restoration of Smyrna. We earnestly trust that His Majesty's Government will give these aspirations all possible weight, for their fulfilment is of the greatest importance to India.

Mr. Austin Chamberlain, speaking on behalf of Government, described the suggestions of the Government of India as exceeding even the demands of the warmest friends of the Turks. The question thus raised is of high constitutional importance. It denies the right of the Government of India to inform the people of this country of their intentions regarding a subject in which they are deeply interested and as regards which they are entitled to know the attitude of their Government. The publication of the Despatch had an excellent effect, and the resignation of Mr. Montagu cannot but have a contrary effect. We note that it is not only the publication but also the contents of the Despatch that is being attacked. That being the case, we can scarcely believe that Mr. Montagu's resignation is the end of the matter.

Bombay Excise Policy: We publish in another column a note received from the Director of Information Bureau explaining the new Excise policy adopted in Bombay. In the first paragraph, it is endeavoured to make out that the policy now superseded has been a success and that "although excise revenue has doubled itself in ten years, the actual consumption is less than it was ten years ago." We showed some time back that the slight diminution in consumption was due to the diminution of population. Dr. John Pollen, a retired Abkari Commissioner of this Presidency, read a paper on the "Liquor Question in India" before the East India Association, London, in December last, and spoke in praise of the Bombay Excise policy. But he had to admit that, unfortunately, "in spite of the rise in duty, consumption considerably increased—the gross excise revenue in two provinces having more than doubled in ten years." This increase, he added, is undoubtedly

great and is much to be deplored. He ascribed the increased revenue to increased consumption stimulated by high wages. As a matter of fact, it is well known that wages have not kept pace with the high prices of the necessaries of life, and this theory is, of course, palpably untenable in face of that fact. The wages that should be considered is not the cash wages but the real wages in terms of food, fuel, rent and clothing. Dr. Pollen went on to suggest certain reforms in order to make the Bombay policy really effective for reducing consumption. There seems to be little doubt, he said, that there is room for improvement in the Department and among his suggestions for improvement was the "rationing liquor shops." The Government of Bombay has adopted this plan, but rationing is to be confined to country liquor. This must inevitably lead to increased consumption of foreign liquor. Dr. Pollen, on the other hand, urged that duties on sales of European and foreign stimulants and alcoholic concoctions ought to be raised and everything possible done to give preference to Indian productions.

The Nasik Acetone Factory: We referred last week to the starting by the Government of Bombay of a new factory for the manufacture of liquor at a cost of several lakhs of rupees. This had reference to the provision in the Budget for the next official year of Rs. 15 lakhs for the purchase from the Government of India of the Acetone Factory at Nasik to be converted into a huge distillery producing 20 million gallons of country liquor. An account of the origin and history of this factory was given in the Council of State early last month in reply to a question from Professor Kale. It was established in 1917 in order to cope with the demand for Acetone for military purposes. The expenditure incurred on it up to the end of December 1921 has amounted approximately to 50½ lakhs. This sum, though incurred for military purposes, is shown in the Government of India's accounts under the civil head of Industry. It would be interesting to know if any other military expenditure is credited to civil departments. Of the sum of 50½ lakhs, nearly 41½ lakhs represents the cost of buildings, lands, machinery, equipment and construction. If the Government of Bombay get this for 15 lakhs, it will be no doubt an advantageous bargain, but we have serious objection to its being turned to the use proposed. We reprint from the Journal of the East India Association, a note contributed by Mr. G.M. Ryan on the possibilities of the manufacture of power alcohol, and if the Government of Bombay manufacture power instead of potable alcohol in the new distillery, they would be greatly helping industrial development and not hindering the spread of temperance habits in the Presidency.

Mr. Sastry's Roving Commission: It seems hardly probable that the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry will return to Indian public life in a non-official capacity. The rumour that he was to be the next Governor of Bihar and Orissa was founded chiefly on the general expectation that Mr. Sastry is destined for some high appointment. It is now stated, apparently on good authority, that he will return to India for a month and will then proceed to Australia, New Zealand and Canada on deputation by Government, ending up with a course of lectures in various American cities on India's aspiration to Dominion Status in the British Commonwealth. The necessity of a deputation to Australia, New Zealand and Canada at the present juncture is not evident. It is inconceivable that Mr. Sastry would have agreed to this roving commission, involving his absence from and consequent loss of touch with the course of affairs in India at a critical time like the present, if he had any desire to return to public

life in a non-official capacity. The Prime Minister stated in his speech on the motion of censure on Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons that an Indian representative would attend the Genoa Conference for the reconstruction of Europe. We have reason to think that another leader of the Liberal party, Sir Sivaswami Iyer, will be chosen for the purpose. Since the above was in type, news comes that the United States has refused to participate in the Genoa Conference, and it will not be much use holding one without American co-operation.

Journalist versus Minister: Aman Sabhas are a kind of political association peculiar, we think, to the United Provinces. The Hon. Mr. Chintamani recently delivered a discourse on the origin and purpose of these Sabhas at Gorakhpur. We first read a telegraphic summary of it, but preferred to wait for the full authentic text in the *Leader* before commenting upon it. We have this now before us. A perusal of it leaves us speculating how Mr. Chintamani, the journalist, would tear to pieces the argument of Mr. Chintamani, the Minister, had it been given to him to take on either part of this dual personality at will. The Minister gently kicked away the ladder of the Liberal Party by stating that though he was and continued to be a member of that Party, he had to admit with regret that it did not possess sufficient resources in men and money to be relied upon to run a counter-movement effectually to discourage non-co-operation. How can the party have men and resources if most of its leaders accepted office and started Aman Sabhas? The Minister went on to say:

That being so I agreed with the view which had been put forward by a high official that the Government should step into the breach and cause associations to be formed in districts composed both of officials and non-officials and work through those associations. The idea did appeal to me and when many of my personal and political friends at Lucknow, Cawnpore and elsewhere were doubtful of the wisdom of their joining these Sabhas I persuaded them in several cases successfully to leave aside their doubts and to throw themselves into the movement. They had doubts as to the line official activities in districts might take under cover of fighting non-cooperation. The position I took up was that precisely because of those doubts it was their business to join these associations in numbers as large as possible so that they might direct the activities of these associations instead of leaving this to officials.

Mr. Chintamani, the journalist, would have drily commented upon this that it was only asking the non-official fly to walk into the official parlour and that it was nothing but a confession on the part of Government that they could get no supporters except among their own paid officials and non-officials who depended upon their favour. Said Mr. Chintamani, the Minister:

I cannot deny that there are some districts where the whole show is run by the district officers with the assistance of deputy collectors and other officials subordinate to them, but this is not the fault of the Government. If the leaders of non-official opinion in those districts had taken kindly to these associations instead of suspecting them from the very start they could have given such turn to the activities of these Sabhas as would have commended themselves to the judgment of public opinion as a whole.

Mr. Chintamani, the journalist, would have promptly pointed out that this was what was expected and that in these districts even the great influence of district officials was unable to get non-officials on the roll of these hybrid Sabhas. We can only understand this extraordinary deliverance as a hint that Mr. Chintamani no longer cherishes the hope, which he expressed on his accession to office, of returning to journalism.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 12, 1922.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

On Friday morning came the news that Mr. Montagu's resignation of the Office of Secretary of State for India has been accepted. This may seem unaccountable after the large majority by which the vote of censure on him was defeated in the House of Commons a few days ago. But that majority was merely a party majority. The Prime Minister's intervention left it no option. But the Prime Minister's speech itself, by its complete contrast to Mr. Montagu's in his own defence, foreshadowed a change at the India Office. Mr. Montagu's reforms, superficially at any rate, seemed to threaten the power and position of the Indian Services which provide lucrative places for many scions of middle-class British families. British commercial interests, too, took alarm at the transfer of power to Ministers in the provinces, the increased Indian personnel of the Government of India, and the enlarged constitution and somewhat enhanced functions of the Legislative Councils. The *Sydenham-Morning-Post* agitation could not make head in a Parliament which had just been elected on the promise of creating a new heaven and a new earth. Mr. Lloyd George was in the zenith of his power, and Mr. Montagu had secured a free hand from the Prime Minister. The *Sydenhamites* were for the moment overwhelmed. But they represented huge vested interests which in course of time were bound to assert themselves. Mr. Montagu's policy had antagonised the influential classes who are interested in the large recruitment of their sons in the highly-paid Indian services, the Anglo-Indian commercial world and Lancashire. The fact of his being a Jew was openly alleged against him only by a few, but there can be no doubt that the anti-Semitic cry is still one to conjure with in English politics. The prejudice was further aggravated by the appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy. It is significant that the *Times* recently spoke of the Montagu-Reading combination in Indian administration as not having proved satisfactory. The visit of the Prince of Wales, now nearing its close, has been attended by incidents which, though they did not affect the even prosecution of His Royal Highness' programme, were yet not happy, and Lord Reading and Mr. Montagu are understood to have been urgent in their opposition to any further postponement of the tour. It was loudly whispered in Delhi a fortnight back that Mr. Montagu's resignation was imminent and that Lord Reading's will promptly follow. One of the Indian members of the Government of India, it was also hinted, may not care to retain his portfolio for long after Lord Reading's retirement.

Rumours of the intended arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, which had been persistent throughout the week, attained great definiteness on Thursday evening, and many opened their Friday morning papers anxious to know if there was any foundation for

them. The news of Mr. Montagu's resignation which they read therein, has been widely surmised as having a close connection with the Mahatma's contemplated arrest. It was the common talk in Delhi that the Mahatma's arrest would have been an accomplished fact about the time of the Bardoli conference but for the veto of His Excellency the Viceroy, acting no doubt with the approval of the Secretary of State. The subsequent visit of Governors to Delhi, and the extraordinary declaration of the Governor of Bombay at a Trades' Association dinner on the day of his return that he would not be occupying his position if he had not been satisfied that law and order would be enforced, were understood as signifying an impending change of policy and, perhaps, in the Viceroyalty. Whether the fact that Sir George Lloyd and no other Governor made this announcement regarding a policy solely within the province of the Viceroy, may or may not have some significance. We have heard it said that the credit for cool-headed moderation that has been freely accorded to the Government of Bombay during these trying times, is only partially due to it and that the Viceroy's and the Secretary of State's shares therein are by no means to be underestimated. No wonder that Mr. Montagu's resignation is believed by many to indicate a reversal of policy in India, to be inaugurated by the Mahatma's arrest, a certainty. Mr. Lloyd George's position today is one of little practical authority in his Cabinet, and it is not even clear whether his resignation of the Prime Ministership has been definitely withdrawn. His unwavering support which enabled Mr. Montagu to carry everything before him two years ago, does not count for much now. Lord Reading's close personal friendship with the Prime Minister was a very valuable asset for the pacifying policy which His Excellency had intended to pursue in India, and this, too, is now of much less consequence. All the signs point to Mr. Winston Churchill, who has been aggressively prominent of late by his scarcely veiled antagonism to Mr. Montagu's views on the question of the position of Indians in East Africa and also on the question of Indian constitutional progress, having attained a point at which he may reasonably expect to be entrusted with the task of reversing Mr. Montagu's policy. Mr. Montagu's resignation is itself sufficiently significant, but should Mr. Winston Churchill be transferred to the India Office, this significance will be greatly emphasised. We have not been among indiscriminate admirers of Mr. Montagu's stewardship. He is mainly responsible for the disastrous disorganisation of Indian finance during the last three years. But, as we said in commenting on his last speech in the House of Commons, he has a clear grasp of the Indian situation in all its complexities, and we believe that he is sincerely devoted to Indian political advancement. A statesman of his sympathies, his character and his calibre, may be able to do as much in opposition as in office. We do not, therefore, altogether regret his resignation. But we do regret that among the causes that have contributed to bring it about must be set Mahatma Gandhi's attitude of obstinate and indiscriminating Non-Co-operation.

The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry is reported as having said to an English newspaper that if the Government in India came to the conclusion that Mahatma Gandhi's activities should be checked, the Moderate party would range itself behind them. Mr. Sastry has been absent for many eventful months from India and it is not clear that his words should be accepted as representing the views of the Moderate party in preference to those of the *Citizen*, the official organ of the Madras Liberals, which his brother edits with much ability. Writing of the Bardoli and Delhi programmes, our contemporary criticises the change made at Delhi, and proceeds to observe:

We hear of a determination on the part of the Government not to bear with any more nonsense on the part of non-co-operators. According to the formula announced in the House of Commons by Mr. Montagu, as the Delhi resolutions go further than those of Bardoli and as it is distinctly stated that mass civil disobedience is only postponed, it may be that it is proposed to curb the activities of Mr. Gandhi. And as the special laws of a repressive character have been repealed except two, Mr. Gandhi cannot be deported or interned, but must, we presume, be tried for an offence under the ordinary law, unless the Seditious Meetings Act or Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act is extended to Ahmadabad for the special benefit of Mr. Gandhi. We must once more warn the Government against doing anything of the kind. As Sir J. D. Rees said in the House of Commons, he will be a greater danger inside the gaol than outside it. In spite of his deplorable changes, Mr. Gandhi is still the one great protection against violence.

It is strange that Mr. Sastry should view with such unconcern the cessation of the activities of Mahatma Gandhi, knowing as he does that those activities include, and are inspired by the spirit of, the one which he has himself recorded in his article in the *New York Survey Graphic* from which we quoted a paragraph in the last issue. After outlining the Mahatma's doctrines as he understands them, Mr. Sastry wrote:

Let it not be supposed that they are logical abstractions formulated for the purposes of a moral treatise or sermon, and with no intended application to life. Their proponent practices them in the spirit and in the letter, and the limitations on their practice do not proceed from any tenderness for himself or his relatives. His renunciation of worldly goods has been already mentioned. He knows no fear and shrinks from nothing which he advises others to do. In fact, his love of suffering and hardship as a means of spiritual progress is almost morbid. His compassion and tenderness are infinite, like the ocean, to use an eastern simile. The present writer stood by as he wiped the sores of a leper with the ends of his own garment.

Mr. Sastry may argue that the spirit of such activities cannot be repressed by the Mahatma being incarcerated for his political activities. He will be right. Still we need not envy the authority which conceives it to be its to send to prison the Mahatma. Men of less refinement than Mr. Sastry may find it necessary to persuade themselves that the Mahatma is a hoax before assenting to the limitation which Mr. Sastry would acquiesce in being placed upon his activities. Mr. Sastry, however, needs no such subterfuge. He can adore the Mahatma in the full height of his moral stature, and at the same time ask for his arrest from his own politician's point of view. For ourselves, we hold very strongly that it will add neither to the Government's power or prestige to put the Mahatma in

prison. From a purely political point of view, there is less need for such a course now, when he is himself for concentrating on social work than at any previous time these two or three years. The Mahatma himself says in an article in the current *Young India* headed "If I am Arrested," that he himself could not see how the Government can avoid arresting him if they wanted a permanent abandonment of civil disobedience whether individual or mass. He concludes:

I do not know that my removal from their midst will not be a benefit to the people. In the first instance, the superstition about the possession of supernatural powers by me will be demolished. Secondly, the belief that people have accepted the non-co-operation programme only under my influence and that they have no independent faith in it will be disproved. Thirdly, our capacity for *Swaraj* will be proved by our ability to conduct our activities in spite of the withdrawal even of the originator of the current programme. Fourthly and selfishly, it will give me a quiet and physical rest, which I, perhaps, deserve.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL FINANCIAL REFORMS I.

The roar of universal protest which has greeted the appearance of the Imperial Indian Budget all over the country is likely to dissipate itself in vain endeavours and empty threats, if attention is not paid to some cardinal and almost immutable principles of public financing. Our representative institutions are yet in their infancy, wherein, owing to some unfortunate accidents of the history of India in the last fifteen months, the strongest and best equipped representatives of Indian sentiment have refrained from obtaining any voice. But, trusting in the promise of gradual expansion of these institutions till the eventual goal is reached, the present representatives must carry on their shoulders a double load of responsibility, not only to see that the year-to-year financing does not offend against the fundamental laws of that science, but also to make certain that the eventual Indian democracy is not saddled with any unfair and avoidable legacy of false traditions. We would accordingly make no apology for drawing particular attention to some of the basic principles of financing which we consider have been lost sight of under the incumbency of that department by the Hon. Sir Malcolm Hailey, and without considering which no permanent reform of substantial benefit is possible.

It is needless to premise that the commonly accepted distinction between private and public financing,—viz. that while in the latter the determining factor is expenditure, in the former it is the revenue considerations which predominate—is subject to the proviso that the expenditure considered to be the governing factor must be so laid out as to minister to the greatest possible benefit of the community at large. It is as absurd for the critics of the Government to demand a haphazard reduction in one instance or another selected *ad hoc*—with the inevitable travesty of logic and good sense so recently witnessed in consequence of this tactics in the Bombay Budget—as for the Finance Department

doggedly to maintain that the figures it has prepared are, *en bloc* as well as *seriatim*, the irreducible minimum in each case. The Indian polity suffers from several misfortunes of its own creation. The mischievous ideal of provincial autonomy is getting too firmly riveted for us even to venture the suggestion at this time of the day that we have cut our own hands in a great measure in the matter of proper financing. Not only must the Central Government ever appear in the light of a graceless, thankless prodigal to the various provinces, incidentally fostering inter-provincial jealousies and class consciousness of the most insidious type in its blundering attempts at bargaining for taxes; but the total outlay of the Governmental authorities in India, now aggregating some 425 crores, is spent in a manner—no body can say according to what principles and under what special justification. Much as one dislikes the entire ideal of provincial autonomy—which outrages our nascent sense of national loyalty—we would much rather suggest an immediate and an entire separation of resources and credit in place of the present Heart-Break-Home-System of Provincial contributions to the central exchequer and central advances to impatient and impecunious provinces. Let us have no concealment or camouflage the hopelessly muddled state of Indian finances.

Confining ourselves for the moment to a research in channels of reduction in the Central Budget, we find the following principal disbursements:—

	In crores of Rupees.
Direct Demands on Revenue ...	5-69
Railways : Interest and Annuities...	25-98
Irrigation	00-19
Posts and Telegraphs : Interest etc...	00-97
Interest on Unproductive Debt ...	15-20
Civil Administration	10-01
Currency, Mint, Exchange...	10-88
Civil Works	1-69
Miscellaneous : Pensions etc. ...	4-13
Army	67-02
Provinces : Advances	00-68

Total (Budget 1922-23) ...	142-30

Simplified still further the Budget Estimates of 1922-23 show that we are spending 67 crores or 47% on the Defence of the country, 41 crores or nearly 30% on the Debt of which 15 crores and odd is absolutely a dead charge, 14 crores and odd or 10% for administrative personnel and departments of the single central government. Of the remaining items, Currency and Exchange really ought not to figure on this side and in this size at all were a sound currency policy adopted, and the untenable fiction of a 2-rupee were quietly interred. As it is it explains another 7% of our expenditure, or what is much nearer the truth, expenditure in other departments is understated to this extent. Bar the solitary item of Railway and irrigation interest charge, there is not a single head

of expenditure for which we can find any intelligible principle or acceptable justification.

Taking the most important item—the military expenditure—we have had more than one Army Commission, more than one scheme of Army Reorganisation, redistribution, re-equipment, but we have not yet arrived to a universally acceptable definition of the purpose of the Army in India. What do we have to spend so much on the Army for? If it is for defence only—and if the return we get from the army outlay is to be judged by the efficiency and vigour of the defence, the history of frontier operations alone would be a sufficient condemnation of the entire Indian military organisation, without any need to revive the Mesopotamian scandal of the early days of War. We do not get equal value in return for what we pay. The lucky accident that in the game of universal bluff played by the European exponents of the sabre-rattling in the last half-century, there was no one determined or near enough to make an onslaught on India has saved the country more than the Indian Army. But can we always trust our national defence to such lucky accidents? Must we pay for butter and be content with margarine even after Dora has yielded up the ghost? The true explanation why the Indian Army costs more than it is worth, more than it need, is simple as A. B. C. Since the days of the "White Mutiny" under Clemency Canning, the Army in India has been treated absolutely as a Branch of the British Imperial Army. Its strength, its equipment, its personnel and even its use must be governed by British Imperial needs and standards. Britain dropped conscription because her scattered possessions, if required to be defended by a citizen army, would involve too great a drain on the British volunteers' time, particularly after the nation had been industrialised to an unprecedented and unparalleled extent. It was cheaper to have a small army on war-footing, backed by a large navy. Because it suited the book of Great Britain, India also had to adopt the short service system, a small standing army alleged to be fully equipped and ready any moment for war. But with this difference. We in India have no reserves to speak, so that if our standing Army is gone or defeated, the entire country must be the easy prey to any who chooses to make a bid. True, there is the protection of the British Navy; but the British Navy for Indian Defence will only be a legend should Britain be attacked at the same time as India, not to mention the obvious fact that dreadnoughts cannot operate in the Hindu Kush. While we are members of the British Empire—and particularly while we have no right to make War or Peace for ourselves—we cannot possibly exclude the chance of a simultaneous attack against India and England; and so we cannot but discount the effective value of the British Navy in Indian Defence.

We have reasoned as the fanatic for military efficiency would argue, and argued as the Pundits of the Finance Department would understand. We have deliberately not allowed for the possibility of greater world sanity leading to an utter abolition of War.

not because of any disbelief in the idea but because of the fear of being regarded as not in the ranks of "Practical people." The other purpose of the Army in India, for maintenance of Internal order, the army is too expensive, as it is too inefficient in proportion to the cost for defensive purposes. If, therefore, half of the expenditure of the Central Government is to be placed on a proper footing, we must clearly understand and definitely agree upon the purpose of the Army in India. It would be bold to say that once the purpose is defined and agreed to the expenditure would automatically fall; but it is not too much to hope that once the purpose is understood and accepted, and means are devised honestly to achieve that—neither more nor less—we shall at least get the equivalent of the money we spend, or the general service we enforce.

THE COCHIN ADMINISTRATION REPORT.

Cochin is a small but progressive Indian State in South India. Its population, according to the Census of 1921, is 9,79,019 of whom 4,83,834 are males and 4,95,185 females. The increase in the female population is presumably due to a large number of men from Cochin living outside the State engaged either in studies or in service. More than half the population is engaged in agriculture. Rice is the staple food of the people. The administration of the State is conducted in the name and under the control of His Highness the Maharaja, the present Maharaja being His Highness Sri Sir Rama Varma, G. C. I. E. The present Diwan, the Chief executive officer of the State, is Diwan Bahadur T. Vijayaraghava Charya, M. A., M. B. E.

The administration report for the year ending 16th August 1921 is a record of good progress made in all departments of the State during the year under review and the Diwan rightly claims that "the progress has been well maintained in spite of incidents which temporarily seemed to release the forces of reaction." The financial statement shows a deficit of Rs. 43,096 which it is explained, is due to a portion of the receipts of more than a lakh of rupees under customs for the year having been received after the expiry of the year. The actual cash balance to the credit of the State at the end of the year under report is stated as Rs. 33,19,889.

Cochin has maintained her reputation for the high standard of education. 11 new Government schools were started during the year and there is an increase of 9,155 pupils receiving instruction. But we find a slight fall in the percentage of pupils receiving instruction to the population of school-going age when compared with the figures of the previous year. The percentage of boy and girl pupils to the male and female population of the school-going age is 79.7 and 36.5 as against 86.5 and 40.3 in the previous year. Considering the percentage of boys and girls of school-going age receiving instruction in Baroda (85.7 and 56.9 respectively) where it is some years

since the Compulsory Elementary Education Act was passed, the progress of education in Cochin in the absence of any such Act must be considered satisfactory. The reason for the slight decrease in the percentage of pupils of the school-going age are not, however, mentioned in the report. The Cochin Educational Code was revised during the year. As regards the excellent results of the new Code, the Dewan observes:

The new Code has already had excellent results in stimulating education amongst Muhammadans and other backward classes. A special feature of the Code was the reduced rate of fees for the backward classes and the scheme of scholarship for the encouragement of education amongst Muhammadans and other backward classes. These facilities have been availed of to an extent surpassing even the sanguine expectations of the Education Committee. The diaries of the Inspector of Schools show that Muplah boys and girls are crowding into our schools to an extent which makes the problem of School accommodation one of some difficulty. As against 1,288 Muhammadan pupils that were in school last year, there are now no fewer than 3,113 of whom nearly 900 are girls. Judging from the results so far attained after the introduction of the new Code, it seems safe to prophesy that the object of the members of the Education Committee, viz, the attainment of primary education without compulsion would be gained in the Malayalam speaking areas in the State in the next five years.

Another important reform in the Educational department is the introduction of a second School Final examination for the benefit of the failed candidates and a second special examination for failed Matriculated teachers. The distinguishing feature in the administration of Diwan Bahadur Vijayaraghava Charya has been his keen interest in ameliorating the condition of the depressed classes whose hardships in the State are worse than any other part of India. The ways are not smooth for reforms in this direction in the midst of orthodoxy with all sorts of communal and caste prejudices and a section of reactionaries have not failed to decry the praiseworthy efforts of the enlightened Diwan in improving the lot of the untouchables and unapproachables. A word of praise is due to His Highness the Maharaja but for whose sympathetic support, it would not have been possible to bring about such reforms. As regards the efforts to improve the condition of the backward classes, the report says:

The special measures for improving housing and water supply conditions of the Pulayas (the lowest class of the unapproachables next to Nayadies) have been steadily continued throughout the year. Special facilities offered for their education have been fully availed of. If the present rate of progress is kept up, the time anticipated by the Education Committee when such special measures may be discontinued, will perhaps come earlier than they thought. Special schools were opened for the benefit of the backward classes where they are in large numbers. The policy of the Government in continuing the free offer of scholarships, clothing, meals and stationery gave an impetus to many children of the backward classes to attend schools. A new and exhaustive list of backward classes have been drawn up and all classes falling under that list were allowed the concession of half fees.

For the education of the Pulays a special allotment of 32,000 was sanctioned to be utilised in giving free meals, clothing, books, slates and stationery to the pupils of that class. The number of pupils under instruction rose from 16,668 in 1095 to 19,189 in 1096.

Three new high schools were opened during the year for girls and there was a remarkable increase in the number of girls receiving instruction.

The State has made considerable progress during the year in the Industrial department. The proposals for the improvement of workers in the cottage industries such as bell-metal and brass, mat and basket weavers, and handloom weavers were sanctioned and co-operative societies for the benefit of such workers were formed. The formation of Industrial Co-operative societies, the award of Industrial scholarships, the appointment of a Government Pottery Expert, and the starting of a paper pulp factory have received special attention from the Government. It is stated that the construction of stoneware factory under the supervision of a Bohemian expert is progressing satisfactorily. The boys and girls receiving industrial education are on the increase.

The expansion of the village panchayats is a welcome sign of the times. As the result of the discussions of the Panchayat Conference held at Trichur in January and February 1921, the measures proposed for the introduction of an elective element and for strengthening the administrative and legal powers of the Panchayats were approved by the Government. 28 Panchayats were constituted during the year making a total of 84. It is stated that "there is now no rural area in the State which does not enjoy the boon of local self-government in its primitive form except five villages of a semi-urban character where Municipal regulation is proposed to be introduced." The establishment of a Legislative Council for the State with a large elected majority is the most important constitutional reform introduced in the State during the year. From the report, it is clear that the Government does not expect that every body will be satisfied with the measure of reform and it is stated that the public criticisms of the draft rules published received at the close of the year are under scrutiny.

In reviewing the Cochin administration report last year, we expressed surprise at the increase in the consumption of arrack, toddy, and foreign liquors etc. It is, therefore, gratifying to observe that during the year under report there has been a remarkable decrease in the consumption of liquor. The consumption of arrack during the year under report is 39,554.875 gallons proof as against 65,519.65 gallons proof in the previous year. We cannot help feeling that the fall in the number of crimes recorded during the year is largely due to the decrease in the consumption of liquor though the Diwan claims that it is "due to the preventive measures taken by the police." This affords a practical illustration of the relation of crimes to the consumption of liquor the significance of which should not be lost sight of.

There is, however, one disappointment. The Diwan concludes the report by stating that "during the year

the State has passed though anxious and trying times". There is not a word mentioned about the Trichur Riots which attracted a certain amount of attention from outside the State. It was reported that a Committee was appointed to enquire into the causes of the disturbances. What have they been doing for the last one year? Have they submitted any report? If not, when are they expected to finish their enquiries and deliberations? It is nearly one year since the Committee was appointed and the disappointment in finding no mention at all of the incident in the Report was expressed by some journals in reviewing the Administration Report. We trust that an early publication of the findings of the Committee will be made at least in the interests of the Government some of whose officials were alleged to have been responsible to a large extent for the deplorable communal fight.

PRESIDENT HARDING'S ADDRESS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Those are wise words of President Harding's produced on page 401 of the *Indian Social Reformer* for February, 1912. They were spoken of the "Race Problem" in America. Let us think of their bearing on India.

1. They suggest we must get rid of *cant* and recognize facts if we would make any progress in better race or caste relations. This man of strong practical sense tells us that as a matter of fact there is not equality between races. Is he right or wrong? Are any two races, are the people of any two castes "equal"? Are there not in every case characteristic qualities of each race, of each caste? And if there are, as there certainly are, equality cannot exist. The people of no caste or class possess all that is good in character and endowment, why not then rejoice that some excel where others fall short, while we sorrow that some fall short where others excel? Has not this ugly claim of equality regardless of quality, done harm enough in the world? The creed of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" drenched France with blood in the 18th century, and the poisonous portion lay little in the demand for "Liberty", much less in that for "Fraternity", but also solely in the demand for "Equality". The The orgy of blood in Russia connected with Bolshevism is another instance of the fruits of the demand for equality of position through subversion, without taking the toilsome path of gaining equality of endowment, and to day we have men demanding equality with or rather supersession of those who rule a great empire without training or preparation, regardless of the possibilities of boundless catastrophe if the evil elements of society get out from under control.

2. President Harding suggests that we must get rid of racial animosities, or civilization is doomed. There is nothing so inrensate, so ugly, so mad in its outworking. It is generally coupled with religion because religions are all sectarian and separatist in their organization, and share with racialism the contempt for the outsider. It is racial and religious antagonism that threatens India with ruin to day. Wherever there is contempt on the one side there is bitter resentment and hatred on the other. There seems a law in nature that the Few despise the Many, till resentment gradually growing in strength flames out and the Many attack the Few, only themselves to flounder in the midst of the ruin till again the Few rise up and the Many are scattered

seeking their necessary food, the old order is again restored with only a change of personnel and a new-old tragedy again prepares itself.

No word is more urgently needed by India to day than this of the American President urging a live and let-live policy, a policy of individual growth and mutual helpfulness. Race hatred is being fanned in the name of patriotism. No fire is more easily quickened and more difficult to extinguish. The possibilities of disaster are immeasurable because of the unreasoning madness of race hatred. In Chicago a white hooligan threw a stone at a Negro hooligan sitting on a wooden post in the lake. Struck on the head he fell into the water and was drowned. Blacks retaliated, white men were killed. Whites retaliated and greater numbers of blacks were killed. Had a white man killed a white or a black there would have been no stir outside the court of the trying magistrate. A white Engine Driver in Tundla is said to have struck an Indian fireman, and a railway system is tied up to the great loss of Europeans and the greater loss of Indians. Had a white engine driver clubbed to death a white fireman, or an Indian engine driver run a knife through an Indian fireman there would have been no strike, no riot even in the Tundla running yards. So unreasonable is the race hatred that is being sedulously fanned by "friends of India". We are told by many papers there will be no peace in India till the "Punjab wrongs" have been expiated by punishment of the wrong doers, but none of these has said any thing of the sort about the Chauri Chaura tragedy for there no race antagonism were found. But even Chauri Chaura emphasises the terrible danger in the race hatred that is being stirred for the sake of political ambitions in India to day, for the 21 policemen were murdered because of their connection with the Government. Certain leaders desire to bring to stand-still, and to accomplish which they are stirring up race hatred all over India. And we may clearly see the deadly strife that will be spread over India, among Indians, if this unhappy movement continues.

President Harding's words point out a path of peace. Instead of the envious demand of each race or caste for the good things (and they are good) that others have gained, he "would suggest the possibility of economic equality between the races.....an equality proportioned to the honest capacities and deserts" of the race as of the individual. This again points to the honourable and only good method, the toilsome one of earning instead of grasping at what others have earned. Each race, each caste must work out its own salvation and betterment through the sweat of its brow.

3. The appeal to self-respect. The man who attacks the self-respect of men of other races or creed is an evil doer. In the gospel we read of Jesus' first miracle as one wrought to save his friends from a wounded self-respect. I believe India has turned down the preachings of the missionaries (to which today I belong) largely because they persistently wounded its self-respect. President Harding says of the negroes, "Especially would I appeal to the self-respect of the coloured race. I would inculcate in it the wish to improve itself as a distinct race, with a heredity, a set of traditions, an array of aspirations of its own. Out of such racial nobilities and pride will come natural segregation, without narrowing any rights,.....adding notably to happiness and contentment". And he adds this word for equality: "I would insist upon equal educational opportunity for both." Here is no plea for caste and its contempt. They cannot but live in communities, social as well as geographical. Let each community work out its advancement intensively in its narrower circle, but so far

as its capacity goes let it work for the advancement of every circle it touches in truest friendship for all. Thus will the whole body be built up and knit together. Racial and caste amalgamations, unifying organisations, may often not be desirable in the social or political or religious life of communities. Friendship and mutual respect are the great realities needed.

Sardars' School,
Gwalior.

H. FORMAN.

A QUESTION TO CHRISTIAN LEADERS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

May I through the medium of your journal request the heads and leaders of the Christian Churches in India—Syrian, Roman, Anglican and Protestant—for an answer to the question, whether in any of their Churches there is room for full membership for men and women (1) who accept the historic Jesus (that can be found by sane criticism of the synoptic gospels) as their Guru, Saviour and Lord, (2) who have seen "the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ (2 Cor. 4:6)", (3) who whole-heartedly believe that "God having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by diverse portions and in diverse manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in a Son (Heb. 1:1, 2)", (4) who confess that in Christ dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily (Col. 2:9), (5) but who are not prepared to accept *in toto* the historicity and the Christology of the Fourth Gospel or the Christology of Pauline Epistles and of some other New Testament writings, (6) who, therefore, are not prepared to subscribe to all the articles of any of the three historic creeds or to any theological dogmas that may underlie the creeds, which cannot be proved from the Master's life or from his genuine utterances and (7) who fear that there is no sufficient historical ground for the Institution of Baptism and "the Lord supper" as *sacraments* by the Master himself though there is ample evidence that these were well-established institutions in the apostolic age?

While this enquiry is meant for the head of every Church in India, one should especially like to know what our Indian Bishops, the Right Reverend Doctors Abraham Mar Thomas and Asariah and the Very Reverend Moderators of the Presbyterian Church of India and the South India United Church have to say to this.

Perhaps in this connection it may not be out of place to ask what reply to such a question one can expect from Dr. J. N. Farquhar, whose one aim in all his publications seems to be thoroughly loyal to Modern Scholarship and Historical accuracy (*vide* Modern Religious movements in India p. 204) for he denounces Swami Vivekananda thus:—"Vivekananda has no historical conscience whatever.....there is not the faintest reflection in his writings of the accuracy and careful research which are the very life of modern scholarship." (The italics are mine.) In the same book the same scholar—for a scholar he undoubtedly is—commenting upon the words of the Swami who, referring to Ramakrishna, says "We look upon the Master as a Person who is like God. We offer to Him worship bordering on divine worship," is pleased to say: "Here we have ancient Hindu guru-worship checked in Vivekananda's mind by the Christian (?) teaching he had got in his College course." Will Dr. Farquhar now come forward to admit that Christianity is in no way behind Hinduism in its guru-worship and that this guru-worship in Christianity began with Paul, was growing steadily till it became

quite crystallised at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A. D. when it became the orthodox cult?

Two of the greatest divines among the Scotchmen today viz. Rev. Dr. Wm. P. Paterson (see Article on *Jesus Christ* in Hastings' One Volume Bible Dictionary) and Rev. Dr. H. Mackintosh (see *Person of Christ* in the same book) assert in no unmistakable language that from the synoptic gospels one cannot prove any kind of personal pre-existence for Jesus, not to speak of his place in the Godhead. Of these two scholars Dr. Paterson writes:—"A sketch of the life of Jesus is properly based on the synoptic record and that in utilizing the Johannine additions it is desirable to take up a critical attitude in regard to the form and the chronology. There is also much to be said for expounding the teaching of Jesus on the basis of the synoptics and for treating the Johannine discourses as primarily a source for Apostolic doctrine." Recently this is what has been urged by the writers in Peake's Commentary on the Bible, including Dr. J. V. Bartlet of Mansfield College, Oxford, and by the modern Churchmen's Congress held last August at Cambridge. In the light of these things one wants to know what answer the Churches will give to the question with which this letter is concerned.

A DISCIPLE OF JESUS.

THE VICEROY ON THE KENYA QUESTION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In the representation made to the Home Government re the grievances of Kenya Indians, the Viceroy appears anxious to assure His Majesty's Government that his Government "did not fail to emphasize the difficulties confronting the Imperial Government," that it was able to secure a modification of the Assembly's resolution, which was originally couched in stronger terms, etc. etc.—Sir, this puts me in mind of what you on one occasion, years back, quoted as the sage advice of a former Governor-General (name not mentioned) to an Indian colleague on the Council (also name not mentioned), who evinced too much habitual deference in the Council to other's points of view and was so taken up with the possible difficulties in the way of alien interests that he 'quite naturally' forgot his own! The advice in question ran somewhat like this: "while the others are willing and able to take care of their interests, you had better take care of your own; and you are here to do it."—Dear Mr. Editor, as this incident or episode is not without deep significance in our present circumstances—especially in the position of South African affairs in our Councils, I hope you will bring it to light afresh supplying due details and the exact words of the memorable admonition.

Yours etc.

Karwar, 26th Feb.

S. D. NADKARNI.

NEW BOMBAY EXCISE POLICY.

(Press Communiqué.)

The Excise policy of the Government of Bombay has been based on the principle of so regulating the consumption of liquor as to prevent excessive drinking while at the same time giving no encouragement to illicit manufacture and sale. The methods by which consumption has been held in check include the steady pressure of taxation, restriction in the number of shops where spirit can be purchased, reduction in the proof strength of spirit and the regulation of hours of sale. The detailed figures of consumption given in the Excise report for 1920-21 show that, apart from the indu-

strial centres, where conditions are abnormal, there has been a reduction in consumption. In Bombay City the consumption of country spirit increased from 6,80,000 gallons to 8,36,000 gallons but there was a nett decrease in the presidency of 26,196 proof gallons. Although excise revenue has doubled itself in ten years, the actual consumption is less than it was ten years ago.

Government however, have decided that some direct method of limitation of the consumption of country liquor is desirable, as distinct from indirect methods. From April 1st therefore, a system of rationing will be introduced throughout the Bombay presidency. All country liquor shops will be rationed on the basis of their consumption for the year 1920-21. From that consumption (reduced to proof gallons) 10 per cent will be deducted in the case of shops in Bombay City and 5 per cent elsewhere, and the figure thus obtained will be the ration. The amount that each shop may take will be fixed monthly and will be the amount (in terms of proof gallons) supplied to that shop in the corresponding month of 1920-21 less 10 per cent or 5 per cent as the case may be. In areas where there are country spirit warehouses the supply will be weekly, in other places monthly. In order, however, to provide for an unforeseen shortage, Collectors are authorised to allow a deviation from the monthly ration in very exceptional circumstances, provided the ration for the whole period is not exceeded. In the case of shops on Native State borders the shops will be rationed on the basis of the 1920-21 consumption without any reduction, to prevent unfair competition with other shops in the neighbourhood.

The following changes in excise arrangements have also been sanctioned as from April 1st. Vend licenses will in future run from 1st January to 31st December, instead of from 1st April to 31st March. This year's auctions will cover the nine months from 1st April so that licenses expire on 31st December. The strength of 80° U. P. country spirit in the presidency proper will be reduced to 4% U. P. except Deesa Cantonment, Kaira District, Kanara (below Ghat) Point Taluka, Nawapur Taluka and Mahi Kautha leased area, and in shops bordering on Native States. The strength in Sind will remain as at present.

PRODUCTION OF POWER ALCOHOL.

The following note by Mr. G. M. Ryan was read at the discussion on Dr. John Pollen's paper on "The Liquor Question in India," referred to in an editorial note in this issue:

.. Quite three-fourths of the intoxicating liquors drunk in Western and Central India are manufactured from the flowers of the mhowra tree, and it seems to me that if it is desired to diminish the consumption of such liquor there, one effective way of doing so would under the circumstances be, not by compulsory legislation, but by diverting mhowra spirit from its present destiny into other channels if possible, such as industrial purposes. It is an established fact that industrial or power alcohol is quite as good if not much better as a liquid fuel than petrol. This the London General Omnibus Company ascertained by experiments made with it some time ago. In the Nizam's Dominions they are pushing ahead with the manufacture of power alcohol at the rate of about 10,000 gallons daily. In British India about ten or twelve times that quantity might be manufactured under a system of organized village plantations which the people could be encouraged to take part in. The Indian Government, however, would probably not view with favour any scheme which tends to reduce their large and increasing excise revenue, such as the manufacture of power alcohol instead of potable alcohol would.

bring about; but any loss of revenue would be more than compensated for probably by the extended rise of motor transport and industrial and agricultural machinery.

If power alcohol can be manufactured at four to five annas per gallon from mhowra as is now done apparently in the Nizam's Dominions, and if its distribution to large centres of consumption could be arranged without interfering with existing railway traffic by means of pipe lines, like petrol in America and palm oil on the West African coast, most people who have the true interests of India's development at heart will agree that the proper destiny of spirit made from the mhowra-flower is not potable but industrial alcohol. An influential and prominent Indian merchant is now considering this question of industrial alcohol manufacture in Bombay. It remains to be seen whether he can successfully overcome the various difficulties that lie in his way before his scheme materializes. (Signed) "G. M. RYAN."

PROHIBITION IN AMERICA.

Prohibition is at least 75 per cent. effective speaking generally of the country as a whole, and there are many sections where it reaches as high as 90 per cent. in enforcement, according to Bishop Thomas Nicholson, newly elected President of the Anti-Saloon League of America. Bishop Nicholson is the resident Bishop of Chicago for the Methodist Episcopal Church, and has been Vice President of the Illinois State Branch of the Anti-Saloon League.

He was in New York last week to attend a meeting of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 150 Fifth Avenue. During his residence in New York City, when he was Secretary of the Methodist Board of Education, Bishop Nicholson was for eight years on the Headquarters Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of New York.

"It is my opinion that the vigor enforcement of prohibition is increasing," said Bishop Nicholson yesterday. "In Chicago, for instance, the recent action of the Mayor and of the Chief of Police in announcing a policy of rigid enforcement of the law has had a marked effect upon illicit traffic. Commissioner Haynes was in Chicago a little while ago and expressed himself as greatly gratified with the progress of law enforcement there. Personally, I do not believe the American people will stand for any policy of nullification of the Constitution of the United States. There can be no doubt that in Illinois the sober sense of the great majority of citizens is with the prohibition movement. It should be remembered that the last Legislature of the State passed the most rigid enforcement law ever evolved anywhere, making the State dry law even more rigid than the Volstead act.

BUSINESS MAN FOR PROHIBITION.

"In one of the large cities of the Middle West where I spoke during the last month at a club banquet of business men, I was introduced as an official of the Anti-Saloon League. In my speech I made reference to the prohibition movement. After the programme was over a fine looking business man came up to me and said: 'You put me out of business. I was collector of this district with a good salary and a big collection account. But you prohibitionists threw me out of a job. And now I'm mighty glad of it. I fought you hard, but you were right and now I'm with you.'

"In the city of Peoria, Ill., one of the largest liquor points in the United States previous to the advent of prohibition, the Chamber of Commerce sent me a signed statement to the effect that the Clearing House statement showed that bank clearings in Peoria have grown \$15,000,000 each year

of the two years of prohibition. The statement also declared that more men were employed in the buildings formerly occupied by breweries and more business transacted than when liquor was being made there.

"It is not surprising that liquor men are making a grandstand play. Their policy is to make a great noise in the hope of persuading the people that prohibition cannot be enforced with the elusive further hope that they may first get a wine-and-beer clause through, break down the Volstead act and later reverse the Constitutional amendment. Their hopes are absolutely in vain. The good results of prohibition speak for themselves and give the liquor men no chance of ultimate success.

SAYS WETS ARE ROUTED.

"It is a noteworthy fact that the chief argument of the wets is that prohibition cannot be enforced. There is comparatively little argument on the real merits of the case and for a very good reason. The recent action of medical associations, majority votes of doctors in various States, showing that liquor is not only not necessary in the practice of medicine but is undesirable, the recent vote of Congress—both houses—on the Willis-Campbell bill, notwithstanding the herculean efforts of the wets to defeat it, all show that when the case of prohibition comes to argument on its merits, the wets are routed. Lincoln said that you can't fool all the people all the time, and that is the reason why the wets don't succeed in their attacks on prohibition.

"We Prohibitionists ask nothing but a judicial and candid examination of the facts. No man in his right senses will argue that America drunk is as sane and as strong as America sober. We ask the American people not to be carried away by the specious arguments of the wets frequently put forward by the highest paid lawyers and most adroit speakers and writers. We ask that the people go to the bottom of the matter and they will find that prohibition speaks for itself.

"In my State of Illinois the homes for inebriates are already practically closed up. Within the last two weeks a home of the same kind in Washington, I think it was, had so declined in its quota of inmates that the superintendent asked the board which supports it what he should do with the property. The number of inmates had declined from something like 1,377 to about 141.

"People talk nowadays about 100 per cent. effectiveness of the prohibition law. Why don't they talk about making other laws 100 per cent. effective? The prohibition law does not prohibit entirely, and may never do so, because no law is entirely effective. Does the law against stealing automobiles prevent the theft of them? It does not in Chicago where 4,000 cars were stolen last month. Laws against burglary, highway robbery and gun-carrying have not prevented the unprecedented crime wave in this country. And yet nobody suggests that these laws are useless because they do not entirely prevent these offenses. The reason for that is that there is no large organized body of men, with huge sums of money at their disposal working to discredit these laws for their own financial advantage. The millions they need to make out of the distress and travail of homes where drunkenness was, no longer come rolling into their coffers."—The New York Times, January 22.

THE HINDU GIRLS' SCHOOL, LUCKNOW.

We have been requested to state that the name of the Hindu Girls' School, Lucknow is changed into "The Mahila Vidyalya, Lucknow."

ALL INDIA INDUSTRIAL WELFARE CONFERENCE.

The above Conference will be held in Bombay under the auspices of the Carrimbhoy Ebrahim and Tata Son's Workmen's Institutes of the Social Service League, Bombay on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th. of April, 1922. Mr. A. C. Chatterjee I. O. S., C. I. E., Secretary to the Government of India, Dept. of Industries has kindly consented to preside, Mr. N. B. Saklatwalla of the Tata sons' Ltd. being the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The Reception Committee hereby cordially invite all the Welfare Centres throughout India to send in their delegates and to take part in the Conference, and also other persons of Institutes interested in Labour Welfare and Govt. Depts. of Industries.

The meeting of the Working Committee of the R. O. to the above conference was held on the 22nd. ultimo in the Hall of the Social Service League, Bombay, under the presidency of Mr. L. B. Naik, when the dates of the Conference were fixed as 3rd, 4th, and 5th. April, 1922 and a list of Subjects on which papers to be invited was prepared.

The list prepared is not claimed to be fully exhaustive but it will serve, it is hoped, as an indication of the various items and aspects of Welfare work. These papers will be printed and circulated amongst the delegates and discussed in the Conference. Persons or Institutes interested in welfare work are requested to send in their papers covering not more than 8000 words on or before the 20th of March, 1922.

Welfare Institutions are also requested to send in reports or description of the Welfare Work before the 20th. of March 1922.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND RELIGIONS.

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III. To extend the work of the League of Nations Union among religions, ethical and educational bodies which the Committee is in a position to influence, and which are not already the special concern of some other Committee of the Union.

The Secretary of the department would be glad to get into touch with any similar departments that may be formed by other national associations which have as their object the furtherance of the ideals of the League of Nations.

The Secretary will also be glad to supply any further particulars to any who may be interested.

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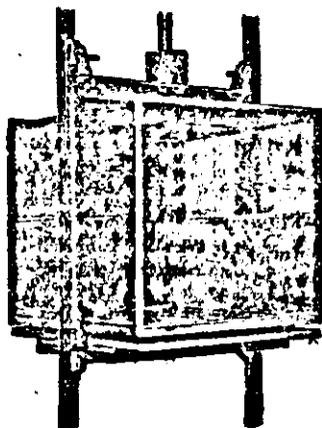
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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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End of the Prince's Visit: On Friday His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales completed his four eventful months tour in this country and sailed from Karachi on his visit to Japan. The first thought that comes to one's mind is that it would have been better if the Prince had come to India when the economic and political conditions had attained to normal. Deeper consideration, however, suggests that it is as well that the Prince has seen India in, perhaps, the most acute crisis of her history in modern times, when the main underlying issues of her national future—her place within the Empire, her relations without, Hindu-Mahomedan concord, a re-organised Hindu society free from the taint of untouchability and all its implications, industrial evolution in keeping with Indian ideas and aptitudes, national education, yawning deficits, soaring military expenditure—have stood out with a clearness most conducive to ready apprehension by a new comer. His Royal Highness could not have failed to note how limited are the resources of conciliation open to the present system of government, and how easy its declension to methods of repression. But for the ill-considered *hartals* and other demonstrations in some places, His Royal Highness' opportunities of knowledge of Indian feelings, would have been greater. We should be surprised, however, if what he has seen and heard in India does anything but confirm the impression of the Duke of Connaught who came here last year and of His Majesty the King, that what is wanted is more sympathy and understanding between the administration and the people. His Royal Highness has left the most pleasing impressions of his personality wherever he went. His simplicity, spontaneity and kindness, might not have satisfied those who think that in the East a Prince should seem as if hedged with divinity, but they have won for him the genuine attachment and admiration of all classes. Even Non-Co-operationists speak appreciatively of how the Prince on this or that occasion broke through the official programme drawn up for him in his eager anxiety to get into touch with the people.

Bombay Excise Policy: There can be no question about the sincere desire of the Minister in charge of

the Excise administration to put down the drink evil. But he would do well to recognise frankly that the old policy has failed and must be abandoned, instead of trying to make out that it has been a success. When an ex-Commissioner like Dr. Pollen admits this, we do not see why a responsible Indian Minister should think it his duty to diplomatise in this matter. His new policy of "rationing" country liquor progressively diluted, can, to our mind, only have the effect of delaying the advent of Prohibition which is the only national policy for India. In the first place, to restrict the consumption of country liquor without restricting that of foreign liquor correspondingly, cannot but increase the consumption of the latter. Manufacturers of liquor are looking out for new markets to compensate for those closed against them in America. They are hardly likely to overlook the opportunity afforded by the new Bombay policy. As for "diluting" liquor, the Minister should remember that an anti-alcoholic public opinion would be as difficult to form if people drink "diluted", as if they take undiluted liquor—and that, after all, is the main thing. It is the drinker's mental state that has to be changed, and this cannot be done even by persuading him to drink plain water disguised as liquor. As to the idea of "rationing" liquor, we are unable, with a knowledge of the scandals that control of rice and other articles gave rise to during the war, to expect anything better from it. The whole scheme seems to us to be based on unsound principles. With reference to the proposed Government liquor factory at Nasik, the quantity of liquor which it is capable of producing is 2 million and not 20 million gallons as erroneously printed in our last issue. We see that this enterprise in the brewery line, is sought to be justified as preventing the growth of "vested interests" in the trade. But the present system has also been claimed to possess the same merit. The "vested interests" of the State are often greater obstacles to progress than those of private bodies, and it is, therefore, important to prevent as far as possible the growth of such interests. The estimate of 15 lakhs for the purchase of this factory, does not disclose the recurring charges to be incurred on running it. There will have to be experts brought out, and the new Department will develop its own life and aspirations. Supervision of state concerns is generally more costly and less efficient than those of private factories. For all these reasons, we regard the new departure in Excise policy as being likely to do more harm than good to the cause of Temperance.

The Working of Prohibition: We are indebted to the *Dnyanodaya* for the following: Sir Arthur Newsbolme, M.D., K.C.B., late principal medical officer of the Local Government Board in England, visited U.S.A., and has written a book entitled *Prohibition in America and Its Relation to the Problem of Personal Conduct*. First dealing with the history of the movement, then with the motives that

led to it, after observing American life from its many standpoints, Sir Arthur states :

Those who base their opinion about Prohibition in America on what appears in most English newspapers would be astonished were they made to realize the revolution which Prohibition, first local, now national, has made in life in the States. . . . The instances of failure to enforce Prohibition which figures so largely in cabled information, give an altogether erroneous impression of the general trend of events. . . . National Prohibition in America is the culmination of protracted local experimentation and of the steady education of public opinion in its favour. . . . Compulsion can only be successfully applied and continued when the majority persistently desire it and the minority can gradually be won over to the same view. The lesson of American history, even before National Prohibition was enacted, is that this can be done. . . . Great Britain ere long will be compelled to travel far in American footsteps, if she is to recover expeditiously from her financial embarrassments and to hold her own in the struggle for national efficiency. . . . Municipal and private lodging houses for vagrants and other derelicts in U. S. A. are going out of business, and refuges for 'down and-outers' are closing their doors. In one of the Salvation Army hotels there are 120 men with banking accounts of considerable amounts who previously could not keep a dollar for twenty-four hours. On 1,53,000 doctors in the United States only about one in five have taken out permits to prescribe alcohol. In 24 out of 48 States not a single physician has taken out a permit.

Cart before the Horse : The Senate of the Bombay University passed a resolution last week making Arabic a subject for B. A. Honours, mainly on the ground that Mahomedan sentiment would be hurt if it was rejected. There can be no two opinions as to the high competence of the Arabic language and literature to be included in the Honours course. But in the absence of suitable provision for higher teaching in the language, the value of the Bombay degree in Arabic cannot but compare unfavourably with the corresponding degrees of Aligarh, Dacca, Lucknow, Delhi and Oosmania Universities. The first thing to be done is to have a University Chair in Arabic, and the admission to the Honours course would then most advantageously follow. Now, however, that the University has adopted Arabic for Honours, we trust no time would be lost in getting an adequate endowment for the University to establish an Arabic Professorship. It is hopeless to expect Government to help at present, but private munificence can have no worthier object. In passing, we may observe that the time is come when the Universities of India should make a serious endeavour each to provide, in addition to the ordinary undergraduate courses of study, the highest teaching in such subjects for which it has special facilities by its situation, history and general conditions instead of, as at present, all repeating more or less indifferently the same routine of higher studies everywhere.

Mr. Montagu's Successor : The offer of the Secretaryship for India has been declined by the Earl of Derby and the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Crawford, whose chief qualification seems to be that he has inherited the oldest earldom in Scotland, is being spoken of as having been offered the next refusal. If he accepts, it is not likely that he will long hold office, as the refusal of Lord Derby is interpreted by students of English party politics to mean that the Coalition is doomed to early

extinction. Mr. Lloyd George will find, as Sir James Balfour did before him, that throwing a colleague to the wolves, seldom ensures security of tenure for the leader of a party. There is much discussion in the British Press regarding the position of the Viceroy, but it seems to us that the question is not whether the Cabinet wishes Lord Reading to go, but whether his lordship would care to remain in India when all the premises on which he accepted the Viceroyalty are being sought to be overthrown. His continuance in office can only be on the condition that there is to be a continuity of policy, and nothing but an unequivocal declaration on the part of the Prime Minister to that effect, preceded by a frank recantation of his estimate of the position of the Government of India by Lord Curzon, can provide that condition. The Prime Minister is hardly in a position of sufficient authority to make such a declaration, and his own infallibility is the principal article of Lord Curzon's faith. By the way, how can India be expected to have confidence in Lord Curzon's advocacy at the Paris Conference after his pronouncement in the House of Lords? The Government of India should insist on an Indian Mahomedan of standing being specially deputed to represent the Indian view, leaving the ex-Viceroy to deal with other aspects of the Near East problem.

Whittling Down. The fall of Mr. Montagu seems to be but a prelude to the reversal of his Indian policy all round. We refer in the leading article to Lord Curzon's yet unchallenged description of the Government of India as the subordinate of a branch of the British Government. Mr. Winston Churchill doubts if the resolution of the Imperial Conference regarding the position of Indians has been correctly interpreted by those who have criticised his Kenya speech. The India Office seems to have finally succumbed to Mr. Winston Churchill's anti-Indian Kenya policy, though if it be true, as stated by Mr. Churchill, that the process had been completed before Mr. Montagu resigned, this must be regarded as one of the things that led to his resigning. A Manchester M. P. has discovered, according to Reuter, that the interpretation of the Government of India Act by Mr. Montagu and the Select Committee on the Bill had widely exceeded the terms of the Act, which nowhere provided that India should have definite fiscal autonomy. "A serious empire issue was involved by the unfriendly attitude of India in imposing duties on British goods to the disadvantage not only of British manufacturers, but also of Indian consumers. Parliament, by a preamble of the Act, reserved to itself full responsibility for the welfare of the masses in India. The time was opportune," considered Mr. Waddington, "to carry out the responsibility, instead of the sole trusteeship being in the Indian Legislative Assembly. Britain was a joint trustee with India, indeed the predominant partner in trust." Every inch of ground supposed to have been gained, seems by way of being lost, though the English newspapers keep on mechanically repeating that Mr. Montagu's resignation leaves his policy untouched.

The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association. Under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, a gathering of ladies will be held Today (Sunday, the 19th March 1922) at 4 P. M. (S. T.) at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall, Sandhurst Road, to congratulate those lady students who passed the different University examinations in the year 1921. The Hon. Dr. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, Kt., L.L. D., will preside on the occasion.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 19, 1922.

Mr. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION.

The light thrown by the controversy in and out of Parliament regarding Mr. Montagu's dismissal from the British Cabinet, on the circumstances which led up to it, goes far to confirm the general belief that the allegation of breach of Cabinet solidarity was merely a pretext, and that in reality a reversal all round of the policy of the late Secretary of State for India was the actuating motive. Mr. Montagu in his speech to his constituents cited three recent instances in which Cabinet solidarity was gravely infringed—Lord Milner's report on Egypt; Colonel Amery's Admiralty memorandum on the Geddes Committee's recommendations; and Mr. Churchill's recent speech on Kenya—without any consequence to the Minister concerned. The truth is that "Cabinet solidarity" is one of those vague phrases which come handy on occasions when it is not expedient to disclose the real reasons for a Minister's dismissal. The sequence of events, as stated by Mr. Montagu and accepted substantially by his late colleagues most concerned in the affair, clearly shows that even technically he had not committed any breach of Cabinet etiquette. The telegraphic despatch of the Government of India was circulated to the members of the Cabinet quite five days before its publication. There was a Cabinet meeting three days before the publication, and Mr. Montagu informed Lord Curzon, the Foreign Secretary, who was present that he had authorised its publication in India. Lord Curzon said nothing about it at the time. Lord Curzon's explanation is that he was "dumb-founded" by Mr. Montagu's intimation and that his lordship was under the impression that it was too late to stop publication. That Lord Curzon should have been struck dumb by anything done by another man, is certainly surprising. But if his lordship really felt that the publication was so harmful, he would have certainly had the curiosity to enquire if it was too late to stop it, and even if there was but little time he would have moved heaven and earth to stop it. Either he did not at the moment feel that the matter was sufficiently serious to trouble about, or if he felt that it was, he deliberately let Mr. Montagu plunge into a mistake that could be utilised to drive him out of office. The inveterate poseur that his lordship has always been, he could not think of any more original phrase to emphasise his condemnation of Mr. Montagu's conduct than Clive's hackneyed one, that he was astonished at his own moderation.

It appears from Mr. Montagu's speech at Cambridge that the despatch of the Government of India contained some other demands—notably one relating to the suzerainty of the Sultan of Constantinople over the Holy Places of Islam—than those contained in the published version, and that Mr. Montagu had it revised before publication. What would have happened if Mr. Montagu had refused the Government of India permission to put themselves right with

their own people by publishing the demands they have made in regard to the revision of the Treaty with Turkey? The Viceroy would have resigned declaring his inability to govern the country by methods of pure repression. How would that have been less embarrassing to Lord Curzon in his negotiations at Paris than the publication of the despatch with its frank and full statement of the views of the Government of India? Indeed, we are unable to see in what way the publication of the despatch can embarrass His Majesty's Government, unless it be that it has shown that, not the Government of India, but that Government stands in the way of a settlement with Turkey in consonance with Indian sentiments. Mr. Montagu did not mince his words in exposing Mr. Lloyd George's pro-Greek policy. He had never been able to understand, he said, the motive underlying that policy which he did not believe was in the interest of the Greeks. Mr. Montagu did not know in whose interests it was, but it was certain that it was calamitous to the British Empire. He declared that India had a right to have "a predominant voice" in the Turkish settlement seeing that Turkey had been beaten mainly by Indian soldiers. They were influenced in doing so by the Prime Minister's pledge which Mr. Montagu roundly declared—as Indian opinion had done all along—had been broken by the Treaty of Sevres. The Government of India were parties to that Treaty, and when they found it was causing great discontent among their people, should they not strain every nerve to have it revised? Mr. Montagu asked whether the Governments of Canada, South Africa or Australia would have remained silent, when a so-called peace was destroying the interval peace of their countries. That was in answer to Mr. Austen Chamberlain's remark about the duty which all the Governments of the Empire owed each other in matters of Imperial concern. Mr. Montagu might have pointed out that when the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance became due, Canada and Australia did not content themselves with confidential communication of their views to the Imperial Government.

It was reserved for Lord Curzon in the House of Lords to avow by implication that all the talk about India's new status in the Empire by virtue of her membership of the League of Nations, her representation at the Imperial and other Conferences, was wholly absurd. The Government of India, according to him, is but a subordinate and that a subordinate of a branch of the British Government. Lord Curzon's letter to Mr. Montagu shows that age has not withered nor custom staled his lordship's fondness for the first person singular. Said the Marquess:

That I should be asked to go to the Conference in Paris while a subordinate of a branch of the British Government six thousand miles away dictates to the British Government what line it thinks I ought to pursue in Thrace seems to me quite intolerable. But the part India has sought to play, or been allowed to play in this series of events, passes my comprehension. Moreover it is of very dangerous import, for if the Government of India, because it rules a large body of Moslems is entitled to express and publish views about what we should

de in Smyrna and Thrace why not equally in Egypt, the Sudan, Palestine, Arabia, the Malay Peninsula or any other part of the Moslem world? Is Indian opinion always to be the final court of Moslem appeal?

Lord Curzon, while in India, posed as the special friend of the Mahomedans and inaugurated the policy of isolating them from other Indians by specious concessions. It is something that the author of the Partition now appears in his true light. It would not matter if somebody else went to Paris, but that "I" should go and that a subordinate branch of the British Government should dictate my policy, is quite intolerable. Lord Curzon's attack is specially directed on the Viceroy and the Government of India. "Had I when Viceroy ventured to make a public pronouncement in India about the foreign policy of the Government in Europe, I should certainly have been recalled." But much water has flowed under the bridge since Curzon sat on the throne of the Great Moghul, and only a few days previously, the Prime Minister speaking in the House of Commons mentioned, as a recognition of India's world-position, that she would be represented at the Genoa Conference, which had for its object the reconstruction of Europe. If Lord Curzon's position is correct, then Indian has been led to indulge in illusions. Her equal membership in the Empire is a myth. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry's boasts that he appeared at the Washington Conference on the same footing as the representative of Canada or Australia were a pitiful hallucination. The Reforms alleged to be a first big step towards responsible Government are nothing of the kind. A Member of Parliament suggested in a question that the repeal of repressive laws should not be proceeded with, and the acting Secretary of State for India parried it by stating that he had not received the repealing Bills! Mr. Montagu's resignation, Mahatma Gandhi's arrest and the Indian Budget, together constitute a crisis with which only statesmanship of the highest order can cope. That statesmanship, in our opinion, must be found in non-official India. The best minds of the country should promptly apply themselves to the devising of means whereby full responsible Government can be achieved with the least delay and dislocation. That is the true remedy for the nation's grievances. Diarchy is a snare and a delusion, for, as President Wilson has said, Governments are living things and operate as organic wholes. They cannot be divided into transferred and reserved departments.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL FINANCIAL REFORMS. II

The next considerable item on the side of expenditure in the Indian Budget which attracts attention is the Debt services. In the Budget for 1922-23 this item is shown as a net charge at Rs 15.20 crores. This is, however, not the total sum we pay as interest on debt. The total sum, elsewhere shown as Rs. 28.24 crores, must be taken as equivalent to Rs. 32.20 crores, because the real figure consists of Rs. 19.915 crores PLUS £ 8.29 millions, which, at the current rate of exchange, may be taken to amount to not

much under thirteen crores. It is a most lamentable misfortune that the Government of India has not exhibited their true financial position, but that they seek to camouflage it by dividing up, most unnecessarily, homogeneous charges, and thereby engendering a most reprehensible degree of avoidable confusion. Because their currency muddle of two years ago has not yet been retracted, Government prefer to keep their accounts on the impossible basis of a 2/-rupee, and show the loss arising from the actually much lower value of the rupee in one aggregate head of Exchange, instead of showing the full charge in each case where payments have to be made partly in England and partly in the country, by giving the full equivalent of the sterling amount. We would, however, strongly impress upon those who have the management of Indian finance in their hands not to persist in such methods of concealing their initial blunders by yet more extravagant confusion unavoidable from such methods of keeping accounts and showing estimates.

The total interest charge of over 32 crores is made up of:—Rs. 10.30 crores PLUS £ 4.26 million debitable to railways, 9½ lakhs to Irrigation works, 66 lakhs to Post Office, and 3 crores to Provincial Governments, the rest being the ordinary unproductive Debt charge of the Government of India. This is a formidable figure in proportion as much to the Revenues of India, as to the total wealth of the people of India. The late Mr. Gokhale once expressed himself in a highly optimistic vein as regards the public debt of India, because, at the moment he was speaking, the unproductive debt was being steadily reduced, while the total debt was more than covered by the income from the departments for whose benefit new debt had been incurred. The situation has radically altered in the interval. We doubt if there is any publicist who would now venture to affirm that Indian public debt need not cause any anxiety to the people of India. It would be as invidious as it is futile to enter into the controversy about "The First Cause" as applied to the debt of India, particularly the unproductive debt; though it may be observed in passing that an Indian publicist finds it impossible to rid his mind altogether of the idea that the entire section of the ordinary, unproductive debt has been incurred, under the East India Company as much as under the British Crown, in protecting the frontiers from an imaginary foe.

But even apart from this bitter controversy as to the radical justice of this debt being at all imposed on Indian shoulders, the purely financial considerations make us at present painfully aware, not only of its disproportion to our total wealth, but also to its manner and method of incurring, its origin and ultimate destiny. The Government of India prefer to borrow even to meet ordinary deficits in revenue; and lest the borrowing programme may not be quite carried out, they continue to observe the old fiction that Indian resources being limited, they must borrow simultaneously abroad, with whatever conditions the foreign money-lenders succeed in obtaining and enforcing. It is radically bad finance to borrow for ordinary deficit in revenue, and must not be tolerate

for a single year. But its only corrective—additional taxation—cannot be resorted to by a body which has already reached the limit of productive taxation, incidentally completing the most vicious of all vicious circles in statecraft. The remedy, once again, comes to Reduction of Expenditure, and here is another head incapable of any serious economy or retrenchment, without incurring an avalanche of criticism about breach of faith and what not besides. The Russian analogy is neither old, nor inapplicable. The Indian authorities must take heed before they hasten to pile up debt burdens as extravagant as, we venture to affirm, they are unnecessary. And herein may be mentioned one very great disadvantage of extra-national indebtedness. The indebted state can adopt no measures for its reduction,—not even an offer of immediate repayment if its credit has improved in the interval,—which are not covered by specific terms in the contract; while in the internal debt, the local Government is presumably supreme to materially reduce the burden by some form of special taxation or capital levy from the bondholders, without necessarily incurring the odium of repudiation. The British Indian Government seems to be dimly aware of this difference, and prefers to add to our extra-national debt! Without reviving the memories of last year's 7½% scandal of the British loan, we may yet point out that the foreign debt is not only not amenable to Indian Government's authority for drastic reduction. It even escapes, under the unique ruling of the British Law Officers in that regard, the payment of the ordinary Indian Income Tax, thus involving a loss of a crore. So the foreign debt is doubly burdensome, and it is to be hoped the Legislative Assembly will adopt steps to prevent Government borrowing abroad, except on terms and under circumstances, either predetermined by the Indian Legislature or approved by a Committee of that body.

We are charitable enough to concede that there need not be any special intention or design in the present happenings, that while the debt incurred abroad is apparently for some productive purpose, leaving the creditor some material assets to fall back upon in the last instance, the Indian debt in the last five years or more has been incurred and spent in unproductive purposes. We know there is no special pledging of the assets, but we also know to our cost the injury of the arrangement mentioned above whereby the nation becomes practically bound to spend the proceeds of the debt thus raised in the country of the lender, paying the compatriot of the lender such a percentage of profit as his fear of the monopoly being needlessly lost may dictate. It is high time, we suggest, (1) the practice of borrowing for ordinary deficit is utterly abandoned; (2) the practice of borrowing outside India is firmly discouraged, permitted, if at all, under most rigid precautions approved of by the Indian legislature in a free session (3) the practice of placing orders, by implicit or explicit agreement, in the country of the lenders for material is dropped, finally; (4) the terms of all foreign loans are made amenable to the

sovereign authority of the Indian Legislature to tax to repay, to convert or compound. Unless these reforms are immediately adopted one very important channel of expenditure, growing in volume and even now absorbing nearly 29% of the total expenditure will for ever remain outside the sphere of possible economies, not to mention the more remote but not inconceivable danger of popular sentiment being inflamed to deny any liability at all in this regard.

The fiction of productive borrowing has obtained a new lease of life, owing mainly to the Indian railways beginning to show a credit balance after half a century of loss. But every outlay, merely because it is in connection with Railways, need not necessarily be considered as productive. It is this mistake which is at the bottom of the inflated Railway Budgets of the three last years. In our judgment it is time to reconsider fundamentally the position of Railway Finance. Whether it was chance or design, the last Railway Commission has considered the possibility of unifying the gauge of the Indian lines,—one does not know at what additional cost. There is also the possibility of electricity ousting steam,—again, one does not know at what cost, in construction or in opposition. Meanwhile the Indian Railway rates, instead of being a help and a prop to the Indian industrialist and the Indian trader, are an unmitigated source of loss, annoyance and waste. And all this without mentioning the count in the indictment of the Railways having utterly, deliberately and systematically killed the alternative means of cheaper communications, like the road waggon or the river barge. Must we go on constructing the additional railways, even though they have not yet made up the loss they have occasioned—to the revenue alone after sixty years and more of monopolistic operation; merely because, under the extraordinary circumstances of the late War, they showed some profit by keeping down the repairs and renewals inseparable from sound finance of a commercial venture? Next to the Army, which as observed in the last article, does not give us the value for the money we are called upon to spend on its account, and thereby must be held to be condemned even on the narrowest commercial basis, the Indian Railways expenditure demands a most searching inquiry in the mode of spending, in the fiction of capital and revenue charges, in the zeal for additional construction almost without limit, as also in the method of earning the income.

If the two items thus treated of at some length are properly attended to, the need for public economy would not be without remedy. We are even prepared to add that some of the other items will have to be very considerably added to if the country is to have a decent minimum of social existence and civic life. But while we are open to argument that Education, Sanitation, and Industry need far more than is being spent upon them to-day; while we consider that India cannot much longer delay the advent of the state in guaranteeing a minimum standard of living, with all the consequent burdens which such a departure would connote, we are by no means unaware of the disproportion

now existing between the charges of the civil establishments personnel, and the actual work done by its agency. To the cynic it would even appear as if those who have had the ordering of things in India have determined to make the last bit of Reforms so costly that the people may be frightened into retrogression and acquiesce into reaction, if only it could bring them relief from the tax burdens and a holiday from Government interference. But we trust those who have the future of the country honestly at heart will not be beguiled by such a clap-trap into even tacitly continuing a system, which is economically as unsound as it is politically impossible.

WORK AMONG THE DEPRESSED CLASSES IN MALABAR.

(By Mr. E. RAMAN MENON B. A., L. T.)

At present there are only 3 active centres of work in this district: the one at Palghat under Mr. Seshayya, the centre at Cannanore under Mr. O. C. Srinivasan and thirdly the society which I am working for here. You may also write to Rao Sahib C. Karunakara Menon, Vakil, Pattambi. In the native states of Cochin and Travancore where also similar work is done, two years back a big meeting of Panchamas was held at Tripoonithura (Cochin State) under the presidency of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. So far as untouchability is concerned the Thiyyas are in the same position as the Panchamas. Under the leadership of Sri Narayana Garaswami, an ascetic, the Thiyyas have been awakened to a sense of self-respect. For information about active work in connection with that community you may address the following gentlemen: K. Ayyappan B.A., Editor 'Sahodaran', Trivandrum, T. K. Madhavan, Editor "Deshabhimani" Quilon, Maman Chohan, B.A., LL.B., Ennakulam and C. Krishnan, B.A., B.L., Calicut.

I shall now give you an account of our own little society here for the Depressed Classes—*The Malabar Depressed Classes Mission*. The work is still being continued, both educational and co-operative. But we no longer maintain a boarding School: students who wish to go in for higher education are admitted into the Malabar Christian College and their educational expenses are met by the society. Our boarding School had a very salutary effect in my immediate neighbourhood, so far as unapproachability was concerned, but little with regard to untouchability. The effect is, however, merely local. Our Mission does not start elementary schools as we don't believe that segregation of such communities in special schools is good. We are trying (and have succeeded in a few cases) to get these children admitted into ordinary schools. We also believe that higher education is absolutely essential for the uplift of the community from the very beginning.

The Malabar Depressed Classes Mission is chiefly concerned with educational and co-operative work. For dealing with social questions, we started another allied organisation called the Adi Keralaeya Samaj. It was started in December 1920, and it is still

continuing. But for the last six months or so it has practically done no work for the reason shown below. This Samaj consists of branches in villages. Our idea was to have one branch in every important Ammam or village. All Panchamas, both men and women are admitted as members. Meetings are held once a week and lectures are delivered to create an interest in social reform such as:—Asserting the right to walk along the public road; use of public wells; wearing of clean clothes and gold ornaments etc. and sending their children to ordinary schools; Temperance reform; Sanitation and Thrift and co-operation and so on. We have now seven branches in and around Calicut, namely, (1) Calicut, (2) Kallai, (3) Chaliyam, (4) Ohovayur, (5) Mayand, (6) Makkada and (7) Elattur. As our work was mainly done through public meetings we have had to remain idle for the last six months or thereabout on account of the martial law. All the places named above are within the martial law area. It is dangerous to hold meetings now even with the permission of the authorities, because this movement has strong enemies everywhere who might create trouble.

But this Samajam during the short time it was working actively, did very useful service and I mean to revive it as soon as the martial law is withdrawn. Some public wells which had always been closed to the Panchamas were touched by them in our presence and the local fanatics were afraid to interfere. Panchama women are gradually beginning to wear ornaments similar to those of other people. This is a peculiar point. You know as a rule Panchama women wear about a pound or two of beads etc. on their necks. At one of our meetings we asked them to wear ordinary gold ornaments (the total value of the beads is greater than that of a small gold Thali) and to encourage them we used to distribute a few gold Talis by drawing lots among the workers present. At Kallai we distributed about 25 such ornaments at different meetings. This led to some of the husbands of these women being assaulted on the public roads. It was difficult to file a criminal complaint because no witness would be available. These women who wore gold were also boycotted as much as possible, for instance some of them get a few annas a day by plucking grass for the Jutka horses. If they wore gold ornaments, landlords would not allow them to pluck grass in their compounds. But in spite of these persecutions, the Panchama women are gradually getting into the habit of dressing like other people and discarding their strings of beads. But all this is in or in the immediate neighbourhood of Calicut. Even here the goldsmiths won't make gold ornaments for them directly and so sometimes they come to us with money for getting ornaments made for them.

Malabar is passing or rather has passed through a catastrophe which cannot but have very far-reaching effects upon various social problems—upon the untouchability problem among others. People outside Malabar have not yet understood the nature of the incidents here and the extent of the calamity that has

overtaken the Hindoo population. To say that the Hindoo population of one-third of Malabar has been wiped out for the time being, is only to say the naked unexaggerated truth. By "wiped out" I do not mean massacred but that they are no longer found there, they are homeless beggars in Calicut, Palghat, Trichur, Travancore and other places. Untouchability is one of the indirect causes of this catastrophe. Because before the rebellion, all rich zamindars in Malabar would employ only Mopla guards to watch their houses—Thiyya or Cherama guards being inadmissible on account of untouchability (unapproachability?) and in almost every case it was their own Mopla guards that looted their master's property, set fire to his house and in many cases compelled him to embrace Islam and even outraged his ladies. I am in hopes that the higher caste Malayalee has learnt a terrible lesson from this ordeal and that he will now approach the untouchability question in a chastened mood. About the middle of next month, the recently-formed Malabar Reconstruction Committee, of which I am one of the secretaries intends to hold a Conference of sufferers from this rebellion. One of the resolutions I want to place before the Conference is that unapproachability and untouchability should be done away with. If the Conference passes the resolution it will go a good way towards forming a healthy public opinion about it. I am writing all this to show that this is a very good time to work at this question in Malabar. There is I believe an anti-untouchability league. Can not two workers be sent by them to Malabar just now? Such a favourable moment may never recur. The Arya Samaj is working in that line. Two of their missionaries are staying with me but unfortunately they insist on mixing up this question with their religious dogmas. The Bramha Samaj is not doing much, though it has plenty of good workers who will work in an unsectarian spirit. Their difficulty is want of funds. If two good workers can be sent, I think it will be of great service.

SOME THOUGHTS ON PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I was greatly interested to read in your issue of February 26, an article on "Physical Culture in the Deccan" by Mr. Karkare. I must confess at the outset that, coming as I do from the Deccan, I could not but be impressed greatly by the patriotic feeling with which the article is written. The article seems to me to be a reply to Mr. H. C. Buck's "Physical Education in India" which appeared in your issue of February 12.

Some may, but I did not find Mr. Buck's article to have been written in an unsympathetic tone at all. I hold no brief for Mr. Buck; but from what I gather from his article, the sympathy, certainly, is not in keeping with that of a platform orator, who, to curry favour of his audience, may call them "good" in his introductory remarks and, a little later amidst round of applause, end his oration by calling himself "better". In this connection it may not be inappropriate to

quote what Pro. Vaswani says in his 'Sri Krishna'. "A man talks to you in fine words; you cheer him; you call him a 'leader'! You forget that a 'leader' will not always speak pleasant things;—he must tell you of the things which you may not like but which he knows are for your good—The path of Service is not the path of popularity; the Leader of men is a Servant of the Ideal."

Mr. Karkare has gathered from history and other reliable sources that the Marathas possessed a wide-spread physical culture. I have read history rather differently.

Physical Culture is a term which we must clearly understand. There is not a single nation which has what is called physical culture. It is a term which is applied to the highest development physically and therefore intellectually, morally and spiritually. We have a notion that because a person is muscularly strong he possesses physical culture. Nothing can be prorer in ideal than this belief. The art of physical culture grades as follows; physical training, physical education and physical culture. The only people that could be said to have possessed any show of physical culture were the Greeks. A short study of the Olympic Games will convince any reader. Plato's ideal of physical culture is sublime: "When a beautiful soul harmonizes with a beautiful form and the two are cast in one mould, that will be the fairest of sights to him who hath an eye to see". The Germans, Swedes, French and other European nations started physical education well-nigh a century ago. The Americans seem to have a genius for assimilating systems other than theirs and elaborating upon them to suit their national needs. They have improved upon the European systems of physical education; and yet, none of these nations can be said to possess Physical Culture. Physical Culture will include a study of the development of the sense of the beautiful and with it efforts to possess an ideal physical form; it will include besides symmetry of form, endurance, muscular formation, and agility of movement an intellectual development to match with the peerless form and also an ability to express through voice and gesticulation the surging mind. In Vedic times alone in the history of India we get glimpses of this physical Culture. "We are proud of our past, but is the past proud of us?"

In the article on "physical Culture in the Deccan" a mention is made of the great many gymnasiums that one may see from Miraj on to Benares. Nobody denies their existence. They are mere gymnasiums. If we would be content to call them centres of muscle building, I believe, we would not be very far wrong. The existence of these centres is not sufficing. A conscious effort must be made to meet the needs of the masses. Our Educational System is faulty because we seem to have excluded physical education out of it. The only one effort made, that I know of, towards this object as a national revival in the Deccan, was by Lokamanya. The Deccan Institute of Gymnastics is doing something on these lines in Poona, and has a great future before it. Physical Education is the greatest need of India today. Physical culture will come by and by and will take several generations of conscious efforts. We are apt to "pay the flattering unction to our soul", and call by high sounding names our merits that amount to very little.

The great faults of our gymnasiums have been that they are isolated units, often antagonistic to one another. The spirit of co-operation for national revival of physical education has been conspicuously absent; and the progress of these local activities has been retarded owing to the pathetically erroneous notion of possessing superiority over other local gymnasiums, by withholding from them the secret of the art, instead of expanding upon our own knowledge and assimila-

having it, for mutual good, with that of others. The efficient habit of co-operating does not come all of a sudden in the face of a common cause, but is the natural resultant of the training through team games, through team work in our childhood and adolescent period. It is for this reason that the physical education forms a side subject of Social Reform.

For proper physical education, I am saying nothing about physical culture, mere physical activities are not enough. Physiological principles have to be shown broadcast; knowledge of hygiene and sanitation has to be brought within the reach of the masses, and not confined merely to the physicians' fund of medicines; some social problems have to be faced bravely, especially those relating to purdah system and early marriages; student world has to acknowledge its deficiency in education according as it has neglected, consciously or unconsciously, its questions of physical fitness.

From the time of great Shivaji, whose genius gave us a kingdom, down to the fall of Pappu Gokhale, the last of the brave Brahmin fighters we have had a glorious galaxy of warriors. But do they prove the physical culture? Does physical culture seek its highest consummation in warfare? There are causes, not one cause only, which win wars.

Somebody has somewhere said that he never quarrelled with a man whom he knew. The Western methods of physical training may appear to some very costly. Cricket, hockey, etc. may cost much, sure. But there are activities which can be accomplished with very little equipment. These activities are meant for crowded cities where there is a great lack of open plots for children to play upon. Why should we hesitate to adopt their methods and bring them to bear upon our indigenous work making it popular. It was reserved for Mr. A. G. Noerhen to reduce our indigenous exercises such as Dundahl, Bhaski, Hanuman Baski, etc. (Dund, Baithak etc.) to the timing of a pleasing rhythm, and to add a newness which all our indigenous work should have. I understand for a fact that Mr. Buck, M. P. E. Principal of the National School of Physical Education, Madras, lays a great emphasis on these very indigenous exercises and teaches them to his Indian students. Very recently I saw in Madras a demonstration of these exercises beautifully timed to proper rhythm, and I can assure you of the fine spectacular show it presented of a mass drill by Madras school boys.

Madras,
March 6, 1922.

Yours truly,
A. G. MANE.

NON-BRAHMINS UNDER THE HINDU LAW.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The article on "Non-Brahmins under the Hindu Law" by Mr. A. B. Lathe, M. L. A., which appears in the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 5th instant contains several inaccuracies.

(1) It is not correct to say that the British Indian Law courts treat all non-Brahmins, including the Dwijas among them, as Sudras. A reference to the various decisions reported in the law journals will show that the courts do make a distinction between Dwijas and Sudras among non-Brahmins. It is a pity that Mr. Lathe's over-anxiety to raise the social status of the Lingayets and Marathas should lead him to make this incorrect statement.

(2) Mr. Lathe is probably unaware of the recent Full Bench decision of the Calcutta High Court in *Rajaninath Das vs. Niti Chandra Dey* reported in I. L. R. 48 Cal. 643 which overrules all previous Bengal decisions and brings them into line with the decisions of Bombay, Madras and Allahabad. All the High Courts are now therefore agreed that the illegi-

time son of a Sudra is entitled to succeed provided his mother was in the exclusive and continuous keeping of the Sudra and the connections was not adulterous and incestuous.

(3) Mr. Lathe remarks that "intercaste marriages allowed among Sudras are not legal among sub-castes of the twice-born varjat." I am afraid he cannot quote any authority for this proposition. It is, of course, necessary for the validity of a Hindu marriage that the parties should be of the same primary caste. Nowhere is it said that inter-marriages between sub-castes of the same primary caste is illegal. It is true that inter-sub-caste marriage is rare. But it does not follow from that that it is illegal. Shastras do not prohibit it and the Courts are bound to hold such marriages valid. [I am told that an inter-sub-caste marriage has taken place in the family of the ex-Judge of the Madras High Court, Sir T. Sadasiva Iyer.]

(4) Mr. Lathe says that an unchaste Sudra widow may adopt while an unchaste Dwija widow cannot. The law on the point is not quite clear. In *Sayamalal vs. Saudamani* 5 Beng. L. R. 362, it was pointed out that ceremonies being necessary for the validity of an adoption among dwijas, the adoption by an unchaste woman was invalid, as she, being unchaste, could not perform the necessary religious ceremonies. It would seem that as no ceremonies are essential for the validity of an adoption among Sudras, an unchaste widow could validly adopt. But the authority of 5 Beng. L. R. 362 is doubtful. As the widow can delegate the performance of the religious ceremonies to others, there is nothing in law to prevent an unchaste widow who makes an adoption leaving the performance of the ceremonies to others. (See Mulla's Hindu law S. 381). Further, in *Kery Kolutany vs. Monseram*, 13 Beng. L. R. 14, it has been held that subsequent unchastity of a widow will not divest the estate already vested in her. In the light of these, I doubt if courts will consider *Sayamalal vs. Saudamani* as laying down good law.

Yours truly,

G. SWAMINATHAN B. A. (Hous).

8, B-378 Kanthari Amman Koil St.,
Trivandrum, 9th Mar., 1922.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S ARREST.

Mr. K. Natarajan has sent the following letter to Mahatma Gandhi at Sabarmati Jail, on Sunday:—

BANDRA,
March 12, 1922.

Dear Mahatmaji,

Just after the Bardoli meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress, Mr. V. J. Patel, the General Secretary, suggested to me that I should join the Bombay Suburban Congress Committee, adding that he did so at your instance. I replied that I would wait to decide until after the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi.

It was my wish and hope that the Delhi meeting would result in an endorsement without modification of the Bardoli programme and that then the way would be open to me to join the Congress. Unfortunately, this did not happen, notwithstanding the earnest efforts made by yourself and Panditji.

I was very glad, however, that you had since thrown the great weight of your personal authority on concentration on the essentially social programme outlined at Bardoli, and that your advice had been generally accepted, thus practically discarding the Delhi modifications. Still, I should not have felt myself free to join the Congress, dissenting as I do from the bulk of the programme of Non-co-operation which has been accepted by the majority of its adherents, though, as I understand, it is not a condition of Congress membership.

Your arrest and prosecution, however, at the present time, when you have so largely arrived at nearly the same position as those with whom I have been associated in an endeavour to bring about a peaceful settlement of our national problems and, as a consequence, incurred some loss of popularity with your party, present the question to me anew and in a somewhat different light. It is irresistibly borne in upon me that, quite apart from the policy and merits of the present prosecution, it is the duty of every one who values the pre-eminently social programme adopted at Bardoli, which is now for practical purposes the working programme of the Congress organisation, to endeavour, irrespective of differences on other points, to supply, in however small a measure, the immense loss of strength which cannot but accrue to it by your withdrawal even for a short time. I shall, therefore, take the necessary action to be enrolled as a member of the Bombay Congress Committee.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd). K. NATARAJAN,

MAHATMA GANDHI'S ARREST.

PRESS OPINIONS.

Justice, Madras daily, (Non-Brahmin).

We have never spared the Non-co-operation movement but repeatedly drawn public attention to its Bolshevik tendencies. Mr. Gandhi and his impractical idealism have come in for a fair share of criticism in our columns. Now that Mr. Gandhi is under arrest and undergoing trial, we are called upon as a matter of duty to say in what light we view his arrest. We cannot help remarking that his arrest at this particular juncture strikes us as a step which lacks full justification in view of the recent pronouncements of Mr. Gandhi and the changed angle of vision that was perceptible in his writings. We could have understood his arrest when civil disobedience was started at Bardoli. Even later when the Congress Committee met at Delhi and resolved upon individual and group civil disobedience, his arrest could have been justified. But his arrest at the present juncture, we hold, is inexpedient and inopportune. If we turn to the latest issue of *Young India* of the 9th instant, in an article 'If I am arrested,' we see Mr. Gandhi suspending civil disobedience in toto. The article as a whole gives us the impression that Mr. Gandhi was slowly coming to realise the danger of present crisis and swerving round from the position he had originally maintained. He gives sufficient evidence in that article that he is fully aware of the danger of the situation and shows an inclination to renounce his steps. Taking to consideration the fact that Mr. Gandhi, apart from those who subscribe to his politics, has succeeded in winning many admirers in the country, not a few of whom are men of light and influence, and considering also the general economic discontent that prevails in the country, we think it would have been more in keeping with the liberal traditions of the British race to have abstained from this hasty step of dubious utility.

New India, Madras daily (Mrs. Besant.)

An A. P. I. message, published elsewhere, says that Mr. Gandhi was arrested last night at Ahmedabad on a charge of Sedition, under Sec. 124 A. I. P. C. We are surprised that the Government should have seen fit to make Sedition the immediate ground for proceeding against him as we are not aware that he has made any special change in the tone of his propaganda which he has been carrying on during the last eighteen months. We have yet to know the overt action Mr. Gandhi has taken in the direction of putting the

Delhi resolutions into force in connection with individual or group civil disobedience which has induced the Government to take action against him. Have the Government considered the expediency of the course they have decided upon at a time when the British Cabinet has precipitated a crisis, the consequences of which may be very serious?

Leader, (Allahabad daily), Liberal.

In his article in *Young India* on the All-India Congress Committee's resolutions he showed a clearer appreciation of the realities than ever before and it was expected that the Government would wait for fresh cause of action to restrict his liberties especially in view of the fact that he was being discredited by his own followers. His influence was distinctly on the decline and he was becoming a spent force. He has practically finished his work, namely, that of arousing the masses to a new consciousness of their rights and self-respect. His removal from the scene of public life will not materially alter the situation. It may render it worse, at least for a time. Without his restraining and purifying influence his movement may rapidly degenerate in ideals and methods. He did his best to keep it on the right path, but he expected too much of human nature. With the respect we feel for Mr. Gandhi's great moral qualities, his courage, his clean methods of fight, his sublime though impractical ideal of non-violence, his selflessness and simplicity and purity of character, we cannot but feel sorry that such a one for reasons of state should be proceeded against. On deep thought and close analysis, it will appear that the measure of Mr. Gandhi's success is also the measure of the failure of the existing system in its economic and political aspects and any physical restraints imposed upon him will not remove the root causes which are responsible for the present unrest. That he has been a powerful instrument in instilling ideas of lawlessness among the people which has led to deplorable results no one can deny. That his non-violent movement has generated a widespread spirit of violence and hatred will also be generally admitted. Whether his arrest will lead to the restoration of a normal atmosphere in course of time and to peace is yet to be seen. The portents are not auspicious. The wisdom of the act can only be judged by results.

The Express, Patna daily, (Liberal)

The arrest of Mr. Gandhi will be received with the profoundest regret throughout the country. And this feeling will be largely due to the very high esteem in which he is held by his countrymen for his manifold virtues, saintly and spotless character and the greatest sacrifice that a man is capable of for the service of his country. Mr. Gandhi may be the highest type of saint that Indian ideal may conceive of, he may be the idol to be worshipped for his private virtues, which are of the highest order by common consent but when he foments an agitation which cuts at the root of an established order the issue is perhaps very plain and simple. Mr. Gandhi may claim for his movement all monopoly of non-violence but the fact—and an ounce of fact is worth tons of theories—is that it has capacities for untold mischief so often at the cost of human lives. With such facts confronting the authorities and the pressure of British public opinion the action of the Government in arresting Mr. Gandhi is not to be wondered at. In fact the public were expecting this incarceration and the utmost that can be said about this aspect of the question is that their worst fears have been confirmed. Without entering into the justification of the action of Government, one feels in one's heart of hearts that the arrest is most deplorable and that man who should have been to-day occupying the foremost place in the administration of the country, will, under most unfortu-

nate circumstances, be confined to jail. We are also afraid that the Non-co-operation movement after having been deprived of the leadership of the one man who through good report or through evil report made honest efforts to keep it on non-violent lines may run amok and stand in all its hideous nakedness. In that case, it will no doubt, dig its grave earlier and effect self-effacement, for which nobody need be sorry. But there is another bug-bear, the gaining in strength of the Mohani party untrammelled by the Mahatma's personality, which none can view with equanimity.

The Servant of India, Poona Weekly, (Liberal.)

What then has any Government got to gain by his arrest? If these London people really think that Mr. Gandhi is dangerous, or at least, is still dangerous, they only show how little they do know. Neither as a deliberate provocation nor as a measure of fancied self-defence, is this arrest of Mr. Gandhi at this juncture anything but idiotic. It will galvanize the somewhat cataleptic allegiance of his party to Mr. Gandhi, though we believe that so far has disenchantment with Mr. Gandhi as a political leader gone to-day that even that effect will not be very marked. The one great result will be that it will remove the one great moderating influence, the one man who hitherto has been able to keep back the firebrands of Pan-Islamism, of complete severance from the Empire, of Nationalist Extremism—and all, just to curry favour with the managers of the Tory party machine in England! To arraign the one man in India who, through good report and bad report, has stood for Non-Violence; whose life is transparently, through many a stumble and many a hesitation, that of a saint; who sees that there is no alternative to doing evil, except to suffer evil, and who has steadfastly set his face to overcome all evil; at whatever cost to himself, by the supreme solvent of Love: to arraign, we say, such a man in a felon's dock, may under conceivable circumstances turn out to be a supremely distasteful, yet supremely necessary act. Such a thing indeed has been taken against one who is undoubtedly amongst the greatest of Indians alive to-day: but who can believe such action to be morally right, may even politically useful, let alone indispensably necessary?

The Tribune, Lahore daily, (Independent.)

It is a matter of the greatest regret that the Government of India should have yielded to the clamour of British politicians instead of firmly standing on the ground they had originally chosen; and the regret must be the keener because if and when things go wrong in India it is the Government of India who will have to bear the burden of the error, and not its evil advisers, whether in India or England.

We repeat that their action is a grave blunder a much graver blunder than the arrest of the Mahatma in 1919, when neither he nor the country stood on the same footing on which they stand to-day. The Indian question has now assumed a form when nothing but conciliation can help to solve it when every act that is not conciliatory can only make things worse, and the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi is, of course, the culminating point in the pursuit of an unconciliatory policy. We do hope the Government will yet see the error of the course on which it has embarked and will pursue the opposite course, the only course that can lead them and India to their common goal of responsible Government, a policy of whole-hearted conciliation. Not His Majesty's jail but His Majesty's Council Table is the fitting place for a man whom Viceroy and Secretaries of India not long ago delighted to honour, and who whatever his faults and shortcomings is without a doubt one of the most extraordinary men in the world to-day, differing from so many other extraordinary men only in his saintliness and his complete abhorrence of violence in every form or shape.

The Hindu, Madras daily, (Congress.)

Mr. Montagu's resignation may not have anything to do with the new orientation of policy but it is at any rate timely. It would have been awkward for him otherwise to reconcile his statement that Mr. Gandhi's arrest was deferred pending further experience of the reality of his abandonment of mass civil disobedience and the present move. It cannot be pretended that anything has transpired since that statement was made, which could even remotely suggest itself as a reason for the arrest. It is true the Delhi resolutions may be construed as a modification of the Bardoli ones but that is hardly the Mahatma's fault! His efforts have been consistently directed towards softening them down and the lead he has given has been followed all over the country, even the Punjab, which is usually the most impatient consenting to give the Bardoli programme a trial. It is clear, therefore, that civil disobedience is an academic question all over the country except in Andhradesa where a premature and apparently unauthorized campaign was begun but which has now been given up. Mr. Gandhi never compromise with his conscience and he is determined that all possibilities of violence must be eliminated before the fight can be begun. The Government cannot be ignorant that all his energies have latterly been devoted with this sole end in view and that so far as any activities of Mr. Gandhi or his followers are concerned no official need lose a night's sleep. They cannot be ignorant, if their real uneasiness is the possibility of widespread disorder, that Mr. Gandhi free is a greater asset to them than Mr. Gandhi in jail. If in spite of these considerations they decided to arrest Mr. Gandhi, it must have been on grounds quite other than a breach of the law or a possible disturbance of the peace. The Government in fact are pursuing the policy which dictated the arrest of Mr. Das, whose offence was that he was the President-elect of the Congress, and kept him incarcerated for a scandalously long period before trial. It is a challenge thrown in the face of the country. Government feel that the movement has had too much rope, has grown stronger than it imagined could be possible with the "most futile of all movements." And it seeks to crush the movement by arresting its originator. As is usual with all repression its action is neither timely nor thorough. For one thing it is too late; for another the Government cannot build enough jails for all those who will have to be arrested if the movement is to be scotched. The response of the country to the challenge must be clear and unmistakable. That there will be unbounded resentment at the action goes without saying but what must be insisted on is that that resentment should translate itself to a strengthening of our purpose and not waste itself in futile violence. As the Mahatma has time and again insisted, to resort to violence is to play the Government's game.

The Servant, Calcutta daily, (Congress)

It is not for us to ponder whether the Government has made a blunder; it is for us to deliberate how best our work is to be carried on in the absence of the guiding hand of one whom the suffrage of the nation invited to sole leadership, one who has justified that high choice in the amplest measure possible. It is not for us to analyse if Mahatmaji's arrest betrays a turning point in the mentality of the bureaucrat; rather is it for us to register a sacred resolve that it should be the starting-point of determined, ceaseless, and unsparring efforts to vindicate our claim to be reckoned among human beings, to rise to the full stature of a free nation, to prove worthy of the heritage of our ancestors, and to share that heritage with the pure-blooded, "culture"-ridden, force-worshippers of the West.

Mahatma Gandhi is under arrest; let this message thrill throughout the length and breadth of the country. Let it bring home to every man, woman and child in Bharatvarsha that with the withdrawal from public life of the greatest living moral force in the world the curtain has fallen on the second act in the drama of Indian renaissance. The first act came to a close on the death of Tilak; the second was ushered in a few weeks after, and in it the leading character has been the man, frial of body and invincible of soul, who now enjoys the repose he has sought and richly earned at Sabarmati Jail. To the land of his birth Mahatma Gandhi has given freely of the best and inmost in him; dare we take the liberty of predicting that the tribute India will pay to the memory of his achievements will also be worthy of him?

CONVERSION TO HINDUISM.

Mr. Tukaram Bubaji Bhambal, a born Christian, renounced Christianity and embraced Hinduism. His age is twenty years. He was initiated by the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay on 29th January 1922 in the presence of members and friends. Mr. S. B. Vailya acted as Acharya and Mr. V. V. Pradhan as fire-warden.

II

Mr. Baburao Narayan Tipnis, who was a Christian for 8 years, renounced Christianity and embraced Hinduism. His age is twenty years. He was reconverted by the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay on 26th February 1922 in the presence of members and friends. Mr. L. B. Raje acted as Acharya and Mr. S. B. Vailya as Fire-warden.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

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Branches:—Calcutta, Karachi, Lahore, Amritsar Jharia and Lyallpur.

London Agents:—London Joint City and Midland Bank, Ltd.

New York Agents:—The Equitable Trust Co. New York.

Berlin Agents:—The Deutsche Bank, Berlin.

Current Accounts—3% allowed on Daily Balances from January to June
2½% from July to December.

Fixed Deposits of Rs. 5,000 and above for 12 months received at 6% per annum.

For Shorter periods at rates to be ascertained on Application.

Every kind of Banking Business transacted at favourable rates

For further particulars please apply to the Manager.

S. N. POCHKHANAWALA.

25-2-17

Managing Director.

THE BANK OF INDIA, LD.

Established 7th September 1906.

Incorporated under the Indian Companies' Act VI of 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Capital Subscribed	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	72,50,000;

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 8 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short periods @ rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

“Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application”.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS, & CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved security.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon, it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stocks at moderate charges, particulars of which may be had on application.

H. P. STRINGFELLOW,

1-103

Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LD.

Under the Patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar. Registered under the Baroda Companies' Act III of 193.

HEAD OFFICE BARODA.

Branches—Ahmedabad, Navsari Mehsana, Surat, Bombay, Bhavnagar and Dabhoi

Capital Subscribed.....	Rs. 60,00,000.
Capital Paid up ..	20,00,000.
Reserve Fund ..	14,00,000.

DIRECTORS:

The Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, C. I. E., Chairman.
Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.
Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti: Nagar Sheth Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnagar.
Rao Bahadur Gunajirao R. Nimbaker, Sur Subba, Baroda State.

Bhaskerrao Vithaldas Metha, Esq., Advocate, High Court Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., La Baroda.

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subba, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest allowed on daily balance from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 8 per half year will be allowed

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS, AND CASH CREDITS.

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The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges, particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received and interest allowed at 4 per cent. per annum. Rules on application. C. E. RANDLE,—General Manager.
15-4-12.

THE UNION BANK OF INDIA LD.

REGISTERED OFFICE.

Apollo Street Fort, Bombay.

AUTHORISED CAPITAL ..	Rs. 5,00,00,000
SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL ...	3,97,81,500
CALLED UP CAPITAL ...	69,76,150
PAID-UP ON 31-12-20. Rs.	69,68,715.

SUB-BRANCH:

Zaveri Bazar 289, Shaik Memon Street.

LONDON AGENTS.

THE LONDON COUNTY WESTMINSTER AND PARR'S BANK LIMITED.

CURRENT ACCOUNTS: Interest allowed at 2½ per cent per annum on DAILY BALANCES up to Rs. 1,00,000. From 1st January to 30th June interest at 3 per cent. per annum is allowed on sums over Rs. 50,000 provided the balance does not fall below that figure. No interest is allowed unless the sum accrued amounts to Rs. 8 half-yearly.

FIXED DEPOSITS: Received for one year and for shorter periods at rates to be ascertained on application.

SAVINGS BANK: Interest allowed at 4 per cent. per annum. Rules on application.

LOANS AND CASH CREDITS: are granted on approved Securities at favourable rates.

SHARES AND SECURITIES: purchased and sold. Banking business of every description transacted.

A. B. OLIPHANT.

Ag. Manager.

14-3-20.

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Authorised Capital...	Rs. 1,00,00,000
Subscribed Capital...	" 1,00,00,000.
Paid Up Capital (30-6-20)	" 49,99,400
Reserve Fund	" 25,00,000

Head Office:—Central Bank Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

Local Branches:—(1) Mandvi, (2) Zaveri Bazar, (3) Share Bazar, (4) Abdul Rehman Street.

Branches:—Calcutta, Karachi, Lahore, Amritsar Jharia and Lyallpur.

London Agents:—London Joint City and Midland Bank, Ltd.

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Berlin Agents:—The Deutsche Bank, Berlin.

Current Accounts—3% allowed on Daily Balances from January to June
2½% from July to December.

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For shorter periods at rates to be ascertained on Application.

Every kind of Banking Business transacted at favourable rates

For further particulars please apply to the Manager.

S. N. POCHKHANAWALA,
Managing Director.

25-2-17

THE BANK OF INDIA, LD.

Established 7th September 1906.

Incorporated under the Indian Companies' Act VI of 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Capital Subscribed	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	" 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	" 72,50,000

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2½% p. a. throughout the year. On sums exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 interest is allowed by special arrangement. No interest will be allowed which does not amount to Rs. 3 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short periods @ rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application".

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS, & CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved security.

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1-103

Manager,

THE BANK OF BARODA, LD.

Under the Patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaskwar.
Registered under the Baroda Companies' Act III of 198.

HEAD OFFICE BARODA.

Branches—Ahmedabad, Navsari Methana, Surat, Bombay, Bhavnagar and Dabhoi

Capital Subscribed.....	Rs. 60,00,000.
Capital Paid up	" 20,00,000.
Reserve Fund	" 14,00,000.

DIRECTORS :

The Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, C. I. E., Chairman.
Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, Kt.
Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti : Nagar Sheth Baroda.

Sheth Manilal Revadas, Vadnagar.
Rao Bahadur Gunajirao R. Nimbalker, Sur Subha, Baroda State.

Bhaekerrao Vithaldas Metha, Esq., Advocate, High Court Bombay.

M. H. Kantavalla, Esq., Agent, Maharaja Mill Co., Lt Baroda.

R. R. Shirgaokar, Naib Subha, Baroda State.

A. N. Datar, Accountant General, Baroda State.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest allowed on daily balance from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 3 per half year will be allowed

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

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Deposits received and interest allowed at 4 per cent. per annum. Rules on application. C. E. RANDLE,—General Manager. 15-4-12.

THE UNION BANK OF INDIA LD.

REGISTERED OFFICE.

Apollo Street Fort, Bombay.

AUTHORISED CAPITAL	Rs. 5,00,00,000
SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL	" 3,97,61,500
CALLED UP CAPITAL	" 59,76,150
PAID-UP ON 31-12-20.	Rs. 59,68,715.

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LONDON AGENTS.

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LOANS AND CASH CREDITS: are granted on approved Securities at favourable rates.

SHARES AND SECURITIES: purchased and sold Banking business of every description transacted.

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say that musk is not that which a perfumer admires. It is
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6/5-6-21.

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Head Office:—Wallace Street, Bombay.

SIR D. J. TATA, Kt. *Chairman.*

AUTHORISED CAPITAL Rs. ...	20,00,00,000
SUBSCRIBED " " ...	11,86,84,250
PAID UP " " ...	1,18,68,425.

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London, the world's largest Marine Insurance Market.

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Opposite the Government Telegraph Office,
26-11-10. Fort, BOMBAY.

THE BOMBAY CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK LIMITED.

HEAD OFFICE:—Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.
BRANCHES:—Baramati, (District Poona).

Islampur (District Satara).

Kopergaon (District Ahmedabad),

SHARE CAPITAL

(Fully Paid up)

Rs. 7,00,000.

1. The Bank finances Institutions Registered under Cooperative Societies Act in the Bombay Presidency on the recommendation of the Registrar, Cooperative Societies Bombay Presidency, Poona.

2. Accounts are audited by a special Government Auditor and quarterly statements of financial position are published in Bombay Government Gazette.

3. FIXED DEPOSITS are received for long and short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

4. SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNTS are opened and Interest allowed at 4%, Rules can be had on application.

5. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened at 2½% interest on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 25,000.

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,

Manager.

A. K. JOSHI & Co.

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Empire Building, Hornby Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

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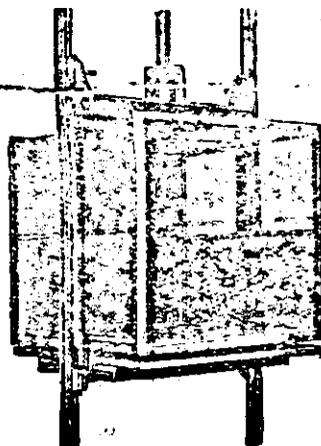
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1922 Mahatma Gandhi Calendar 6 as.

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PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY MORNING.

Office—EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

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Vol. XXXII.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MARCH 26, 1922.

No. 30

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

—:—

The Indian Budget: The Indian Budget has been dealt with by the Legislative Assembly in drastic fashion. As the huge Military Budget was beyond its purview, the Assembly adopted the expedient, the only one open to it, of cutting down a definite percentage on every votable head of expenditure. When it came to deal with the Finance Bill levying additional taxation, it threw out the increases proposed in the salt duty, in the excise duty on Indian mill-made cloth and in the import duty on machinery and on cotton goods. There is a general feeling that the rejection of the additional import duty proposed on cotton goods, is indefensible. Even under rigid Free Trade principles, import duties for revenue purposes are not barred, and the additional revenue proposed is badly needed. The only conceivable reason for omitting it is that the agitation in Lancashire against the suggested enhancement would be aggravated by the elimination of the excise duty on Indian mill-cloth. That is not a bad reason from the point of view of the majority in the present Legislature. It would have been better to have said so openly, as that would have prevented the Assembly's decision from being misunderstood to mean acquiescence in the Lancashire doctrine that India cannot levy an import duty on English cotton goods unless she simultaneously imposes an excise duty on Indian mill products. A Reuter's telegram published yesterday, shows that Lancashire is not placated by the Legislative Assembly's action and that it is pressing for the raising of the existing excise duty to a level with the present import duty of 11 per cent. The Government of India has needlessly awakened the sleeping dog, and it will not be easy to put it to bed again without a sop of some kind.

Mr. Gokhale's Statue:—His Excellency the Governor unveiled the marble statue of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale on Thursday. It stands facing the fine bronze statue of Lord Reay across the road

leading to Church Gate Station. We are sorry to say that the statue is not a success as a faithful representation of the features of Mr. Gokhale as he was in life. It suggests half a dozen other Deccani Brahmin gentlemen before the inscription on the pedestal assures one that it is intended to be a marble presentment of the eminent Indian statesman. The sculptor was evidently handicapped by having had to work from a photograph. Even otherwise, Mr. Gokhale would have been a very difficult subject, because of his sensitive and high-strung expression, to reproduce. The statue otherwise is a most conscientious piece of work in respect of accuracy of detail. The same observations apply to His Excellency's attempt to portray the political personality of Mr. Gokhale from quotations culled from his speeches.

Bhattia Maternity Scheme. We are glad to learn that with the help of friends and representatives of two Charitable Trusts belonging to the Bhattia community, the Council of the Poona Seva Sadan Society has been enabled to undertake in the City of Bombay an extension of their Nursing Service Department. They have laid down the necessary lines and financial conditions for the undertaking of such work in places outside Poona and for communities irrespective of caste and creed. Sir Vitaldas D. Thackersey Kt., Sheth Purshottam Vishram Mowji and Sheth Hansraj Pragji Thackersey on behalf of the Trust of Sheth Kanji Mulji Estate and Sheth Mulji Khatau on behalf of the Khatau Makanji Trust, have jointly in accordance with these conditions, invited the Poona Seva Sadan Nursing service department to undertake work in Bombay for the better protection of maternity and infancy in their community. Each of these Trusts has decided to employ two Poona Seva Sadan fully qualified Nurses (those who have passed their Examinations conducted by the Bombay Presidency Nursing Association and received a Diploma) and a Lady Doctor (an L. C. P. S.), a product of the same Institution to start with on its behalf. This joint scheme which aims at rendering every help in respect of Prenatal-clinics, Maternity, Infant Welfare, child welfare, and nursing, will be worked under the direct supervision and guidance of a trained Matron or Supervisor and will be helped by a lady graduate who will work as the Secretary of the scheme.

The Citizen: We are sorry to read in the last issue (16th March) of the *Citizen* of Madras that its committee of management have decided to discontinue its publication. During the two years that it has been in existence, our contemporary, under the editorial direction of Mr. V. S. Ramaswami Sastri, has proved itself an independent and reliable exponent of liberal principles as applied to Indian politics. It has facilitated the evolution of the Madras Liberals into the soundest section of the Indian Liberal party. Its disappearance is a distinct loss to Indian journalism.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 26, 1922.

THE MAHATMA'S PROSECUTION.

Mahatma Gandhi was arrested on the night of Friday the 19th instant on a charge of sedition in respect of three articles in his paper, *Young India*. He was put on his trial before the District and Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad, Mr. Broomfield, pleaded guilty, made a statement explaining how he became, from a staunch supporter, the uncompromising opponent of the British Imperialistic system, and was sentenced to six years simple imprisonment. The proceedings, at the trial, which we reprint elsewhere did not take more than a few short hours. Rather too much has been made of the courtesy shown by the Judge and the Police officers who arrested the Mahatma. There was no reason why they should have been discourteous, and the appreciation expressed has a significance merely as reflecting the general impression as regards the treatment of political prisoners. In the course of his remarks in passing sentence, the Judge mentioned the Tilak case fifteen years ago as having provided him with a measure of the sentence he should pass in his case. And Mahatma Gandhi accepted the comparison as a high compliment. In truth, however, there is very little in common between the two cases except that in each a political leader who at the time had the largest popular following was tried and convicted under the identical Section of the Penal Code. Mr. Tilak pleaded "not guilty" and took much time and trouble to prove that his articles did not imply disaffection to Government. The Mahatma pleaded "guilty" and was eager to show that the measure of his guilt had not been adequately appraised by the prosecuting Advocate General. Mr. Tilak had to establish that his writings did not advocate or contemplate violence. In the present case, the Judge rather went out of his way to acknowledge that Mahatma Gandhi had consistently preached non-violence and several times prevented violence. The Mahatma would overthrow the whole Imperialistic system if it could be done with absolute non-violence. Mr. Tilak merely wanted to make the system more responsive to Indian opinion, but would not go out of his way to insist on non-violence as the sole permissible method of political agitation. The contrast between the two cases is much more striking than the similarity. The key to the socio-political mind of the Mahatma and the Lokmanya is to be found in their attitude to the problem of the "untouchable" classes. The latter found his political absorption a hindrance in the way of his taking it up. The Mahatma made it the central feature of his politics.

Criticism has been directed to the opportuneness and the expediency of the Mahatma's prosecution at present, and the length of the term of imprisonment to which he has been sentenced. On both points, it is right. The Governor of Bombay, speaking at the Chamber of Commerce last week, remarked that the

movement of non-co-operation had partly checked itself and had been partly checked by Government. The effect on the public mind of Government checking it when it had checked itself, is not altogether what His Excellency would or should desire. Since December last, men who saw to what end the Non-co-operationists on the one side and Government on the other were drifting, have been straining every nerve to prevent collision. Thrice their efforts seemed on the point of success only to be thwarted by the prevalence of extreme counsels. They had, however, not been thrown away. Although the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi made two amendments in the Bardoli Resolutions which had been acclaimed by all shades of opinion in the country, the Mahatma set himself immediately to the task of making these amendments inoperative in practice and had succeeded to a very large extent when he was arrested. During the last twelve months, there was never less justification for his prosecution than when it was launched. A prosecution for sedition, like war, seldom redounds to the credit of the Government which undertakes it, whatever the provocation and whatever the result. Therefore, every prudent statesman would not undertake it unless and until he sees no other way.

The prosecution of the Mahatma, as the Judge keenly realized, was unique in the annals of criminal prosecutions. For a parallel, many minds have instinctively stretched back to a great State trial which gave birth to a great world-religion. This is, perhaps, far-fetched. Still one cannot help in a case like this instituting mentally a comparison as to what six years hence would be the place in human estimation of the prosecutors and the prosecuted. The autocratic regime of the Tsars of Russia, respected the great personality of Tolstoi though his writings could not have been less offensive to it than the Mahatma's to Sir George Lloyd's. When Non-co-operation had begun to check itself, it behoved Government to wait and see whether there would arise any need for its taking a hand in the process. After the Mahatma's emphatic plea of "guilty," the legality of the prosecution is not a matter of dispute. But there are things which are lawful but which are not expedient. The general verdict is that the prosecution of the Mahatma at the present stage of the movement was inexpedient in the highest degree from the point of view of the country and of Government itself. As for the term of imprisonment, the Judge himself seems to have felt that it was far too long though his duty required him to impose it. There was really one charge though there were three articles, and the sentence of two years for each article is certainly grotesque. Evidently, if ten articles had been put in, a sentence of twenty years would have been not improbable. There are some relevant observations in Lord Morley's letters to Lord Minto regarding excessive sentences for political offences in India, which we would commend to the authorities concerned. Mr. Banker's offence was purely technical and a fine would have amply met the requirements of law.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR'S BOOK.*

Sir Sankaran Nair's pamphlet entitled "Gandhi and Anarchy" suffers in the comparison which it invites with Mr. Srinivasa Sastry's article, which has been widely quoted in Indian newspapers, on "Gandhi the Man," as distinguished from the political leader, which was published by the *Survey Graphic* of New York. Mr. Sastry's political views are perhaps farther removed from Mr. Gandhi's than Sir Sankaran Nair's. Even Sir Charles Yate, we fancy, will not speak of Mr. Sastry, as he did recently of Sir Sankaran Nair in the House of Commons, as "a pious Hindu revolutionist" who, "at a critical time deserted his own Government and was made a hero of over all India—garlanded and praised from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin as a great man who had flouted the Government". Sir Charles Yate went on to say:

Lately he (Sir Sankaran) has issued a manifesto in which he states that Gandhi's movement attained its present proportions owing to the culpable weakness of Lord Chelmsford's Government whose policy was being continued by the present Government. This man who resigned his post in Lord Chelmsford's Government as a protest against the severity shown in putting down the Punjab rebellion, now talks about the culpable weakness of Lord Chelmsford and the present Viceroy. There was no culpable weakness as long as he was a member of the Viceroy's Council. It was just the contrary.

Obviously, in the eyes of Sir Charles Yate and men of his stamp, Sir Sankaran Nair is a more dangerous person than Mahatma Gandhi who was never a member of the Government of India or of the Council of the Secretary of State. Sir Sankaran is understood at present to be engaged in framing a scheme for converting the Indore State into a modern democracy—a combination, many would think, as incompatible as the Mahatma's idea of celibacy in marriage. The fact is that every human being has an utopia somewhere in the convolutions of his brain and the Mahatma has several. Sir Sankaran Nair himself is an idealist in his own way, and his views on caste, no doubt, spell social anarchy to the orthodox Hindu. Methods of social reform which Sir Sankaran Nair and ourselves have supported, have been denounced by social conservatives as those of rebellion. The tone and temper of Sir Sankaran's pamphlet is strongly suggestive of the Maharaja of Durbanga in defence of *Varnashrama dharma*. His "The State in Danger" need no more disturb us than the Maharaja's "Religion in Danger."

Nature never intended Sir Sankaran for an alarmist. People have been speculating what could be the motive or influence that transformed him into one. There is no need for speculation as the reasons lie on the surface. The Mopla atrocities in Malabar have quite naturally moved him deeply. For the rest, returning home after a short absence, Sir Sankaran sees all things changed beyond recognition for him. If he had remained in India after resigning the Membership of Government, he would have easily been acclaimed as the national leader, and would have had a very influential part in

shaping the course of events during three eventful years. He preferred, for reasons not then evident and still a mystery to his friends, to immerse himself in the India Office immediately after his release from Simla, and the country could not wait for his return. Sir Sankaran Nair's pamphlet would have carried more conviction had he lived and laboured among his people instead of seeking an official asylum six thousand miles away. Sir Sankaran Nair wonders why some Congressmen whom he names have not enrolled themselves among the personal opponents of Mahatma Gandhi. He condemns the timidity of the "so-called Moderates" who "appeared to be scarcely confident of themselves, only whispered their protests so as not to be heard beyond a few feet, giving up their claim as the true inheritors of the traditions of the old Congress but violent in their denunciation of any steps taken by the Government against Mahatma Gandhi and his followers." This, he says, is inexplicable to him. It would not have been so if he had remained in the country and understood its position, instead of taking the first opportunity of his resignation to seek another avenue of office in London. If it is true that he has not yet visited the scene of the Moplah outbreak, his vehement denunciation of the atrocities may appear to some of the workers on the spot as a rather over-done attempt to cover his own remissness. His avowal that he utilised the Bombay Conference as an opportunity of confirming his preconceived notions of Mr. Gandhi's movement, has the merit of candour though none other. We may mention that the speaker who used the phrase "white feather" with reference to the Viceroy's speech at Bikanir, is not a follower of Mahatma Gandhi, but a well-known commercial gentleman of Bombay without any political leanings. No other person used the phrase and Sir Sankaran's memory is at fault when he says "as they expressed it."

We are sorry to have to say it but, on Sir Sankaran Nair's own admission, he has been guilty of suppressing the truth about the Punjab when its publication would have been of the greatest assistance. "Even now," he writes, "with all the enquiries made by the Hunter Commission and by the Congress Sub-Committee many deplorable incidents as bad as any, worse perhaps than any reported, have not been disclosed. At this distance of time, it is best that they should remain so." Granting that it may not be wise to disclose them at this distance of time, we find it difficult to suppose that Sir Sankaran Nair, with these undisclosed occurrences locked up in his bosom, accepted office with the full knowledge that such acceptance would permanently preclude him from doing his duty by the Punjab and the country. Sir Sankaran in his introduction refers to the appendices in his book as being far more important than his narrative. One of these is "a list of riots and disturbance." "These," he adds "give a fair idea of the activities of Mr. Gandhi." The list begins with a riot at Godhra on the 26th May 1919, and ends with one at Sylhet on the 16th February 1922. There are about 100 in all between these two, and Sir Sankaran evidently intends the reader to believe that all of them were due to

* Price Rs. 2-8. Holkar State (Bielrie) Printing Press, Indore.

the activities of Mr. Gandhi. Out of these, we are not able, even with the help of Sir Sankaran's descriptive notes, to identify more than 8 or 10 as having been in any way attributable to the Non-cooperation movement. Would it be believed that in this list, intended to give a fair idea of Mr. Gandhi's activities, are to be found the strikes of mill hands in Bombay and Sholapur in 1920, the strike of workers at Jamshedpur in the same year, the strike of mill hands in Madras also in the same year, agrarian disturbances in Rae Bareilly in 1921, an affray between Mahomedan coolies and Gurkha durwans at Nabhati which Sir Sankaran himself notes had no political significance, East India Railway colliery strikes at Giridih, the Nankana massacre, a strike of tea garden coolies in Assam and several other such occurrences? How utterly unjustifiable is the inclusion of labour strikes in this list, is shown by the fact that the Committee on Industrial Unrest, appointed by the Bengal Government, found that out of 137 strikes which they investigated and which occurred during the nine months beginning 1st July 1920, 74 were due solely to demands for higher wages, while in 36 other cases demands for higher wages were coupled with other demands. The Committee state that the causes of the unrest were political, social and economic, but that the economic causes were the most obvious and perhaps the most important. These observations are true of strikes in other provinces, and we cannot but regard the inclusion of a number of strikes in Sir Sankaran's list as grossly unfair.

With Sir Sankaran Nair's criticisms of several of the Mahatma's views, we have no difficulty in concurring. But he has totally failed to appreciate the Mahatma's influence as a whole, which, in the opinion of many who have differed from him most strongly in politics, represents a necessary and beneficial reaction against certain prevailing tendencies among us. To take them literally may not be unfair to Mahatma Gandhi but it is undoubtedly to miss their true perspective. The Mahatma's teachings as a whole are a protest against the tendency to underrate Indian values and overrate Western values. His message is that Indians should be true to themselves. To prize the coarse Khaddar they themselves spin and weave above the finest foreign stuff, is symbolical of the whole trend of his thought. Such symbolism may be carried too far, and we ourselves think that the Mahatma in some matters has exaggerated this symbolism out of all proportion. This is a mistake common to all great leaders of reform—to over-emphasise the particular aspect of truth they wish to set in the foreground—and is usually corrected by subsequent reformers. To dub the Mahatma as idiotic and dishonest, as Sir Sankaran does not scruple to do is to expose oneself seriously to retort in a similar vein. This little volume will not enhance Sir Sankaran's great and deserved reputation for shrewdness with Indian readers.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL FINANCIAL REFORMS. III.

In the two preceding papers we have endeavoured to establish that (1) without a proper control and

just distribution of the outlay made by a state there can be no hope of a lasting, permanent reform of its financial system; and that (2) the Indian Financial system contains, on the expenditure side, items, which, without being inelastic on the score of the fundamental inability of the State to touch those items, are yet large enough and uncontrolled enough to render any scientific financing out of the question. The reader would have entirely misunderstood the aim of these papers if he supposes that we quarrel with the particular exigencies of a given moment, or and the mistakes or shortcomings inseparable from budgetting of the type we are now familiar with in this country. These are faults, indeed, of a very grave nature; but we are not here principally concerned with them or their remedy. The absence of scientific finance, against which these papers are aimed, affects, immediately and injuriously, the entire wealth of the country. It is not merely a question of getting a 5% reduction in expenditure proposed by the Government. Unless we can be assured and be convinced that the national expenditure is so arranged as to contribute to the greatest benefit of the community taken *en masse*, we can never consider revenue measures, with any approach to precision and economy in the wider sense of that much abused term. In Public Finance Expenditure governs. But the condition precedent, which is absolutely indispensable, for such a governing position, is that the expenditure shall be so distributed as to return to the community, in one form or another, the largest proportion of benefit out of that outlay. The Indian Government's present policy of expenditure being suspected of motives and origins not at all in the interests of the country, any discussion of the revenue side of our public finance would appear to be running a very grave risk of being [misunderstood, and misapplied. The social reformer, wanting to use the power of taxation to bring about a gradual redistribution of the wealth of the community with a view to destroy destitution; and the fiscal reformer seeking to rearrange the burdens of taxation so as to cause the least friction for the functioning of the machine at the same time that it is to yield the most efficient results, must both join hands with the political reformer, who, under the present irresponsible constitution of the Government of India, fears to suggest any alteration which may be utilised to interests not strictly or truly Indian. Financial reform in this country inextricably connected with Political reforms. While we do not consider that Indians will be, merely in virtue of their skin, better Chancellors of the Exchequer than Europeans have been before them, we believe that the sense of responsibility, the desire to make good a minister's political reputation will automatically induce a spirit of reform and retrenchment, which under the present constitution the ministers responsible for our financial administration have no incentive to suggest or effect.

But while there is a danger, in the absence of adequate political balance, that our suggestions in respect of the revenue side of the Indian Budget are

liable to be misconstrued, we cannot consider this brief exposé of the fundamental reforms so badly needed in our financial structure to be complete without a discussion of that side as well. The Indian revenue system has the sole merit of being old and established, and, therefore, its burdens are so diffused that an essentially outside authority like the present government naturally feels most nervous in reconsidering it. A glance at the revenue statement in any year will show the careful student that the Indian revenues are studiously arranged to take the largest share from the people least able to pay, and on whom, therefore, the sacrifices entailed are disproportionately burdensome. The Land Revenue, Salt Duties, Excise Duties and Customs Duties are the principal items of the tax revenue contributed in far the largest proportion by the poorest section of the community. The Income Tax is the only compensating factor in so far as a just distribution of the tax burdens is concerned; and the rate of that tax, the scale of its progression, the manner of its assessment and the scheme for its collection, are all subjects which cannot but arouse the unmitigated opposition of the radical financial reformer. We have referred, before now, to the unhappy idea of provincial autonomy as engendering some of the gravest ills in our financial system. We must point out in this case that the division of resources, under that idea, between the Central and the Provincial Government is calculated to make any discussion of the basic justice—and the consequent merit—of the retention in our tax system of such items, as the Land Revenue in the Bombay budget, almost unthinkable. And yet our Indian Land Revenue policy, outside the happier regions of the Permanent Settlement, offends against the most elementary considerations of public finance. The Land Revenue makes no allowance for the minimum of subsistence, which, in the Indian Income Tax, is considered to be Rs. 2,000 a year, being accordingly exempted from the assessment for the Income Tax. The Land Revenue, roughly amounting to 35 crores, is paid by about 17 crores of people whose average income is not 50 rupees a year. The burden of the tax of 4 per cent on an income of 50 rupees a year cannot possibly be understood by those whose incomes are measured in lakhs. But this is not the only tax. The Salt duty, of 12 annas for a family of four persons, or 3 annas per head must be added to the Excise Duty of about 1 rupee a head and the Customs Duty of about 2 rupees. Leaving out entirely the Stamp duty,—and as the French proverb hath it '*Qui a terri a Guerre*' so that we cannot believe that the agriculturist population escapes scot free from judicial stamp fees, even supposing it has not to pay any General Stamps duty; and assuming that the Railway rates and canal dues are return for service rendered by the state, and, therefore, not in the nature of tax burdens proper,—we yet find that an annual income of 50 rupees a head at most is subjected to a tax of Rs. 6-4-0 or 12½ per cent. It is the remaining 37½ rupees which must pay for the year's food and shelter and clothing of our millions of dumb masses! What wonder that

we are even now ignorant of the very idea of a minimum standard of life!

Paradoxical as it may sound, we are confident that the Indian revenue system is elastic enough, if only it is properly worked, if only those who have the financial administration of the country in their hands will realise the first axiom of public finance: that proper finance consists not in securing the greatest possible amount of grants from the Legislative Assembly, but rather in so laying out the grants as to make them fructify a hundredfold, and be returned to the people, from whom they are taken, in one shape or another. Two cardinal reforms in our financial system we can think of at the moment being utterly indispensable are: radical redistribution of the tax-burdens in the whole country, and complete rearrangement of the Imperial and provincial resources.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

London March 2.

The question of white emigration within the Empire has come in for a lot of notice since the war, and at the present time has reached something in the nature of a crisis. A few years ago it was the common thought in Britain that the gates of the colonies were wide open for any "waster" who found life unsuccessful in the home-country to migrate to. But the colonies, while expressing an increasing need for larger populations, got tired of having any one dumped down upon them. They did not want life's failures to go to them, and make failures of themselves in their country; neither did they want to reproduce the poverty conditions so appallingly prevalent in an old country. They wanted men who could be and probably would be successful, and who would help to build a land of plenty for its inhabitants. So that while it is recognised that a vigorous policy of settlement is absolutely necessary if large tracts of vacant land are to be occupied and national revenue in the various dominions increased, the colonies themselves have determined to have picked men and women to people their lands. In New Zealand, for instance, no man is allowed to enter unless he has previously satisfied the authorities that he will not become a burden upon the State. The man who is going out there to earn his living has to have work guaranteed to him on his arrival and house-room waiting. This means that one or two responsible people already resident in the country have to act as sponsor for a new immigrant. The women who emigrate to this colony must likewise secure their engagements before leaving their home-country. There seems very little likelihood of a return to the old system of indiscriminate migration of the pre-war days. Much has been said of Australia's great need of a continuous stream of new (white) people during this generation, and schemes of progressive emigration have been foreshadowed but these still hang fire and the small number of 4,000 that has been sent there from this country during the past 6 months, is

infinitesimal in so vast and empty a continent. Mr. Hughes is blamed for this, either rightly or wrongly ; but whoever is to blame for procrastination in devising an adequate emigration scheme, the need Australia has for colonists and that Great Britain has to get rid of some of her too numerous population, will in the near future compel some means to help both countries out of their difficulties. From the letters that are reported to arrive from the various colonies, the new settlers there are in most cases thriving and happy. But the necessary ingredient for happiness and success in a new country, is, as the colonies have found out, having the kind of people who can best adapt themselves to the new environment and the existing scheme of government.

The Royal wedding this week has put most other things in the shade. Such enthusiasm as the British public has shown for the marriage of the only daughter of the reigning house was not excelled by any other event during these past eventful years. That the princess was marrying a Britisher and one who had fought gallantly during the great war has been a source of joy to all classes of people, a feeling of romance has been abroad emanating from the whole country, colouring the betrothal and marriage with a fairy glow, and endowing this marriage with a beauty that we all hope will be enduring. If good wishes can really affect the lives of the people upon whom they are bestowed, then the newly-married couple should commence a life of sunshine and happiness rarely known by mortals.

Whatever may be the avowed hostility on the part of Indian students to English training, it does not show itself in the lack of numbers in the Universities and various training centres in this country. The headmistress of a London training college, estimated that there must be close on 500 Indian girl-students in different training centres scattered over the country, and that the numbers applying for admission next term are in many cases double those of last year. The number is probably greatly exaggerated. The Indian girl, it is reported, is extremely popular and successful with English children. In fact, it is claimed that she can keep the most unruly in order, and generally she seems to be liked all round. Of course there are exceptions in every case, and the Indian girl here, who feels herself outside of English life, and stands on its borders criticising and unhappy, creates for herself an atmosphere wherein no understanding of or affection for her is shown. She makes the people around her uncomfortable and suspects them of patronage every time a little kindness or courtesy is shown to her.

The example shown a few weeks ago of entertaining prisoners within prisons by a dramatic performance was added to by a concert given at one of the big London prisons last week. The prison chaplain made rather a memorable speech in which he said people visited the prison as if they were going to the Chamber of Horrors at a famous waxwork show. "No doubt," he continued, "the time was when our

prisons were veritable chambers of horrors, but, thank goodness, that age has gone. Some of the bewigged old gentlemen of a past generation who still survive and ornament some of our benches, think their duty is accomplished when they send a man to this human scrap-heap. On behalf of my clients (cheers from the prisoners) I should like to say that the inhabitants of these places to-day do not represent the criminal class alone." Such sentiments would have been unheard and probably unthought of 25 years ago, when people in prison were looked upon as though tainted for all time, if not actually possessed of a devil. And as for calling prisoners "clients", well no wonder the prisoners themselves cheered.

Judgment was delivered to-day in the Privy Council in an appeal from the Transvaal by an Indian Company against the Municipal Council of Johannesburg. Vrededorp is a suburb of Johannesburg, and was the subject of an Act known as the Vrededorp Stands Act, 1907, one of whose provisions was that the owner of a stand, whose title was granted by the Government and who could not be an Asiatic, was that he should not permit any Asiatic, native or coloured person (other than the bona fide servant of a white person for the time being residing on the stand) to reside on or occupy the stand or any part thereof. The owners of the stand in question were an Indian Company established for charitable purposes. The Company had let the stand to an Indian merchant, who did not reside on it, but carried on his business there. He subsequently converted his business into a limited liability company, to whom the owner Company granted a lease. The owner Company were proceeded against by the Johannesburg Municipality for a breach of the conditions of the Act, and eventually the Appellate Division held that the owner Company had in fact committed such a breach as the real occupier of the stand could not be the lessee company, but its agent, the Indian merchant, who alone could be in physical occupation, and to use the words of the Acting Chief Justice "What was objected to was the habitual physical presence of such persons on the stands." The Court came to this decision because it held that the object of the provisions of the Act was to prevent any Asiatic, native or coloured person, for sanitary and other reasons, from dwelling or being habitually among the indigent white population, to whom the stands were granted. The Privy Council has now upheld the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa, holding that "It is plain, from the fact that the prohibition was made to depend on race or colour, that it is the physical presence of the persons described, and not their right of possession in a legal or technical sense, which the statute has in view." The appeal was therefore dismissed with costs. Whilst this law applies to a very limited area, its application in principle to other areas in the Transvaal is not at all improbable, and, therefore, it is a decision of considerable importance, particularly, as it is based upon a racial issue.

The Kenya Indian Delegation was to have been received by Mr. Churchill to-day, but an intimation

has been received that owing to pressure of work in connection with the Irish settlement Mr. Churchill will not be able to receive the Delegation before next Tuesday. The action taken by the two Houses of the Indian Legislature, has undoubtedly greatly strengthened Mr. Montagu, and I have reason to believe that the Cabinet is unlikely to give its support to Mr. Churchill's post-prandial pronouncements. Some colour is lent to this view by the somewhat chastened tone of letters that have been received from the Colonial Office that have led up to the presently-arranged interview.

The Government's pronouncement in regard to Egypt has been generally welcomed here, and it would seem from the hearty reception given to Lord Allenby on his return to Egypt, and the immediate announcement of the formation of an Egyptian Ministry, that the sober elements in Egypt are prepared to accept the pronouncement, involving the immediate termination of the protectorate and the public declaration of Egyptian independence, as a basis for further negotiations.

The Coalition's days are drawing to a close. The Cabinet may or may not be a happy family. Certainly the Coalition as a whole is tumbling to pieces. It was announced yesterday that in view of the humiliating position in which Sir George Younger, the Chief Conservative whip, was endeavouring to place him, the Prime-Minister threatened to resign unless immediate steps were taken to relieve him of the unfair pressure that was being exerted by the Conservatives. Exactly what will happen during the next month or so it would be very difficult to predicate. The present Cabinet may remain in office until after the Genoa Conference, which has now been fixed for a date after Easter, but there is no guarantee that the Government may not sustain a bad defeat in either House before then. The bye-elections are going steadily against the Coalition, and undoubtedly at the General Election, there will be a land-slide, in which the Tories will lose heavily and the National Liberals may virtually disappear.

THE 13TH ALL-INDIA AYURVEDIC & UNANI CONFERENCE AND EXHIBITION, RAJAHMUNDRY.

At a meeting of the Reception Committee held under the Presidentship of M. R. Ry. Nyapati Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L. Chairman of the Reception Committee, it was unanimously resolved that Vaidya Raja Yadavji Trikamji Acharya of Bombay be elected as the President of the ensuing All-India Ayurvedic and Unani Conference to be held in Andhra Desa at Rajahmundry (Godavary Banks) from 13th to 17th April 1922, both days inclusive.

A. LAKSHMI PATEL,
B.A., M.B., & C.H.,

Vice-Chairman, Reception Committee,
The 13th All-India Ayurvedic & Unani
Conference and Exhibition.

19, Harris Road, Mount Road, Madras.
Dated 6th March, 1922.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have just read the report of the trial and the sentence upon Mr. Gandhi. I feel that the only way to ease my shame at this greatest blunder and crime of the British administration in India is to give expression to it openly. To keep silent is to condone this crowning act of injustice. One can only wonder how it is that force has been allowed to take the place of justice. To condemn such a saint as Mr. Gandhi is the greatest condemnation that has ever been passed upon the system of British law in India to-day. Mr. Gandhi is uncondemned. It is British rule that stands condemned by this judgment at the bar of history.

Yours sincerely,
H. A. POPLEY.

THE MALABAR CENTRAL RELIEF COMMITTEE.

SUB-COMMITTEE FOR MOPLAH RELIEF.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

We hope you are already aware of the acute distress prevailing among the women and children of the Moplahs of Malabar, whose men have either been killed or imprisoned in the recent rebellion. Enquiries made by the Government show that 35,000 women and children are in urgent need of relief, and that this relief will have to be rendered till the next harvest, in September. *Their needs are many and urgent.* Food is necessary to save them from dying of starvation. They are in utter rags and need clothing very badly. Large numbers of them have had their homesteads burnt and destroyed during the rebellion, and in many places they live with only the sky as their roof. The heavy monsoon of the West Coast is fast approaching, and they will suffer very much indeed by the rains if houses are not reconstructed for them within the next few weeks. We have estimated rupees *three lacs* as the bare minimum required to start this work of feeding, clothing and housing these suffering women and children. More money will be necessary as we go on and as more cases of distress come to our notice. The country must help us to do our duty by these suffering people. In the name of God, of Country and of suffering Humanity we appeal to you to send us your contributions, even at some self-sacrifice to yourself, and also help us in securing the sympathy and support of your relations, friends and others, whom you could interest and influence in this matter. All help is welcome—*cash, grain, cloth, indeed anything which would satisfy the needs of the starving, the ragged and the homeless women and children.* We trust that the cry of suffering humanity which we voice forth to you, in but a very inadequate manner, will not go unheeded.

Your contributions may be sent to the Hon. Treasurer.

Yours Ever in Service of Humanity

MD. OOSMAN,

March 12, 1922,
Datt's Buildings, Calicut.

M. S. MADHAVA RAO,
Joint Secretaries.

THE MALABAR FORCIBLE CONVERSIONS.

AN APPEAL.

The Malabar rebellion of the Moplahs is over. The Devil in the men there has seen the end of his powers to do deeds of destruction, moral and material that can be conceived of

under the frenzy of pious religious fanaticism. The newspapers bear testimony to the general havoc caused by the Moplas in Malabar but we are here concerned only with the forcible conversions of many hundreds of Hindoos to Mohamedanism and the desecration of the Hindoo temples.

There is thus an occasion now to prove what the God in the man can do to repair the wrongs done. If a mistaken idea prevails anywhere that God can be reached only by a particular road, let it be proved now that all religions are mere different roads to the same goal. We bear no ill-will towards our Moslem brothers; such deeds are common in all mob frenzy. The leaders of thought, even in the Mohamedan Community have condemned these atrocities in no measured language; and with us the Hindoos, it is a serious problem for scientific investigation into our Sociology, to find out the cause of such helplessness and unpreparedness of the Hindoos to defend their homes and womenfolk even when they outnumber in the proportion of three to one, let alone on equal terms, as has been found to be the case of the Hindoos in Malabar. It is this docility and supineness of the Hindoos that form the element of weakness in the Hindoo-Moslem unity.

Bombay and the Congress Committee have begun the work of repair in right earnest and have already carried mudane relief to the sufferers of Malabar, irrespective of their cast^e or creed. The one particular item of relief that does not appear yet to have attracted the general attention to the extent its merits and urgency demand, is the religious relief to be given to those Hindoos, men, women and children who have been forcibly converted to Mohamedanism. Perhaps this item could not with propriety be taken in hand by the cosmopolitan Committee of Malabar Relief appointed in Bombay. Let us, then, volunteer to do our part of the business and thus supplement the work of Relief so nobly begun in Bombay with such commendable expedition by providing for the administration of spiritual consolation to the hearts of so many Hindoos of Malabar that have been lacerated under the humiliation of forcible conversion.

We are here glad to announce that His Holiness the Shankaracharya Dr. Kurtkoti, having perused the Hindu Dharmshastra, has already given his holy sanction for the taking of those forcibly converted Hindoos back into the Hindoo fold and in their respective castes, after certain purificatory ceremonies. In this connection public meetings were held here, over one of which His Holiness the Shankaracharya himself presided and it is under the inspiration of His Holiness that we are making this appeal, inviting all and particularly the leading Hindoos of position and influence in their respective Provinces to help in the organisation of this religious and spiritual relief.

We now appeal to all Hindoos for help, in the confident hope that they will see the urgency and sacredness of the task and help liberally. It is estimated that the purificatory ceremonies both in the cases of men, women and children and the desecrated temples will entail an expenditure of not less than Rupees Fifty thousand.

The period of the Martial law administration has expired and our workers will now be able to penetrate into the interior of Malabar freely in search of those poor Hindoos who may be in need of our religious help.

We invite liberal contributions from all alike rich and poor.

G. M. Chitnavis	G. S. Kharade
N. B. Khare	Bhavani Shanker
B. S. Moonje	

P. S.—All subscription to be sent to the firm of late Sir Kasturchand Dage Nagpur C. P. which will send them printed receipts for amounts received. All correspondence on the subject be addressed to Dr. Moonje Nagpur, C. P.

THE LATE MISS. T. NATHANIEL

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Some of your readers may know that of the two lady workers sent by the Ladies' Auxiliary of the National Missionary Society, (Bharat Christiya Sevak Samaj) to help the work of the Tirupathur Ashram, Miss. T. Nathaniel was one. She was a trained nurse and at Tirupathur she entered into the spirit of the Ashram and did very good work in helping the doctors there. When the great need for nurses among the sick women and children of the Malabar Refugee Camps at Calicut were known, the Ladies' Auxiliary of the N. M. S. decided to do something. Though Miss. Nathaniel was greatly needed at the Ashram, the doctors there gladly allowed her to go to Calicut and serve the people who were left without any help. She was for some time the only nurse for the sick in the Refugee Camps and she most bravely nursed several cases of dysentery, measles, typhoid etc. She worked very hard and in utter self-sacrifice for these poor afflicted people. With the refugees beginning to return to their villages and with the coming of other nurses sent by the N. M. S. and Seva Sadan of Poona, Miss. Nathaniel was relieved. Before going back to Tirupathur she went for a short holiday with her mother at Cannanore. There she took ill and died after a few days illness on the 3rd. of March 1922. Her work in Calicut was well known and people have felt thrilled over this event, for there can be little doubt she caught the infection during the work. Some of the women refugees still lingering at Calicut wept bitterly when the news was broken to them. Mr. Mahadava Rao, the Hon. Joint Secretary of Malabar Central Relief Committee in a letter of condolence sent to Miss. Nathaniel's mother writes as follows:—

"Miss Nathaniel worked hard in our Segregation Hospital with great zeal and great self-sacrifice. Her maternal care of the suffering people helped very much the work of the doctor in their recovery. The patients found in her great comfort. It has pleased the Lord to call her away from the world too early leaving you in great sorrow and humanity the poorer of one server. But His will be done. Miss. Nathaniel has died a Christian death in the service of His children. May her soul rest in peace!"

Friends who know Miss. Nathaniel's mother have suggested that some help be given to her in view of the fact that she was entirely dependent on Miss. Nathaniel for support, and several in Malabar have promised contributions if any fund is started. National Missionary Society will soon be issuing a special appeal for this purpose. Meanwhile, this brief statement is placed before the public through your valuable paper in the hope that those who desire to show appreciation of the noble self-sacrifice of Miss. Nathaniel on behalf of the suffering people of Malabar may do so. Contributions to the fund will be gratefully received by the undersigned and forwarded to Miss. Nathaniel's mother.

Rev. P. O. PHILIP,
General Secretary,
National Missionary Society,
Vepery, Madras.

PRODUCTION OF POWER ALCOHOL,

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In connection with Mr. G. M. Ryan's note on "Production of Power Alcohol," appearing in the last issue of your esteemed paper; I am to say that, I am in a position to secure quite a fair number of tons of Mhowra flowers, and therefore, should our brother merchants who, as stated in the note referred to, are now considering the question of industrial alcohol manufacture from Mhowra flowers, require my help, I would be only glad to see them on the subject, on their favouring me with the appointment.

Vora Building,
Khetwadi Main Road,
Girgaum, 18th March 1922.

Yours etc.,
M. J. DESAI.

THE LATE REV. A. S. HIWALE.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

SIR,

With feelings of profoundest sorrow I give to the public, through the medium of your paper, the sad and melancholy news of the departure, from this world, of the late Rev. Anandrao S. Hiwale, an Indian Christian Missionary connected with the American Marathi Mission, Ahmednagar, on the 28th February 1922. All Indian Christians lost a great friend in him.

He came of humble origin, but by means of his great perseverance, he went to America and studied in Bowdoin College where he passed his B. A. He obtained the degree of B. D. at Bangor Seminary. Then he came to India as an American gentleman. I greatly appreciate the benevolent work which he rendered to the Indian poor such as his feeding about 500 destitute children and people on Indian money received from magnanimous and benevolent people. He left a wish expressing hearty thanks to lady Ratan Tata who helped him and has been helping his widow who seems to be fully prepared to carry out his meritorious work of feeding and educating the destitute children on the strength of the charity she may receive from his best friends. I had the privilege of a fairly close acquaintance with him during the last seven years, and I deem it one of the great blessings and education in my life to have come in contact with him, and lastly I can say that he was a man of the most amiable character. I extend my sympathy to his widow and all the members of his family and relatives in their bereavement.

Yours sincerely,

D. V. KADAM.

Ahmednagar, 15th March 1922.

INDIANS IN AFRICA.

We are requested to publish the following resolutions of the National Missionary Council of India, Burma and Ceylon passed at its recent meeting at Poona and re-affirmed at its Executive Meeting in Calcutta on the 21st and 22nd February :

The attention of the National Missionary Council has been directed to the position of Indians in East Africa. The Council has not, in the time at its disposal, been able to deal with all the aspects of this question, but desires to call public attention to the following statements which are of cardinal importance in the matter :

First, a resolution of the Conference of Prime Ministers and representatives of the United Kingdom, the Dominions and India held in 1921 contains the statements that "there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire," and that "it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised."

Second, the present Secretary of State for the Colonies has made the statement that "there should be no barrier of race, colour or creed which should prevent any man by merit from reaching any station if he is fitted for it."

The National Missionary Council heartily welcomes these statements and hopes that the Government of the Union of South Africa may soon see its way to give its adherence to them. The National Missionary Council heartily supports the Government of India in its efforts to secure just treatment for the Indian community in East Africa. The Council holds that if the British Government has adopted the principles

which underlie the statements quoted above, it is unjust to refuse to apply these principles in a single case like that of East Africa.

It has been brought to the notice of the Council that some prominent advocates of the policy of restricting the citizen rights of the Indians in East Africa have publicly stated that they advocate this policy in the interests of Christianity. To this plea the Council unhesitatingly replies that the interests of Christianity have never been advanced by denying to anyone justice and fair play.

MANGALORE DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

SIR,

A quarter of a century ago a tiny Primary School was started here for Panchama children, amidst stolid apathy and carping criticism. As however time passed by, it gained more and more sympathy both of the Government and the public and developed into what is now known as the "Mangalore Depressed Classes Mission" with branches in rural parts involving an expenditure of about Rs. 9,000 a year.

We applied to the Government last year for a subsidy of Rs. 20,300 and other money grants of Rs. 15,000 for our various departments of work. The Labour Commissioner Mr. T. E. Moir, C. I. E., I. C. S., who visited our station in May last for personal enquiry, made a recommendation for a large portion of the amount solicited. As however the money did not come, owing probably to financial stress due to several causes, we applied to the Government for a loan of Rs. 2,000 without interest and also to the trustees of the Bombay Wadia Bequest for help. All these applications are still pending. We applied also to the Local District Congress Committee who however declined the help on the ground that we get aid from the Government.

In the meantime, we pushed on our work in the hope of getting help from any of these quarters. Unforeseen troubles however arose; several Canara gentlemen stopped their help owing to a caste dispute over an inter-caste dinner for which our Mission, as well as myself repudiate all responsibility; but the details thereof I am now not in a position to give as the matter is *sub judice*. Very strangely our Madras helpers also, with the exception of three gentlemen stopped their help. About Rs. 1,500 are thus in arrears.

A respectable Madras gentleman who met me last week told me, on coming to know the sad predicament in which we are now placed, that there is a revulsion of feeling amongst higher classes in Madras against the Depressed Classes owing to the Puliantope disturbances, and that we should not in the circumstances expect any charity from our Madras helpers.

This is the most likely explanation for the indifferent attitude of our Madras subscribers. Without discussing the rights and wrongs of the matter, for I belong to no party—may I appeal to the charitable gentlemen once again to leave vengeance to the Gods and remember the teachings of the Gita or the words of Christ from the Cross "Forgive, O God, these Thy children, for they know not what they do"? This is a kind of charity we repeatedly exercise in our own domestic relations and condone the sins of our own children and to exercise the like virtue in the larger sphere of the world is even nobler. For the Depressed and the Backward classes are no better than children in our national household, and perhaps, as I fear, with natures even more brutalised by evil associa-

tion and evil habits. Such it is the purpose of our Mission to redeem, be their faults what they may.

Let me not be misunderstood. It is not my role to either preach or teach. I approach the public as a suppliant and nothing more.

In my anxiety for relief, I throw myself upon public charity and without minding the impropriety of my writing about myself in newspaper columns, I must say to all my countrymen, that I started this work amidst ridicule and persecution as mere philanthropic work in pre-Curzonian days, gave my all for it, and prematurely retired from my profession to be a whole-time worker for it. Unless our countrymen now come to the rescue of our movement we shall be put to the extremely painful necessity of closing at least 6 of our schools and stopping temporarily our agricultural and industrial activities.

Mangalore,
17th December 1921.

K. RANGA RAO
Hon. Secretary,
D. C. Mission.

A TEMPERANCE MAGAZINE.

At the time of the National Convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union held in Madras, the representatives of that society and the Christian Literature Society consummated plans for the union of the temperance magazines which have formerly been published under the auspices of these two societies,—The Indian Temperance Record and White Ribbon, and The Indian Temperance News. The new magazine published monthly is to be called The Indian Temperance News and White Ribbon; its editor is Mrs. W. L. Ferguson, Bishopville, Madras, but the material for about four pages will be supplied by a man appointed by the Christian Literature Society, who will write especially concerning the political phases of the temperance question. The magazine will contain twenty or twentyfour pages besides the colored cover, and the aim will be to make it a paper of interests, social, scientific and other matter of use to those who desire to keep abreast with the progress of temperance throughout the world, and especially in India. The subscription rate will be Re. 1-14 per copy a year or three annas for a single issue. All interested in the social and moral welfare of India are invited to co-operate in making this magazine the best of its kind. Communications for the paper, containing news, contributions or subscriptions, should be sent to Mrs. W. L. Ferguson, Bishopville, Vepery, Madras.

THE VIDHVA VIVAH SABAIK ASHRAM, LAHORE.

For a long time the need of a Home where widows willing to marry could live till their marriage was being very seriously felt. This has been now supplied by opening one with the above title in part of the house, known as Rai Ganga Ram Charitable Dispensary which is adjacent to the Wachhowali Arya Samaj. It has been put under a Lady Superintendent of advanced age who has previous experience of this work. She will live on the premises all the time, and look after the food and other comforts of the home inmates. Only such widows will live here as come with the express object of marriage. All classes of Hindu widows belonging to any part of India are welcome and take advantage of the offer. The readers of this notice are requested earnestly to bring this to the notice of the widows as may like to take advantage of this Home. It is expressly stated that the Sabha will give all reasonable help to the parties in selecting their inmates without taking any kind of responsibility. For further particulars correspond with Lala Lajpat Rai Sahai, Hon. Secretary, Vidhva Vivah Sabaiik Sabha, Moolagan Road, Slesm Buildings, Lahore. (Punjab).

MAHATMA GANDHI'S TRIAL.

The trial of Mr. M. K. Gandhi as editor of *Young India* and of Mr. S. G. Banker as its printer under Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code was taken up on the 18th inst before Mr. R. S. Broomfield, Sessions Judge, and came to an end in about an hour and a half, the Court sentencing Mr. Gandhi to six years' simple imprisonment, and Mr. Banker to one year's simple imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000, or, in default, to six months' further simple imprisonment. The Court was held in the Circuit House at Shahi Bang, where a large number of ladies and gentlemen were admitted by ticket.

The Judge asked Mr. Gandhi if he wished to make a statement to the Court on the question of sentence.

Mr. Gandhi said before he read his statement he would like to say that he entirely endorsed the Advocate-General's remarks in connection with his humble self. He thought the Advocate-General had been entirely fair to him in all the statements that he had made, because it was true, and he had no desire whatsoever to conceal from the Court the fact that to preach disaffection towards the existing system of Government had become almost a passion with him. The Advocate-General was also entirely in the right when he said that his preaching of disaffection did not commence with his connection with *Young India*, but that it commenced much earlier, and in the statement he was about to read it would be his painful duty to admit that it commenced very much earlier than the Advocate-General had stated. He wished to endorse all the blame that the Advocate-General had thrown on his shoulders in connection with the occurrences at Bombay, Madras and Chauri Chowra. Thinking over these things deeply and examining his heart he had come to the conclusion that it was impossible for him to dissociate himself from the responsibility in connection with the diabolical crime at Chauri Chowra and the mad outrages at Bombay and Madras. The Advocate-General was quite right when he said that as a man of responsibility, as a man who had received a fair share of education and as an experienced man of the world he should have known the consequences of every one of his acts. He knew it and had known it. But he fought against violence. He had felt that he would have failed in his duty if he had not done so. He wanted to fight against violence. Non-violence was the first article of his faith. It was also the last article of his faith. But he had to make his choice. He had either to submit to the system which, he considered, had done an irreparable harm to his country, or incur the risk of the mad fury of his people bursting forth on understanding the truth from his lips which they believed. He knew that his people had sometimes gone mad. He was deeply sorry for it, and therefore submitted that he should be given not a light penalty, but the highest penalty. He did not ask for mercy or plead extenuation. Either the Judge had to administer the law properly, or, as he had stated in his statement, he had to resign and preach in the same fashion as he preached. He did not expect that kind of conversion. By the time he had finished speaking, the Court would have perhaps a glimpse of what was raging in his breast and why it was that he had run the risk which a sane man would not have done.

Mr. Gandhi then read his statement. In this he said:—

"I owe it perhaps to the Indian public and to the public in England to placate which this prosecution is mainly taken up that I should explain why from a staunch loyalist and co-operator I have become an uncompromising disaffectionist and non-co-operator. To the Court too I should say why I

plead guilty to the charge of promoting disaffection towards the Government established by law in India. My public life began in 1898 in South Africa in troubled weather. My first contact with British authority in the country was not of a happy character. I discovered that as a man and an Indian I had no rights. On the contrary I discovered that I had no rights as a man because I was an Indian. But I was not baffled. I thought that this treatment of Indians was an excrescence upon a system that was intrinsically and mainly good. I gave the Government my voluntary and hearty co-operation, criticising it fully where I felt it was faulty but never wishing its destruction. Consequently when the existence of the Empire was threatened in 1899 by the Boer challenge, I offered my services to it, raised a volunteer ambulance corps and served at several actions that took place for the relief of Lady-smith. Similarly in 1906 at the time of the Zulu revolt I raised a stretcher-bearer party and served till the end of the 'rebellion.' On both these occasions I received medals and was even mentioned in despatches. For my work in South Africa I was given by Lord Harlinge a Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal. When the war broke out in 1914 between England and Germany I raised a volunteer ambulance corps in London consisting of the then resident Indians in London, chiefly students. Its work was acknowledged by the authorities to be valuable. Lastly in India when a special appeal was made at the War Conference in Delhi in 1918 by Lord Chelmsford for recruits, I struggled at the cost of my health to raise a corps in Kheda and the response was being made when the hostilities ceased and orders were received that no more recruits were wanted. In all these efforts at service I was actuated by the belief that it was possible by such services to gain a status of full equality in the Empire for my countrymen.

The first shock came in the shape of the Rowlatt Act a law designed to rob the people of all real freedom. I felt called upon to lead an intensive agitation against it. Then followed the Punjab horrors beginning with the massacre at Jallian-wala Bagh and culminating in crawling orders, public floggings and other indescribable humiliations. I discovered too that the plighted word of the Prime Minister to the Mussulmans of India regarding the integrity of Turkey and the holy place of Islam was not likely to be fulfilled. But in spite of the foreboding and the grave warnings of friends, at the Amritsar Congress in 1915 I fought for co-operation and working the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, hoping that the Prime Minister would redeem his promise to the Indian Mussulmans, that the Punjab wound would be healed and that the reforms inadequate and unsatisfactory though they were, marked a new era of hope in the life of India. But all that hope was shattered. The Khilafat promise was not to be redeemed. The Punjab crime was white-washed and most culprit went not only unpunished but remained in service and some continued to draw pensions from the Indian revenue and in some cases were even rewarded. I saw too that not only did the reforms not mark a change of heart, but they were only a method of further draining India of her wealth and of prolonging her servitude. I came reluctantly to the conclusion that the British connection had made India more helpless than she ever was before, politically and economically. A disarmed India has no power of resistance against any aggressor if she wanted to engage in an armed conflict with him. So much is this the case that some of our best men consider that India must take generations before she can achieve the Dominion status. She has become so poor that she has little power of resisting famines. Before the British advent India spun and wore in her millions of cottages just the supplement

she needed for adding to her meagre agricultural resources. This cottage industry, so vital for India's existence, has been ruined by incredibly heartless and inhuman processes as described by English witnesses. Little do town-dwellers know how the semi-starved masses of India are slowly sinking to lifelessness. Little do they know that their miserable comfort represents the brokerage they get for the work they do for the foreign exploiter, that the profits and the brokerage are sucked from the masses. Little do they realise that Government established by law in British India is carried on for this exploitation of the masses. No sophistry, no jugglery in figures can explain away the evidence the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye. I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town-dwellers of India will have to answer, if there is a God above, for this crime against humanity which is perhaps unequalled in history. The law itself in this country has been used to serve the foreign exploiter. My unbiassed examination of the Punjab Martial Law cases has led me to believe that at least ninety-five per cent. of convictions were wholly bad. My experience of political cases in India leads me to the conclusion that in nine out of every ten the condemned men were totally innocent. Their crime consisted in love of their country. In ninety-nine cases out of hundred justice has been denied to Indians as against Europeans in the Courts of India. This is not an exaggerated picture. It is experience of almost every Indian who has had anything to do with such cases. In my opinion the administration of the law is thus prostituted consciously or unconsciously for the benefit of the exploiter.

The greatest misfortune is that Englishmen and their Indian associates in the administration of the country do not know that they are engaged in the crime I have attempted to describe. I am satisfied that many English and Indian officials honestly believe that they are administering one of the best systems devised in the world and that India is making steady though slow progress. They do not know that a subtle but effective system of terrorism and an organised display of force on the one hand and the deprivation of all powers of retaliation or self-defence on the other have emasculated the people and induced in them the habit of simulation. This awful habit has added to the ignorance and the self-deception of the administrators. Section 124A under which I am happily charged is perhaps the prince among the political sections of the Indian Penal Code designed to suppress the liberty of the citizen. Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law. If one has no affection for a person or thing one should be free to give the fullest expression to his disaffection so long as he does not contemplate, promote or incite to violence. But the section under which Mr. Banker and I are charged is one under which mere promotion of disaffection is a crime. I have studied some of the cases tried under it, and I know that some of the most loved of India's patriots have been convicted under it. I consider it a privilege therefore, to be charged under it. I have endeavoured to give in their briefs outline the reasons for my disaffection. I have no personal ill-will against any single administrator, much less can I have any disaffection towards the King's person. But I hold it to be a virtue to be disaffected towards a Government which in its totality has done more harm to India than any previous system. India is less manly under the British rule than she ever was before. Holding such a brief, I consider it to be a sin to have affection for the system. And it has been a precious privilege for me to be able to write what I have in the various articles tendered in evidence against me. In fact I believe that I

have rendered a service to India and England by showing in non-co-operation the way out of the unnatural state in which both are living. In my humble opinion, non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as is co-operation with good. But in the past, non-co-operation has been deliberately expressed in violence to the evil-doer. I am endeavouring to show to my countrymen that violent non-co-operation only multiplies evil and that as evil can only be sustained by violence, withdrawal of support of evil requires complete abstention from violence. Non-violence implies voluntary submission to the penalty for non-co-operation with evil. I am here, therefore, to invite and submit shrewdly to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen. The only course open to you, the Judge and the Assessors, is either to resign your posts and thus dissociate yourselves from evil if you feel that the law you called upon to administer is an evil and that in reality I am innocent, or to inflict on me the severest penalty if you believe that the system and the law you are assisting to administer are good for the people of this country and that my activity is therefore injurious to the public weal."

Mr. Banker, the second accused, said he had the privilege of printing these articles. He pleaded guilty.

THE SENTENCE.

The Judge in passing sentence said:—Mr. Gandhi, you have made my task easy in one way by pleading guilty to the charge. Nevertheless what remains, namely the determination of a just sentence, is perhaps as difficult a proposition as a judge in this country could have to face. The law is no respecter of persons. Nevertheless it would be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or am likely ever to try.

It would be impossible to ignore the fact that in the eyes of millions of your countrymen you are a great patriot and a great leader; even all those who differ from you in politics look up to you as a man of high ideal and of noble and even saintly life. I have to deal with you in one character only. It is not my duty, and I do not presume to judge or criticize you in any other character. It is my duty to judge you as a man subject to the law who has by his own admission broken the law and committed what to an ordinary man must appear to be a grave offence against such law. I do not forget that you have consistently preached against violence or that you have on many occasions, as I am willing to believe, done much to prevent violence. But having regard to the nature of your political teaching and the nature of many of those to whom it was addressed, how you can have continued to believe that violence and anarchy would not be the inevitable consequence it passes my capacity to understand. There are probably few people in India who do not sincerely regret that you should have made it impossible for any Government to leave you at liberty. But it is so, I am trying to balance what is due to you against what appears to me to be necessary in the interests of the public, and I propose in passing sentence to follow the precedent of the case in many respects similar to this case that was decided some twelve years ago, the case of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak under the same section. The sentence that was passed upon him as it finally stood was a sentence of simple imprisonment for six years. You will not consider it unreasonable, I think, that you should be classed with Mr. Tilak, and that is the sentence—two years' simple imprisonment on each count of the charge, six years in all, which I feel it my duty to pass upon you. I should like so say in doing it that if the course of events in India should

make it possible for Government to reduce the period and release you, nobody would be better pleased than I.

Mr. Banker, I assume that you have been to a large extent under the influence of your chief. The sentence that I propose to pass upon you is simple imprisonment for six months on each of the first two counts, that is simple imprisonment for one year and a fine of Rs. 1,000 on the third count with six months' simple imprisonment in default.

Mr. Gandhi, addressing the judge said he had done him honour by recalling the trial of the great Lokmanya Tilak. He considered it a proud privilege and honour to be associated with his name in this place. So far as the sentence was concerned, he certainly considered it was as light as any judge could possibly have passed, and so far as the whole proceedings were concerned he could not have been treated with greater courtesy.

After the Judge had left the court, all those inside the hall and outside pressed towards Mr. Gandhi and bade him a tearful farewell one after another.

The Leader, Allahabad daily, (Liberal)

We deeply deplore the heavy sentence of six years that has been passed upon Mr. Gandhi as a result of prosecution under Sec. 124A of the Indian Penal Code, particularly when none of the more prominent of his followers, including even the Ali brothers, have received a higher sentence than that of two years, and it is still more unfortunate that this sentence should have been passed upon him at a time when he was actually a restraining influence in the Congress camp. The majesty of outraged law may have been vindicated but it is questionable whether it has rendered the task of solving the problem of Indian unrest any the easier or brought it any the nearer. The attitude of the judge was very considerate throughout and the whole trial seems to have been conducted in an atmosphere of perfect cordiality and good-will, quite in contrast with the scenes that marked the Karachi trial of the Ali brothers and others. The judge himself seems to have regretted the passing of the sentence on Mr. Gandhi and quoted the parallel case against Mr. Tilak in which a sentence of six years was passed against him. But so much change has come over Indian conditions since then that the same sentence need not have been inflicted to satisfy the ends of justice. If the course of events in India should make it possible to reduce the period and release him, remarked the judge, 'no one would be better pleased than I'. It will be the devout wish of every Indian that that day should come sooner than we expect. That the present tension should continue for so long is unthinkable.

THE PUNJAB VIDHVA VIVAH SAHAIK SABHA.

Under the auspices of the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha Lahore 23 widow marriages took place in the month of February 1922. The total number of marriages held in the current year 1922 reaches to 49 as detailed below:—
Brahman 6, Khatri 14, Arora 14, Aggrawal 4, Kaithi 2, Rajput 2, Sikh 5, Miscellaneous 1. Total 49.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

WANTED. A Brahmin bride of any sect (maid or virgin widow) by a young Brahmin graduate in Mysore Government Service. Present pay Rs 100— For further particulars apply to "Visvamitra", 53, Fourth Road, Chamarjpet, Bangalore City.

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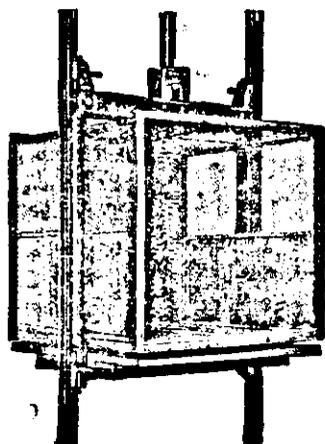
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Vol. XXXII.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, APRIL 2, 1922.

No. 31

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not see excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Mr. Sastry: We welcome Mr. Srinivasa Sastry to India after his deputation to London and Washington as her representative. He has acquitted himself creditably in the several Conferences in which he participated. His views, as transmitted to this country, have been coloured by the prejudices of the news agency which has the monopoly of the business. The London correspondent of the *East African Chronicle*, who is evidently well-informed regarding Mr. Sastry's movements, writing on the 2nd February, complains that an important address on the present state of British India delivered by Mr. Sastry at Washington on the Monday previous, before a large audience in which both Houses of Congress were represented, was reported in only one paper. The *Westminster Gazette's* Washington Correspondent telegraphed that Mr. Sastry, who expressed himself in pessimistic terms as to the immediate future of British control argued that the repressive measures adopted by the Indian Government against the non-co-operation movement had proved a great blunder, and had left the Viceroy and Council isolated amidst an almost unanimously hostile population of three hundred millions. He characterised the situation as desperate, but not hopeless, and said that the Indian Liberal Party, though greatly discouraged by recent developments, did not despair of attaining for India a real Dominion status through constitutional methods, a procedure which, in his judgment, alone could save a deplorable situation from tending towards complete anarchy. The Correspondent of the *East African Chronicle* in the same letter indicated that Mr. Sastry may decide not to undertake the visit to the Dominions. He wrote:

I can imagine that upon his return here, in about a fortnight's time, Mr. Sastry will find himself in a very difficult position. The situation in India is of such a character as to require his immediate return there to take his part in the effort to prevent the catastrophe that he foresees. That, I am confident, will be his own view of the requirements of the position. He will feel the freer to adopt this course as, I understand, the Government of India, for reasons of economy, are now looking askance upon his projected tour to the Dominions on the diplomatic mission for which he was designated, as a direct result of the relations established at the last Imperial Conference. It will be an immense pity if this tour has to be abandoned, as the psychological moment for undertaking it is now. It may be too late or useless if it be delayed, and an invaluable opportunity of establishing friendly relations

between India and some, at least, of the Dominions have been lost—at any rate for the moment. But Mr. Sastry may well think that the demands of the situation in India itself are of such an urgent and inexorable character as to require compliance on his part much as, in happier circumstances, he would like to complete the task that had been entrusted to him.

Public opinion in India has almost unanimously declared the projected deputation to the Dominions a needless expense at the present time, and Mr. Sastry will be well-advised if he decides to give it up. At the same time, we strongly deprecate the ill-tempered attack on Mr. Sastry on account of his supposed extravagant style of living in London by Mr. Bomanjee in a recent speech in Bombay. Personally a man of most simple tastes and habits, Mr. Sastry had, of course, to keep up his position as a representative of India. He had to put up most probably at the Hotel where accommodation had been arranged and to use the motor car which had been provided for him by those responsible for his reception. It is too much to ask that Mr. Sastry, because he is a member of the Servants of India Society, should have hunted out for himself rooms in some London slum and imported for his conveyance a *Jutka* from Madras. Mr. Sastry's great mistake has been that, while deputed in the character of a representative of India by Government, he has not been sufficiently careful to avoid speaking as a political partisan, as shown by his Washington speech quoted above. The place for criticising Mahatma Gandhi and Non-Co-operation was India, and not England or America. None of Mr. Sastry's colleagues on the Washington delegation thought it consistent with his position as a national representative to denounce his political opponents at home and to boast of the work of his own particular party.

Sedition and Constitutional Reform: The *Malabar Journal* in its very suggestive comments, reproduced elsewhere, on Mahatma Gandhi's conviction, raises a very important point. It points out that the law of disaffection against which the Mahatma offended, "has not been amended in order to fit in with the new political rights of the people since the famous declaration of August 1917 in which the transfer of power from the bureaucracy to the legislature has been definitely held out as the goal of Indian progress." The recent repeal of repressive laws, including the Press Acts, was on the express ground that they were incompatible with the new order of things. But Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code under which the Mahatma was charged and which he happily described as "the prince among the political sections of the Indian Penal Code designed to suppress the liberty of the citizen," has not been repealed or even modified. The fact that Government did not put this Section to use for the last eighteen months, is really due to a recognition of the incongruity of this section with the altered political conditions. The natural culmination of that policy should have been a repeal of the Section. That they should have not hesitated to requisition this nearly obsolete law from their armoury to punish the Mahatma, shows how little possible it is for liberal conventions to grow in Indian conditions.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 2, 1922.

THE CONGRESS OUTLOOK.

While the *Tribune* and the *Mahratta* welcome the resolution of the Nagpur Congress Committee urging the necessity of revising the programme of the Indian National Congress, we are surprised to see V. J. Patel and others protesting against the scheme which has been drawn up, it is understood, by an Indian administrator who has studied the introduction and working of responsible Government in one important Dominion which he visited more than once for the purpose. It is, we think, proposed that the scheme should be first circulated for opinion to several Indian leaders, that it should be revised in the light of the suggestions that they may make, that the revised scheme should be placed before a Convention of representatives of all political schools, and that, if the Convention agrees, a Dominion Status League may be formed for the sole, special purpose of bringing about the adoption of the scheme in place of the present Reforms scheme. Mr. Patel's argument is: if the scheme is consistent with the Congress programme, it is superfluous; if it goes beyond it, it is mischievous; so in either case, it is useless. In the same breath, he says that the Congress is open to all schools of political thought and that all should join it and work within it. If Mr. Patel's attitude to the mere announcement that a scheme is in preparation to work out the details of full Dominion status, represents the position of the Congress, it is idle to insist, as he does, that it is open to all schools of political thought to work within it. It can only mean that the Congress, so far from being a broad national movement, is a narrow cult where the *khaddar* cap, so easy to put on, counts for everything, and the Gandhi heart, so difficult to acquire, is nothing. No group of politicians can be allowed to acquire vested interests in a national movement. The result, it is plain to us, is bound to be that the Congress will within the next year or two disintegrate into several small groups without any coherent purpose.

The full Congress programme formulated at Ahmedabad last December left a good deal to Mahatma Gandhi who, it was assumed, would be always available to infuse life and spirit into the dry bones of the several clauses. The most important parts of this programme have been rendered obsolete by the course of events but so long as they are not expressly repealed, it is open to any literalist in the Congress to point the finger of scorn at a fellow-Congressman who has children attending recognised schools where spinning is not a part of the curriculum, who has not given up the profession for which his training and talents are most suited, or whose Swadeshism includes mill-made as well as hand-woven cloth. The Bardoli programme as amended at Delhi labours under the same disadvantage. It is not every one that can bend the bow of Ulysses and a programme

which was safe and sure in the Mahatma's hands may not be so in less mighty ones. It is, therefore, necessary as a first step towards assuring those who are opposed to non-co-operation that there is a recognised place for them within the Congress, that the dead branches of the Ahmedabad programme should be lopped off and that the constructive parts of it should be so revised as to be sufficiently expressive in themselves, now that unfortunately the Mahatma is not available for constant reference as to their precise meaning and purport. Constant repetition of the Mahatma's name does not make one an intelligent worker in the true spirit of the Mahatma. We strongly deprecate the tendency to represent the Congress as a semi-religious cult founded by the Mahatma from which the slightest departure should be expiated in a political purgatory. This kind of thing is a positive hindrance in the way of awakening the masses to true political consciousness.

The most intelligent opinion in the Congress and outside is agreed that full responsible government is the solution of our national problems. Mr. Patel says, let us have the promise first of full responsible government and then there will be no difficulty in drawing up a scheme. But that is not the right view to take about the matter. We should first show how and in what manner and in what period of time, the present system can be converted into a full responsible one with the least delay and dislocation. A definite scheme is also necessary to instruct the people as to their own duties and responsibilities under self-government. The object of the proposal of a Dominion Status League outside the Congress and other political organisations, is to carry on propaganda work both in the country and in Great Britain. Owing to the adoption of the policy of Non-Co-operation by the majority of Congressmen, the Congress is precluded from undertaking work which is essential to carry conviction to the British Government that the grant of full responsible government to India is prudent as well as practicable. Further there are many Liberals and others who are prepared to work for full responsible government but who are not prepared to join the Congress. The League, if one is started, will merely be the application of the principle of division of labour to political work.

The Congress as the oldest political movement in the country, rich in tradition, should not be allowed to fall to pieces. A strong effort should be made, in which all should join hands, to place the movement on a broad national footing. Mahatma Gandhi perceived this clearly and, since the Bardoli meeting, he has been most anxious to bring it about. If this is made impossible by the intolerance of those who find themselves in control of the Congress machinery, then a way should be found to organise the large body of opinion in the country which believes as little in Non-Co-operation as in Diarchy for which India has had to pay dearly.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL FINANCIAL REFORMS.

IV.

The subjoined table gives a comparative statement of the revenues of the Government of India. It must be noted, however, that:—(1) the statement takes no account of the revenues of the Provincial Govern-

ments, which aggregated 80-69 crores in the accounts of 1920-21, and have grown considerably since, being little short, if at all of 100 crores by this time; (2) the provincialised sources of revenue comprise at least three of those items of taxation, which, we have postulated, need radical recasting: Land Revenue, Excise and Stamps. The truly scientific basis for the revenues in India, for finance in general, is unthinkable unless we take and consider all sources of revenue together. Particularly is this the case with those items which are mutual counterparts of the same fundamental idea; e. g. Land Revenue and Income Tax, the one an agricultural, the other an industrial and commercial aspect of the same generic idea of taxation; or Customs Duties and Excise, the one a levy in transit, the other at the point of completion of manufacture, of nearly the same class of goods intended for consumption. By an irony of fate these items have been so divided by the scheme of Provincial Autonomy, that while the Land Revenue goes to the Provinces, the Income Tax remains with the Government of India; while the latter retain Customs Duties the former are assigned Excise revenue. We appreciate the individual reasons for the particular division; but our appreciation of that fact does not the less provoke the criticism that the entire scheme of division ignores the fundamental requisite of proper national financing. The table annexed indicates an alarming rate of growth in the total share of the national income taken up by the Government by way of taxation of one form or another. But our quarrel is not so much with the steady growth, though we think the limit has been reached long since of what may be regarded as the maximum burden of taxation, and though we also find the recent increase an effective answer to those who helped to defeat the Compulsory Education Bill of the late Mr. Gokhale more than ten years ago, on purely financial grounds of the assumed inability of the Government of India to find an additional three crores at most, when in the five war years they could find an additional fifty crores or more at a single lump of tax additions. Our real quarrel is inseparable from the consideration of the expenditure side, on which we believe there is the greatest scope for reform.

The figures are in crores of rupees.

Items.	Accounts.		
	1920-21.	Revised Estimates. 1921-22.	Budget Estimates. 1922-23.
Customs	30-97	34-85	51-82
Income Tax	30-91	17-69	22-11
Salt	6-19	6-41	11-36
Opium	3-53	3-03	3-09
Other heads	2-25	2-20	2-35
Railways : Net	25-01	16-88	30-85
Irrigation : Net	00-02	00-07	00-07
Post Office : Net	1-52	00-27	1-65
Interest	3-69	1-04	00-64
Civ. Adm.	0-73	0-72	0-86
Currency &c.	2-88	0-16	0-21
Civil Works	0-11	0-11	0-10
Miscellaneous	2-60	6-85	0-66
Military Receipts	6-47	6-53	4-84
Prov. Contr.	9-83	12-99	9-20
Total Revenue...	116-76	108-96	139-53
Deficit	32-83	33-01	2-71

Leaving aside all question of unsuitable classification in this table, which seems to be arranged with the intention to cause the maximum amount of avoidable confusion, we must point out that in the latest Budget of the Government of India there is a grave blunder of deliberate overestimating. Certain sources of revenue, like the Customs or the Railway Receipts, cannot, in view of the intense depression now prevailing in all countries, admit of that elasticity in yield which the Finance Department seems to have erroneously assumed. Apart from the votes in the Assembly negating certain proposed increases in the Customs Duties, and the consequent fall in the estimated revenue, we must observe that the increase of rates will, under the present circumstances, only bring about increased depression, and thereby reduce both comparatively and even absolutely the expected yield. Time was when the Indian Finance Department used to be freely accused of undue caution in estimating revenues. However reprehensible that practice may have been, its injurious effects would be nothing in comparison with the present swing of the pendulum to the other extreme. The underestimate at least left us with surpluses, and the question was how most effectively to lay out the surplus. It was bad finance to raise from the people more than was wanted. But its dangers were in comparison insignificant. The present evil results in excessive borrowing for unproductive purposes at unprofitable rates which merely help to accelerate the coming of the evil day of complete breakdown. The Budget last year had announced a foreign Loan of £5 million. It ended by our borrowing 107½ million. We have budgetted this time for a foreign loan of £18 millions. Already Lord Winterton has given notice of a motion in the House of Commons for a Loan of £50 millions. What do these moves portend?

Eliminating the question of general rise in the revenue, which, however, is not equal to the demands of expenditure, and confining our remarks to the fundamental reforms of a readjustment of taxes and redistribution of resources, we would notice, *first*, that the proper adjustment of tax-burdens of a kindred character is impossible unless the same authority is allowed to manipulate all taxation. The crying evil of the Indian Land Tax, the omission to exempt from taxation a minimum for subsistence, will never be considered by the provincial authorities unless they have a substitute in the shape of Income Taxes. The governing principle of the Customs revenue, again, if the problem of industrial development is at all to meet with a genuine response, will have to be, not yield, but assistance to industry; with the consequent readiness to face an utter annihilation of that source of revenue if necessary. Even if based on the most stringent protective principle, the Customs Revenue in practice can never be utterly destroyed. But unless the taxing authority is prepared to face the ultimate consequence its efforts can never have that whole-hearted appearance which is so indispensable for the proper development of industry. The Excise Revenue, similarly, must change the basic idea, and aim at complete stoppage of the drink traffic alto-

gether by rigorous and unending increases in the rate of taxation and the impediments for the sale of the drugs. We are not by any means convinced that this aim cannot be most effectively realised by establishing a complete monopoly of intoxicants. The dropping of the Salt Tax altogether from the tax system is impossible unless we bring about a complete monopoly of all intoxicants, and depend upon the yield of that monopoly to make good the wastage.

And herein we find the key to the problem of redistribution. If the principle of placing all taxation in the hands of the same authority is sound, we shall find that the Provincial Governments will just be the right bodies to manipulate such taxes. The general principle governing the levy of each tax may, indeed, be prescribed by the supreme authority for the sake of uniformity in national policy. But within limits set by that supreme authority, the Provincial authority, assuming the continuance of the idea of Provincial Autonomy, must be left free to manipulate, alter, and, if need be, even to rescind. The supreme Government of India would then have no other sources except the national monopolies, like the Railways, the Post Office, the Opium monopoly, and Excise monopoly including tobacco, and any other industry, which, being capable of large scale operations most economically conductible in a concentrated manner, is worked as a central monopoly, e. g. ship-building, and banking. Normally speaking this would mean a surrender by the Imperial Government of 60 crores of revenue on the present basis of the items to be surrendered. But in exchange they may get at least 30 crores out of an Excise monopoly of intoxicants, and another 10 crores by a monopoly of tobacco manufacture and sale. The profits of the Imperial Bank alone can be made to contribute to the public needs a sum of 10 crores. The proper working of the Post Office would, with reduced charges for the service, increase the income if only the officers of the Government of India would learn the importance of economy in working. The Post Office does a very unreasonably limited Parcel business, though we have 40,000 miles of State Railways in the country, which suggest no intelligible reason for the retention of the 11 lbs. limit on the weight of the parcels. The post office does a remittance business at 800 per cent the charge levied by private banks, in spite of having an Imperial Bank, and a Post office branch in almost every important centre. The Post Office in India has not apparently learnt the very existence of such devices as automatic Stamps-selling machines, which function for twenty-four hours a day without a break or a holiday, and, at a trifling initial cost, might afford a great economy in the internal working. Finally the Post Office does a very limited insurance business, which in the hands of private foreign insurance companies helps to drain away from this land untold wealth. An extension and popularisation of the system of postal insurance by a public monopoly of that business, coupled with a general obligation to insure, will not only be largely productive of revenue to the State, but will also help to solve one of the bitterest questions of Social Reform, which we have no right to

ignore in this country merely because our proletariat is not yet awake to its rights. As for the Railway Monopoly the less said the better. The war compelled a cancellation of all those devices, which, from week-end tickets to Excursion Trains, helped to develop particular kinds of traffic workable on the most economical basis. Three years after the war we have not yet restored them. This alone is sufficient comment on the most uncommercial working of this our admittedly one great commercial venture.

If the Reforms, which, in this brief outline we can do nothing more than indicate, are effected, neither the Government of India nor the Provincial Governments need apprehend any loss in reasonable resources they might need for their legitimate activities. We have emphasised more than once the need for retrenchment in administration expenditure, not because we would curtail the sphere of beneficial public activity, but to ensure a more even distribution of the outlay of the state. And for such a well-laid out scheme of public expenditure, our revenue reforms hold out no menace. If anything, they are pregnant with an infinite promise of ready expansion, which can only be experienced after these fundamental evils have been redressed.

OUR RAILWAY BUDGET.

(By MR. CHANDRIKA PRASADA.)

In the Indian Budget, the most important head is that relating to the State Railways, but owing to the faulty system of preparing the Budget, due importance is not given to the Railway transactions, and the result is that the matter, though of a very great magnitude, does not receive due attention either from the public or from our representatives in the Legislature.

The importance of the Railways has not been fully realised as is evident from the little attention which the Railway estimates for 1922-23 received during the Budget debates in both the Chambers of the Central Legislature.

Although the Railway Expenditure budgetted for 1922-23 amounted to Rs. 68½ crores for working expenses and 30 crores for Capital works, or a total of 98½ crores of rupees against 62.18 crores of the Military budget, yet the Railway budget did not receive even half the attention which the Military Budget did. Very rightly people hold that the Military is the most extravagant Department of the State, but the Railway expenditure is also incurred by the agencies of the same Government and cannot be much different, so far as economy is concerned. Those who have had any dealings with the P. W. D. or the Railway executive departments must know that there is large room for retrenchments and economy in Railway expenditure—both revenue and capital.

In the first instance, the Finance Member's speech did not deal with the Railway working expenses as a head of expenditure in the Indian budget. He dealt with it as a side issue of the "Railway revenue," as in the Abstract Budget the net Railway

revenue only is taken, omitting altogether the Railway working expenses from the Expenditure Abstract. This is not at all right and misleads the people both as regards the volume of Indian Revenue and Indian Expenditure. If the gross Receipts of Railway revenue be shown on the Revenue Abstract, as they ought to be and used to be prior to 1901, the total revenue will show a much larger figure than it does at present with net railway receipts only. Similarly if the railway working expenses be shown on the Expenditure Abstract of the Government, the total expenditure will appear at its correct figures. The present system does not practically put the Railway working expenses on the Budget Estimates and that is why the Finance Member does not give due importance to the Railway working expenses. He explains away the largest item of expenditure in a few words.

If the railway expenditure be properly regulated and kept down to actual need, the public should not be called upon to pay the increased rates for the carriage of goods and nearly doubled rates of passenger fares which are going to be charged. We mean doubled rates especially with reference to the proposed third class fares as compared with those charged before 1917. The Railway charges indirectly affect the prices and cost of living, they affect the industrial development of the country besides the comforts and conveniences of the millions of the travelling public. Where such important and large interests are involved, the matter should receive the greatest attention.

Our Councillors have passed the Railway Capital grant in full without a single question; they passed also the grant for the working expenses with an infinitesimal reduction of 25 lakhs out of the total demand of 68½ crores.

According to the Finance Member's speech, the Railway Revenue Budget for 1922-23 was as under:—

Gross Receipts 93½ crores.
Working Expenses 68½ crores.
Net receipts 25 crores.
Interest and other charges 26 crores,
Net loss 1 crore.

A net loss of one crore on the working of the Indian Railways is budgetted for 1922-23 against net profits of over 7 crores in each of the years 1912-13 and 1913-14. This is very gloomy indeed. It is no doubt due to the large expenditure which has now to be incurred owing to the suspension of repairs and renewals during the war period, but it clearly shows an imperative need for overhauling the general expenditure of the Railways.

The operative ratio has gone up from 52 per cent. in 1913-14 and 48.62 per cent. in 1918-19 to 73 per cent. in 1922-23. This rise in itself is tremendous. It calls for a searching enquiry by independent experts. A comparative statement should be obtained from each railway administration showing the variation under each head and sub-head of railway expenditure under Abstracts A to E of their Revenue account for the years 1913-14 and 1922-23, upon which the enquiry should be instituted. Railway expenditure has always been high and the way it

has been piled up during the recent years calls for a special enquiry.

It is not only the increases in the salaries of the higher officials made from 1919, which require attention but the general expenditure of each railway administration should be gone through item by item. It is not at all enough to merely call attention of the spending departments to this matter; the Finance Committee in order to effect a real improvement, should appoint a special committee to enquire into the growth of railway expenditure during the recent years and carry out the retrenchments. In the debate on the 15th March 1922, Mr. Kamat very rightly demanded such an enquiry. It should be instituted not only in the expenditure on the General Superintendence but in the general expenditure—capital and revenue.

The Government's circular letter regarding Indianization of railway services is not at all enough. The Government of India do not themselves appear to be serious about the matter as is evident from their despatch No. 15 Railway dated 16th August 1919 to the Secretary of State in which they state that it is difficult to obtain in India suitable recruits for the superior Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon appointments (vide page 163 of Legislative Assembly debates of 10th September 1921 Vol. II. No. 3). There are thousands of young Indians ready to take up the work only if the Government insisted upon Railway Administrations to give necessary technical training to educated Indians on decent terms in the Railway workshops.

Dr. Gour was perfectly right in demanding Indianization from the top. Unless the officials at the top are sympathetic with the aspirations of Indians, no real change is possible in the present monopoly of non-Indians in the Railway services. We certainly need deeds not mere words and vague promises. Sir Malcolm Hailey who said Government are serious about the Indianization of the Railway services ought to show the seriousness of Government by actual results.

The Aeworth Committee's remark about the insufficiency of salaries of the higher railway officials is opposed to the practice of Railway administrations now obtaining in Japan and continental countries of Europe. The following table gives the maximum and minimum rates of salaries in the following countries in 1921:—

State Railways of the following countries	Salaries per annum		Local currency	Equivalent in Rupees	Proportion of minimum to maximum
	Minimum	Maximum			
Norway	2,700 Kr.	2,250	20,000 Kr.	16,665	1:7
Japan	360 Yen.	540	8,000 Yen.	12,000	1:22
France	3,800 Fr.	2,375	48,000 Fr.	30,000	1:33
Sweden	1,980 Kr.	1,650	10,500 Kr.	8,750	1:5
Denmark	2,986 Kr.	2,320	19,200 Kr.	16,005	1:5
Belgium	3,500 Fr.	2,187½	68,000 Fr.	17,500	1:8
Germany	1,100 Mks.	225	12,000 Mks.	9,000	1:11
India	180 Rs.	180	42,000 Rs.	42,000	1:233

While Japan can find its highest railway officers on a maximum salary of 666 yen (1000 rupees) per

month, there is no reason why India should not fix the same maximum for its new entrants. The railway administration in India is carried on largely with Indian workers, 733,152 out of the total of 751,753 being Indians according to the latest Report of the Railway Board. Many of the 733,152 Indians are fit to take up higher posts, while others could be trained, but Indians are at present denied the opportunity by the monopolists.

In the debates of the 11th March Dr. H. S. Gour pointed out that in the same grade and for doing the same work Anglo-Indians and Europeans were paid four or five times more than Indians doing similar work and that in these cases there was ample scope for retrenchments by recruiting Indian labour and by the removal of racial distinctions. He asked the Commerce Member to assure the House that racial distinctions in pay would be removed. The Hon'ble Mr. Innes admitted that there should be no discrimination between an Indian and a European or an Anglo-Indian in the matter of pay for the same kind of work; that the only remedy for removing the complaint was by providing proper mechanical training and bringing the Indians up to the standard required for the higher posts in the railway service. He undertook to personally go into this question of the training of Indians in consultation with a General Advisory Council and set apart for this purpose a portion of the 150 crores recommended by the Railway Finance Committee. He would also make enquiries in order to see whether the men who did the same kind of work and were equally qualified, got the same scales of pay. We trust that this will be actually carried out. There is not the least doubt that the instances of racial discrimination are more glaring and numerous on the Railways than in any other Department of the State.

PHYSICAL CULTURE IN THE DECCAN II.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

I thank you for publishing my first letter on 'Physical Culture in the Deccan,' and I expect you to show me the same kindness for the following few lines:

In my first letter I tried to correct some of the misleading remarks of Mr. Buck in his letter on 'Physical Education in India,' and to put the case of our own Gymnasias for sympathy and encouragement. I believe I have shown beyond any doubt that Physical Culture has been long amongst us and that we have been long physically fit for any National responsibility. What we lacked and still lack is not physical fitness but unity of National Sentiment. It has been pointed out in the very letter that contrary to Mr. Buck's remark self-less and sincere efforts were made in the Deccan to improve the physical status of the entire people, due to which fact, the Maharrattas to-day are considered amongst the strongest martial races of India. The Deccan never sheltered Purdah System. Early-Marriages are limited to few Orthodox communities. Even amongst them early marriages are not so shocking as the Child-marriages in Guzarat. Mr. Buck's remarks are not due to lack of sympathy but lack of correct information. Mr. Buck is engaged in doing practical service to India, it will be therefore ungenerous and unpatri-

otic on my part to indulge in any criticism of his letter. I will therefore turn to Mr. Mans, whose letter on 'Some thoughts on Physical Education in India' has appeared in your last issue. Mr. Mans' seems to me to be a poet, whose poetic mind is soaring up high in the ethereal world of Angels and Ideals. He therefore sees no physical culture on the earth. Physical Culture according to him is the highest development physically and therefore intellectually, morally and spiritually. He further quotes Plato's 'Sublime Ideal'. I fear he confounds aesthetics with culture, and Physical Culture, which is really a branch of the latter. No doubt, body and mind are inter-dependent, and a sound mind dwells in a sound body is also to a certain extent true. But unfortunately in our matter-of-fact hum-drum life we do see many a time forms harmoniously well-developed and pleasing to the eye possessing the poorest and the wickedest minds. And men like Mahatma Gandhi with extraordinarily frail physical frames astonishing the world by their moral, spiritual, and intellectual luxuriance of wealth. In my opinion the definition of physical culture given by a 'M. D.' in his book 'Ideal Health and How to attain it by physical culture' is nearer to truth. He defines physical culture after Mathew Arnold's definition of culture in these words: "Physical culture is exercise but exercise with a purpose to guide it and with a system".

Lieutenant J. P. Muller in his book, "My system," says: "By physical culture I understand work performed with conscious intention of perfecting the body, mind and soul and increasing one's individual health, strength, speed, staying power, agility, suppleness, courage self-command, presence of mind and social disposition." "Strictly speaking," he further adds, "one and the same exercise can subjectively regarded, be sport at one time and gymnastics or physical culture, at another. A man who sits in a boat and rows to strengthen his lungs and the muscles of his back is performing a physical culture exercise".

I believe it will not be out of place, if I quote Mr. Muller on beauty. "After you have once really become strong all over, as a matter of course you are healthy as well, and if healthy, at the same time—but only then—really beautiful. This is true of both men and women. Beauty is thus identical with health and strength—not a sign, but an expression of it".

Devalli,
29-3-1922.

Yours etc.,
KARRAN, K.S.

INTER-COMMUNAL INTERCOURSE.

In view of the decision of the Congress Committee at Bardoli and of the resolution subsequently passed in Delhi to stay all activities towards mass civil disobedience until a cooler atmosphere is restored and a more united, thorough and truly non-violent mental attitude of the people of India is developed and as the present necessity of the country demands, it behoves us to direct our attention first of all to try to remove the social exclusiveness unfortunately still prevailing amongst the communities living in India viz., the Hindus, the Mohamedans, the Christians, the Jains, the Parsees, etc. One of the best methods to bring about such a result is to organise inter-sect social functions in which all well-wishers of India may freely mix together and partake of refreshments and develop brotherly love and amity. We therefore intend to arrange such a function by the 1st week of April. We have issued to the leaders and representative men of other provinces to come along with as many people as possible to Calcutta and join the function and show to the world that the

Indians have shaken off the old spirit of exclusiveness among brother and brother so sedulously fostered for years past. We invite all our friends and well-wishers to kindly write to the Secretaries for tickets.

In order, however, to arrange such huge function in a systematic manner it is necessary to issue tickets to persons desirous to join the function. This would also enable us to know what would be the number expected to join the function. These tickets would be distributed free to those who are unable or unwilling to contribute towards the expenses of the function. Those however who are able and willing to contribute towards the expenses of such a desirable function will kindly purchase at any price they desire up to a minimum of Re. 1/- In order to carry out the objects set forth above a committee with undermentioned gentlemen have been formed.

Office.....The Bengal Health preserving Association.

46, Amherst Street, Calcutta.

Bank.....The Hindusthan Co-operative Bank.

Hony. Secretaries :

Mohini Mohan Samanta. Kartic Chandra Gupta.

Organisers :

Dr. P. C. Roy	Khitish Chandra Chakrabutty.
Hemendra Prasad Ghosh.	Mrinal K. Ghosh.
Samarendra K. Dutt.	Nural Haque.
Wazed Hussain.	Prabodh K. Dass.
N. O. Sen.	Abdul Karim.
Jogenda Nath Gupta.	Jogish Bhattacharje.

A MINISTER'S WOES.

The Hon. Mr. Fakruddin, Minister in the Government of Bihar and Orissa, in the course of a recent speech in the Provincial Legislative Council, said :

" Now, this is the position of the Ministers. We have been given the charge of administration, but we have not been given any money. He has got no control over the purse. He has simply to carry out the wishes of the people by giving his administrative approval. But so long as the Finance Department does not give him help with funds he is helpless. The Financial Department not only controls the purse but has got a right to check the validity of the scheme. Therefore the Ministers have to work under the control and supervision of the Financial Members. This is the position of the Minister under the provisions of the new Reforms. But the Hon'ble Members should remember that this is only the 1st instalment of Reforms and we have to make it successful before we should expect more. The Hon'ble Members, therefore, should not be led away by the idea that the Ministers unlike themselves are not anxious for the advancement of the cause of the province. Who is more anxious than myself to have a residential university at Patna? Who is more desirous than myself to have the expansion of primary education throughout the Province? Am I not anxious to have more Intermediates Colleges, at least in three districts, Arrah, Chapra and Ranchi, the schemes for which are already ripe? Do you think that I am unmindful of the legitimate demands of officers of Subordinate Educational Service for increments in their pay? Am I not prepared to examine the scheme of pay of Sanskrit College, Madrasa and the Sanskrit Tola? but Alas! I have got no money. Whenever I go to the Finance Department for their sanction and concurrence, they turn round and refuse as there was no money. If there fore anybody has to be attacked it is the Financial Secretary and the Finance Member. But they are prepared to defend themselves by placing all their resources in the Budget and asking the Council to find out more money."

BENGAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCE.

The first session of the Bengal Trade Union Conference will be held at the Indian Association Hall, 62 Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta, on Friday and Saturday, the 14th and 15th April 1922. A Reception Committee consisting of representatives of Trade Unions of this City has been formed for the purpose of the Conference and it will feel much indebted to all Trade Unions and other bodies interested in labour questions for particulars of labour matters of pressing importance such as they may have studied or as may be engaging their attention at present, supported, if possible, by statistics and other corroborative data which it may be possible for their Unions to forward to it at its office at 72 Canning Street, Calcutta. It is the wish of the Reception Committee of the Conference to hold a Special Day for the discussion of inter-provincial and foreign labour topics, of which a further announcement will be made through the press in due course. The Reception Committee also requests to be favoured with particulars of educational matters and better methods of carrying on social service and it expects educational Societies, Charitable and Social institutions and Libraries to forward such information as they can which in their opinion, will conduce to the education of working men of this country and the improvement of their status in Society, both economically and socially. Views on co-operation and the best methods of making the movement a success from the working men's point of view are welcome and the Reception Committee of the Conference solicit particulars of all matters, which are directly or indirectly helpful to labour.

Office:—72 Canning Street, SURENDRANATH MUKERJEE,
P. O. Box No. 2352 MUKUNDA LALL SIRCAR,
Calcutta, the 20th March 1922 Secretaries Reception
Committee.

THE REV. DR. R. A. HUME.

Sir Stanley Reed, who was to have presided on the occasion was unavoidably prevented from doing so, and the Rev. Dr. N. Macnicol took his place. There was a large gathering, and messages offering congratulations and felicitations to Dr. Hume on his 75th birthday were received from H. E. Lord Willingdon, the Hon. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the Hon. Raja Sir Harman Singh, Rev. J. R. Chamber of Lucknow, Mr. J. P. Cotilingam, M. L. A. of Delhi, Rai Sahab Mukerji of Benares, Mr. G. K. Deydhar, Dr. J. C. R. Ewing and many more from other parts of India. The president, Mr. K. Natarajan, Rev. Dr. Parker, Mr. B. N. Athavle, Rev. William Hazen, Mr. T. Buell and Rev. D. A. Yardi representing various denominations made speeches eulogising the services of Dr. Hume as a Christian Missionary for the last 47 years of his residence in India. Speaker after speaker paid warm tributes of reverence and affection for his unique services to India in conjunction with his wife for uplift of the people with whom he had completely identified himself in alleviating distress in the constantly famine-stricken tracts of Ahmednagar and elsewhere.

On the motion of Mr. T. Buell, seconded by Rev. D. A. Yardi, the following resolution was passed, the whole audience standing:—"The Indian Christians, missionaries and citizens of Bombay gathered together in this meeting desire to congratulate Rev. R. A. Hume, M.A., D.D. on the attainment of his 75th birthday and they wish him to know in what affectionate esteem he is held in the city of his birth. They would also thank the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions which sent him 47 years ago for its

gift to India of an eminent missionary to his mother-land. By his untiring love for India, by his sterling Christian character and by his untiring service in the Spirit of Christ, he has won his way to the hearts of all classes of his countrymen. In preparing Indian Christian leaders he has helped not only his own but other missions in Western India and in the various capacities of writer, preacher, teacher, leader in famine relief, etc., he has proved himself a public benefactor to India at large. We pray that he may enjoy many more years of active service in his own native land. Dr. Hume thanked the speakers and the audience in a very feeling speech. We give below a summary of Mr. K. Natarajan's speech:

We are met here to-day to express our joy at the attainment of the great age of 75 years by our venerated friend the Rev. Dr. E. A. Hume. We are glad to see him here among us at half and hearty as ever, and we wish him many more years of life in the service of India in the spirit of his Master. The telegrams and letters read to you have come from all communities, and from men who have taken a leading part in the work of India's nation-building. I endorse entirely the words of my friend, Mr. Devadhar, in the letter he has written to the Secretary regarding the great worth of Dr. Hume's self-sacrificing work for our people. Ladies and gentlemen, it is not only professed Christians, but many who are not called Christians among us who appreciate the high character and services of Dr. Hume. There are many eminent non-Christians who turn for guidance in the perplexing problems of national life to the teachings of Christ and who hold Him in high veneration. We are indebted to Christian missions and missionaries for bringing these teachings within our reach. What is the central purpose of Christ's teaching? As I understand it, it is this. Every age, every nation, every individual has his Calvary. It is the spirit in which each age, nation or person meets its or his Calvary that makes its or his life noble or ignoble, high or mean. If we look around us, we shall see a great example set before us, and India earnestly hopes that the great body of Christian missionaries in this land will stand by her in her endeavour to apply the central teaching of Christ to her national life.

INDIAN STATES AND CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

The suggestion made by "Kashmiricus" that the State of Kashmir should, during the period of reconstruction, have a special Advisor associated with its government is very commendable. The task of introducing a new form of Government in a State which has never had any representation in it is difficult indeed—and it should—at least on its theoretical side—engage the best available brain. The Indore State, it will be remembered, has secured the services of Sir Sankaran Nair for a similar purpose, on an allowance of Rs. 10,000 per annum. And the recommendation made by our correspondent that a V. P. Madhav Rao or a B. Vishveshwaraya should be appointed special Advisor to the Durbar of Kashmir for a period of three years, on a monthly salary of Rs. 8,000, is not only not an extravagant demand, but is indispensable for the successful working of the Reforms that the State has introduced or has in contemplation.—*United India and Indian States.*

ALL-INDIA INDUSTRIAL WELFARE CONFERENCE.

A meeting of the Reception Committee of the above Conference was held on Monday the 27th March in the Hall of the

Social Service League, Bombay, Mr. B. N. Motilal presiding. The dates of the Conference were fixed as 6th, 7th and 8th of April instead of 3rd, 4th and 5th of April 1922 as previously announced. Sessions of the Conference will take place at the Working Men's Institute, Farel, Bombay from 8 to 6 p. m. (S. T.) on the 6th April. On the 7th and 8th, the proceedings will be conducted both in the morning from 8 to 10 and in the evening from 6 to 8.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S SENTENCE.

Malabar Journal, Calicut weekly.

When Mahatma Gandhi was arrested, there was no reason to doubt that he would be imprisoned as a convict. He made the court's business easy, as was expected by making a frank and full statement of his strenuous efforts to spread "disaffection" about the Government established by law. It was the Advocate General that desired to prolong the proceeding in order to satisfy public opinion about the charges and conviction. But the Judge was right in declaring that there was no need for a protracted trial. Everybody knows that the "law" has been violated by the distinguished prisoner. The question is whether the law is sound, but it is not a question for the Judge to consider. The Judge's duty is to interpret and administer the law as it is. The judgment indicates that this was a painful duty for the Judge, considering the greatness of the man in the dock. But it shows also that the Judge was swayed by personal and political considerations—it was quite human. The written statement of Mr. Gandhi explains clearly how and why he gradually changed from hearty co-operation to complete non-co-operation. If he were a man of policy rather than a man of rigid principle he might have restricted his campaign within the limits of the law and might have endeavoured to change the law before he went further. But he believed that it was impossible to change the law except by violating it and suffering the consequences. That he accepted the full responsibility for the horrible outrages committed by the mob in connection with the non-co-operation movement is evidently calculated to be a punishment to the real culprits. He hopes perhaps that those who committed violence will realise that he suffers for their crime and that they will consequently desist from such crimes in future. Such may be the effect on those who really love him but most of those who resorted to violence do not appear to be his admirers or to have understood his ideal. His incessant preaching of non-violence and goodwill has been scarcely assimilated by the masses at large. The complaint of his opponents is that it is an impossible ideal, that it creates ill-will contrary to his intention. But looking into his own precepts and practice, one finds him opposed to every form of violence, and hated and exercising the full right of speech subject to these conditions. If therefore freedom of speech is allowed, as Sir William Vincent and other big bureaucrats incessantly assert, it is difficult to justify the imprisonment of such a man, by making him responsible for the misunderstanding of other people. That he broke the law of "disaffection" stands on another footing. That law has not been amended in order to fit in with the new political rights of the people since the famous declaration of August 1917 in which the transfer of power from the bureaucracy to the legislature has been definitely held out as the goal of Indian progress. Mr. Gandhi has been agitating only for a quicker pace towards that goal. He is not opposed to British connection but rather desires to strengthen it by improving the conditions of that connection on the Dominion model; for his ideal is very much higher than nationalism and racialism which have

produced wars and iniquities. Civil disobedience was the only danger in his programme and he knew it to be a danger but persisted in it. Later he gave it up practically, and since his arrest, he has emphatically dissuaded his followers from resorting to it. It is hoped that civil disobedience will not be taken up by them. Mr. Gandhi's other items of work are only economic and social, namely, khaddar, anti-liquor and anti-untouchability. If these items were carried on, with non-violence and communal harmony, the country could attain social, moral and economic progress inevitably speedier. The trouble arose when these were tacked up to the political movement. Mr. Gandhi has urged the exclusive attention of his followers to this constructive side of the movement during the long period of his incarceration. Whether they will do so for long after his forced severance from the movement remains to be seen.

CHRISTIAN PRESS OPINIONS.

The Catholic Leader, Madras Weekly, (Roman)

Mr. Gandhi has been sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment on a charge of spreading disaffection against the Government. Mr. Gandhi pleaded guilty to the charge and we think rightly, for his writings and teachings and the movement engineered by him, certainly tended to promote disaffection against the existing system of Government. The offence is one for which many thousands of people all over India are in prison, and it is only the fear of the consequences that delayed Mr. Gandhi's prosecution and conviction for the last two years. The sentence is an unduly severe one and Mr. Gandhi's prolonged incarceration may place the Government in an exceedingly uncomfortable position and accentuate the present state of discontent in the country. Mr. Gandhi's written statement is a masterpiece of logic, clearness, and conciseness. He traced in it the history of his relations with Government and pointed out the cause that led him to pass from an ardent co-operator with the British to a staunch apostle of non-co-operation. There is no trace of bitterness or malice in it against any individual, though it contains a vigorous denunciation of the present situation in India. We do not think, the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi will kill the movement he has inaugurated; it will rather tend to initiate an era of intensified agitation.

The Indian Witness, Lucknow Weekly, (Christian Missionary)

Mr. Gandhi, in jail, is granted comfortable quarters and is getting a rest which he very much needed. His brief messages to the people urge them to adopt as their objectives: *Khaddar* (hand-woven cloth), unity, the removal of untouchability and of drink from India. He also advises them to refrain from civil disobedience and to prove their fitness for self-government. His enemies are thinking, because of the lack of disturbances throughout India over his arrest, that he has lost his power; but those who look deeper believe that the quietness is largely due to their devotion to him, and their willingness to follow his expressed wish that there should be no uprising. Some may think that India will return to quiet submission to the old order; but those who love her best and most unselfishly do not expect or desire this. The unrest in India shows life and growth; and though it may be manifested in dangerous ways, it cannot and should not be suppressed, but guided into safe channels. Some reports, even in religious papers of America, are exaggerated and give a wrong impression; though, we believe, unintentionally. It is a very difficult matter to understand the different currents of opinion and rightly to represent the case, even for those who live in India and earnestly strive to interpret the course of events. The question naturally arises,

What contribution can the Christian church make to the emergent need of the hour? Christians in India appreciate prayers offered for their safety but they desire even more the prayers that they may rightly interpret Christ to others as many of whom are more inclined to accept Him and His teachings than His professed representatives. The greatest drawback to the spread of Christ's kingdom is the un-Christian-like spirit manifested by many who are called by His name.

THE FUTURE PROGRAMME.

The Mahratta, Poona Weekly, (Congress)

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, that veteran statesman of India who has rendered immense help on half a dozen such crises and who is a tower of strength to the Nation, promised to Mahatmaji on the eve of his trial that he would take the lead and carry on the efforts for *Swarajya* in the absence of Mahatmaji. In one of his lectures at Bombay he has adumbrated the formation of a league to carry on the struggle with a definite programme of *Swarajya* in hand. He exhorted his audience to use nothing but khaddar and intended to start khaddar fund. He said that he had his own differences about the details of the programme of Non-co-operation, however, he remarked that they may be put aside. He appealed to all to join the Congress. *The Indian Social Reformer*, in its article last week, had a significant remark that the best minds of the country should promptly apply themselves to the devising of means whereby full responsible government could be achieved with the least delay and dislocation. In this connection, the resolution passed by the Nagpur Provincial Congress Committee must be noted. The Committee have resolved that 'In view of the fact that Government have removed Mahatma Gandhi from amongst us for the next six years, when he will be unable to guide and control us, that the programme of N. C. O. as initiated by Mahatma Gandhi having been tried for the last year and a half and the people of India having failed to grasp and follow the same to the satisfaction of anybody and much less to Mahatma Gandhi's and that it being necessary to accustom and habituate people by steady and sure process to Non-co-operation movement and thus to reach the lofty height of mental ability attained by Mahatma Gandhi and to attain the final goal, this Committee resolve that the whole political situation be reviewed and definite proposals be put before this Committee regarding active work to be undertaken and procedure and programme to be followed by the people.' All this shows that the country is wide awake to its responsibilities and there can be no relaxation of efforts. We await greater developments when Messrs. C. R. Dass and Pandit Motilal Nehru are released. The future looks to be full of promise and the confidence of the Nation is increasing and there is absolutely no sign of weakening of efforts.

The Tribune, Lahore daily, (Independant)

We are sincerely pleased to find that at least one Congress Committee, that of the C. P., has resolved that "in view of the programme of non-co-operation having been tried for the last year and a half and the people of India having failed to grasp and follow the same to the satisfaction of anybody, much less to that of Mahatma Gandhi," and of the necessity of educating the people by a steady and sure process to attain to the Mahatma Gandhi's lofty height, the whole political situation be reviewed and definite proposals put forward. That a modified and in some ways radically different programme must be followed, if *Swaraj* is to be attained speedily, has from the first been our decided opinion. Recent events have not only not shaken but very largely strengthened that opinion.

THE POPULATION PROBLEM.

Dean Inge of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, writes in the course of an interesting article on the population problem :

It is of course possible for a nation to increase its numbers by expropriating another nation. Merely to subjugate another nation is worse than useless, because the conquered people, being driven to a lower standard of living, will probably multiply faster than their conquerors. It is no use even to massacre all the fighting men. But if the women and children can be driven from their homes, and their lands seized by the invaders, then no doubt the conquerors may multiply up to the limits imposed by the size and fertility of the occupied territory.

This is the real meaning of "the right to expand," of which we have heard so much. It is a pleasant prospect, if every nation with a high birth-rate has a "right" to exterminate its neighbours. Perhaps a quotation from Prince von Baulow's "Imperial Germany" will bring home to my readers what this claim means, and what calamities it has brought upon the world. "The course of events has driven German policy out from the narrow confines of Europe into the wider world. The nation, as it grew, burst the bounds of its old home, and its policy was dictated by its new needs. The Empire could no longer support the immense mass of humanity within its boundaries. Owing to the enormous increase of population German policy was confronted with a tremendous problem. This had to be solved, if foreign countries were not to profit by the superfluity of German life which the mother country was unable to support." Mr. Harold Cox even says: "In the era upon which we have now entered the one fundamental cause of war is the overgrowth of the world's population."

I do not entirely agree with these two writers because it is impossible for a country to have at any time a much larger population than it can support; but in the main they are right. The supposed duty of multiplication, and the alleged right to expand, are among the chief causes of modern war; and I repeat that if they justify war, it must be a war of extermination, since mere conquest does nothing to solve the problem.

The enormous increase in the population of Europe during the nineteenth century is a phenomenon quite unique in history. It was the result of the industrial revolution, combined with the opening out of new food producing areas beyond the seas. The two new conditions reacted upon each other. Vast quantities of commodities could be produced cheaply, and they could be exchanged for food, while the improved methods of transport made the exchange possible and easy.

The process went on merrily at first because the new countries produced far more food than they needed for themselves. So there was a demand at home for more labor. The State, as shortsighted as governments usually are, applied an artificial stimulus to the birth-rate by a Poor Law which encouraged irresponsible parentage, and permitted the Poor Law guardians to send wagon-loads of little children to work in the factories of the north. Till about the end of the century every new pair of hands in England paid its way on the average, though the birth rate began to decline, in response to the falling death-rate, after 1878.

But the new countries are getting filled up. The United States can feed itself, but not much more. Even the wheat fields of Canada and the Argentine are not unlimited. And we in England have long since lost the privileged position in

manufacture which we held for a considerable time after the war with Napoleon.

An abnormal era of expansion has reached its natural end. We cannot support more than our present population, and though there are still a few countries where a young Englishman of the right sort may emigrate with decidedly better prospects than he would have at home, there are no longer any wide empty tracts of good land waiting for occupation. Emigration, in a word, is a palliative only; and before long it will cease to be even a palliative. Maps of the world are very delusive; they do not always mark the deserts, and there are many other unpleasant explanations of the empty spaces which look so alluring.

These, then, are the facts. The natural rate of human increase never has been and never can be attained. An equilibrium between births and deaths is the normal state of things; the nineteenth century was not normal, but unique. There are no more empty Americas and Australias, and equally important, we have no longer any great surplus of manufactured goods, because the producers of those goods have begun to ask why they should not enjoy themselves. The "Expansion of England," over which Sir John Seeley gloated so eloquently, was a grand thing while it lasted, except for the barbarians whose lands we took from them, but it has reached its natural and inevitable limit. We must cut our coat according to our cloth and adapt ourselves to changing circumstances

NEVER-GET-ILL.

(Second Notice.)

We have gone through Mr. K. S. Kelkar's book "Never-Get-ill." The author has read a lot of medical literature and has put down his views on health and the means of maintaining it. Chapter 5 gives his conclusions. They are to avoid starchy food to take milk and milk products; to take 4 to 8 ounces of food at a time; to have a light stomach; to sip fresh water often; to avoid aerated waters and hot drinks; to practise breathing exercises; intersperse work with short hours of rest; wear no cotton; enjoy a cold bath even thrice a day; keep healthy company, keep cheerful; banish anxiety.

A number of the above recipes are impracticable and unattainable in our present-day-life. Milk diet is one such. Taking food every 3 hours is another. Pure milk is not always available in Bombay leave alone the cost. Thickened milk with flour of pulses and wheat is advised and yet he asks us to avoid starch (no doubt some people who cannot take plain milk can take it in other forms with impunity.) Millions have lived and are living on preponderance of starchy food and keeping good health. Even animal food contains starchy matter. And starch is necessary for maintaining human heat. Our digestive organs are so constituted as to enable digestion of starchy matter in addition to nitrogenous food. The Western nations are crying halt against excessive nitrogenous food they have been used to. Vegetarianism is coming into greater favour. You have only to look at the physique of lawghanes who live mainly on Bajri or Jwari and onions and shallots. Another is wearing no cotton. The author suggests woollen clothing and frequent change. People are finding it difficult to get a sufficiency of even cotton clothing owing to want of means. Besides in a warm country like ours woollen clothing is not necessary. In fact very little clothing is necessary. The present-day fashion demands an amount of clothing which is unnecessary not to say that it makes our skins delicate and susceptible to slight variations

of temperature. Relaxation from work is not always practicable with a large majority of people. It is not possible in city life to get really sanitary surroundings nor to banish anxiety and to always be cheerful. That is given to very few. Breathing exercises are no doubt healthgiving. Pranayam as practised by Hathyogis is a difficult business, and needs personal instruction.

We do not know if the author's ideas of heat production in the body are correct. To say practically that the amount of heat in the different parts of the body varies to such an extent that fat melts and then goes and accumulates in the abdomen sounds strange. Exercising all the muscles of the body and deep inspiration are valuable aids to health. The book contains a lot of information. To what use this information may be put will depend on the individual reader.

Sir Sankaran Nair's Book : In our review of Sir Sankaran Nair's book, "Gandhi and Anarchy" in our last issue, we expressed surprise at the inclusion of a list of riots and disturbances in the appendices, most of which had nothing to do with the Mahatma's activities. It is probable, we feel sure, that this list had found a place in the book through pure inadvertence. A similar list was, we think, presented to the Legislative Assembly or Council of State, and it may be that Sir Sankaran was misled by the fact that no objection was taken to it at the time. A hurried search in the official reports has failed to discover the occasion of the official statement in the Legislature. Perhaps, the statement has not been published, and thus escaped the scrutiny of the Press. No one who knows Sir Sankaran would suggest that he had deliberately sought to make out by means of this list a stronger case than he would have done otherwise. It was a serious omission not to have indicated the sources of the statement.

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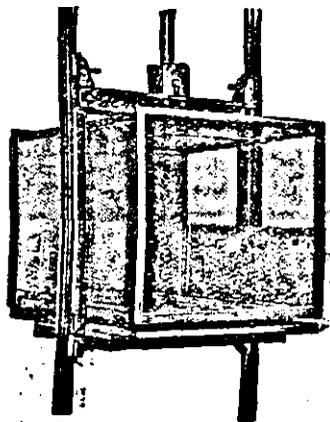
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BOMBAY—SUNDAY, APRIL 9, 1922.

No. 32

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
hesitate, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

—:01—

An Ideal Indian Sovereign: On Thursday Hindu India celebrated the birthday of Sri Rama whom tradition has consecrated as the ideal Hindu monarch and whose reign is synonymous with the golden age of Indian polity. The Hindu idea of Sovereignty, as illustrated by the classic example of *Rama rajya*, is very much wider and deeper than the possession and exercise of executive authority. The ideal Hindu monarch was the embodiment in his own life and person of the social and domestic ideals of his people—these ideals being conceived as evolved from and firm-rooted in principles derived from the spiritual sphere. The Reality of the Unseen is the fundamental Hindu concept with which the Hindu idea of the State is closely and inextricably correlated. It is the Sovereign's duty, on pain of imperilling his soul's salvation, to uphold the social order as established by ancient tradition and custom and as modified from time to time by the wisdom of each age. The ideal Hindu Sovereign had no private life. He was accountable for every moment of his life to his people, and we believe that there is canonical sanction for the deposition of rulers who fail to live up to their solemn responsibilities. In brief, the Hindu Sovereign ruled over a State which drew its life-principle from the social and religious life of his people. He had great prerogatives, but there was no risk of their abuse because where the State coincides with the Society, subject and Sovereign are but two phases of a common purpose, namely, the ordered well-being of the whole. Where these conditions are not strictly fulfilled, the ideal Hindu Sovereign does not exist, and his prerogatives do not apply. *Rama rajya* will not suit our modern world in all its details, but the principle of it is the principle of self-government through the ages, and *Ramnavami* in the years to come should be devoted to the exposition of constitutional systems all over the land.

The Mahatma in Jail: The particulars of the treatment of Mahatma Gandhi in Yerrowda Jail given in Monday's *Chronicle* by Mr. Rajagpalachariar who visited the illustrious prisoner with his son, Mr. Devidas Gandhi, produced a sickening sensation

We have not read the Jail rules and we have no doubt that nothing more and nothing less than what is provided by them is meted out to the Mahatma. But to think of the man whom people in their thousands came from the surrounding villages to get a sight of during his last stay at Delhi, off whose feet those who came near enough regarded it a sanctifying privilege to take the dust, whom old women led by volunteers tottered up steep steps to get a peep at through the keyhole in the room where he worked,—having to stand before the jailer during all the time of the interview, in spite of the well-known weakness of his legs which obliged him to address sitting the largest assemblies of his countrymen, does shock our Indian sensibility, notwithstanding that all man-worship goes against our grain. We mean no reflection on the jailer who is probably a good, well-meaning man, according to his Jail code lights, but in his place if it was against the rules to offer a chair to the prisoner or to ask him to be seated on the floor, we should have ourselves stood all the time that the Mahatma was on his legs. Then the most grievous and cruel of the deprivations noted by Mr. Rajagopala, seemed to us to be that of books and papers, and the rule that only one person can interview the Mahatma and that at an interval of three months. The Government communique, which we print, shows that the Mahatma was allowed to keep some of his private books. It is further said that he has not asked for newspapers. We respectfully submit that, apart from what the Mahatma asks for, it is due to Government itself, as the organ of the country it governs, to so modulate its treatment of a prisoner like Mahatma Gandhi as to secure that he does not carry on political propaganda which is obnoxious to it, with the minimum of restraint upon his spare physical needs and upon his intellectual and spiritual functioning. This is due to itself and it is also due to humanity to which the Mahatma belongs. Of all the comments on the Mahatma's imprisonment, none, in our opinion, has succeeded in expressing so vividly the Indian feeling of some seismic convulsion in the moral order on which alone a temporal system can securely rest, as those of the *Hindu Message* of Srirangam, which we reprint. Our contemporary concludes with these palpitating words:

As the shades of the prison-house close on Mr. Gandhi, he leaves behind for the Government to face and solve at their peril a stupendous problem. The slow-footed but sure Fates are advancing upon the country and we seem to detect in the air the ironic laughter of the Gods at the complacent, futile vanity of men in authority. The country and the Government are on the brink of the awfullest tragedy in our history; and we would earnestly pray that the authorities may not resemble those rustics whom, with the pride of learning, Horace describes as (what no rustic ever did or will do) sitting on the bank till the flood subsides, which all the while is advancing to swallow them.

Sir Sankaran's Book: Sir Sankaran Nair kindly makes us free to say that the list of riots and disturbances, published as an appendix to his book, "Gandhi and Anarchy," was supplied to him by the Legislative

Department of the Government of India at his request on information received by him that such a list was submitted to the Legislative Council. Of course the notes could not have been the work of the Legislative Department but, he presumes, of the Home Department which is in charge of the Justice administration portfolio. The responsibility for including in the list cases over 90 per cent. of which had nothing to do with Mr. Gandhi's movement, is, therefore, that Department's, though a veteran publicist like Sir Sankaran ought not to have passed the list without scrutiny. Some member of the Legislative Assembly should ask the Home Department how it came to supply such a wholly misleading list to Sir Sankaran.

Pandita Ramabai: The death of Pandita Ramabai, which occurred last Wednesday, closes an earthly career of wonderful strength and power. Born in an orthodox Brahmin home, the Pandita's early education and life was the best fitted to make her a pillar of the orthodox system. By one of those chances which can only be described as Providential, she came to acknowledge Christ as her Saviour. Thereafter she threw herself heart and soul into the service of the Master. As her Christian leanings became emphasised, her influence on the non-Christian world around her declined, and of late years, her life has been that of a recluse devoted to the Home she had founded at Khedgaon near Poona. She was one of the pioneers of women's emancipation in India and she will be long remembered as such.

The Charka and the Handloom: We are glad to note that the Charka and the handloom are ceasing to be political bugbears. In Bengal and Madras, the Educational Department encourages their use for manual training in suitable schools. Writing in the *Social Service Quarterly*, of the All-India Hand-weaving Exhibition, recently held at Patna, Mr. B. A. Collins, Director of Industries in that Province, writes enthusiastically of its future. One of the most interesting features of the discussions which took place was, he observes, the absolute unanimity of opinion among the experts that handloom weaving, so far from being decadent, was capable of great extension and development not only as an artistic industry, where its vitality is obvious, but on the side of mass production. Another important point elicited was the ability of small handloom factories, if properly organised and managed by persons with a knowledge of weaving and the trade, to hold their own, even in those classes of cloth which are usually considered the stronghold of the mill industry. If the weaver working cheaply in his own home without the high overhead charges of the factory could yet enjoy the advantages of large-scale purchase and sale, it seems likely that he would not only hold his own against the power loom but even carry the war into the enemy's country.

Treatment of Political Prisoners: The *Tribune* of Lahore states that, as far as its information goes, political prisoners are not treated like ordinary prisoners in respect of several important matters in the Punjab. For instance, they are allowed to have their own clothes on and to provide themselves with their own beddings and utensils, and no work is given to such of them as are sentenced to rigorous imprisonment except spinning or the opening of thread. As regards three other matters, too, namely, food, letters and interviews they are, according to our contemporary's information, preferentially treated, whatever one may think of the adequacy or otherwise of the preference shown to them.

Who are Political Prisoners? The Home Member of the Government of Bombay recently professed his inability to distinguish between political and other prisoners. The Secretary of State does not seem to labour under any such inability. In reply to a question in the House of Commons, Earl Winterton, on behalf of Lord Peel, said: "The general principle of distinction, was that while deliberate incitement to violent crime deserved no less severe a treatment than the actual commission of crime, there was a large class of cases in which men, who from presumably honest motives expressed political views, public expression of which was a legal offence, should not be humiliatingly treated or classed with criminals whose offences showed moral obliquity."

Moderate Wisdom: The *Moderates* of Bombay will not be satisfied with imprisoning Mahatma Gandhi. It opines that "the chapter should not be closed here with mere restrictions on his liberty. Positive efforts should be made to confront him in his jail with such firm convinced Moderates as could hope to win him over to respect for law and order." In the present restricted activities of the Educational Department, the Hon. the Minister of Education may be deputed to deliver a daily lecture for an hour on Law and Order to the Mahatma.

Wanted an All-India Conference: Sind has now joined in the demand for a non-party All-India Conference to discuss the present political situation. At a Conference convened by the Hon. Mr. Bhurgri, member of the Council of State and Principal Gidwani, and other prominent Non-co-operators, to consider the present political situation and the desirability of establishing a common platform for constructive work, Mr. Bhurgri emphasised the immediate need of thoroughly revising and modifying the Congress programme so as to make it more acceptable and effective. He pointed out that no concerted action was possible so long as the methods of work were unchanged. The underlying principle of the present movement was creating hatred against and the subversion of the present Government. That made it impossible for other parties to protest against any wrong action of the Government. There were many who were not Non-co-operators but who desired to mend the present system of Government but in no way end it. They would have now to fight more against the reactionary forces in the British Cabinet and public opinion than against the Government of India and it was therefore essential that the Congress programme and methods of work should be reconsidered. Mr. Gidwani and other Non-co-operators said it would be nothing short of a national calamity if the Government succeeded in its crusade against the Congress and the real test was whether those who were anxious for concerted action, and who still remained outside the Congress, would join it and work for a constructive programme. After further discussion a resolution was adopted (Mr. Gidwani and another Non-co-operator remaining neutral) expressing the opinion that in view of the gravity of the present situation the time had come when all political workers, of all shades of opinion, should join and find common methods and a common programme of work and take concerted action against the reactionary forces in this country and in England and appeal to the leaders in India to convene an all-India conference for the purpose.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 9, 1922.

INDIA AND THE EMPIRE.

Nothing in recent times has besmirched public life among us so much as the unseemly personal attacks on Mr. Srinivasa Sastry for his supposed extravagances during his deputation to England and America. At the same time, his projected tour to some Dominions and the reasons adduced for it, raise important issues which, we are sure, he would himself like to be thoroughly canvassed in the public interest. If Mr. Srinivasa Sastry believes that he can be better employed in the interests of the country by lecturing in Australia and America during the next nine months than by doing anything here, a subvention from the State is a small recompense for the sacrifice he makes as a recognised national leader of high intellectual eminence. But it would be idle for us to pretend that the reasons by which he has sought since his return, to commend this project to the Indian people are convincing. His first line of defence is that the Indians domiciled in Australia, New Zealand and Canada are not receiving the treatment stipulated by the Reciprocity resolution of the Imperial Conference, and that his purpose is to see that the resolution is strictly given effect to. There may be a few minor matters in regard to which in these Dominions Indians domiciled in them have not received the full advantage of the Imperial Conference resolution, but these are nothing as compared to the deadset made against them in South Africa and the Crown colonies of East Africa and Fiji. Even as regards mere numbers, the three Dominions which Mr. Sastry's tour comprises, have a much smaller proportion of Indians than the latter which he does not propose to visit. Another argument by which Mr. Sastry has defended his proposed tour, is even more far-fetched. It seems that the British people have taken the *hartals* in India during the Prince's visit as an insult; that, therefore, they have hardened their heart against any further concessions to India; and that Mr. Sastry by operating through the Dominions and America hopes, in some mysterious way, to prepare the British mind to relent towards India. Mr. Sastry is an extremely clear-headed thinker and we wonder that he should indulge in this sort of political reverie. We do not know of any previous instance in which the British people made popular demonstrations of the kind we had in India during the Prince's visit, the test of a nation's fitness for self-government. On the other hand, we know that many Englishmen in India (and probably in England) feel that the Government here made a tremendous mistake in insisting on the Prince's visit at a time of so much economic and political strain. The British people have far more political sense than Mr. Sastry's reasoning would concede to them. In any case, while we have regretted and regret the *hartals* during the Prince's visit, the country has not got to apologise for them and Mr. Sastry is not called upon to apologise for the country for them

to Australians and Americans. If Mr. Sastry persists in doing so, it may be worth while to consider the desirability of sending a non-official deputation to follow him with a just and impartial statement of facts relating to the complex Indian situation. We once again condemn the attacks made upon him with reference to his mode of living and moving and relaxations in Europe as being in execrable taste. We have known Mr. Sastry for many years, and have not the least apprehension that his austere temperament will not be proof against the attractions of hotels and motor-cars which naturally bulk largely in the imagination of those who indulge in this species of criticism. They lack the discipline of the soul which enables one with equal indifference to use and to renounce the material comforts and luxuries. Our own fear is, on the contrary, that Mr. Sastry, will have become as inveterate an opponent of the luxuries and excesses of Western civilization as Mahatma Gandhi himself before he is finished with his travels in Europe and America.

Some of Mr. Sastry's remarks lead to the inference that he hopes that American influence will be as powerfully exerted to bring Dominion Status to India as it was to bring about a settlement of the Irish question. There is no basis for this hope. In the book recently published by Mr. J. P. Tumulty, who was President Wilson's Secretary, entitled "Woodrow Wilson as I Know Him," there is a chapter on Ireland which deserves the attention of Indian politicians of all schools. We would call Mr. Sastry's attention to the fact, emphasised by Mr. Tumulty and the President, that what made it imperative for them to interest themselves in the Irish question was the considerable political influence of the Irish element in the American population. Again and again, President Wilson insists that "there never can be a real comradeship between America and England until this (the Irish) issue is definitely settled and out of the way." But even then the President could proceed only by private, informal pressure. "I am sure," writes Mr. Tumulty, "that if he could with propriety have done so, Woodrow Wilson would long ago have directly suggested to Great Britain a settlement of the Irish question but, unfortunately, serious diplomatic obstacles lay in the way of an open espousal of the Irish cause. He was sadly aware that under international law no nation has the right to interest itself in any thing that directly concerns the affairs of another friendly nation, for by the traditions of diplomacy such interference puts in jeopardy the cordial relations of the nations involved in such controversy." Only in the case of non-Christian countries like Turkey and Japan has this principle been departed from. Why should America embroil herself with England about India? What has Mr. Sastry to offer to America as a reason for her intervention? In principle, how does his mission differ from Dr. Subramania's famous letter to President Wilson? What can America urge in defence of her treatment of her negroes, if Mr. Sastry hopes to get American influence to favour his mission in Canada or Australia? What about the Phillipines? We cannot help

thinking that Mr. Sastry has allowed himself to be deluded into taking the conventional small talk at the several Conferences at their face value. Compliments paid to him have been equalled if not exceeded by compliments paid to other Indians before him by public men in England, but they mean nothing and have never meant anything. We should be very sorry if he comes back disillusioned and embittered by failure to achieve a result which can only be achieved if India becomes strong and self-reliant in herself. There is always a fascination about leading a forlorn hope but none in cherishing a hope forlorn of any foundation in reality. The disabilities of Indians in the Dominions are not due to the statesmen there not appreciating the high capacity of Indians. General Smutts, in one of his speeches, generously remarked that there are Indians the latchet of whose shoes he was unworthy to unloose. But has that avowal made any difference as regards his anti-Indian policy? There is a lesson in Mr. Tumulty's chapter on Ireland to our extremists also. President Wilson's informal but nonetheless influential endeavours to advance the Irish settlement at the Peace Conference were thwarted by the impulsive acts of the Irish extremists. The President, it may be added, knew precisely where the fault lay. "English statesmen," he told Mr. Tumulty "must realize that in the last analysis force never permanently settles anything. It only produces hatred and resentments which make a solution of any question difficult and almost impossible." Here is the key to the Indian or to the Irish question. Will Mr. Sastry's visit to the Dominions dislodge this inveterate belief of English statesmen?

Timbers of India. "The Timbers of India and Burma," is a reprint, issued by the Inspector General of Forests to the Government of India, of a lecture delivered by Mr. Alexander Howard of Messrs. N. W. Howard Bros. and Co. to the members of the Indian Legislature in February last. Timbers such as Sal, Deodhar, Chir, Sissoo &c. are well-known and in regular use in India. But there are others equally good, which so far have been of little value and in small demand. Some of those mentioned by the lecturer are Padauk (Andamans), a superb wood with timber of a brilliant red colour with a rich grain displaying wonderful markings. It can stand trying climates and ants as well as teak. Burma Padaik is one of the most valuable hard-woods in the world. Pyinnia is another most valuable timber. White Bombwe is another excellent timber grown in the Andamans. White Chuglane is another good timber from the Penal Settlement. Laurel-wood, Silver-grey wood, Koko, Indian Boxwood, Gurgan, Pyinkado, and Haldu, were also noticed by Mr. Howard. As an instance of how much ignorance prevails in India, Mr. Howard cited a case where he found it was proposed to cut a tree into sleepers the value of which might reach as much as perhaps Rs. 35 to Rs. 40, whereas this tree was well worth in the London market at a low valuation, Rs. 1,000.

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

We reprint these stanzas from Lowell's thrilling ode with the above heading, as the most suitable contribution for the National Week.

When a deed is done for Freedom, through
the broad earth's aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling
on from east to west,
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels
the soul within him climb
To the awful verge of manhood, as the
energy sublime
Of a century bursts full-blossomed on the
thorny stem of Time.

Through the walls of hut and palace
shoots the instantaneous throe,
When the travail of the Ages wrings
earth's systems to and fro;
At the birth of each new Era, with a
recognising start,
Nation wildly looks at nation, standing
with mute lips apart,
And glad Truth's yet mightier man-child
leaps beneath the Future's heart.

For mankind are one in spirit, and an
instinct bears along,
Round the earth's electric circle, the swift
flash of right or wrong;
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet
Humanity's vast frame
Through its ocean-sundered fibres feels
the gush of joy or shame;—
In the gain or loss of one race all the
rest have equal claim.

Once to every man and nation comes the
moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for
the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah,
offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and
the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by forever, 'twixt that
darkness and that light.

Careless seems the great Avenger; his
tory's pages, but record
One death-grapple in the darkness 'twixt
old systems and the Word;
Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong
forever on the throne,—
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and,
behind the din unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow, keep-
ing watch above His own.

Then to side with Truth is noble when
 we share her wretched crust,
 Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and
 'tis prosperous to be just ;
 Then it is the brave man chooses, while
 the coward stands aside,
 Doubting in his abject spirit, till his
 Lord is crucified,
 And the multitude make virtue of the
 faith they had denied.

* * * * *
 Count me over earth's chosen heroes,—
 they were souls that stood alone,
 While the men they agonised for hurled
 the contumelious stone,
 Stood serene, and down the future saw
 the golden beam incline
 To the side of perfect justice, mastered
 by their faith divine,
 By one man's plain truth to manhood
 and to God's supreme design.

* * * * *
 For Humanity sweeps onward : where
 to-day the martyr stands,
 On the morrow crouches Judas with the
 silver in his hands ;
 Far in front the cross stands ready and
 the crackling fagots burn,
 While the hooting mob of yesterday in
 silent awe return
 To glean up the scattered ashes into
 History's golden urn.

ANGLICAN BISHOPS AND INDIAN POLITICS.

I (Contributed.)

In a pastoral letter addressed to the members of the Church of England in India and Ceylon and any others who may care to read it, the Bishops of the Province assembled in Synod, describe the political situation, deprecate the atmosphere of suspicion and misunderstanding and counsel a spirit of moderation and reasonableness. A calm and candid consideration of the Indian problem is at no time so urgent and necessary as at the present hour when the mind of the country is distracted by the conflicting forces of a blind self-assertive conservatism which hugs to its heart the seventeenth century order of things, a futile pompous moderatism which prefers safety to courage in meeting great issues, a self-styled independent liberalism which vents its wrath and woes in what are called vigorous protests and deputations to the authorities, a militant vindictive nationalism hardly more creditable than fiddling partisanship, which is ready to plunge the country into disorder and anarchy, a vague mysticism which dreams of distant paradises to be won by splendid spiritual isolation and an impossible idealism, at once so deceptive and so alluring, so like a mirage and yet so potent for action. The general ferment has released from subconsciousness, suppressed passions and impulses. The country

has escaped from the insensibility which deadens the weight and is eagerly struggling to break the chain. A new life is insistently asking for recognition and interpretation. Friends of the Empire can render no greater service to Britain and India than deal with the situation in a dispassionate way, appreciating the achievements of the past, sympathising with the privations of the present and suggesting lines of future advance.

The opening paragraph where the Bishops insist on "the gentleness and the reasonableness of Christ" and entreat their readers to "think justly and sanely" is pitched in the right key, though the body of the letter, in spite of the studied attempt at fairness and impartiality, is not altogether loyal to that spirit. An authoritative body as the Anglican Clergy in India, one would have thought, would have attempted to interpret and make articulate the deeper and half-conscious strivings and impulses which have brought about the present crisis rather than make a partisan plea on behalf of one specific solution of the problem, ignoring the motives and aspirations which have come to the surface with increasing insistence. To discuss the problem as if these currents and forces meant nothing, as though they were mere aberrations irrelevant to the issue at stake is to move in a realm of fiction and unreality.

The Bishops, however, are not to blame if they cannot divest themselves of their vested interests and inherited prejudices. They afford a further illustration of the difficulty of thinking 'sanely and justly' when passions are running high and mind plays tricks upon itself. We generally hold opinions favourable to our interests. We discover reasons for what we *will* to believe. Even Aristotle nodded when he found himself faced by the institution of slavery in his own state. With his rare powers of penetration he could not but see how it sapped and weakened the social fabric. Yet dependent like all his class on that system for his way of life, he put forth without any candid avowal of intellectual inconsistency miscellaneous arguments to defend that institution. As Hobbes apologised for autocracy, as Locke defended Civil Government, our Bishops stand up for the British Empire in its present form. "As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end. Amen." It is not for a moment suggested that there is any element of deliberate hypocrisy. The ideals we avow to ourselves are above suspicion; only our actual practice is motivated differently. The hidden forces are generally suppressed and are not consciously noticed. An effort of self-analysis is necessary to reveal to us the inner springs of conduct. Mr. B. Russell, F. R. S., writes in his "Analysis of Mind", "When some desire that we should be ashamed of is attributed to us, we notice that we have never had it consciously in the sense of saying to ourselves, 'I wish that would happen.' We therefore look for some other interpretation of our actions, and regard our friends as very unjust when they refuse to be convinced by our repudiation of what we hold to be a calumny. We say: 'I desire to be kind to my friends, honourable in business, philanthropic towards the poor, public-spirited in politics.'

So long as we refuse to ourselves, even in the watches of the night, to avow any contrary desires, we may be bullies at home, shady in the city, skinflints in paying wages and profiteers in dealing with the public; yet if only conscious motives are to count in moral valuation, we shall remain model characters." The deceitfulness of the human heart screens the truth. The quality of humour is necessary to shatter the world of make believe and good intentions in which we generally live. We must now and then laugh at ourselves and bear others laughing at us. Without the freedom from the tyranny of the practical and the power of self-analysis, the discovery of truth is a hard game. The Brahmin of old, intended for the pursuit of truth and spiritual discovery was freed from the petty politics of the passing hour and encouraged to acquire an impersonal outlook on life.

Who sees with equal eye, as Lord of all
A hero perish, or a sparrow fall
Atoms and systems into ruin hurled
And now an atom burst and now a world.

The Bishops cannot be expected to see and judge things with the passionless impersonality of a stoic sage, or the clear vision of Plato's philosopher or the spiritual realism of the Indian sages who were not bound by settled thought and accepted usage but drove hard at fact and based all on the fundamentals of truth.

The present writer who is an observer outside the arena of practical politics would not have ventured to join issue with the learned Bishops if their appeal had been only to the practical political sense of the people. He has no quarrel with them if they look upon Gandhi as a knight of the impossible, "a beautiful but ineffectual angel beating his luminous wings in the void in vain," though he would like to add that no real progress is possible without the inspiration of the impractical. One who believes that the great truths of loving enemies, despising riches and turning cheeks to smiters, practising which we cannot go even once round the College Square can become human nature's daily food is certainly an unpractical dreamer. The writer can understand the Bishops if they say that one who is 'too proud to fight' cannot lead the country in its struggle for freedom. He cannot consider them unsympathetic if they dismiss Gandhi as a tyro in politics who is as ready to make mistakes as to own them or look upon him as a dangerous force who plays with fire in trying hurriedly to force up society to a higher plane, thus exposing it to the avenging power of facts. He cannot deem them unjust if they consider Gandhi to be a faddist trying to imitate the prophet of old and bid the sun of progress stop in its course and go back. He can appreciate their cleverness if they declare, what Nietzsche said of the Jews of Jesus day, that the cowardly and effeminate Indians unable to show open fight to the virile and robust Britishers have revived the code of love as a simple act of self-preservation. He will agree with them if they dispute the wisdom of certain aspects of his movement such as the discourtesies to the Prince, crusade

against Colleges, bonfires of foreign cloth and campaign of civil disobedience. But what staggers him most is that the Bishops in their zeal for the established order should believe that "the non-violent method of a famous Indian politician" is not the same as that of Jesus. The present writer does not claim to possess a tithe of the vast learning of the Bishops but he does not yield to them in his reverence for the life and teaching of Jesus. He believes that the Bishops have done a cruel wrong to Jesus in their elaborate theological defence of the duty of blind obedience to law and a grave injustice to Gandhi in condemning his non-violent method as un-Christian. The writer's only interest in the present movement is the non-violent aspect of it. He believes that the application of the principle of love to the sphere of politics is Gandhi's greatest contribution to the progress of humanity. He is, therefore, very much pained when even the Bishops doubt its wisdom and contest its validity. Now that Gandhi is removed from the scene of his activities and cannot influence practical politics, we can discuss his method with greater freedom.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, March 18.

Mr. MONTAGU'S RESIGNATION.

After all, Mr. Montagu has had to resign. He has been virtually dismissed from office on a good pretext, but the real cause of his offence is that he has had to be sacrificed to keep the Prime Minister in office and because he has supported a policy that runs counter to that of Mr. Lloyd George in the matter of the Turkish settlement. Everyone knows the Prime Minister's party difficulties. He thinks that it is absolutely necessary for him to remain in office for the moment. The Irish Bill is not yet through the House of Lords, which may well prove to be the stronghold of the Diehards; and, too, he wants, if possible, to remain in power until Genoa is decided one way or the other. But it would have been difficult to find a legitimate excuse had not Mr. Montagu incautiously provided one himself. If any Government has persistently rejected the constitutional doctrine of joint Cabinet responsibility it is the present Coalition. It has habitually acted as though each Minister were a little independent sovereign—as witness the case of Mr. Churchill on several well-remembered occasions, and as recently as six weeks ago in the matter of Kenya Indians. Ministers have ignored each other's existence and have conducted their departments indifferent alike to the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility and the opinion of their colleagues and the public, and Mr. Montagu's enforced resignation has merely made public and through a megaphone what everyone has been privately complaining of. But the fact that Mr. Montagu repeated the practice of his colleagues on his own account does not absolve him from blame. Indeed, he, of all men, ought to have known that

whereas one man might steal a horse, another might not even look over the wall. That is exactly what has happened here. Mr. Churchill not only escapes scot-free after his Kenya escapade, but he is even called into counsel by the Prime Minister in order to decide in what way Cabinet discipline is to be exercised against Mr. Montagu. On the merits of the excuse, which is plausible enough, Mr. Montagu stands condemned. But he really, as he himself has repeatedly declared, has been thrown to the wolves—the Diehards of the Conservative Party, who have made life hideous for the Prime Minister, for weeks past. I doubt if the Prime Minister would even then have made up his mind to this heroic remedy of sacrificing one more of his dwindling band of Liberal Ministers, but for the fact that Mr. Montagu forgot that he could not with impunity place in jeopardy his chief's Turkish policy. No one even now can say what and why it is, but Mr. Lloyd George does not readily forgive those who stand in his way or who by implication charge him with a breach of pledge. It is to be hoped that in India Lord Curzon's stupid private letter to Mr. Montagu will not be taken too seriously, or that the Viceroy will feel under any obligation to resign. Indeed, his resignation at this moment would bring about the collapse of the Cabinet like a house of cards. It ought to be remembered that much of the antagonism expressed here in some quarters against him is based upon that pernicious anti-Semitism to which Mr. Montagu has at last succumbed. It is a great pity that, in all probability, for a long time to come, it will be impossible for him to return to office in this country. He has offended too many social and political conventions to be readily forgiven, and then, too, he has not the good fortune of being able to fall on his feet like Mr. Churchill. He has, however, been the best Secretary of State that India has ever had and deserves well of the Empire.

SOUTH AFRICAN TROUBLE.

The present South African trouble is going to have far-reaching consequences. That the white revolt would be quashed after a little serious work was a foregone conclusion. But the trouble will not end with the quelling of the rebellious workers nor yet the settlement of the strike. South Africa has a huge native population numbering about 5 to 1, and this has developed rapidly during the last ten years, so that an event like the present one is likely to bring about a crisis in native opinion that will have to be reckoned with long after the present strike is settled and perhaps forgotten. Education and the capacity to organise has grown tremendously among the natives, and the extreme section of labour has not hesitated to endeavour to inculcate feelings of suspicion and revolt against their white masters in the negro mind on more than one occasion. Of course, to-day, no people however numerically superior, acting without the knowledge and possession of the most modern instruments of warfare, has any chance against a people possessing these. But a hostile people, even helpless in arms and knowledge, can destroy the peace of a country. General Smuts

has paid a high tribute to the native population, speaking of their self-restraint as being most admirable, and their behaviour as irreproachable. He also said that the white race was more than ever on its trial in Africa and had nothing of which to be proud in the recent events.

One thing is quite evident; the position of the non-white workers on the mines will have to be dealt with ere the strike itself is really settled. For at bottom the present question is one of working expenses and the negro is to-day sufficiently skilled to do much that the white man has hitherto claimed as his exclusive right. Also he can, does and will work for much lower wages, so that if some of the poorer mines are to continue they must do so largely with native labour. Even the rich mines are not willing to pay high rates of wages to workers just because they possess white skins, when the coloured man can do the same work and do it for half the wages. The South African Labour Party will have other and more difficult problems to deal with than capital and labour amongst its own people; it will have to find some solution for the race-problems facing it, for it will not be able to ignore these much longer. Labour has its price to pay for empire as well as the governing aristocracy, and life has never allowed that ignorance of its laws will stop the results of action.

ENGLISH ENGINEERS' STRIKE.

But for the quarrel in the Cabinet, the Engineers' strike, which commenced on Saturday last in England, would have caused much more talk than it has done. Yet it may be a very serious affair, and is likely to affect many more than those in Engineering Unions. The apparent cause of the dispute is the question of overtime. Over eighteen months ago an agreement was arrived at between masters and men on this particular point. The men agreed to work overtime when such was necessary, the employers pledging themselves at the same time to avoid systematic overtime. The men now complain that the masters have infringed the agreement by demanding continuous overtime; the employers in reply have said that the definition of the word "necessary" must rest solely with themselves, and that they would not allow the unions to interfere in a matter which they considered purely one of management. The executive of the amalgamated Engineering Union, knowing its funds were low, was not anxious for a strike or a lock-out, and a ballot was taken. Large numbers of the men, however, refrained from voting at all, and when the count was taken it was found the ballot vote recorded was in favour of refusing to accept the demands of the employers, and thereupon the employers gave notice of a lock-out to begin on March 11th. There seems to be a great deal to say on both sides. Capital is having a very difficult time, and in its endeavour to build up trade and deal with the after-war complexities, it is likely to get impatient with the humours or ideas of the men. The men on the other hand are not inclined, and in fact positively refuse, to be treated as "hands."

They have evolved a thinking capacity, and bring this to bear rightly or wrongly on the actions of the employers, judging such actions in their own way. Their present point is that since there are about 25 per cent of their fellow-workers out of employment, overtime should not be called for, but a larger number of employees taken on. If no settlement is arrived at soon, it is probable that Government will be asked to intervene, as it would be disastrous at the present time to allow a long struggle to ensue. The shipbuilding employees are also in dispute with their employers and unless this is settled within the next few hours there will be a cessation of work in the shipbuilding yards. Altogether in the two trades and the people affected about two millions within a few days may be out of employment.

BRITISH INDUSTRIES FAIR.

The British Industries Fair closed a few days ago. The results of the fair seem to have been satisfactory. Some firms have gained much more than others, but all feel that the Fair has given a decided fillip to trade. About 50,000 of the cards of invitation which were issued by the department of Overseas Trade were presented. The United States and Holland were among the countries most largely represented and many South African buyers were present, and trade representatives from Morocco and Iceland were among the buyers. Prices quoted were much lower than they were this time twelve months ago, and those firms coming mostly in competition with German goods are holding their own. It is expected that next year will see a further expansion of the Fair with gain to all concerned.

POLITICAL IDEALS IN NATIVE STATES.

(FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.)

The eighteenth Session of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly which recently closed its deliberations after 12 days of actual sitting must serve as an eye-opener to those in power in Travancore. Started under the pre-eminently democratic administration of Dewan V. P. Madhava Rao C. I. E., the Assembly has served the excellent purpose of imparting political education in the most effective and telling manner. It cannot be denied that at one stage of its evolution it was a petitioners' gathering assembled for the purpose of ventilating the wants and grievances of members and submitting their prayers at the foot of the Throne of the Dewan. But the days of petitioning are over and the discussion of subjects for the past two or three years has been decidedly enlivening and even arresting. The people seem to have had an all-round training in the art of Government and have perceptibly been struck by the course of events happening around them in British India. When the subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor are inspired and impelled by a consuming desire to be taken into the Councils of the State in an ever larger measure of real, living responsible Government, when in the North, East, South and West of the Indian Empire the people are ruthlessly fighting tooth and nail for more participation in the every-day work of administration, when non-officials have begun to feel that they are the accredited representatives of the people in full possession of rights and privileges in the management of the affairs of the State, when the public workers in British India have

commenced to be guided by the one central idea that in that one word the 'people' is summed up much that is politically worth enjoying, it is not likely that the Native State subjects will ever be uninfluenced or unaffected by such penetrating ideas and ideals. The line of discussion adopted by the members was an inspiring instance as to the rate of course of progress the people of Travancore have in view. As one who has been present at the Assembly from the time of its very birth I can unhesitatingly say that the last session was a particularly successful one. The level of discussion was high, frank, severely frank and outspoken—wonderfully constructive in ideas and suggestive of the real heart and care of the aspirations of the people. It must also be said to the eternal credit of the Dewan, Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah that he was marvellously fair, exceedingly patient, pitiously cool, uninterruptedly attentive and ever anxious to act on suggestions that may be made. When I heard some members practically telling him that he, i.e., a foreign Dewan, was not wanted and when I listened to the unnecessarily strong and even acrimonious remarks made about certain measures of administrative improvement initiated by him, my hairs stood on end and I thought that no man of self-respect would ever accept the Dewanship of Travancore. But Mr. Raghaviah was serene, calm and collected, eager to drink deep from the very fountain of knowledge and post himself with the latest thoughts and views pulsating the masses in the art and practice of the governance of the State. His answers showed how impartial and unaffected he was. It was only a few months ago that a Legislative Council with 70 per cent of non-official members was constituted with powers of voting grants, of asking interpellations and supplementing questions, of moving resolutions, &c. &c. The elections are not over yet and the Council is yet in the process of formation. Still the members want further alterations and one member went to the length of saying that there ought to be a larger proportion of non-official element. Another constitutional change proposed was that a Cabinet Government should be brought into being, the members being elected by the Legislative Council. The programme of reform according to another Member was that the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly should be so constituted, of course, on a statutory basis, as to serve as a Upper House for the discussion and deliberation of all questions of administration excepting the topic of working taxes which alone should be attended to by the Legislative Council, the Lower House. The present system of Diarchy found favour with some. The kernel of the deliberations and discussions, the quintessence of the proposals made, the very gist of the various speeches made was that the people should be represented in the Councils of the State. Probably, the very same ideas and ideals to which expression has been feebly and briefly given above predominate in other Native States also. A truly conservative Ruler in an Indian State trained in the old groove of autocratic administration, or even jealous of the smallest reduction of his authority may feel that he is fish out of water. But the wave of constitutional reforms and political changes is rolling on in spite of rulers of this type. He who gives promptly and ungrudgingly gives most effectively, but he who delays by a single day creates a source of a danger to himself and to his State. This is not a political shibboleth but a hard, solid fact which cannot be ignored.

MAHATMA GANDHI IN JAIL.

We have received the following from the Director of Information, Bombay:

Misleading and, in certain respects entirely untrue, statements regarding the treatment of Mr. Gandhi in Yeravda gaol have appeared in certain newspapers. The following note gives the facts:

Mr. Gandhi is given precisely the same diet to which he was accustomed when he was free, namely goat's milk, bread, oranges, lemons, sugar, tea and raisins. He brought his own raisins to prison with him which he used until they were finished and a fresh supply was provided for him by the jail authorities. It is untrue to say that he is locked in at night. He has separate quarters of his own, one cell to sleep in and the other to work in during the day. The sleeping cell he is allowed to keep open at night. Half the yard is reserved for him to exercise and the space is ample for the purpose, as Mr. Gandhi has stated to the authorities on several occasions. Mr. Gandhi has not asked for any newspapers and his request to be allowed to retain some of his private books was granted as soon as it was made. A pillow in addition to the usual bedding, was supplied when it was asked for. A commode for use at night was placed in the cell on medical grounds for the benefit of the prisoner.

It should be added that Mr. Gandhi has been seen by the Inspector general of Prisons on several occasions and has each time made no complaints but on the contrary expressed himself as completely satisfied with the treatment he is receiving. Moreover, on the occasion of the interview which some of Mr. Gandhi's friends had with him and of which distorted accounts have appeared in the Press, Mr. Gandhi distinctly states that he did not want his prison life discussed in the papers but only that it should be stated that he was quite well.

THE COLLAPSE OF LAW AND ORDER.

Hindu Message, (Srirangam Weekly,) Orthodox Hindu.

Mr. Gandhi, whom the reverent affection of a very large section of his countrymen has dubbed Mahatma, was sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment by the District and Sessions Judge at Ahmedabad on the 18th March. It is worth noting as we go that it is a tribute to the excellence of the campaign he had been conducting unceasingly these late years that the country should have received the news with such equanimity. This is not the occasion, nor is there any need, to stress in the manner of pompous non-entities our differences with him on some of his vital tenets as well as in regard to his strategy. We cannot, do what we may, altogether drive away the suspicions in our mind, amounting almost to a certainty, that the Lokamanya to whom more than one reference was made in the course of the trial would not have adopted the political strategy of this great and shining successor of his. There is this difference however in the government attitude towards these two leaders. While the Lokamanya inspired in the minds of the powers that be, till after the close of his glorious life, a spirit of vindictive revenge, Mr. Gandhi has inspired quite the opposite feelings. The result to the country in either case has not been different. That the course of governmental policy should require the secreting for six long years of a person of the Mahatma's transparent sincerity of motive, unstinted devotion to the cause of Truth as he understood it, his splendid optimism, unselfishness and fearless pursuit of a clear and definite programme, who has always inspired reverence, respect or esteem in the minds of those who came into contact with him—this evidences to our mind conclusively the collapse of law and order in the country to-day. The steersman of the Indian state has lost his control over the steering wheel. That must be the verdict of all impartial observers.

The tone of judge and prosecutor—for in substance in trials of this nature both functions are the same—was admirable. The personality of the accused, his resounding fame and simple dignity, must have overawed the spectators and the other actors; of this we have evidence in the Associated Press messages. The statement of Mr. Gandhi is in striking agreeable contrast to the storm and fierce passion betrayed by the Alis at their trial.

That statement will go down in history as a classic. Another leader of incomparable parts threw the challenge boldly at the face of the judge nearly two decades ago, and with fervour declared that it was the will of Providence to further the cause through his incarceration. And it came true. The present ringing statement maintains the sacred right of the individual to revolt against a system of Government as in present-day India. The danger in this line of argument is easily seen and there is no need to stress it. Souls like these are the despair of the politician and the "grey shade" constitutionalist. That not Mr. Gandhi alone, a leader of transcendent eminence, but a whole host of men and women of all ages and varying degrees of endowment, natural or acquired, should be ready to spring forth fully armed to fling this challenge down is a sign of a grave disease in the body politic and indicates the collapse of that law and order, of which under other and happier circumstances these very persons would have been the stoutest defenders. As the shades of the prison-house close on Mr. Gandhi, he leaves behind for the government to face and solve at their peril a stupendous problem. The slow-footed but sure Fates are advancing upon the country and we seem to detect in the air the ironic laughter of the Gods at the complacent, futile vanity of men in authority. The country and the government are on the brink of the awfullest tragedy in our history; and we would earnestly pray that the authorities may not resemble those rustics whom, with the pride of learning, Horace describes as (what no rustic ever did or will do) sitting on the bank till the flood subsides, which all the while is advancing to swallow them.

THE INDIAN SITUATION.

Indian Standard, (Ajmere Monthly), Presbyterian Church.

The arrest of Mr. Gandhi was well-nigh inevitable: the expediency of it is another matter, and opinion is divided over it. If it had to be done, then it is a thousand pities that it should have been allowed to be mixed up with British politics and thus given the appearance of being little more than a move in the party game. Our position as an Assembly was clearly announced at Allahabad, and we counselled the nation to keep to the path of law and order. Mr. Gandhi definitely and finally left that path when he threw down the gauntlet at Bardoli. He retreated ostensibly because of the Chauri Chaura outrage: he heard God's voice in the tumult. There is nothing to be gained now by raking up what we have already left a long way behind us, and we have Mr. Gandhi's account of the reasons for his retreat; but it may be worth while recording that even before the Chauri Chaura outbreak Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants must have known full well that they were doomed to defeat in Bardoli, and defeat there was throughout India.

It is a very difficult situation, and it is not easy for us Christians to form a hard and fast opinion about it. The awakening of India has been largely our own doing and we have often given God thanks for it. Mr. Gandhi has never concealed his Christian character. A villager the other day asked us what Mr. Gandhi meant when in his vernacular

paper he said that this was "a Bible war." When we told him that the Bible was the Christian's book, he wanted to know why he had not said it was war according to the Koran or the Vedas. We know the reasons why. In the last number of *Young India* Mr. Gandhi appeals to his readers to be prepared to suffer for their cause, and the examples he holds up to them for their imitation must seem strange to Indian eyes. The first of his four heroes is Daniel, the second Latimer, the third John Bunyan, and only in the fourth has he recourse to Indian tradition—he is Frablad. It is an extraordinary phenomenon, and it may well give us Christians pause before we pronounce judgment on this side or that.

SCHEMES OF SWARAJ.

The Tribune, Lahore daily, (Independent).

If we do want a new body, and for our part we have said repeatedly that we do, it is because just at present the Congress is not fully representative of the country as a whole, whether as regards the definiteness of its expressed ideal or as regards the methods on which it relies for the realisation of that ideal. Undoubtedly, as Mr. Patel pointed out, we all want the same thing, but that is a very different thing from saying that the country as a whole subscribes to the first Article of the Congress Creed as that Article is at present expressed. This, in fact, is and has always been our strongest objection to the change in the Congress creed. As regards methods the position is even worse. The Liberals are totally opposed to non-co-operation, and even the Independents do not believe that by itself and without vital modification it can lead the country to its goal within a measurable distance of time. It is just because this is so that we do want a new body, a body on which, as Pandit Malaviya said, all those who believe in the attainment of dominion self-government as the object of our political endeavour and in peaceful, legitimate and constitutional activity as the sole method by which that object is to be attained, should be represented. Such a body will, speaking broadly, carry out the ideal of the Congress as of all other political bodies in the country, but for carrying it out, it will work along lines on which neither the present Congress nor any other body at present existing in the country can work, lines which will represent a synthesis of the cherished and conflicting ideals and views of all sections of the party of self-government in the country. It will, in other words present a common meeting ground for all these bodies for the formulation of a common programme, leaving each of the component units free to carry on its own work in its own way so long as neither the work nor the way is inconsistent with the general work and the general way of the country as a whole.

Swarajya, (MADRAS DAILY) CONGRESS.

Ever since Pandit Malaviya made his first Bombay speech, there has been in some quarters copious talk of a scheme of Swaraj. We are indebted to a Bombay contemporary for the information that the author of that scheme is "an Indian administrator who has studied the introduction and working of responsible Government in one important Dominion which he visited more than once for the purpose." *The Tribune* and *the Mahabatta* welcome a revision of the Congress programme as suggested by a resolution of the Nagpur Congress Committee, while one of our local contemporaries, though observing a disquieting silence over the pro-

posed scheme, has ventured at least on one onslaught on the Ahmedabad programme. The case for the Revisionists is ably presented by the *Indian Social Reformer* in a few sentences. It says "The most intelligent opinion in the Congress and outside is agreed that full Responsible Government is the solution of our national problems. Mr. Patel says, "let us have the promise first of full Responsible Government, and then there will be no difficulty in drawing up a scheme." But that is not the right view to take about the matter. We should first show how and in what period present system can be converted into a full responsible one without the least delay and dislocation. A definite scheme is also necessary to instruct the people as to their own duties, and responsibilities under self-government." To frame a scheme of Swaraj before we acquire the necessary strength to enforce it would be putting the cart before the horse. When the constructive programme of the Congress is carried through and when we have paid the necessary price for freedom, it will then be time to discuss schemes of Swaraj. The introduction of any such scheme at this stage will be the signal for many to rush to controversial fire-arms. We should doubtless witness learned and vivacious disputations, the clash of subtle intelligence with pedantic lore, and the display of a very high order of dialectic ability which would considerably flatter those in confabulation. We have known at least of one President of the Congress having made his presidential address a mosaic of constitutional politics profusely coloured with historical illustration, discussing the relative merit of the powers conferred by an Act of Parliament and the Royal Letters Patent. The proposed scheme of Swaraj would certainly do much to excite the idle intelligence in the country, but would serve little purpose in educating the people. A complex scheme with its checks and counter-checks is essentially unsuited for the purpose of propaganda among the people. The masses have already a fairly good notice of Swaraj. With a new-fangled scheme, the Congress would be diverting its attention from the live struggle for freedom to the superficial discussions over the details of a paper constitution. That way lies the path to disintegration in the Congress which all of us are so anxious to avoid. The supreme need of the hour is concentration on the constructive programme, for the true freedom can only be a growth from inside. No one tries to gather the harvest before it ripens and the Statesmen of the Dominions did not advertise their pet nostrums through schemes of Home-Rule before the Imperial Parliament had consented to confer that status on them. The Congress is no narrow cult but is a broad national organisation intended to accommodate all those that desire freedom for the country. We agree that "no group of politicians can acquire vested interests in it." There is room in it for all who subscribe to the creed of non-violence, for Constitutionalists, Revisionists, Independents and Non-co-operators. We do not agree that any part of the Ahmedabad programme is rendered obsolete by non-user. The country is now passing through a crisis. It stands deprived of its great leader. If only with singleness of purpose we concentrate on the constructive programme of Bardoli as modified at Delhi, our freedom will then have been realised.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR'S BOOK

The Leader, (Allahabad daily) Liberal.

Sir Sankaran Nair thus stands forth as the champion of resolute action with regard to the non-co-operation movement. It is difficult to say whether he would have expressed the

same view as he has done if he had been in office, and had an opportunity of estimating the forces he had to contend with, of understanding more sympathetically the inner meaning of non-co-operation and of weighing the *pros* and *cons* of a policy of non-interference with a movement of a professedly non-violent nature. It is undoubtedly easy to condemn the Indian executive councillors and legislators for not strengthening the fibre of the Government after the full potentiality of the movement for mischief had become evident, but we venture to think that if Sir Sankaran Nair had been in India since the inception of the movement and had studied the political situation carefully, he would have endorsed the policy which Lord Chelmsford's Government adopted with the support of the moderate section of Indian opinion.

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We have received a copy of the second edition of the 'Guide book for investors in Government of India Securities' which was originally published in 1918. The book contains such information as is likely to be required by investors in connection with the drawal of interest on Government of India Securities and their sale, purchase, negotiation, renewal, conversion, etc. Copies can be purchased from the Superintendent Government Printing, Calcutta, either direct or through a book seller at the nominal price of 2 annas per copy.

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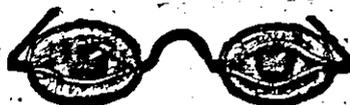
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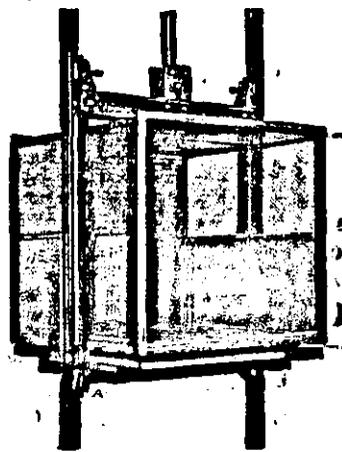
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Vol. XXXII.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, APRIL 16, 1922.

No. 33

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." — WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in 'the Liberator'.

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NOTES.

101

The Viceroy on Mr. Montagu's Resignation: It was expected that His Excellency the Viceroy would have addressed the Indian Legislature at its prorogation a fortnight ago and taken the opportunity of explaining his own position as well as that of his Government with references to the circumstances of Mr. Montagu's resignation. He did not do so, evidently because he was not in a position then to make a definite statement. His Excellency was in a position to do so on the 5th instant when replying to an address presented to him at Peshawar. "I am now fully acquainted with the views of His Majesty's Government upon recent events," said the Viceroy, "and I am sure you will be glad to know that no question has arisen between His Majesty's Government and me as Viceroy or my Government regarding the propriety of either of my own or my Government's action in this or in any respect." His Excellency added that "His Majesty's Government had declared not only was my Government entitled to keep them in England acquainted with Muslim sentiments and to impress them as forcibly as we could but also that my Government acted with constitutional propriety in requesting His Majesty's Government's assent to publication and through the proper channel of communication, the Secretary of State." Entitled and not expected to keep the British Government acquainted with Indian feeling! Surely this is a great descent since the days when the late Lord Salisbury was Secretary of State for India when, according to his daughter whose biography of her father has been published, the India office was known as "the padded room" of the Ministry, into which any novice could be thrust because the real initiative in Indian matters was expected to come from the Viceroy. If this declaration on the part of His Majesty's Government has satisfied the Viceroy, we can only say that Lord Reading's conception of his office cannot be very high. Virtually, His Excellency accepts Lord Curzon's description of "a subordinate of a branch of the British Government" for himself and his Government, if he thinks that a declaration of the kind given by His Majesty's Government has saved any situation that might have otherwise arisen. Mr. Montagu in his speech to his constituency said that when a Viceroy of Lord

Reading's experience twice pressed him for permission to publish the famous despatch, he could not very well have withheld it. The Viceroy had, perhaps, not seen this part of Mr. Montagu's speech or His Excellency could not have so easily absolved himself of any responsibility for its publication. If he had seen this statement of Mr. Montagu's motive for sanctioning publication, Lord Reading, we are sure, would not have proffered the plea that it is no concern of His Excellency's if Mr. Montagu is dismissed for acceding to Lord Reading's Government's pressing suggestion. No Secretary of State henceforth will risk his own dismissal by according to the representations of the Government of India the importance which Mr. Montagu did. The yoke of subordinacy is thus firmly fixed on the necks of the Viceroy and Government of India by Lord Reading's acquiescence.

Police and Politics: The report on the Police Administration of the Bombay Presidency for 1920, was received a few days ago. The inordinate delay in its issue makes it more of antiquarian than of current interest. We daresay that the excuse will be that political agitation left little time to the officials concerned to attend to their regular duties. There was a considerable decrease in cognizable crime as well as in undetected cases during 1920. There is room for further improvement in both respects. This is nothing unusual, and the Inspector-General would have made his report more informing and scientifically useful, if he had not gratuitously, as it seems to us, gone out of his way to animadvert, on political agitation and what he considers to be the apathetic temper of the people to crime. Referring to the proposals for retrenchment, Mr. F. C. Griffith thinks himself entitled to pass a sweeping judgment on the Indian public which he is supposed to serve and which he says "desire to eat Englishman's meat and not on American, which some of the irate correspondents do not seem to know. "The wise American in India," says one of them, "will exercise caution in dealing with political subjects," the corollary to which is that the wise Indian must exercise caution in dealing with American Christianity. To the same conclusion, we are led by the contrast their resolution reviewing the report, 'pass over in silence this attitude of the Inspector-General which is wholly destructive of morale and discipline in the Police force. Equally reprehensible and irrelevant are the references to political activities in the report. The Police ought to have no politics—their business is to deal with crime. In this country, however, the tendency of the Executive Government has been to treat politics as a form of crime, and the Inspector-General takes his cue from that tendency. If any conclusion has to be drawn from the increased political activities and the concurrent diminution of crime during the year, it should, one would think, be the reverse of what the report suggests.

Prostitution in Calcutta and Bombay: Some months ago the Government of Bombay appointed a Committee to suggest means of reducing prostitution in Bombay city. The Committee obtained in the course of its investigations much valuable information regarding the extent and nature of the evil, on which it was able to frame its conclusions. In view of the friendly rivalry between the two cities, it is interesting to compare the conditions of Bombay with those of Calcutta in respect of this feature of city life. We are enabled to do so to some extent by a timely pamphlet entitled "Calcutta Vice" by Mr. Herbert Anderson. While the cry in Bombay is that prostitution has been growing at a dangerous pace, Mr. Anderson, as a resident of more than thirty years, does not hesitate to say that Calcutta is a cleaner city, a city of higher civil and moral ideals, than it was a generation ago. Another respect in which Calcutta compares favourably with Bombay is that, so far as Mr. Anderson's investigations go, the brothel system there is not quite so brutally servile as in the lowest brothels in Bombay. But it seems—though Mr. Anderson does not give definite statistics—that the evil itself is more diffused in Calcutta than in Bombay. Mr. Anderson computes from the statistical data of the last thirty years that in Calcutta and its suburbs an average of 15,000 women is professedly and professionally disreputable. The number of prostitutes who returned themselves at the Census last year in Bombay was 2995, but the Police figures of women in the recognised brothels are 5169. The population of the two cities being about the same, the enormous difference in the numbers—Calcutta has nearly thrice as many prostitutes as Bombay—demands explanation.

Mr. Sastry's Tour: Two newspapers conducted by members of the Servants of India Society, of which the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry is President, have noticed our article last week on the project of his tour in the Dominions. Each of them defends the tour on a different ground. The *Servant of India* makes out that the object of the tour is to shame the British people into granting self-Government to India. "Every country to-day", observes our contemporary, "cares very much for 'saving its face', as the Chinese say; none can afford to go on being branded and pilloried in the world's press as immoral, vicious, unrighteous. The result is not immediate; for international indignation is met by whitewashing propaganda. But in the end, even a bully, however big he be, cowers before the chorus of detestation which greets him on all sides."

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...we think ourselves that neither is likely to do good. The *Hitavada* of Nagpur knows nothing of this aspect of the tour. It says that Mr. Sastry goes to the Dominions to help the Ministers there to overcome the opposition of their Parliaments. It writes: "The Dominion Premiers themselves have difficulties with their own Legislatures to surmount before they can give full effect to the resolutions regarding India's equality of status to which they have agreed. Mr. Sastry's Dominion tour itself is undertaken, partly at least, at the request of the Dominion representatives to help them surmount their own internal difficulties." It is at least as likely that what the Dominion Premiers intend is to enable Mr. Sastry to say on his return to India that he has realised on the spot the

difficulties of these colonial statesmen, which Indians at home cannot understand, and that he has come to the conclusion that the only solution to the problem is to leave it to solve itself. The *Hitavada* also pleads that, since the Indian Legislative Assembly unanimously passed the grant, Mr. Sastry has no option but to go on this tour. Mr. Sastry, too, laid some stress on the unanimous vote of the Assembly, and to be quite frank, it was a great surprise in view of some earlier enquiries in the Assembly about his deputations. All the same, it is not quite fair to interpret the vote as a mandate to Mr. Sastry. We should like a statement of the particular grievances of Indians in Australia, New Zealand and Canada, which Mr. Sastry's presence is needed to get remedied.

Bombay Ministers and Mahatma Gandhi's Prosecution: The *Times of India* had the following "explanation" in Thursday's issue: "Certain Extremist journals in Bombay have attacked the Ministers of the Bombay Government for their supposed attitude towards the arrest of Mr. Gandhi. As this attack is based on an error of our own it is entirely misdirected." The error which our contemporary owns was evidently in stating that the prosecution of the Mahatma was undertaken by the Government of Bombay with the consent or approval of Ministers. We have not the *Times'* article at hand and cannot say offhand in what way the avowal of this error affects the argument intended to be advanced by it. The "explanation" does not explain whether the Ministers had not been consulted about the matter or whether, having been consulted, they had disapproved of the prosecution. As they still continue to hold office, it may be assumed that they have not actively disapproved of the prosecution. Our contemporary's explanation can, therefore, only mean that they were not consulted about the prosecutions which, in a matter of such serious importance, would be a flagrant violation of the instruction that joint consultation between the two halves of the Government should be encouraged in all important matters. Ministers have been attacking political views which they do not like, and we do not think they have any grievance if the public press demands, on the strength of a statement made by a responsible journal like our contemporary, to know what their attitude on a public question is. They might at least reply to enquiries from Members of the Legislative Council.

The Reforms and the Deficit: The *Tribune* of Lahore quotes the following cable of the Delhi correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*: "Sir William Vincent, head of the Home Department, told me there had been two points on which the reforms granting India partial self-government might be wrecked, political and financial. 'Thus far we have weathered the political point, but there is no denying that the financial question is the most dangerous,' he said." Is it Sir William Vincent's idea that there would have been no deficit if there were no reforms? Or does he mean that, though the deficits be there they would not have mattered but for the reforms? In the former case, it would mean that somebody has engineered the deficit in order to wreck the reforms. In the latter, that Government would have somehow managed to raise the revenue but for the reforms, and if the reformed Councils come in their way seriously, they will have to do so? In effect both come to the same thing, namely, that the reforms are to be tolerated so long as they do not involve any radical changes bringing the cost of administration within the means of the country.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 16, 1922.

OUR IMMEDIATE DUTY.

Opinion in favour of a definite move in the direction of finding a common platform for all nationalists, Congress and Liberals, is growing apace in weight and volume. Evidence of this is accumulating in public statements and private letters. We have printed in previous issues comments to this effect from Sind and Punjab, from the Central Provinces, Maharashtra and Madras. We are glad to see the same note struck by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which announces that all shades of political opinion will be represented at the forthcoming Bengal Provincial Conference. "The principal subject before the conference", observes our contemporary, "will be the constructive programme to determine which, it is absolutely necessary, that our wisest heads should take counsel together. The whole country is looking to Bengal for a really workable plan and we fervently trust that there will be no want of patriotism in Bengal to respond to the peremptory call of duty." Gujarat and Andhra alone have made no sign so far. The note of personal attachment to the Mahatma has been always most pronounced in these two provinces. When they realise as well as the others that the main object of any revision that may be proposed or found necessary, can only be to give fuller effect to the fundamental principles of the programme of the Mahatma, they will also no doubt fall into line. The first of the principles is the promotion of feelings of unity among the several communities of India. Neither at Bardoli or Delhi, were any practical steps suggested to this end. Yet it stands to reason that to alarm the smaller communities by proposals of political and economic import much in advance of their views, is the surest way of retarding the growth of unity. They must be led by gradual steps to realise that their interests and sentiments will be fully respected by the major communities of their own countrymen when they have complete responsible Government. In order to give full effect to this first principle of unity and amity among our several communities, if for no other reason, it is necessary to re-adjust the national programme to the actual conditions of the moment.

But what will afford the fullest assurance of security to minorities—whether communities or schools of opinion—is the permeation of the principle of non-violence throughout the country. Non-violence is not merely refraining from knocking down those who differ from one. It is the active and even eager desire to understand their point of view and to assimilate whatever is sound and wise in it. All coercion is violence, intellectual as much as physical. The only force permissible is the moral, and moral force comes from personal example and readiness to suffer and sacrifice for one's convictions. The principle of non-violence is the sole guarantee of freedom to minorities. When gentlemen

like Mr. Hasrat Mohani allude to the alternative of violence, they are surely overlooking the chance that the violence may be directed against one another by the communities of India and not only against the Government for the time being. The abolition of "untouchability" is a crucial factor of the Mahatma's programme, but it cannot be said that the measures so far adopted in pursuance of this object have been effective except to a very limited extent. As for *Khaddar*, many who wear it do not do so for the reasons which the Mahatma favours it, while many who appreciate these reasons, are unconvinced that the *Khaddar* propaganda as it is carried on does not contravene them. When the same *Khaddar* sells at 9 annas per yard in Girgaum and 14 annas in another part of the city scarcely two miles away, it is obvious that the *Khaddar* propaganda has become a new form of exploitation. Then, their remains *Swaraj*. Self-Government cannot be achieved by a miracle. It requires special measures to educate the people in the rights and responsibilities of self-government. The one side of human activity which has been neglected in India is the political. The general indifference to whether Rama rules or Ravana has passed into a proverb. For all these reasons, it is necessary to convene a special Convention of India's leading men to take counsel together.

CHRISTIAN JOURNALS AND MAHATMA GANDHI.

Some of our Christian contemporaries are in trouble with their readers for expressing doubts as to the wisdom of the prosecution and imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi. The *Indian Witness*, the American Methodist Missionary journal of Lucknow, ventured to question the expediency of the measure, and reprinted Mr. Popley's letter published in these columns. This has provoked several correspondents to protest. It published a letter strongly supporting the Government's action and protesting against the letter in question, and in the last issue, it says that several other esteemed correspondents have since written to it in the same strain. Mr. Popley, however, is an Englishman and not an American, which some of the irate correspondents do not seem to know. "The wise American in India," says one of them, "will exercise caution in dealing with political subjects," the corollary to which is that the wise Indian must exercise caution in dealing with American Christianity. To the same conclusion, we are led by the contrast between the apologetic attitude of the *Witness* to its correspondents, and the courageous retort of the English Christian paper, the *Challenge*, to correspondents who wrote to it protesting against its article on the Mahatma's imprisonment, which we print this week. That article appeared in its issue of March 17, and in that of March 24, the Editor says that, as was to be expected, he had been overwhelmed with letters protesting against his comment upon the arrest of Gandhi; two of these he prints. "Many we have burnt. Letters which merely abuse the Editor, even if specially marked for publication, do not seem to

him of sufficient general interest to deserve a space. His faults are obvious enough to himself and to his readers; if published abroad with the ferocious frankness with which clerical correspondents, presumably tired by their Sunday sermons, overwhelm him early each week, they might provoke a reaction in his favour; and praise, if of the same highly-coloured variety, would be bad for his morals." He continues:

The Mahatma's trial and the judge's tribute to his "saintly" character have done little to remove our misgivings. For they bear out the impression of him which we had formed on the evidence of the three men whose verdict on India's matters of this kind we would place highest, the Rev. A.G. Fraser, the Rev. W. E. S. Holland and Professor G. Matthai. What we maintained, and still maintain is that, when a man who has high claim to be a prophet (or, as the *Guardian* phrases it, "a maundersing visionary") comes into conflict with our civilisation, the fact challenges us to a searching of heart. We have learnt in the last ten years that true patriotism does not mean the blind acceptance of the creed of "My country, right or wrong," but the difficult and often unpopular task of testing national and imperial policy by the standard of Jesus Christ. This we invited our readers to do in the present instance. Another issue has been raised by his arrest which does not seem to us so simple as our correspondents, apparently, find it. If a seer believes that certain courses are fraught with evil, and tests them, and is confirmed in his opinion that he ought to resist them, is he to keep silence because his words may be misinterpreted? Should fear of consequences deter a man from proclaiming what he is sincerely convinced is the truth? How far would Christianity or any progress have been possible if this had been the policy of its champions?

We are glad that at least one Indian Christian Missionary journal, the *Dnyanodaya*, recognises that "that twenty thousand of India's most eager patriots, including their leader, are at this hour in prison, forces home the question whether Government strictly according to the principles of Jesus would have shown this sad result." One of the correspondents whose letter the *Challenge* prints concludes: "Our right to rule in India—till we can retire without doing irreparable injury to that vast country—rests upon other considerations than the personal character of Mr. Gandhi." That, indeed, is quite evident from the fact that the Mahatma is in jail to-day. But the question which the *Challenge* and the *Dnyanodaya* raise is: "How far does 'our right to rule in India' rest upon Christianity?"

A VENTURE IN EDUCATION.

No man with any social conscience can look upon the condition of India to-day without a feeling of something approaching despair as he contemplates the tremendous task of changing that condition. He cannot look long without endeavouring to find a panacea for the evils that he sees. He may believe that the solution lies in political reform or in commercial or industrial development, but these will not take him far, if he neglects the one thing which lies at the root of all social progress, namely the education of the masses. Theodore Roosevelt spoke truly when he said: "No

civilised community can afford to show a lack of concern for the education of the youth of to-day, for if so, that community will have to pay a terrible penalty in financial, social and spiritual degradation of the tomorrow. Ignorance and degradation go hand in hand.

New Budgets year by year make their appearance and we fondly hope that at last the time has come for some substantial advance in our educational programme; but No! Advance cannot be made without money, and the money for this purpose simply is not there. It is becoming increasingly evident that we must do something more than indulge in vain hope, if ever India is to advance beyond her present social position. We may well ask ourselves: "Have we been really in earnest about the matter?" "Have we done anything more than say, 'Let there be schools?'" Has not the time come for us to make new ventures in mass education, ventures in which those of us who have received the blessings of a liberal education will take a far more active part than we have up to the present. Of this we may be certain: if we stand by and wait until Government makes education general, we shall have to wait a very long time.

In our present position it is worth while examining some of the methods that have been found successful in other countries. One should hesitate before seeking to impose ideas on one country that were born in another, but the spirit of all great ventures of faith is the same. Such a venture was the Worker's Educational Association inaugurated in Great Britain about twenty years ago. From a study of its phenomenal progress we in India may catch at least something of the spirit which helped one earnest body of men to achieve what they had long hope for. Some years before Albert Mansbridge had launched this movement, two other educational movements had been steadily advancing. One of these originated in the great Universities of England in their desire to bring themselves in closer touch with the life of the world around them. It was felt that the cloistered life of the Universities had not only separated them in life, but had alienated them in spirit from the world of working men. The other movement came from the workers themselves, who seem to have been prompted chiefly by the motive of gaining for themselves an effective instrument in their struggle for social and economic rights. These movements resulted in the establishment of Working Men's Colleges, Night Schools, Mutual Improvement Societies and the formation of systems of University Extension Lectures. All these have done splendid service in the intellectual advancement of the labouring classes of Great Britain, America and other countries of the world.

In 1903, Mr. Mansbridge, in a Paper entitled 'Democracy and Education' outlined a plan of an educational working alliance between the Trade Unions and the Universities of Great Britain, and so began the Worker's Educational Association, which has made it possible for the working man in so many countries to taste some of the fruits of higher learning. The history of twenty year's work of the worker's Educational Association is an inspiring story of achievement. But what concerns us here is not the detail,

of this achievement but the lessons that we in India may draw from it.

It taught us, in the first place, that 'Where there's a will, there's a way.' The whole movement has developed with the minimum of expenditure on equipment and machinery. The annual expenses for the first three years amounted to little more than £100. It taught us that there are more great-hearted men ready to serve their fellows than we think. It brought to light many a man of great intellectual gifts, who otherwise would have been lost to the world.

The movement has been, in the truest sense of the word, national; not because it has applied itself to questions of national importance, but because it has sought to develop the nation's individuality. It has endeavoured to encourage self-expression even if, in doing so, it has laid open to attack some of the cherished prejudices of the race.

In these days we often hear the cry, 'National Education.' To many these words connote little more than a protest against something foreign. "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which cometh out." In the same way, it is only that which comes from a nation in expression of its own soul that reveals its true genius. There is a certain foundation of human knowledge which is neither East nor West. It makes no difference to the Architect whether the foundation-stone upon which he builds comes from India or from the ends of the earth. All that really matters to him is the monument of art that gives expression to his artist soul. True national education must not only meet the everyday needs of the nation, but must be the medium through which it can express its own soul. This implies in the broadest sense that national education must have a spiritual vision, for education is for life and is as broad as life itself. As Mr. Mansbridge puts it, 'Education is ultimately of the spirit and is perceived by the spirit and is perceived by the spirit only.' It is this strain of idealism that has elevated the Workers' Educational Association above other movements of the same kind. But while it seeks to elevate the soul of man, it also sanctifies the work of man. Only by bringing heaven down to earth can the spirit succeed in dominating the flesh and the dull drab life of the worker be touched with beauty.

'The adventure of the Workmen's Educational Association was launched with the high hope and with the determination that labour and scholarship should not be divorced; that each should be a co-worker with the other.'

Mr. Mansbridge sums up his message in the following words: "Utilise capacity and interest to the utmost in order that truth may be discerned and error avoided, in order that there may be as many fully developed men and women as possible, not merely for the right government of the community but for its joyous and happy life."

But the outlook of the Association is wider than nationality. The demand of the present age is that men living in different countries, and who are eager and active in the performance of any necessary work

shall seek to make friends with one another and share the results of their experience. Thus from the Workers' Educational Association there has grown the World Association for Adult Education, the object of which is to co-ordinate the work of the smaller associations in a spirit of friendly co-operation.

It would be foolish to think of translating the programme of these movements into the altogether different conditions of India, but similar work can be done, and ought to be attempted here. One dare not look forward to the day when the labouring classes of India will be able to take advantage of a scheme such as this, but there is a large body of educated people in the country who would no doubt be eager to avail themselves of the opportunity of further education. It should be a comparatively easy matter to inaugurate a scheme of Extension lectures in connection with the Bombay University in which subjects vital to the needs of the new India could be studied. Naturally subjects like Political Economy, Sociology and History would be more attractive at first than others more academic, but one would hope that the interest would extend to Philosophy and even to Science.

India is rapidly advancing towards self-government and one ventures to predict that those who engage in these studies, being of maturer mind, will so profit by them as to exert a profound influence on the future political life of this country.

But let us not imagine that, having made such a result possible we have prepared ourselves in any adequate way for the real task of self-government. Our educational system is already top-heavy and this condition will only be accentuated unless we set ourselves earnestly to the task of uplifting the ignorant masses from their pitiable condition. Something substantial could be done along the same lines only if we are in earnest and are prepared to make great sacrifices. It ought to be possible to launch a scheme of elementary education, gradually leading upwards, that will do as much for the illiterate worker of Bombay as the Workers' Educational Association has done for the workers of England and Australia.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, March 30.

The Indian Students Union and Hostel held its second annual meeting last Tuesday. The chair was taken by Lord Islington, and the hall was crowded with members of the Hostel and friends. After a few opening words from the chair the Warden, Mr. Ranganadhan, was called upon to read the Report. In listening to this, one realised how great must have been the need for such an institution as the one now established. To-day it has a paid-up membership of 784, and the total number of members who have passed through the Hostel since the beginning is 1,004. There are also about 40 Indian ladies now in London who are honorary members. The Hostel has accommodation for 98 beds, but has had to, on

more than one occasion, make up as many as 90 or 40 beds extra in the gymnasium, or various parts of the building to accommodate extra visitors. There are always a few European students staying in the Hostel, and this makes for a spirit of tolerance and understanding each of the other. A very large number of lectures on varied subjects by most eminent men and women have been given during the year, and these have been well attended. The restaurant has been a great success. The average service being about 400 meals daily. As the food is well cooked, a big choice of Indian dishes always on the menu, and as the prices charged are about the lowest in London, it is no small wonder that this special branch of the Hostel's work meets with well-deserved appreciation. The finances were in a more hopeful condition this year than last, and the future looks brighter still. But the real anxiety at the present time is the need for a permanent home. The premises occupied today are temporary, and as the rent charged for these is a very high one, the position being most central, a big drain upon the financial resources is evident, and a feeling of insecurity makes itself felt. Several proposals have been put forward for the acquiring of land, and the building of suitable premises, but the money required is not in hand, nor yet, at the moment forthcoming. But the officials and committee have big hopes of sufficient money materialising soon, as will bring into realisation a dream those most interested in the hostel have; that is, of a centre of beauty, usefulness and permanence being established in London, where Indians and India's friends will feel, here is a home.

LEGAL POSITION OF WIFE.

A recent criminal case has brought once again into prominence the legal position of a wife. According to law, a wife committing a criminal act in the presence of her husband is considered to be acting under coercion, and cannot therefore be judged guilty by a jury and receive punishment for the same. The exceptions to this being two or three major crimes of which murder is one. This old law is based on the old idea, that a wife had no separate legal state or identity. As the present case concerned a woman of the upper classes, educated and intelligent, and possessing a full knowledge apparently of the various incidents which led to the crime committed, it certainly seemed a farce to say she was not capable of acting on her own initiative, or at least with as much intelligence and therefore responsibility as the man. The result has been the introduction of a Bill into the House of Commons by Lady Astor. The Bill is a very short one, and provides that no presumption shall henceforth be made that a married woman committing an offence in the presence of her husband, does so under compulsion, but any married woman shall be entitled to be acquitted, provided it be found by the jury, that as a matter of fact, she committed the offence under compulsion of her husband. It is expected the Bill will pass without any real opposition.

THE GENOA CONFERENCE.

Will you, won't you, go to Genoa seems at last to be settled in the affirmative. It being now finally stated that Mr. Lloyd George does go, and his pro-

posed retirement from a leading part in the world politics is postponed. He goes also with the full authority of Parliament. The papers here do not seem very enthusiastic about the results of Genoa, they blow hot, then cold and are just now warm. Perhaps this has been due to the fact that such a lot of antipathy in various quarters has been shown to the Premier lately, and this has damped the ardour of many supporters of the proposed Genoa Conference. Yet the country as a whole seems to be strongly in favour of the Genoa policy, and the hope of peace in peace time is involved in it. If Europe is to recover from the shock and strain of so disastrous a war as she has recently passed through, she can only do so through real reconstruction, such reconstruction to be not national, but international. For the first time since the war, Russia and Germany are to be recognised as parts of a whole. It will really be an assembly of Nations met together to discuss the financial and working health of the West, as apart from any activities of offence and defence of a warlike nature either now or at some future time. If only a quarter of its hopes are realised, it will have justified itself and helped the progress of humanity.

BIRD PROTECTION.

The Plumage Act comes into force on April the first, and from that time on, no importation of the plumage of many foreign birds for decorative purposes will be allowed. This prohibition does not, however, apply to feathers of birds killed for food, neither does it apply to the most important of plumage imports, the ostrich feather. The latter is obtained without harm to the birds, and in fact the obtaining of these is very much like getting wool from the sheep. The same birds furnish feathers for the market year after year.

HUMAN JAIL TREATMENT.

England congratulated herself on her treatment of prisoners when recently concerts and plays were given to the inmates of prisons. But Denmark promises to do better. She has determined to have a fortnightly paper in circulation from April 1st, so says a press telegram here. The paper is to be about 8 pages in size and will deal with home and foreign conditions, not forgetting to deal with matters of an educational character. Such a paper cannot fail to be a blessing to everyone shut away from the movement of life, and will prevent a man feeling absolutely strange to current events on his return to normal life.

ENGINEERS' STRIKE.

The engineer's strike or lock-out, continues. The signs of a settlement have been many, discussions and meetings between masters and those representing that branch of labour have taken place, but as yet nothing definite and satisfactory has been the result. The threatened spread of the lock-out has happened, some ship-building firms have already closed, and others are on the eve of closing. There is so much to be said on both sides in the present dispute, that it is difficult to see any direct road of right and wrong. The fact is, the labour has grown so

suspicious of possible unemployment and exploitation and the employer so anxious about his capital that unless both can be brought to absolutely recognise the interdependence, each of the other, there cannot be harmony in the labour world. It is useless for either party to consider he holds the whip, for one cannot exist to-day without the other.

THE *Times* ON INDIA.

I do not think that you need worry unduly at the vagaries of the *Times* just now on Indian affairs. Every now and then that august paper, suddenly realising its immense responsibility towards the world in general and India in particular, has a bad attack of nerves and is capable of giving quite contradictory advice on successive days. That is what has recently been happening. The *Times* really does believe in the Reforms in its sane and sober moments. Just now, however, it has been shaken out of its usual stability by the wave of hysteria that, not long ago, threatened to sweep the country out of its normal solidity when the newspaper correspondents in India united in protest against the boycott of the Prince. We are not foolishly monarchical, but the British people have a real affection and respect for the Royal family, and the report of any apparent disrespect or disaffection towards any member, particularly the popular Prince of Wales, aroused a storm of anger and irritation that, for the moment, seemed to threaten the Reforms. Now that the visit is over, and people are returning to the normal, it would help things greatly if prominent and representative Indians were to come out here and make it their first business to restore friendly personal relations which have lately suffered so acutely.

So when the *Times* scolds the Moderates for not being helpful to the powers that be and when it threatens evil things to the Reforms when the Assembly exercises its constitutional right to amend and cut down the Budget, just as, in like case, the House of Commons, if it did its duty, would do, there is no need to despair of British common sense. The mood will pass, especially when it is realised that, after all, India has survived the storm and is able to make both ends meet.

SIR THOMAS BENNETT.

Sir Thomas Bennett, whom I saw shortly after his return here from his Indian visit, is surprised to see how ignorant members of Parliament are as to the atmosphere that really prevails in India. After personal experience, he certainly is not among those who lift up hands of despair and condemn the extravagances and irresponsibility of the Indian politician. His resumption of his Parliamentary duties is very opportune, and, though he did not take any part in the Indian debate on the occasion of the Consolidated Fund Bill, yet he may be safely counted upon to do much to re-educate his fellow-members on Indian affairs.

The debate itself did little to clear up Government intentions as regards solving problems arising out of the present situation in India. But it gave an opportunity to Earl Winterton to make a maiden-

speech as Under Secretary for India, and to announce, on behalf of his chief, Viscount Peel and himself, that India Office policy in regard to the Reforms Act was not in any way changed by reason of the changes in political personnel at the head of that Department of State. The policy embodied in the Act, and the India Office policy in regard to Kenya, were alike to continue. Earl Winterton also offered a serious warning to Lancashire against the grave and dangerous error of supposing that it lay any longer with this country to interfere with India's choice of a fiscal policy or to attempt to force one upon her from here. Whatever criticism may have been rightly directed against certain conclusions of the Joint Select Committee, in 1919, none can be legitimately raised against the recommendations on the fiscal policy of India and India's exercise of power in connexion therewith. I have reason to believe that Earl Winterton's warning created a deep impression, for it brought home to some members the fact that Britain is really committed to the path of responsible self-government for India.

ANGLICAN BISHOPS AND INDIAN POLITICS

II

The letter divides itself into three sections dealing with the teaching of Jesus, His method and His attitude to the Imperial Government and concludes with certain practical suggestions relevant to our present conditions. First, as to Jesus' teaching: Love of God and love of neighbour form the centre of His message. "The choice of the word neighbour" the letter says, "is significant. He does not say, 'Thou shalt love thy kinsman, nor thy fellow tribesman, nor thy co-religionist, but thy neighbour as thyself; that is, every one who in the providence of God comes near enough to thee to receive thy help.'" To those people who were taught to see outside their community a world of unbelievers, the question, 'who is my neighbour?' was answered by a parable where the despised alien played the true neighbour. The spirit of love should govern our personal lives and public activities. Gandhi treats all men as brothers and he does not know what it is to hate another human being. Rejoicing and exceeding glad, he does what the world considers to be the meanest services for the lowest of God's creation. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri observes: "His compassion and tenderness are infinite. The present writer stood by as he wiped the sores of a leper with the ends of his own garment. It is his complete mastery of the passions, his realisation of the ideal of a *sanyasin* in all the rigour of its eastern conception which has crowned him with the title of Mahatma or the great soul." The Bishops urge that the non-co-operation movement is instilling into the minds of men race-hatred. Gandhi deplores it more than the Bishops. "A man who has the least faith in God and His mercy, which is His justice cannot hate men." It is, however, a melancholy fact that those who call themselves his followers are not devoid of hatred. They assent to the formula

of non-violence but do not understand its truth. Many of his nominal adherents are in secret revolt against his faith. He realised this at the last Delhi meeting. "I see that our non-violence is skin-deep—we are burning with indignation." Many of those who fly under the banner of non-co-operation with something of the fervour of Gandhi though without his faith have stirred up the passions of the ignorant sections of the population and misled youthful enthusiasts. Nothing has hurt Gandhi so much as the acts of violence committed by some so-called non-co-operators. When the advocate General thrust the responsibility for them on him, his head became bowed with grief. The shame, the humiliation of it all came out as he said: "Thinking over these things deeply and weeping over them night after night and examining my heart, I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible for me to dissociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chauri Chaura or the mad outrages of Bombay." In an indirect way he is responsible for dragging into the movement people who do not share his faith or his hopes. The responsibility of a leader is great when large masses of population have a superstitious reverence for him and venture out with him on the same voyage trusting to him as to a pilot. In his optimism, Gandhi forgets that the mills of God grind rather slowly. Society cannot be made to march in time with a saint. Even those in the inner circle who are trying to purify themselves are not proof against all provocation. The boldness of virtue may at any time lapse into the irresponsibility of crime. The ideal of Gandhi, to bear torture and persecution without bitterness in the heart and with a smile on the lips is difficult of realisation. But that is no reason why he should give up his mission of love as a flight of moral vision possible only to the race of dreamers. He has to be extremely cautious but he need not give it up, alarmed by the mere presence of danger and difficulty. In Indian mythology, it is said, that when the milky ocean was being churned at the bidding of God, a terrific world-destroying poison came first to the surface, though it had other good things in its wake. Did not Jesus let loose a revolution, set fire on earth, send a sword and launch divisions? Gandhi's greatest glory is not that he never errs but through every error he learns. If the spirit of the Bardoli programme dominates the activities of Congressmen, the country may yet progress peacefully to the desired end.

If his followers do not live up to his teaching, we cannot legitimately complain against the movement itself, that it breeds hatred and promotes anarchy. It is as unfair as to condemn Christianity by the practice of Christians. Crusades and massacres, tortures and savageries past counting have been perpetrated by those who called themselves Christians. The abominable massacre of St. Bartholomew in honour of which the Pope illuminated Rome and struck a medal, which drove Montaigne out of office elicited from him the cry that "there is no enmity so extreme as the Christian; our zeal works wonders, when it seconds our bent towards hate, cruelty, ambition, avarice, detraction, rebellion. Our reli-

gion is framed to extirpate vices; it shields, nourishes and incites them." If the wicked get into a good movement and cast it into disrepute, the ideal of the movement is not discredited. If the God of Jesus is not the God of Israel but of the whole earth, if He has no special weakness for either India or the British Empire, then the true followers of Gandhi's non-violent method need not fear that they will become mere fuel for the flames of hell. "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God."

It is no use exaggerating the facts. Indians are no more given to wanton violence than any other people in the world. There is a tendency to attribute agrarian disturbances, industrial strikes and labour troubles due to economic depression to Gandhi's movement. It is wise policy but is it true? Are the excesses really many for a continent like India, if we bear in mind the increasing irritation due to the imprisonment of leaders? It is a striking testimony to the self-restraint of the people that Gandhi's arrest did not result in any excitement. The Bishops rightly urge that contempt on the part of the rulers is provocative of hatred. We have been recently treated with arrogant announcements of race superiority. The treatment of India after the war, the Punjab affair, the presentation of a purse to Dyer who practised the simple maxim of a thousand Indian lives for one European, the Debate in the House of Lords on this question, the recent pronouncement of Winston Churchill on Indians in Kenya and a series of other incidents form a record of race pride which Indians cannot easily forget. If the hysteria of hatred is to disappear, the debauch of race-arrogance should be abandoned.

THE MALABAR FORCIBLE CONVERSIONS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Dr. Munje and other Nagpur leaders have appealed for funds in your issue of the 26th March for the purificatory ceremonies of the forcibly converted Hindoos of Malabar. It is feared by some that the funds thus collected will go to fill up the pockets of the Hindu Priests, who themselves victims to superstition and 'Varnashram' do nothing for the social and moral uplift of the Hindu Society and can be held responsible for many evils, which are preying upon Hindu Society and which have split it up and weakened it. I have no love for the priests and I admit whatever might have been the services of the 'Rishis' of ancient times to-day's Hindu Priests are a burden and a source of weakness to Hindu Society and to Indian Nationalism. But I look at the question from a different stand point. The Moplahs in their fanaticism have converted hundreds of Hindoos to Mahomedanism by force. But this can not be said to be a novel thing in the history of India. The Orthodox in their turn have played their opponents' game by driving such unfortunate victims from their fold to seek shelter at their oppressor's feet by their unsympathetic and irrational attitude. Thus in their ignorance and fanaticism, these orthodox Hindoos encouraged such forcible conversions of their own brethren. To restore such unfortunate victims to their own original status in society is certainly a noble deed and must be encouraged at any cost forgetting the other differences. The leaders in their appeal have remarked

“With us the Hindoos, it is a serious problem of scientific investigation into our sociology to find out the cause of such helplessness and unpreparedness of the hindoos to defend their homes and women folk ” etc.

Instead of nailing the question to scientific investigation, if these leaders of light and learning would have boldly stated the causes, which are as clear as daylight, the cause of Hinduism which they have so much at heart, would have certainly advanced. But perhaps they belong to that political school where social evils are to be talked with much reservation and great caution.

In Mohamedanism, ‘all Moslems are brothers.’ There is no high no low. They have neither caste, nor untouchability. Varnashram, the enemy of Fraternity is unknown to them. Therefore whenever necessary the Mohamedans can stand like one solid mass. Hindus are split up and shut up in small groups of castes. Varnashram plays havoc with so-called religious minds. Hindoos hate Hindoos. Priests hate Priests. Priests ministering religious services at the higher classes look down upon priests working amongst the Shudras and the untouchables. Hatred and division are rampant in Hindu camp, castes hate castes and never bother themselves when the members of other castes are unjustly attacked. Division and hatred have made us cowardly and slavish.

The Moslems, the Christians have one God Hindoos have shoals of Gods. The Moslems and the Christians have the Koran and the Bible open to all. The Vedas are only for higher classes. Even the Gita is not taught to the Shudras. Millions of Hindoos do not know the word Gita. Thus there is no unity of Faith amongst the Hindoos.

Many Hindoo communities believe in Ahimsa a doctrine of non-killing. Violence and a wanton destruction of animal life must be condemned. But when we are attacked without any provocation, when the honour of our women is in danger, we must fight and die if necessary. Self-defence, and defence of the poor and the weak is the noblest right of man. But these communities have made fetish of Ahimsa. They are the weakest people in India. Child marriages are common amongst them. They prey upon the masses and weaken them and growing rich at their cost tempt the greedy foreigners to invade the country. As long as Hindoos blindly hug caste, untouchability, varnashram and Ahimsa, it is not in the power of a just God to show them better days.

Yours Etc.

KARABE K. G.

THE FIRST MARTYR NATION.

The *Challenge*, London Weekly, (Christian Democrat.)

None among them (current events) has given us such deep mingiving as the news of the arrest of Gandhi. No Christian Englishman who takes an interest in the wider issues of his religious life can have felt wholly at ease over the problem of our relationship to India. Ever since the war it has been evident that India and Ireland were the touchstones of our international conduct. Awkward questions affecting not only the character and sincerity of our policy, but our whole right to rule, could not be dismissed. They were raised not only by Irishmen and Indians, and by foreign critics of our Empire, but by all who hoped and believed in idealism and our mission to the world. And in India, even more plainly than in Ireland, a moral issue of an unusually clear kind challenged us, an issue raised by the personality and spiritual grandeur of the Nationalist leader.

The Khilafat agitation and the pledge to the Moslems are on a lower plane. We gave an undertaking under stress of war which, in our opinion, ought never to have been given: for even in order to win the help of our Mohammedan fellow-subjects we do not believe that we ought to have supported the retention of the Turk in Europe or his claim to control of the sacred places. For political ends we acted wrongly, and are now being faced with inability to fulfil our promises. To resolve the dilemma, to decide whether morality bids us to maintain or to repudiate our pledge, is a matter for grave heart-searching. For ourselves, greatly as we dislike the results, we believe that we are bound by our obligation; but the issue is one for the casuists. Ought a promise, extracted under duress and in itself deplorable, to be held binding?

The case of Gandhi is far simpler. Here is a man of whom all those who know him testify that he is singularly Christ-like, one who has based his whole position upon the ultimate supremacy of moral over physical force, one of whom the worst that can be said is that he is a visionary whose dreams could not, in the present state of human society, be realised. Unpractical—“My Kingdom is not of this world”; an agitator—“He stirreth up the people”; better arrested—“It is expedient that one man should die for the people.” We have read, with growing conviction of the parallelism, the attempts of the Press to justify our Government’s action; and hitherto, apart from the mass of libel and abuse which all reliable evidence of the Mahatma’s character and actions shows to be irrelevant, have found nothing which could not have been written with equal accuracy by an apologist for Caiaphas or Pilate. And the result has given us a shock, the more unpleasant because here, also, it is not the particular wickedness or failure of any one individual, but the unchristian quality of the whole system that is revealed. We do not believe that any special persons are individually to blame; it is simply that our accepted outlook and standards have come into conflict with a singularly pure and sincere idealist. We have judged him, and, in doing so, have condemned ourselves.

There is, indeed, one line of defence open to us, though it has been seldom stated. Making every acknowledgment of the nobility of character, the purity of motive, the condemnation of violence, the appeal to moral force which the Mahatma has shown, we may still maintain that his ideal is mistaken and that for this mistake alone his condemnation is just and inevitable. For ourselves, we are inclined to accept this position; but if we are to do so, it must be with frank recognition of the meaning of his campaign. What is the Gandhi policy, and how has it been reached?

Put briefly, the case is as follows. Gandhi had for years spent himself in generous efforts to redress the admitted wrongs of his countrymen and to promote, wherever possible, a righteous partnership between India and Britain. This aim he pursued right through the war, when his personal sacrifices and influence were devoted to the service of the wounded, in the belief that such evidence of goodwill would strengthen the unity of the two peoples and help to secure a response to the hopes of India for a larger measure of self-government. Up to this point he had shared the ideals of his most enlightened fellow-countrymen, who were working for a genuine fellowship of nations and for the right of India to make a full and free contribution to that fellowship. After the war his hopes were shattered by successive proofs of our unwillingness to recognise what he regarded as our obligations. On several concrete points, our treatment of Turkey, the Rowlatt Acts, the Punjab disturbances, he

saw us apparently repudiating our obligations. Cases of gross exploitation, such as that in the jute industry, and of preferential treatment emphasised the same doubts. The effect of industrialism, the moral failures of our civilisation and the Westernising of his own people had already filled his soul with dismay. And on weighing up the whole, he decided that the ideal of partnership must be abandoned, and that only by "contracting out" of international life and surrendering at once the advantages and the contamination of contact with the West could India realise the fulness of her spiritual heritage. He would not appeal to force; he sternly and repeatedly forbade it to his followers. Non-violent non-co-operation, a complete policy of passive resistance, was to be the means. India was to cut herself off from recognised and indisputable evil. It is the ideal of the hermit applied to a people familiar of old with such withdrawal from the world. It is an ideal which, in these days when the disastrous effects of corporate guilt are so evident, few of us, save the superficial and the worldly, will care to condemn off-hand. For there comes a point where acquiescence in compromise and a sharing in others' sins becomes rightly intolerable. Gandhi has called upon India to be the first "Martyr Nation." His arrest is a challenge to us all.

THE DYNAMICS OF NON-VIOLENCE.

The World and the New Dispensation, Calcutta Weekly,
(Brahmo Samaj.)

Hushed for a time is the voice of the master-spirit which spoke to millions of waiting hearts in accents vibrant with heavenly hope and humility. We miss the words which came winged with scripture-authority for Hindus and Moslems alike building up a Transformed India before our very eyes. An alien Government, intent on making a marketplace of our Motherland, is called up from its imperialistic career to confront a son of the soil vowed to cleanse the Temple of National Life of unscrupulous exploiters and profiteering *pandas*. And, as a result, Government gage Gandhi to appease the wrath of Capitalists and Merchants,—the *pandas* of the modern marketplace. Mahatma Gandhi is offered as a sacrifice to the presiding Deity of Manchester Marwaris and Imperial bureaucrats. "Law and Order" once more, sit in judgment on Conscience, enlightened. Materialism hurls itself against Spirit. The wise men decide on putting a stop to the interferences of Conscience, and confine the Spirit within prison-walls. And so Mahatma Gandhi is secreted to-day in a cell in the Poona prison. Is the Government now safe from the interferences of Conscience and the Spirit? The Spirit of Christ escaped from the prison-house of the tomb notwithstanding the strict watch of state sentinels, and found an oppressed world waiting to welcome the Resurrected Manhood. It is never safe to stifle conscience and imprison the spirit of resurrected Manhood. Let both the Government and the people beware of conscience and the spirit of resurrected manhood!

For Gandhi is no more confined within the limits of his own person. He is no more an isolated individual who can be safely imprisoned and ignored. He represents,—he constitutes but the rising crest of the new national consciousness of Young India, and not until the whole nation is put under lock and key is there safety from the invasion of resurrected Gandhi-spirit! Let us beware of that unknown quantity—the Spirit, let us beware of that invisible reality—God. Let us never forget that there is a Law above "Law", an Order above "Order", and that this Divine Law and Order can never be long ignored with impunity. It is most

economical, among other things, of life and the soul, and especially of the chosen one—of the *shakta*. Dearer to It above everything else is the career of the consecrated one which It guards with care and sows broadcast along the highways and byways of life creating a Commonwealth of the Resurrected! That commonwealth is in the making, to-day, and no power on earth can stay its course. That it is not armed with weapons which, to-day, constitute the chief source of strength and helpfulness is, indeed, a divine departure. Unarmed it has come to occupy a position far more powerful and important than any Disarmament Conference would have ever consented to give it. That Hindusthan has somehow grasped the deeper meaning of *Non-Violence* shows that Gandhi-mentality is, more and more, becoming a part and parcel of the mental make-up of the people. And with God's grace this will go on whether Gandhi is gagged or imprisoned, or otherwise taken away from us. This thought is beautifully emphasized in the following editorial of an American Weekly, "The Unity", of which Rev. John Haynes Holmes is one of the editors:— "Will Gandhi succeed? The answer to this question is easy—Gandhi has already succeeded! In the short space of a year and a half he has organized a movement which numbers more adherents than any other movement in human history has ever gathered; he has disciplined his millions of followers to a rigor of life which obtains through spontaneous moral idealism what is ordinarily obtained only through dull obedience; he has released forces of social regeneration which mean the ultimate transformation of the Indian people. If Gandhi should die to-day and his movement as a distinct and separate organization end to-morrow, his career would mark one of the supreme triumphs of all time. The trouble with our thought of Gandhi is that we picture his work exclusively in terms of nationalism. We imagine that he will succeed or fail according as he secures or does not secure political independence for his native country. Such independence is, of course, central to his activities; it is the form in which his spirit now shapes itself. But to identify Gandhi's cause with any nationalistic movement, however noble, is to misunderstand the man completely. As well think of Jesus as a mere patriotic leader, and call his life a failure because he did not drive the Roman legions from Palestine! What we have in Gandhi is a religious prophet comparable to the few supreme historic incarnations of the divine spirit; and, in his movement, a religion comparable to Buddhism or Christianity. We believe that Gandhi will succeed in his political aims and thus free India, but this achievement, great as it is, will be but an incident in his larger spiritual work." Beware, therefore of Non-violence and the Non-violent!

THE TASK OF THE FUTURE.

The Hindu Message, Srirangam weekly, (Orthodox Hindu.)

The arrest and incarceration for an inordinate length of time of the saintliest leader in our political history has brought to a head diverging currents of thought that had often been seeking expression from within the Congress and had as often been forced to a backseat by the dominant and arresting personality of the departed leader. The calmness, the equanimity with which not this country merely but even those portions of India which lie scattered in other parts of the globe, have taken this shattering piece of news, has rightly been interpreted as evidence of the popular determination not to lose sight of the main issue in the great struggle in which we are engaged. The country has quietly evinced its determination.

to press onward the fulfilment of the constructive programme laid down by the great leader. Still it has been forced in on the public mind that a mere programme of non-co-operation, or even the new constructive programme, will not by itself meet the very serious crisis which faces the country today.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malayya, with whom we have often had occasion to express our concurrence, has nobly stepped into the breach; and adumbrated the other day a programme of his own. Mr. K. Natarajan, who recently joined the Congress, has written a letter to the Press in which he hints at a similar programme. The conversion of the present system into full responsible government with the least possible delay and dislocation can be carried out only on a definite plan steadily and persistently worked upon. Such a scheme, says Mr. Natarajan as did the Panditji, is being drafted and will shortly be placed before the country; and he bespeaks for it all the support it needs; and it needs a good deal. As for the method, whatever may finally be decided on by the best minds in the country, there is no denying that the present tactic adopted by the Congress under the magic of the influence of Mr. Gandhi's name stands and has for long past stood in need of revision. In a series of articles which appeared in these pages about the time of the Ahmedabad Congress, a well-known writer in independent nationalist persuasion pointed out some of the defects in the tactics pursued by the Congress since its special session at Calcutta. There is no attempt made anywhere to minimise the good the N. C. O. programme has done the country. It was in fact a very necessary movement of protest against the accepted conventions and cant and hypocrisy that had produced an almost emetic atmosphere in our politics. And it did a world of good in that it brought us back to our moorings; and served to teach us the great truth, which was once before preached during the earlier Bengal movement, that nations like the individual Atman must, if they are to attain salvation, seek and find the eternal source of strength in themselves. That mission it has fulfilled more than amply; and to still hug on to it, without making it as ought to have been done the starting point of a new synthesis, is to suffer from a grievous lack of understanding of the ultimate issues.

This view has, we must admit, been often pressed forward by a distinct and influential body of opinion in Maharashtra and in our own presidency by the party of independent public men represented, for lack of better organisation, by the *Hindu*. In fact the *Hindu* had often protested against this obscuration of means and ends. And in one of its recent issues, it drew attention to "the deadening paralysis" in our public life whereby good men and true and sincere have been forced to give a mechanical adhesion to the *ipsissima verba* of the N. C. O. programme. It is as we read it, a plea for some such well-considered programme as both Panditji and Mr. Natarajan have now in view. An Anglo-Indian contemporary which has taken an amorphous shape in a new incarnation quickly smelt in this the agreeable odours of orthodox N. C. O. discomfiture. It is nothing of the kind, so far as we can see. On the other hand, we trust the Congress and other responsible public bodies and publicists will take note of the fact the ground has very well been prepared by the persistent propaganda of the last two years which renders necessary the evolution of a further comprehensive programme. It is not alone good that the constructive programme at present laid down should be achieved: it is much more important that the national will, organised in this manner, ought to bring its whole weight to bear on the executive. All modern governments are huge and complicated organisms and are not to be shut up in separate compartments: but, they enter into our

life at every point. Hence the necessity of a frontal attack and all along the whole front. The grounds therefore having been well and truly laid by intensive propaganda of these years, it is up to the country now to evolve a further and truly aggressive programme. Such we believe is the scheme the Panditji has in view; and we doubt not the country will accord whole-hearted support to the Panditji, notwithstanding Mr. Vallabhai Patel's support (*sic*).

A Correction: The article by Mr. B. A. Collins in the Patna All-India Hand-Weaving Exhibition to which reference was made in the editorial note on "the Charka and the handloom" last week, appeared in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* and not in the *Social Service Quarterly* as erroneously stated in it.

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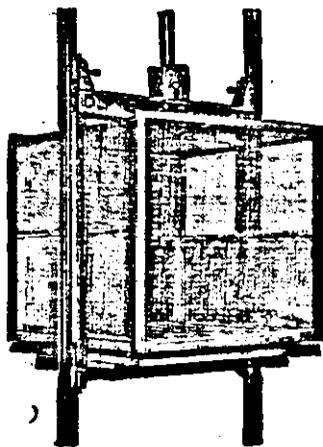
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BOMBAY—SUNDAY, APRIL 23, 1922.

No. 34

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Genoa Conference: The sensation of the Genoa Conference has been the discovery one fine morning that the Russians and Germans, who had been admitted to the Conference as a concession and were expected to accept the privilege with gratitude, had utilised the opportunity for coming to a private arrangement between themselves. This has been denounced as a "stab in the dark" by the representatives of other nations, a few honestly and others with their tongue in their cheeks. At the Washington Conference, it was brought out that France and Japan had done just the very trick which Germany and Russia has so ably repeated, and, then, too there was a great show of moral indignation. In fact, if the revelations of the several Conferences are put together, it will appear as if "stabbing in the dark" is the normal occupation of international politics. If it were prohibited by some superhuman power, the occupation of many who make a great figure on the international stage, would be utterly gone.

The Viceroy and Mr. Montagu's Resignation: *New India*, Madras, laboriously misses the point in refuting our statement that the yoke of subordination has been firmly fixed on the neck of the Government of India by Lord Reading's acquiescence in the way in which Mr. Montagu had been dismissed. That point was that Mr. Montagu had declared that he sanctioned the publication of Lord Reading's despatch because he could not have refused a course twice pressed on him by so experienced a statesman as Lord Reading. Common loyalty would seem to require that, in the circumstances, the Viceroy should go out of office with the Secretary of State. But assuming that a consideration of that kind, in Lord Reading's view, should not weigh with an Indian Viceroy, how can it be maintained that Lord Reading has not accepted the role of a subordinate ascribed to him by Lord Curzon, when he joins the chorus of condemnation of Mr. Montagu for doing what he himself wanted badly to be done? Lord

Reading's position has become clearly untenable from every point of view. As a well-informed correspondent shows to-day, the main objects which his lordship was expected to advance in Indian administration, have either failed or been frustrated. His going or remaining is now a matter of indifference to the Indian people.

A Mischievous Rumour: The Director of Information has issued an unequivocal contradiction of the mischievous rumour, that was being circulated in Bombay early last week, that Mahatma Gandhi was flogged in gaol. The Director avers that there is not a grain of truth in this rumour which is a sheer invention. The Director of Information is good enough further to inform us that he had just heard (on the afternoon of Wednesday 19th instant,) from the Inspector-General of Prisons that he saw Mr. Gandhi that morning; the Mahatma was in good health, had no complaints to make and has had no punishments in gaol of any kind. This information is repeated in a telegram which we have received from the Home Department in reply to an enquiry. It is hard to find words to condemn the wicked irresponsibility with which the rumour was set afloat, it matters not by whom.

The Servant in a Temper: Those who would serve the country should not lose their temper. The *Servant of India* thinks that we have lost our head since Mahatma Gandhi's arrest. If we had really, we should not be ashamed of it. When a man who wiped the sores of a leper with his own garment while Mr. Sastry stood looking on, is sent to jail for six years, one does feel that there is something amiss somewhere. If our contemporary's equanimity is undisturbed by the event, we are not in the least anxious to emulate its example. We wrote in appreciation of Mr. Sastry's article in the *New York Journal* on the Mahatma as a man, but we objected to his denunciation of his Non-Co-operationist countrymen in America where he had gone as the nation's representative—the nation consisting of Non-Co-operationists as well as Co-operationists. The *Servant of India* seems to think that we should not have done the one or the other. That may be one view of journalism but it is not ours. We do not carry on in the spirit of the vendetta. If Mr. Sastry really believes that Non-Co-operation is as dangerous as he has represented it to be, his obvious duty is to stay in the country and share the dangers of stemming it. He has no business to look on from some thousands of miles away, while others, less intellectually gifted it may be, are trying to wipe the sores of the country with their coarse Khaddar. Suppose that by his personal charm and eloquence, Mr. Sastry succeeds in persuading Canada and Australia to treat Indians as equal citizens with the white races; suppose that he gets President Hardinge to send an ultimatum to King George that His Majesty should grant full

responsible Government to India within twenty-four hours, or the American Navy will blockade the shores of Great Britain, what good would that be to India if India, according to Mr. Sastry's own picture, has meanwhile fallen a prey to the dangers of Non-Co-operation! So far as we know, there are not many persons outside an easily defined circle who think that Mr. Sastry's tour is well-timed. It is possible that all these people are eaten up by jealousy of his success and the distinctions which it has brought him. A public man, however, should weigh well objections to a public measure, even though they might have their origin in sheer jealousy.

Revision of the Congress Programme. Evidence is fast accumulating that a growing section within the Congress desires a radical modification of the present programme. The central feature of the programme adopted by the Congress at Ahmedabad in December last has been given up. Mass Civil disobedience is no longer an operative part of the Congress programme. Individual Civil disobedience, which was struck out at Bardoli, was re-inserted at Delhi, but under such restrictions that, as the Calcutta delegates declared, it was as good as prohibited. Even this has been shelved at the personal desire of Mahatma Gandhi. But the non-co-operation part remains, and it is coming to be recognised that, in the present altered conditions, it should be recast in essential particulars. Mrs. C. R. Das, in her presidential address at the Bengal Provincial Conference, recommended that Congressmen should enter the Municipal and Legislative Councils, and the Maharashtra Provincial Conference adopted the other day a resolution to this effect. We reprint a paragraph from the *Searchlight*, the Patna Congress journal, which shows that there also an attitude of *non possumus* is felt to be inadvisable. Our own view is that the revision will have to be pretty drastic and that the sooner it is made the better would it be for the country. Writing to Lord Lytton, the late Lord Salisbury, when he was Secretary of State for India, observed:

The commonest error in politics is sticking to the carcasses of dead policies. When a mast falls overboard, you do not try to save a rope here and a spar there, in memory of their former utility; you cut away the hamper altogether. And it should be the same with policy. But it is not so. We cling to the shred of an old policy after it has been torn to pieces; and to the shadow of the shred after the rag itself has been torn away. And therefore it is that we are now in perplexity.

Wise words which Government no less than the Congress will do well to heed.

Wasteful Drudgery: The *Janmabhumi*, the Congress weekly published at Masulipatam, has some sensible observations regarding the continuance of "manuscript" newspapers in one or two places. In the case referred to by our contemporary, the newspaper was "cyclostyled." But the United Provinces authorities have recently declared, in the case of the *Independent*, that "cyclostyling" is legally liable to the same regulations as printing. In view of this ruling, the latest issue of the *Independent* comes written out (with the help of carbon copies) by the hand of a patriotic lady. We cannot help thinking, however, that this is aimless waste of valuable time, energy and intelligence. We have not too many workers in the national cause to afford this species of extravagance in disposing of their services. We reproduce the *Janmabhumi's* remarks. As supporting our contemporary's advice, we may mention that the *Republic of Ireland*, a copy of which reached us last week, not only uses the Free State stamps and uses the Free State Post Office but is printed and registered as a newspaper under the Free State laws.

The State and the Liquor Traffic: The Minister in charge of Excise in the Bombay Presidency has introduced a policy of rationing liquor and has also started a liquor factory in Nasik. Both these projects, as Temperance measures, were shown in these columns to be futile. The *Social Welfare* of Toronto in its last issue describes the policy as "the last refuge of the drink traffic and its friends." Our contemporary, shows how it has utterly failed wherever it was tried in Canada. We have received a copy of note by Mr. W. C. Shepherd, Commissioner of Customs, salt and Excise on "Excise Policy and Practise in the Bombay Presidency," which will be noticed at a future date. The "note" appears to us on a hasty perusal either to prove little or to prove too much.

Sri Buddha's Life: A revival of Buddhism in the land of its birth is a possibility foreshadowed in many ways. The increasing frequency of references to Buddhism in our journals is the most prominent of them. Sree Buddha-Charithamritham is a brief sketch of the life and teachings of Bhagwan Buddha in simple Sanskrit verse by Srimathi Mandayam Dhati Alamelamma, intended for Hindu children, is another sign of the interest that is being felt in the study of Buddhism. The talented authoress has taken special care to impress on young minds the teachings of the illustrious Sakya Muni bearing on public service, non-violence, vanity of caste distinctions, the sin of untouchability, the law of Karma, and the disinterested performance of duty. Buddhism is thus a great inspiration for constructive national work. A Buddhist revival will moreover restore the ancient spiritual and cultural solidarity of India, Tibet, Ceylon, Burma, Siam, China, Japan, Corea and the rest of the so-called Far East of European diplomacy. Srimathi Alamelamma's poetic composition is thus a significant sign of the times. The booklet can be had from the author, 101, Ramavilas Agrahar, Mysore.

President Harding on the Racial Problem: The *American Baptist Missionary Review* for April, applies shortly the acid test of fact to President Harding's doctrine regarding the natural segregation of races as the basis of his treatment of the Negro problem in the United States: "The fact that out of ten and two-third millions Negroes in the United States about one-third are mulattoes goes to show that there is not in actual practice that racial cleavage which the President has stated to be a desideratum. There is no denying the strength of the appeal which Mr. Harding made to the colored people, but we are forced to admit that it does not meet the problem."

Christian Missionaries and the Present Crisis: There are several Christian Missionaries who feel great searchings of the heart and are anxious to help to improve the present unsatisfactory position. One such wrote to the current number of the *Harvest Field*, suggesting, that a day of fasting and prayer should be observed on Good Friday by all Christians. Our contemporary commended the idea. We should like to know how far it was taken up. The letter is reprinted in this issue.

School Laboratories: We have received from the Bureau of Education, India, Occasional Report, No. 9, on "the Planning and Fitting of School Laboratories" by M.C.S. Anantapadmanabha Rao, M. A. L. T., of the Indian Educational Service. It is priced at Rs. 1-4 and can be had from the Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 23, 1922.

THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY.

London correspondents have dwelt at length on the miraculous cures effected by Professor Emile Cone during his recent visit to that city. He has made the deaf hear and the blind see. At his bidding, the paralytic of many years has been restored in a few minutes to the use of his limbs. Professor Cone does not claim to have any supernatural power. The healing is done by the patient's own imagination. What the Professor does is to awaken the patient to the use of the power latent in him. Professor Cone in his addresses in London seems to have limited the claim of his system, if it may be so called, of "auto-suggestion," to the cure of functional disorders. As a matter of fact, he seems to hold that it may apply also to organic disorders. An even more important and valuable part of his teaching, however, is the light it throws on self-development and the education of youth. For a lucid and connected exposition of Professor Cone's theory, the reader may be referred to "Suggestion and Auto-suggestion," by Professor Charles Bandoïn of the Jean Jacques Russeau Institute, translated from the French by Messrs. Eden and Cedar Paul, and published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin. Professor Cone is the founder of what is called the New Nancy School, the original Nancy School being that founded by Liebault—the difference being that, while Liebault's theory postulated suggestion from an external source, e.g., a doctor, Professor Cone's theory is that the suggestion need not be external and that even if it proceed from another, it has no effect until and unless it becomes the patient's own—an "auto-suggestion." The basic truth on which the theory rests, is the now acknowledged importance of the sub-conscious mind and the relatively smaller part played by the conscious reason in our every day life. All the creative processes in us proceed from the sub-conscious, while the conscious largely acts the part merely of a censor. To initiate any new creative process, the seed must be planted deep down in the sub-conscious, and this can be done, according to Professor Cone, only by oneself in conditions which are typified by the transitional moments between sleeping and waking. In the aphoristic language of the Gita, the lower self can be raised only by the higher Self. Reason is powerless to start any creative process. The Will, which is usually invoked for reformative action, is worse than powerless. The appeal to the Will, indeed, is a disastrous error. "When the Will and the imagination are at war," runs Cone's formula, "the imagination invariably gains the day. In the conflict between the Will and the imagination, the force of the imagination is in direct ratio to the square of the Will." What has to be touched, educated, is the imagination which represents the dominant idea. The Will is but the servant of the dominant idea, and so long as the latter remains the same, the stronger the will the deeper does it drag down one into the mire.

Of the possibilities of "auto-suggestion," Professor Bandoïn sees no end. Hunger is easy to control. We can become indifferent to heat or cold. We shall master fatigue. We can easily master undesirable emotions. We can form and discard habits. We can see and feel and guide our growth every minute of our lives. We can in a word, be masters of our fates, captains of our souls. These, it will be noticed, are precisely what the Hindu yogins claim for their system, and, indeed, Professor Bandoïn refers appreciatively to them more than once in his luminous book. At one place, he says that "as one of the curiosities of history, and further as a lesson in humility, we may point out that the states, just described, are described, with considerable psychological acumen, though not of course in modern psychological terminology, in the precepts by which, for centuries past, the yogins of Hindustan have been accustomed to attain self-mastery." Again, with reference to breathing exercises, which have been recommended in all ages as aids to the "development of mental force," Professor Bandoïn calls attention to the fact that they are to be found in the yoga of Hindustan as well as in the ultra-modern American schools of auto-suggestion. In India, owing to the intense concentration of her best minds on self-development to the neglect of social objectives, the principle of suggestion has come to be exploited by ignorant, ill-educated men in the shape of quackery and magic. The general prevalence of illiteracy is favourable to the growth of superstitions. In fact, every new idea is in danger of becoming a superstition if given to the masses without considerable previous preparation. This was the great weakness of the later developments of Non Co-operation, as evidenced by the tendency to erect Khaddar into a superstition, and it remains to be seen how much longer it will persist. The Mahatma himself welcomed imprisonment as one means of relieving the popular mind of the superstition which had gathered round his name. Educated men who exploit the Mahatma's name to oppose modifications in his programme necessitated by the present situation, are engaged in no better work than the quacks and magic men who exploit the principle of "suggestion" to selfish and unworthy ends. The great result of the Mahatma's mission is that it has largely eliminated from the Indian mind the sense of impotent inferiority of which a foreign bureaucracy is a perpetual source of debilitating suggestion. It is for this reason that many who reject several items of the Mahatma's programme, see in his work as a whole a movement of national invigoration. He has been put into prison, and those to whom the daily or occasional sight of him was necessary to keep alive in themselves the force of his influence, will, no doubt, fall off in course of time. But to a very much larger number, the daily, hourly thought that the Mahatma is in prison, while they themselves are free, will be a potent stimulant to effort and aspiration in the country's interests. "Out of sight, out of mind" is true in a small way, but the most powerful influences that move nations to high effort are born of the invisible.

When the eyes cannot see, the imagination acts with quickened vigour. The blindness of Homer and Milton undoubtedly contributed to the unapproachable imaginative grandeur of their immortal epics.

The "mind-cure" movement has had a strange history in Europe. The first reaction against the all-sufficiency of the material and physical, came from the philosopher, Kant. He suffered from gout, which made him sleepless, and in order to sleep, he devised the method of directing his thoughts towards the many associated ideas brought up by the word, "Cicero". "In this way," he wrote, "I led my attention away from every other idea. Thus these became quickly blunted, so that sleepiness would overcome them. And this I am always able to repeat in attacks of this kind with a like good result. That I had not dealt with imaginary pain was clearly evident the following morning when I found the toes of my left foot swollen and red." He wrote a treatise on this experience entitled "The Power of Mind, through Simple Determination, to become Master over Morbid Ideas". It took nearly half-a-century before the germinal idea which he threw out therein, took shape and form in the mind of the French doctor Liebault, who founded the Nancy School. Kant's was a mastermind which needed no outside suggestion, but when his principle had to be reduced to an art, the psychotherapist became a necessity. Liebault used hypnotic suggestion. He defined suggestion thus: "An idea that is carried over to a sleeping person by means of a gesture or other communication with the intention that a physiological, or even more, a psychological phenomenon shall be brought about through this, in his organism, is called suggestion." Cone's advance over Liebault consists in his insistence on the autonomy of the subject. A suggester may be helpful but he is not the essential factor in Cone's theory. The amenability of a patient to outside suggestion is itself the consequence of a self-suggestion. The insane are the least amenable to hypnotic influence. "Induced suggestion," writes Professor Baudoin "must not be performed by the operator for its own sake; he must regard it as the education of the subject's power of auto-suggestion." Phases of the truth about suggestion have been indicated in the writings of James and Bergson. In the educational field, Montessori has anticipated it. In popular movements and in public life, the new psychology emphasises the importance of correct suggestions since masses are ever more readily amenable to them than individuals.

Gauthami Library, Rajahmundry: One of the much-felt wants of Indian publicists is a sufficiency of fairly complete collections of books bearing on sociological, economic, political and administrative subjects, easily accessible for study and reference. Even in the Presidency towns, they are none too many. In Bombay, the one or two good libraries that there were of this kind, have become scattered. We are, therefore, pleased to note that the Gauthami Library of Rajahmundry, a list of books and publications added to which during last year, has been sent to us, seeks to meet this great want in a moffussil town on some plan and system.

THE MOPLAH RIOTS AND AFTER.

(BY MR. H. ANANTARISHNAN)
SOME OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS.

To one who has made a dispassionate study of the Moplah Riots on the spot, the outstanding social and economic questions that confront him would certainly appear to be the resultant legacies of permanent factors which are characteristic of the peculiar mutual relationship that has been subsisting between the natives of the soil and their alien militant opponents. Apart from the superficial view of the daily Press, which has made capital of the Non-Co-operation propaganda and thus lessened the direct responsibility of the Moplah gangs, some remarkable disclosures of the social relationship between the Hindu and the Moplah community for the last half a century, militate against the theory of political propaganda and the spontaneous response from an uncultured and fanatic rabble. The horrible excesses of their activities were, no doubt, much in evidence in places where the Hindu landlord was too much zealous to keep up his prestige intact; and the desolate condition of Nilambur since the pitched action at Pakotur and the consequent chaos in Wandur and East Ernad areas, indicate on a large scale the process of the sub-conscious mentality of the Moplah in the matter of effecting once for all a clear title, by means of force, for his "place under the Sun." The Nambudri Jemies of Ernad, the Tirumulpad of Nilambur, the Karavadapad of Manjeri and numerous other Nayar potentates, were all made the targets of vindictive attacks and destruction of property; while, in excellent relief, during the early days of the riots, one can find the lesser fry of the rank and file of the Hindu inhabitants, left comparatively unscathed, though individual rancour and betrayals on account of espionage were responsible for some cruel excesses.

All the same, it cannot be denied that the *morale* of the Hindu inhabitants was so much spoiled on account of deliberate though spasmodic proelytization and the wanton breaches into the social sanctities of home and places of worship that refugees at different Relief Camps would not think of returning to their homes and settling down there. But this has been due to the disappearance of Kuchamad Haji as a live force among the rebels; and the advent of the notorious Seethikoya Thangal brought in its train, those heart-rending occurrences with which we have all become only too-familiar. I have been able to gather that a very large percentage of refugees at Palghat and Trichur have decided to leave their old homes for good, with the incidental risks of unemployment and destitution. All the same definite assurances of safety can, to a considerable extent, relieve the extreme tension of the refugees and induce them to adjust themselves to the new conditions, however hopeless they be. Otherwise, the chaos that would continue would certainly drive the people to leave the disturbed areas severely alone, even as some prominent Nambudri families have migrated in a body to

Travancore, Cochin and North Malabar; the working classes similarly would have, sooner or later, to migrate as indentured coolies to F.M.S. or Fiji, which consummation the labor Agents are only too ready to bring about by clever exploitation. By the way, it should be noted that Malabar was throwing out as many as 50,000 laborers on the average per annum to the plantations outside India; and this exodus of labor under distressing circumstances would certainly accentuate the economic deadlock and inevitably react on the productive capacity of those areas as well as the capital value of land, in so far as the actual effectives among Moplahs are either in jails as discredited or dead in the dirty tussle. Again, we have got a large number of Moplah women, homeless and helpless, requiring skillful organization. Prolific as the Moplah is, a decade or two would almost make good the loss of Man-Power, which, if neglected, would develop into acute suffering.

SEGREGATION OR VINDICTIVE EXTERMINATION?

Bewildering as the aftermath of the riots is, it should be borne in mind that any attempt at artificial segregation or vindictive extermination of the Moplah would only prolong the mischief by perpetuating the breach of a sociological principle viz. *laissez faire* in regard to the growth of social organisms. For, as a factor in Social Organisation, the Moplah has established a permanent title, *de facto*, if not *de jure*, by his solid contribution to the economic development of the District through his unceasing application and industry. The innumerable small holdings under complex tenure, the monopoly of almost all crafts, professions and commercial interests, have made his position well-nigh invulnerable in a difficult forest country where the grit and sustaining quality of the Moplah alone could make any headway. One has only to drive along the long zig-zag road leading to Malpuzha from Tirur, to see the extensive fertility of the gardens on both sides of the road, where the Moplah could be seen either busy all day at the picotah or with the spade or in lots of sturdy men carrying merchandise to the nearest market. And every two miles, one can see the brisk bidding hamlets where pepper and copra are collected in large godowns to be sent over to Tirur. The prosperity and wealth of the Tirur merchants, their decent housing arrangements are all concrete evidences of their business "push" and industry. These features will have to be conveniently ignored and ignored with tragic results should a scheme of segregation materialise. In these circumstances, it would be quite cruel to treat the Moplah as absolutely unredeemable and remove him from a sphere in which he is the legitimate incumbent. The possible and reasonable attitude towards him, would be to proceed with him by gradually lessening the inordinate economic obligations which absentee landlordism is never tired of persisting to impose. A reasonable remuneration for the proprietary rights of the land-owner, a modest appropriation of unearned increment in land values, a just recognition of his claim for improvements and a judicious Improvements Act facilitating

the least temptation to costly litigation, would certainly strike at the root cause and check conflicts to the irreducible minimum in future.

PRESENT DIFFICULTIES EXAGGERATED.

Hence it is clear that any tentative proposals towards reconstruction ignoring the economic factor would only aggravate the difficulties. As for the circumstantial evils resulting from the riots, there would not be any serious difficulty to tide over if judicious relief is provided. Social questions as the "conversions," have not assumed that threatening aspect which Dr. Moonje would ask us to imagine. Among high class Hindus, the "conversions" if at all, can be numbered on one's fingers ends; and those few will not suffer for their technical conversions since public opinion has emphatically veered round to their reclamation. As for the "conversions" from among the lower classes as Ezuvas and Palayas, there seems to be no great difficulty in the matter of reasonable adjustments, and from careful enquiry, one could easily gather that they are, if they have not already, adjusting themselves without feeling any serious breach or violence to their orthodoxy or convention. Much of the exaggerated canards that are going the round in the interested Press would certainly allow of heavy discount. Then, again, the burnt homesteads could be very well replaced by judicious subsidy by the Government on takavi loan basis. Seeds, implements and cattle could be supplied similarly. In this connection the Government can stand by the precedent set up by it in the Audi-Dravida housing affair during the Mill-strikes in Madras. The legal difficulties in connection with the burning and destruction of title deeds, records in Mansif's Courts, Registrar's offices, will have to be removed only with the co-operation of the people in the rebel area and with the records that are extant, as duplicates in the Huzur and District Courts. All these circumstantial evils can be removed by skillful and intelligent manipulation; while sternness or undue demonstration of sentiment or feeling would only shut the real safety valve.

THE REAL ISSUE.

The question, thus, presents a social and economic problem which has become complicated in the course of the last half a century. The census figures will bear out that the majority of the population in those taluqs is Moplah and consequently quite outlandish in sentiment and customs. He has come to stay and has almost ousted his Hindu neighbour. Ethnically, he will survive any onslaught and from the economic point of view also, he is on firmer ground. And his social solidarity has been automatically secured by the scrupulous unity of interests which the weekly congregations at important mosques like Tirurangadi, Mamprom, etc. have been sedulously inspiring through zealots called Thangals. No Moplah would swear by the Mamprom Mosque; and many of them were as it were, infatuated with Seethikoya Thangal for his infallibility. Essentially, then, we find the Hindu minority, by a tragic irony of fate, placed in much the same position as the Ulstermen in the midst of rack-rented Irish Catholics, with this difference, that

the discontented Moplah is not sufficiently articulate. The Government, at best, checked the excess of spasmodic outbursts which were periodically repeating themselves and never probed into the matter any further than providing elementary schools for Moplah children. Whenever it wanted to put into practice a judicious policy of equitable distribution, it found itself jeopardised by the militant claims of the landlords. And herein lies the crux of the matter; and the incidental vitiating of the social relations would never cease so long as the land question remains untouched. The Government itself stand condemned for its sins of omission and negligent omission and covert sympathies with the land-lords in as much as it has created a situation in which the divergent claims of a miniature and recalcitrant Ulster as well as the legitimate, if not strictly legal, claims of a majority are at daggers drawn. Hence, it is neither the "conversions" nor the other circumstantial evil that seriously would hamper reconstruction, but the complicated and essentially live issue: The Land Problem.

ANGLICAN BISHOPS AND INDIAN POLITICS

III

(Contributed.)

THE METHOD OF JESUS.

Jesus "sought nothing in his hearers but free and unforced conviction. He set himself to persuade. He used no intimidation. He did no violence of any kind to the wills of men. To attempt to drive men to adopt one's opinions or join one's party by intimidation or bribery is just as alien from His method as to try to do so by blows." These are unexceptionable words. "I have no desire to carry a single soul with me," says Gandhi, "if I cannot appeal to his or her reason." Gandhi points out to the people of India the realities of the situation and his words of truth attract large numbers.

"Christ's method would have been nothing but the consistency of a good and amiable man unless it had been employed to draw men to real knowledge of God and to the revolution in the living of life which that real knowledge must cause." All the guiding principles of moral life have been long since discovered and formulated by the great teachers of humanity. Real moral progress, however, depends not on an academic acceptance of the right way of living but on the love of the right and the practice of the right by an increasing number of the human family. The quickening of moral sensibility is achieved by personalities of singular force of character and unique power. The greatness of Gandhi consists in his personal purity, rare devotion to truth and uncompromising determination to live it. His exalted idealism and magnificent devotion to suffering humanity are facts as clear as day-light and his worst enemies, if they have any sense of fairness, must acknowledge them. Mrs. Besant, a staunch friend of the British Government and an open enemy of Gandhi's movements, wrote in these words when she first met Gandhi.

"Among us, as I write, is dwelling for brief space, one whose presence is a benediction, and whose feet sanctify every house into which he enters—Gandhi our martyr and saint. He too by strange ways was led into circumstances in which alone could flower all that he brought with him of patient unwearying courage that nought might daunt, unselfishness that found its joy in sacrifice, endurance so sweetly gentle that its power was not readily understood. As I stood for a moment facing him, hand clasped in hand, I saw in him that deathless spirit which redeems by suffering, and in death wins life for others, one of those marked out for the high service of becoming Saviours and Helpers of Humanity. I who tread the path of the warrior, not that of the saint, who battle against enthroned injustice by assault not by meekness, I recognise in this man, so frail and yet so mighty, one of those whose names live in history, among those of whom it is said, 'He saved others; himself he could not save.'" Mr. Sastri concludes his article on "Gandhi the man" thus: "The writer of these lines is not one of Mr. Gandhi's political followers or a disciple of his in religion. But he claims to have known him for some years and to have been a sympathetic student of his teachings. He has felt when near him the chastening effects of a great personality. He has derived much strength from observing the workings of an iron will. He has learned from a living example something of the nature of duty and the worship due to her. He has occasionally caught some dim perception of the great things that lie hidden below the surface and of the struggles and tribulations which invest life with its awe and grandeur. An ancient Sanskrit verse says, 'Do not tell me of holy waters or stone images; they may cleanse us if they do, after a long period. A saintly man purifies us at sight.'"

In the Bible we read that the prophet Elisha once threw himself on the body of a dead child in order with his own life to kindle there the life that seemed extinct. Gandhi has thrown himself on those who are spiritually numb to show up life in them. The converting power of his personality is simply marvellous. Brotherly love is breaking down age-long barriers between man and man. Centuries of bureaucratic administration failed to "disturb the placid and pathetic contentment of the people" and create the will for freedom. The whole country to-day is glowing with the spirit of common citizenship and is struggling to breathe the air of freedom. Public life has become more honest. Secret societies and revolutionary organisations are taboo. The workers are playing the game with all the cards on the table. Faith in God and suffering for His truth are the central inspiration of Gandhi's movement. Rank, office and title are losing their charm. Thousands of young men whose only crime is desire for *Swraj* are rotting in prisons bearing witness to the faith in them. Men accustomed to ease and luxury are welcoming the trials and terrors of jail life. The silent revolution which the leadership of Gandhi is working in the minds of men cannot be estimated by the measuring tape or the weighing.

machine. Whatever be its political wisdom, none can deny its educative value for the nation. Modern India has had leaders of great intellectual eminence who compelled the respect of all, leaders of shrewd political instinct who were held in fear by their opponents, leaders of keen social sympathy and high sense of duty who won the affection of the people, leaders of great caution and hard common sense who had their eyes fixed on the ground and took every step without faltering and rose into positions of trust and responsibility, leaders who by theatrical gestures and simulation and dissimulation rendered valuable service to the country, leaders who, not less cynical than clever, managed to win the confidence of both the people and the rulers, leaders of all types from "the busy race of jugglers, petty machiavels of the antechamber, trading politicians ready to swear and to forswear, to launch out boldly or creep ashore according to the wind" down to those fire-eating patriots who with a fanatic fury and flagrant unreason sealed their faith by the blood of their body. Time will show them up, if it has not already done so. But the present leader, so utterly devoid of personal ambition, so full of religious fervour, so exclusively devoted to the distant lodestar, in spite of the stumblings, trippings and fallings on the pathway, who embodies in his life the truth of philosophies, the faith of religions and the ideal of ethics which bid us stand together manfully in the truth, love one another with a pure heart fervently and bear one another's burdens, will go on conquering and to conquer.

The Bishops do not give the right idea of the place of suffering in the life of Jesus. "His preaching of the truth brought him into suffering. He did not seek to suffer. When suffering came He accepted it. Suffering was not to Him a method by which he sought to gain an advantage over His enemies or extort a boon from them. It was an incident in His chosen path of righteousness." The Bishops are anxious to make out that the eagerness for suffering and love of martyrdom which some of Gandhi's followers exhibit are not consistent with the spirit of Jesus. The Bishops feel that the appeal of the suffering of Jesus is greatly felt in India. It is the faith in *tapas* which many *Rishis* and many *Buddhas* have sanctified. The belief that through suffering lies the way to salvation is in India as old as time and more powerful than time. Salvation through suffering is not a single incident at a certain date in human history but is the ground plan of the universe. The *Rigveda* declares that the whole world rests on the sacrifice of God. This is what the apocalyptic writers mean by that curious phrase, "the lamb slain from the foundation of the world." Though the idea of victory through suffering attracted the religious consciousness of the west through the crucifixion of Jesus, it has not yet captured it. The Indian knows the significance of the Cross. The Jew may not understand it, the Greek may laugh at it, the Bishops may explain it away but the Indian knows that the path to the joy of heaven is "as the sharp edge of a razor." In spite of the folly and

vulgarity of our degenerate days, we have not as yet sunk so low as to drown the truth consecrated by our legends and traditions, cults and mysteries. Suffering is not an incident but the inevitable lot of all who enter into the kingdom of God.

The soundest element in all Jewish literature is that of Providence. Isaiah pictures the suffering of the Servant of the Lord and Jesus made his life a fulfilment of the Servant's mission. He regarded His death as directly connected with the preliminary woes which in current belief must usher in the Kingdom. The Cross is no accident in the life of Jesus or an afterthought of God designed to meet an emergency. It is the cornerstone of all creation, the law of the Kingdom. No son of God can be brought to glory except he be crucified. When the sons of Zebidee asked Jesus for places on his right and left in the kingdom, Jesus said unto them, "Can ye drink of the cup that I drink of?" "The Lord scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." Paul's description of the Christ-filled life confirms this view. Calvary is the path by which the whole world must travel to God. "Turn to the heights, turn to the deeps, turn within and turn without—everywhere thou shalt find the Cross" said Thomas a Kempis. Gandhi tells us all that we must agonise to enter the kingdom. It is the comradeship of suffering to which he invites the nation. He has firm faith that the suffering of the innocent works without ceasing for the healing of the nations.

THE PRESENT STALEMATE.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

One year has elapsed since H. E. Lord Reading assumed the Viceroyalty, and what a barren regime it has proved till now. When Lord Reading was selected to this high office after a really painstaking and commendable search by Mr. Lloyd George, I welcomed his appointment, not on the popular ground of his having been a Liberal or a Lord Chief Justice, but on the ground of his being an eminent financier and of his having proved a veritable financial wizard. For, was he not sent at a psychological and critical time of the war to Washington to act as Special Ambassador and to solve the financial difficulties of England and to strengthen the financial position of England, in the American market? Unfortunately for us, not only has his oft-reiterated policy of 'justice' failed us in other respects but both his 'justice' and his great financial acumen have failed us lamentably in our financial troubles wherein we had most hope and reason to expect assistance from him. And what little 'justice' was left that did not get tired out and flee away after tiresome repetition, got hopelessly lost in the Munitions Board Case.

And when we examine the financial policy of the Government, it looks as if Lord Reading never meant his 'justice' to embrace the realm of Indian Finance at all. For, was not the first act of his

Government, that of inditing two most egregious and inexcusable letters defending the 7% loan, though he was not responsible for raising it? But nothing shows that his Government has protested against the action of the then Secretary of State. Again, his lordship was completely lacking in candour and sense of fairness when every time he was pressed to give his views on the Currency and Exchange muddle and the consequent loss and disaster to Indian finances, he simply evaded the subject and attributed our troubles to world conditions. The United Provinces Liberal Association and the Marwari Association both specifically drew his attention to the sore misgivings and heart-burnings on this subject and his silence was even charitably interpreted as one betokening that the Viceroy was not quite satisfied in his conscience that the Government had been in the right. Now, subsequent events show that, while fudging them and playing with the issue then, his policy too is not far distant to that of the very noble imperialistic design of administration and exploitation both going hand in hand. If he had been perturbed in his conscience even the least bit, he would have outlined a policy for himself thus:—'The end of the war left India unlike other countries, in a state of perfect financial equilibrium, but the bungling and mismanagement of English administrators have brought her to the verge of bankruptcy. Let us imbued with a sense of 'justice' rehabilitate her financial condition, if not restore her to the prosperity which otherwise, India would be revelling in now.' On the other hand, his policy seems to be like the one enunciated by Mr. Lloyd George as the cure for India's discontents, more railways and more railway materials to be ordered from England! More loans, more Home Charges, more military expenditure seem to be the well-determined policy of the present set of rulers. The reply of Sir Malcolm Hailey that the Government have not yet thought of straightening the tangled state of India's currency and Exchange position, shows also that Lord Reading's much-vaunted financial ability is not going to stand us in good stead. It was well within his power to crush aggressive frontier wars, Khyber Railway policy and Waziristan expeditions, to mercifully reduce military expenditure so as to avoid taxation as a sop to Governmental extravagance and mismanagement and to moderate the unnecessary load of debt. That is not to be. (Here, I may ask why the Government of India should not adopt in their dealings with frontier tribes, the very clever policy adopted by Mr. Churchill in Arabia, that of giving subsidies to tribal chiefs to the extent of £100,000 only to avoid £10,000,000 of military expenditure). But Sir Malcolm Hailey and Mr. Cook are going as strong and are as irresponsible as ever in their threats and boastings which drew a spirited reply from Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer. If it were not for the selfish and one-sided policy of one section of Moderates and if Non-co-operation had not completely paralysed the political activities of the country, the financial mismanage-

ment, especially of Reverse Councils, would be a fit subject even for impeachment proceedings as well as for world denunciation.

Take other questions. Just as the Viceroy has succumbed to the Haileyian touch, he has also succumbed to Sir William Vincent who now stands four square to the winds completely rehabilitated and with his hold on the Government as strong now as during Lord Chelmsford's regime. And what a travesty of law and order when on insignificant charges, veteran leaders like Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and C. B. Das are sentenced to various terms of imprisonment! Here, another tragical incongruity might be pointed out, that of Lala Harkishen Lal continuing to be Minister while the man who laboured most for his release, Pandit Motilal Nehru, is immured in jail. Look at the lordly slovenliness of the present regime that, while as early as August and September 1921, the Madras papers exposed the evils of the Repatriation Scheme of South African Indians and wanted its stoppage, H. E. Lord Reading in his reply to the recent deputation, says that he will consider the matter. All the same, the Hon. Mr. Sarma pleads heavy work and wants an Additional Assistant Secretary. Examine it how we will, the present regime is sure to be one of utter barrenness except on the negative and reactionary side.

KHADDAR AND EXPLOITATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your leading article entitled "Our Immediate Duty," appearing in the *Reformer* of the 16th instant, you observe towards the close "when the same Khaddar sells at 9 annas per yard in Girgatum and 14 annas in another part of the City, scarcely two miles away, it is obvious that the Khaddar propaganda has become a new form of exploitation." Though I can vouchsafe for the correctness of the statement, I am afraid the manner in which it is expressed is not a little misleading. You will admit that two pieces of Khaddar cloth of more or less similar pattern or fineness of texture may vary in price even to the extent discovered by you, since the cost of manufacture may differ widely in different places according to local circumstances. So long as Khaddar is produced as at present in very limited quantities and so long as the cloth through mass production has not been standardised, differences in price are bound to obtain. We should not be surprised for the present if in one shop we find Khaddar of inferior quality being sold at a price higher than that demanded for far better stuff even in the next shop, for all depends on the source of manufacture. But because of these varying prices to characterise Khaddar propaganda as a new form of exploitation, as I submit, is not quite fair criticism. But even if a particular tradesman did profiteer, surely for the fault of one block leg the entire Khaddar trade and Khaddar propaganda should not be tarred with the same brush.

Yours truly,

A PARSU.

Bombay, 21st April 1922.

TRAVANCORE LETTER.

(From an occasional Correspondent.)

A NOTABLE REFORM.

It was Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao K. C. S. I. when Dewan of this State, who issued the famous *patnam* proclamation which laid the foundation for the agrarian prosperity in the land by making the position of the tenants secure and the superstructure of this grand edifice of ryots' contentment was built by his distinguished namesake and peoples' friend, Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao C. F. E. whose all too brief period of Dewanship of Travancore was described by the late Mr. Kerala Varma C. S. I., Valia Koil Tampuram, as the Golden Age of modern Travancore. It has been reserved to Dewan Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah to achieve another notable reform of great political significance and one in the initiation and announcement of which His Highness the Maharajah has practically accepted, like the Sovereigns of England, the title of Defender of the Faith (of Hinduism). I shall explain the real import of the momentous step taken which is yet another illustration of the enlightened policy of the State. The management of Hindu temples has ever been a fruitful source of trouble to the administrators. The temples were originally private institutions founded by rich Hindu landlords who had also endowed them with large landed properties the income from which was to be utilized for the maintenance and up-keep of these religious institutions. In the Malabar year 987 (1811-12) Col. Munro who happened to be both Dewan and Resident thought that these temples were being mismanaged and the only course that suggested itself to him was the drastic step of ordering their assumption by Government with all their landed properties and other belongings. Other sources of income of these temples were *Nada Varava* or offerings made by worshippers every day in the shape of coin, jewels, silk and other articles and also some miscellaneous items. The annual yield of paddy alone at the time of assumption was 16,06,281 measures of paddy and cash Rs. 60,608. The value of this quantity of paddy—apart from the fact that it must have been increasing with each Revenue Settlement for the past one century and over—was nearly Rs. 16 lakhs based on the current market price. The Government have been spending about Rs. 15 lakhs every year to maintain these temples and to keep them in proper condition. Other sources of income of these temples have not been taken into account.

While such was the financial condition of these religious institutions, the Hindus held that the Government were a gainer from these temple funds, that the management of these temples has been scandalous, that several rich and important temples have been allowed to go to ruin and that even the daily *pujas* were not being performed satisfactorily. The prayer of the Hindus was that these institutions be separated from the Land Revenue Department and placed under a special agency with a view to their interests being safeguarded and their being managed in a manner satisfactory to Hindus. It was also contended that such a course would free them from the charge laid at their door that money from the general revenues of the State was being spent to maintain these institutions belonging to one set of people. For, they assured Government that the State, instead of spending any amount on the temples, was a distinct gainer from having taken over their management in their hands. The Christians, Muhammadans and low-caste Hindus complained of their exclusion from the Land Revenue Department on the ground that it had under it the management of these temples and that, if non-Hindus and non-caste Hindus were admitted into the Land

Revenue Department, the management of temples into which they could not enter would suffer. Thus, the agitation from the two sides of opposing forces converged in one and the same remedy, viz., the separation of the temple management from the Land Revenue Department. There were several difficulties in the way. The Chief of them was about finance. When on several occasions endeavours were made to ascertain the extent and nature of their income, the Government were convinced that the temple properties were large and that the receipts from them were enough to meet their expenses and that it was impossible to separate the Devaswom properties from Sirkar lands, because the Devaswom tenure had so merged in the Sirkar lands in the course of the several Revenue Settlements during the past 110 years. At the same time Government felt that it was desirable to show the revenue from the temples and set it apart. So in 1912 about Rs. 4 lakhs was fixed as the receipts from temple lands and it was also laid down that the question of the change of tenure should be considered at the next Revenue Settlement.

As stated above, it has been calculated that the receipts from assessment of temple lands above would come to Rs. 16 lakhs which works out to 40 per cent. of the land tax. The Government have, therefore, decided to set apart 40 per cent. of the annual land revenue as temple funds which, in future, will be a separate fund. The Government have also declared their intention not to disturb the tenure of the landholders of temple properties and given them fixity of tenure. In carrying out this great reform two objects have been served. The first is "to remove the disability under which a large section of His Highness' subjects have been labouring in the matter of admission to the Land Revenue Service of the State." The second is the open declaration of a Policy by H. H. The Maharajah that "in view of our faith and religion it is our solemn right and duty to maintain efficiently and in good condition, Hindu religious institutions in our State, irrespective of the income from such institutions or the cost of such maintenance, and in pursuance of such right and duty Our State has, from time immemorial, contributed from its Exchequer to the cost of such maintenance to the extent necessary." This extremely knotty problem in the solution of which there has been, a good deal of uncertainties, complications and vital conflicting interests involved has been solved with considerable courage, much practical wisdom and a good deal of that political foresight associated with the statesmanship. I am sure that, as observed by Government, the temples "would enter on a new era of efficient management and prosperity." This is a reform long overdue both in the interests of the religious institutions and also to remove the civil disabilities of an overwhelming section of His Highness the Maharaja's subjects in the State.

ADULT EDUCATION.

PROPOSED BOMBAY ASSOCIATION.

The attention of those who are interested in educational work has been increasingly directed in recent years to movements which have had as their aim the bringing of education to men and women who are earning their living, and who, until recently had no means of entering into the fuller intellectual life to which the Universities are the chief means of access. The Workers' Educational Association in England has had a marvellous influence in England and in some of the Dominions in bringing knowledge and culture within the reach of these people, and those who have been engaged in the work of conducting classes have found among the artisans intellects as keen and as capable of

receiving education as are to be found in the Universities. Three years ago the World Association for Adult Education was formed for the purpose of promoting adult education throughout the world.

The situation in India is very different from that which exists in most other parts of the world in which the movement has been inaugurated. The kind of work which has been undertaken among the working classes in these countries would not be possible here. Nevertheless there has been a widespread feeling that work on similar lines might be opened with great advantage among people who have completed their education or who have been unable to carry their education beyond the High School stage, and who feel the need for some stimulus and guidance in the development of their intellectual life.

Two meetings of people interested in the movement have recently been held in the University Library. The first was held on the 4th April, with Dr. Mann in the chair. The question was discussed at large, and at the close of the meeting agreement was reached on the following points:—(1) That there is a field for educational work on the University level among certain sections of the community, (2) That the objects of this work would be three:—a. Training for civic responsibility, b. The imparting of general culture along certain lines, c. Scientific training with special reference to various lines of technical work. It seemed that in accordance with these objects it would be desirable to open classes in such subjects as Economics, History, Political Science, Physics, Chemistry, Literature, etc. It seemed desirable that a larger and more representative meeting should be called to discuss these questions and to formulate practical proposals.

The second meeting was held on Thursday 13th April, and there was a representative gathering of persons interested in education. The chair was occupied by Dr. Mann, who opened the proceedings by explaining the purpose of the meeting, and giving an account of the work of the Workers' Educational Association in England. He laid emphasis on four features of the work which had contributed to its success. First, the work was organized in small classes for study, and not for the hearing of casual lectures. Secondly, everything of the nature of propaganda was ruled out, the aims of the work being definitely and purely educational. Thirdly, the subjects of study were chosen by the students, and not imposed upon them. Fourthly, there was a large number of men who were prepared to give time and energy to this work, without patronage or pay.

He drew attention to the needs which we may try to meet in Bombay. There is a large semi-educated class of adults who are engaged in working for their living. The tendency is for a very large proportion of these to stop short in their intellectual development when they leave school or College, or even to relapse to a lower level of intellectual life. Very little is being done to maintain it, and the need is great for some sort of a movement with this as its aim. He advocated the formation of an association which would try to meet this need, and he suggested that in anything that may be done full use should be made of agencies which are now interested in the spread of education, such as the Social Service League and the Servants of India Society. The relation of the movement to the University was a question which would arise later when work had been actually inaugurated. It would, of course, have to depend for teachers largely on those who are engaged in higher educational work.

After a general discussion it was agreed to form an Association to be known as the Adult Educational Associa-

tion with the objects which have been stated. —A Provisional Committee was formed to prepare a constitution and to take other steps to organize the Association. The Committee consists of the following:—Dr. Mann, Chairman, the Rev. R. M. Gray, Professor Hamley, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Miss Moinett, Mr. N. M. Musumdar, Mr. U. K. Oza, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, Mr. Brelvi, Principal Tannan, Mr. M. B. Jayakar, Mr. K. Natarajan, Professor P. A. Wadia, the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, Mr. K. E. Vergea, Mr. K. H. Vakil, Mr. F. J. Page, Principal Covernton, the Rev. J. McKenzie, Secretary, and such others as these may co-opt.

The Provisional Committee will not be able to meet till June, but it is hoped that it will be possible then to adopt a constitution and to make arrangements for beginning the actual work of the Association. In the meantime it desires to make it known that it will be glad to receive communications from any who are interested in the movement, with any suggestions they may wish to make.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

This is the year when the Young Women's Christian Association meets again in a World's Commission called by the World's Y. W. O. A. Committee to consider some of the urgent questions which affect Christianity and Women. It is hoped that the National Secretary of the Y. W. O. A. of India, Burma and Ceylon will be present. Although the problems in India are so absorbing at this time, we need to remember that India is now one of the nations in the League of Nations, and therefore must share the responsibility of such a position. The National problems of India will be better solved if they are studied in an international perspective as in this century nations are inter-dependant and cannot afford to ignore each other. The Y. W. O. A. has been well called a Women's League of Nations and it is only by co-operation and co-operation that we can make women's influence felt in matters of peace, child welfare and women's right place in the city and the state. The National Committee of the Y. W. O. A. of India, Burma and Ceylon is impressed with the importance of developing the purely Indian side of its work as well as in promoting international concord. At no time was it more important to safeguard the best interests of Indian girls than at the present when they are taking part in work of many kinds. Although up to the present time the number of Indian girls employed in commerce and industry is small, the last 6 months even have witnessed new openings for Indian girls and a desire on their part to enter new fields of work. Not unfrequently girls belonging to the Y. W. O. A. Student Branches do not pass into teaching but will be going into commercial life, into the Telephone office, the Railway office as typists, which will take them away from their homes and will make them feel the need of the Y. W. I. A. Hostel and Club. In the new building in Bombay there are rooms allotted to Parsis because Parsis contributed to the building fund, and it is increasingly important for the community to understand that there is no authorized race or creed distinction in Y. W. O. A. building. More than half the entries for the Bombay Y. W. O. A. Educational Classes this year have been from Parsis and all, irrespective of race or religion, join the Physical Instruction classes. The Bangalore Committee recently, by request of the Indian Church, decided to open a purely Indian Hostel in the City in order to provide a cheaper accommodation than those of European style, so that any Indian girl can have her choice according to the limits of her purse.

A deputation of Indian ladies waited on me to urge the starting of an Indian hostel, on Indian lines, for girls coming to Bombay to work in the telephone office, Hospital, or for studying and at its recent meeting the Bangalore committee decided to open such a hostel in the city. Meanwhile it is of importance that more student and Vernacular branches should be started.

In Trivandrum a building has been acquired with the help of the National Committee entirely under Indian management; Australia providing a Secretary. Several Branches or Clubs of Indian ladies have been formed for the study of and helps to social, religious and devotional life. The aim of the Association is first through the Student Department with its Bible Circle, during College life; then (2) through the city Department providing Christian home in office for teachers, nurses, compounders inspectresses in its Hostels; and (3) through Branches in which meetings are conducted in one of the Vernaculars; in Calcutta in Bengali; in the Central Province and Central India in Hindi, the Secretaries who learn the vernaculars are constantly in and out of the villages; in the Hindi Department there are 960 members and some hundreds in the Bengali and Mahratti Departments, and Urdu branches have been revived. The Y. W. C. A. National Committee hopes that soon many girls of the country will volunteer to be the Y. W. C. A. secretaries of such Branches, either on the Staff or as local Hon. Secretaries. In Mahrathi Department Miss Bhaskari, in the Tamil Miss Madavan have recently been appointed; From London girls are returning who have made the "Indian Hostel", 10 s, Newton Road, Baywater, their home while there and have found that the Secretary of the Indian Sub-Committee of the International Department of the British Y. W. C. A. has been able to help them to holiday lodging, camps, and other activities of the Y. W. C. A. which have made their stay in England the more pleasant. Friends also have been willing to introduce Church Members to Church Connexion.

In India itself Indian members of several large city Branches have banded themselves together for special meetings. The Calcutta city Members meet together in the 'Emily Kinnaid Club', with their own Indian Committee and secretary; they are working for the National Missionary Society seeking to help each other in their spiritual life. For scattered members it is hoped to provide a Devotional library and we ask for the co-operation of teachers in the effort. One made the request that the General Secretary should regularly visit their school each quarter and invite girls leaving to join the City or town Branch, so that they might become acquainted with the general activities. We specially invite the help of teachers in giving us the names of solitary teachers who would like to become scattered members. Another occupation open to Indian girls is that of nurses and statistics shows that outside of Mission Hospitals, sufficient attention is not given to Nurses in Hospitals; it is essential to have a Y. W. C. A. Branch with the friendship of the Y. W. C. A. secretary to guide them. The Secretary of this Department is Miss Maya Das, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta; of the Hindi, Department Miss Denuison, Y. W. C. A. Jubbulpore; of the Mahratti Department Miss Olga Lawrence, Y. W. C. A. Mayo Road, Bombay.

STATE CONTROL OF LIQUOR.

(Social Welfare, Toronto.)

Government sale, or, as it is so often wrongly called, "Government Control" of liquor for beverage purposes, is the last refuge of the drink traffic and its friends, and they are making frantic efforts at present in all the seven dry

Provinces to demonstrate its virtues as "a temperance measure." In this they have been encouraged by the success of the moderationists in British Columbia in upsetting the Prohibition law of that Province. The day is not far distant when moderationists will be anxious to forget B. C. Their pet "temperance law" is already proving a grave disappointment. The Government that passed it is being rapidly discredited. Scandal and corruption are doing their deadly work. The law is enforced no better than were its predecessors the Prohibition or the License laws. All the bad fruits of the consumption of alcoholic beverages are showing themselves in increasing abundance.

And the liquor people are having a none too encouraging experience in their effort to extend their pet law. In Alberta they failed once and they'll fail again. In Manitoba they have been voted down in the Legislative Assembly. And the men who sympathized with them went down—most of them to ignominious defeat at the polls.

In Manitoba their petition for a referendum has just been voted down in the Legislature in spite of Premier Norris's support. It would not be difficult to forecast Mr. Norris's downfall. No political leader on the Prairie can live and support any movement looking toward the rehabilitation of the drink traffic in any form! The Moderationists asked Premier Martin, of Saskatchewan, for a re-vote on Government sale the other day. They got cold comfort. That clean, capable leader, without mincing words, informed them that Saskatchewan had had one experience of Government sale and would have no other under his Government.

The "Citizens Liberty Leaguers" met with an equally serious rebuff from Premier Drury in Ontario.

Certain New Brunswick politicians are said to be casting covetous eyes over the Provincial line fence at Quebec's \$8,000,000 of liquor revenue. But N. B., which has in the last two years voted twice with overwhelming majorities against the traffic, is in no danger of falling from grace.

Quebec's Premier is reported as glorying in that Province's illgotten gain and warning all and sundry to keep "hands off Quebec." All that is necessary is to accept his advice and leave Quebec to wallow in the mire of being the Mecca of the alcoholics of the continent. Quebec's worthy people will soon tire of that of which its Premier now boasts. Drunkenness is already too common and bootlegging and other lawlessness. The Government is making, we believe, a sincere effort to enforce the law. But the tide is against it. Ninety prosecutions in a single week in the comparatively small city of Hull indicates the mighty hold that lawlessness has where liquor is to be had. The day is not far distant when both Quebec and B. C. will enact and enforce the suppression of the exploiting of the vice of drink "for the money there is in it," and try to forget the present experiment.

The only Province that, previous to the present, has had experience of Government sale, is Saskatchewan. After little over a year's experience the people of that Province, on a referendum, made a clean sweep of the Government liquor shops. The vote was 95,249 to 23,666. The cities voted 6 to 1 against a continuance of Government sale. The towns voted 7 to 1. The soldiers' vote was 3 to 1 on the same side. No wonder Premier Martin said "never again" to the moderationists the other day!

These misguided or "interested" people will find their influence still further weakened when export and manufacture in dry provinces is discontinued and the Prohibition laws are given a fair chance of enforcement against those friends of moderationists the "bootleggers."

EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN ANCIENT INDIA. *Prabuddha Bharata, (Mayavati, monthly,) Ramkrishna Mission.*

"Daughters should be reared and educated with as much care and attention as sons"—this is the injunction of Manu. But in actual practice this noble precept has been utterly disregarded by the Hindus, especially by those who miss no opportunity to quote texts from the Scriptures and even misinterpret them, when these support the dehumanising forms of tyranny now current in Hindu society.

Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee in a learned article on "Ancient Hindu Education as revealed in the works of Panini, Katyayana and Patanjali," published in the January issue of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, shows in a conclusive manner that in ancient India education was not denied to women. Says the Professor,—“The Vartika on iv. 1. 48 (Panini) makes this quite clear. Women teachers, not the wives of teachers, are called Upadhyani or Upadhyaya, or Acharya. Bhattoji Diksita explains these terms to mean ladies who are themselves teachers, while the Balamanorama quotes an interesting old verse to show that in earlier times there were women who were well-versed in Vedic Literature and were called Brahmavadinis. Women students of Vedic Sakhas are referred to by Panini (iv. 1. 63). Thus Kathi means the female student of Kath Sakha. Bahvrichi means the student who studies many hymns, i. e., the Rig-Veda. (Balamanorama and Karika.) Women seem to have been admitted to military training, as indicated by the formation Saktiki mentioned by Patanjali (iv. 1. 15 (6)) which means a female spear-bearer, and in this connection we may indeed refer to the Amazonian body-guard of armed women noticed by Megasthenes in the palace of the Emperor, Chandragupta Maurya.

"This shows that women were admitted to the discipline of Brahmacharya as indicated by the binding of the Munja girdle and to the studies of the Vedas and repetition of the Savitri Mantra, so that they would afterwards be qualified teachers."

"NEVER GET-ILL"

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Thanking you for the second notice of my book, I should request you to accommodate the following if you admit the right of reply of the author. Evidently, as you say, you have gone through the book. I wish you had gone into it, and deeper. Pardon me if my first reply is "please read it over again," not with a review, I mean, to find out the points of agreement or disagreement with the author, but with greater concern to find a road to health. As the book is not written as a piece of literary flourish, the reader is expected to give the fullest significance and propriety to every statement made so concisely therein. For a moment think of the title of the book, and you would realise that the task I have set my eyes on, is to find out if the Never-Get-Ill Standard of Health is a possibility and can be attained at least by one who is ready uncomplainingly to make wholesale changes in his habits and mode of living; and happy am I to be able to answer in the positive. With that task before me, for all the adverse criticism in the world, I can change not one of the directions as they are not my views but laws of Nature; and they speak experience. I have been scrupulous in stating my own views as suggestion. "A number of the above recipes are impracticable and unattainable in our present-day-life! An emphatic "Yes." But what then? They must be made practicable and attainable in our future-day-life. If the train that is to take me to my destination is crowded, I, for one, would not board another going in the opposite direction simply because there is ample space. Happily for me, you say "a number." Not all.

Exactly. Begin with one which you think "practicable and attainable in your present-day-life and you will then see that the rest become practicable and attainable automatically. That has always been the way of practical men. "Milk diet is one such. Taking food every 3 hours is another." You would make me appear a big fool by suggesting (unconsciously) that I say rice and curry, and shapati, and the constellation of vegetables be taken every 3 hours. If you do not accept milk diet, the second direction vanishes of itself. "Pure milk is not always available in Bombay leave alone the cost." What article of food is always available pure in Bombay? Yes. Toddy, controlled country liquors, graduated alcohols and standardised wines! "Thickened milk with flour of pulses and wheat is advised and yet he asks us to avoid starch." I have nowhere asked to avoid starch as a poison. All nitrogenous food contains starch and that is sufficient for the needs of the body. Avoid rice which contains nearly 80 p.c. (even wheat contains more than 60 p.c.) and that, too, as far as possible. Then comes a hopeless mess of issues! The Western nations are crying halt against excessive nitrogenous food they have been used to. Vegetarianism is coming into greater favour." Nitrogenous food has nothing to do with Animal food and Vegetarianism. There is nitrogenous vegetarian food and starchy animal food. I have strongly expressed myself in favour of vegetarian diet.

Bombay, 11th April, 1922.

K. S. KULSAR.

A DAY OF FASTING AND PRAYER FOR INDIA.

"A lover of India" makes the following proposal in the *Harvest Field* :—

"As one of the large body of missionaries intensely interested in India and the welfare of her people, I have felt constrained to put to myself the question, Are you sufficiently interested to spend a day in fasting and prayer in their behalf? I am unwilling to admit that Mr. Gandhi is the only one who loves India with passionate devotion, yet I have to confess that I have only recently been willing to deny myself a single day's food or to brave the charge of fanaticism in so doing. Not that I fast simply because Mr. Gandhi does or because I believe that asceticism *per se* carries with it any virtue, but because I consider it an indication of the measure of my interest in India, and believe that a day so spent brings me more intelligently in line with God's purposes. Doubtless individual missionaries here and there have fasted and prayed in quiet. But would we not be justified in expecting the Spirit of Christ to prevail in the present crisis if the whole body of missionaries in India, or even of a single denomination in India, were to unite in fasting and prayer on some such day as Good Friday? Forbes Robinson in one of his Letters to His Friends says: 'It is quite worth your while to take practically a day off, sometimes, and to force yourself to pray. It will be the best day's work you have ever done in your life.' We have seen the remarkable response that India has made to the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. We know that she will be as deeply responsive to the spiritual leadership of Christ when once He is perfectly represented in the lives of His followers. Have we not need in our lives of a more sacrificial spirit of prayer?"

THE SCHEME FOR SWARAJ.

Searchlight (Patna daily) Congress.

Our esteemed contemporary of the *Indian Social Reformer* throws some light on Pandit Malaviya's but too brief reference to the scheme of Swaraj that he announced was under preparation. It was in respect of the announcement by Pandit Malaviya that such a scheme was being prepared, that Mr. Patel fell foul of him but the other day and the *Social Reformer* condemns the attitude of mind displayed by Mr. Patel. It seems, however, unlikely that Mr. Patel represented any one but himself in the gratuitous observations that he made and our impression is that in Congress circles also Mr. Patel has not been taken seriously. The preparation of a definite scheme has every advantage about it and offers no disadvantage. Nor is it going to be rushed in a hole and corner fashion and palmed off as representing the will

the country. At any rate there can be absolutely no harm in looking at it before condemning it and Mr. Patel has displayed in regard to the matter something in the nature of the dog-in-the-manger-attitude. If with the preparation of the scheme we can narrow down differences and get a large body of men working vigorously for Swaraj—why, the idea should be welcome. But, by the way, who is the "Indian Administrator" who has been working at the scheme? Is it Sir M. Vishveshwaraya? If we are not mistaken there can be none else.

MANUSCRIPT NEWSPAPERS.

Janmabhumi, (Masulipatam weekly), Congress.

"Congress" in the name of yet another Manuscript Telugu weekly. By manuscript we mean cyclostyle though that sounds queer. The paper has run thro three or four issues. But we do not see the advantage of pursuing this kind of heroic journalism. We do not deprecate it on its merits. When it was started it was all-right. Now the Press Act is repealed. A paper meant to be run seriously and sustainedly may be printed without let or hindrance. The mere registration before a Magistrate or even the declaration of the Editor's name is by no means a hardship. Much less need they be resented because of the principles of Non-Co-operation. The Non-Co-operator still employs stamps, registers deeds and accepts certain Acts. He may be inconsistent from a logical standpoint, but that is where he stands. There should be no objection then to registering the paper. That at once admits it to the privileges of reduced postage—a no small advantage. Then again, you can print your paper in thousands of copies, for, a paper to be effective or useful should have a wide circulation. We therefore, urge that the "Congress" the "Independent," and the "Akali" may all go into print. If money is a consideration, the matter travels beyond our domain, but if a certain principle underlay the prevailing scheme, it is time for reconsidering it.

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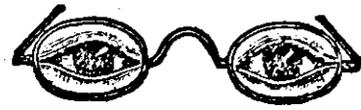
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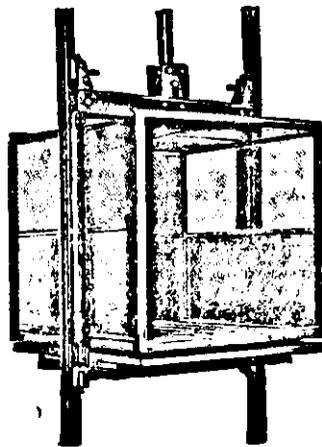
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

An Undesirable Precedent: It was stated last week that His Excellency the Governor of Bombay who has gone to Kashmir, will not be back in the Presidency until the middle of May. This is the second year in succession that His Excellency has gone to Kashmir for the hot weather. As no successor is appointed to act for him, His Excellency may be presumed to be holding office while away from the Presidency, and not a visitor *incognito* in Kashmir. Modern telegraphic (wired and wireless) conveniences render the operation of administration from afar less cumbrous than in the days of postal runners. On the other hand, Indian administration is much more complex and difficult than in those days. The political atmosphere is unsettled to a degree which no one at the height and distance of Kashmir, however sensitively constituted, can sense properly. A decision taken in the complete detachment of Kashmir on a point acutely subtending some sharp angle of sentiment in Bombay, may conceivably lead to another crisis. That is the immediately important aspect of the matter. Not less important, though not so immediately, is the question of the precedent created by the Governor of Bombay's example. What would be the result if all Governors of Provinces find it delectable to pass their summer in the vales of Kashmir? Or if every subsequent Governor of Bombay decides to do so? What is permissible to one Governor cannot be denied to another. What would be the result on, first, the administration of Provinces, and, secondly, on the administration of Kashmir? Even so hospitable a ruler as His Highness of Kashmir may not be glad of the onerous privilege of having Governors of Indian provinces as standing guests for every summer. The administrative, social and economic dislocation that must be necessarily caused in an Indian State by this embarrassing influx, cannot be small. We may also mention in passing that some additional expenditure cannot but be incurred by this conduct of the Government of Bombay from Kashmir, and there is no justification for it on public grounds.

Executive Legislation: Our observations regarding the undesirability of heads of administrations in British India, transferring themselves to territories of Indian States except as an occasional diversion, gain point from the extraordinary action of the Government of Bombay in extending, by executive fiat, the definition of the offence of sedition in the Indian Penal Code so as to include the ruler or the Government of any State in India, so far as it applies to the Agency tracts of Kathiawar. These agency tracts are technically the territory of Kathiawar chiefs, and are, therefore outside the jurisdiction of the Legislature of British India. But they are administered by British political agents, and they are, therefore, under the control of the Executive Government.

A Gratuitous Fiat: In a weighty memorial which the President of the Kathiawar Hitvardhak Sabha has sent to His Excellency the Viceroy, it is pointed out that the effect of this legislation by fiat of the Government of Bombay, is that the Ruler or the Government of any State in India placed in the same category as the Government of India regarding the penalties provided by the Constitution and that persons living within the Civil stations of Rajkot, Wadhwan, Songadli and Jetalsar and in the Agency Thana circles have a new penalty imposed on them, and have a new duty cast on them which extends to every Ruler and Government of every Indian State all over India." The gratuitous nature of this extension of a statute of the Indian Legislature by executive order not only to the States of Kathiawar in relation with the Government of Bombay—which would be more intelligible though not more justifiable—but to all Indian States from Cochin to Kashmir, is emphasised by the fact that, according to Mr. Shukul, only two newspapers are published in these tracts and "they can be suppressed at any time by the Agent to the Governor without giving reasons by asking the editor to leave the place." We have not ourselves seen either of these newspapers, which have evidently only a local vogue. It will be remembered that when the Press Act was repealed last month by the Indian Legislature, it was stated that the question of special protection to Indian States was left over for future consideration, and the hope was officially expressed on behalf of the Government of India that such protection might not be found necessary. We can only explain the precipitancy of the Government of Bombay in rushing in where the Central Government would walk warily, by the disposition, of which there has been at least one conspicuous instance, to show that the Government of India is too slow and that the Bombay Government can teach it something of the way to handle a political nettle. The new regulation places a seventh class Kathiawar ruler of a few score villages, who is, perhaps, his own Minister, Chief Justice and Police Commissioner, on the same plane as His Majesty's Government of India. The Government of India

should have no difficulty in overruling an act which from every point of view is in excess of the Bombay Government's purview and seems to be dictated by high political rather than by administrative considerations.

For the Bombay Excise Committee: The enquiry of the Sathe Committee into the merits of the present Excise policy and the prospects of Prohibition is drifting without helm or rudder. Our Ministers have discovered a clever device for doing nothing with much ado. If there is a demand for Primary Education, let a Committee show how the difficulties are to be overcome, the money found, and the one thousand and one other details arranged, and the Minister will then do the needful. If there is a growing opinion in favour of Prohibition, let another Committee make out a cut and dried scheme for the Minister. In no other country in the world, is a popular Minister expected to find out through a Committee what policy he should adopt, what measures he should formulate, in his term of office. It is a pity that secular European opinion in India should range itself solidly against Prohibition, and try to cast discredit on the great policy adopted by the United States. We deeply regret that the Roman Catholic hierarchy in this country, represented by Archbishop Goodier, should range itself on the same side, though it is not surprising in view of the fact that the Roman Church in America has throughout this great struggle thrown its weight against the social reformers. The Protestant Missions and the Salvation Army, on the other hand, are convinced Prohibitionists.

"Two Friends": The most surprising evidence so far given before the Sathe Committee is that of Mr. Findlay Shirras the Director the Labour Office, and a statistical expert. An elementary rule of the statistical science is to distrust all impressionist testimony, and yet Mr. Shirras bravely trotted out what "two friends" had told him of the operation of Prohibition in America. May we commend to the Committee and to the Labour Director, a little book entitled "Prohibition in America" by Sir Arthur Newsholme, an eminent authority on vital statistics and late Principal Medical Officer of the British Local Government Board? It is published by Messrs. P. S. King and Son, and if the depleted finances of Government permit, a few copies of it may be usefully distributed by the Excise Department to the members of the Sathe Committee. The price is only two shillings and six pence. We have referred to this book once before. In summing up, Sir Arthur concedes that domestic (illicit) manufacture of alcoholic drinks has greatly increased in America, but he thinks that it is doubtful if domestic drinking has also increased. "In balancing up results," he adds, "it must, I think, be agreed that smuggling, illicit manufacture and sale, and increased domestic production of alcoholic drinks, together are not on such a scale as to counterbalance the increased abstinence resulting from prohibition."

The essential point is that the majority of the American population are rapidly losing their appetite for alcoholic drinks, and young people have no opportunity to acquire this appetite. If this be admitted, it must also be agreed that people can be made sober by legislation, and that the temptation to be otherwise can be removed by this means.

Canting Politics: It is impossible to think of those who, in several parts of the country, have passed resolutions congratulating Mahatma Gandhi and the country on the former's imprisonment for six years, except as unreflecting or insincere. The

proportion of the unreflecting is no doubt much higher than that of the insincere. Why should the Mahatma be congratulated? His own plea was that he could not absolve himself of the responsibility for the outrages of the Malegaon, Bombay, Madras and Chauri Chaura outbreaks, and he asked for the highest punishment on himself to purge that responsibility. Do those who congratulate the Mahatma, do so on this ground? If they do, have they themselves no responsibility for having backed him, and to a certain extent dragged him on, in his actions? Why are they not also in gaol, and why are they outside to pass resolutions reeking of hollow political affectation? On what again, is the country to be congratulated? Does anybody seriously think that the cause of the country would have been less benefited if the Mahatma were free rather than in jail? Does an army congratulate itself when its commander has been made captive? True, the Mahatma in jail is not a testimonial to the excellence of the Government which put him and keeps him there, but is that a matter of congratulation? When the Mahatma congratulated himself on his prosecution, it was in the highest spirit of self-accusation: when his followers pass resolutions congratulating him and the country on it, it is nothing but hollow cant. The hard fact is that the Mahatma's imprisonment is an unspeakable humiliation to the country of which he is, to use the language of a political opponent, the greatest son at the present moment. That is how the most thoughtful and experienced Congressmen feel. One of the most respected of them, a veteran who strove hard and long to keep the Congress on its rails, writes: "My grateful admiration for him is as great and fresh as ever and his present physical sufferings affect me in a manner which he can not conceive. I cling to the opinion that he might and ought to have managed to avoid this sacrifice on his part."

Khadi and Exploitation: We printed last week a letter from a Parsi friend regarding our statement about the great variations in the price of *Khaddar* in adjacent parts of Bombay City. He admitted the specific fact which we instanced, but another friend thinks that we might have made a mistake. Even granting that one particular shop fleeced some people, he rightly contends, the khadi fabric is not responsible for it, nor those who are interested in the manufacture of it. "Your article," he writes "conveys the impression that there is regular exploitation going on by all concerned and with the connivance or knowledge of the organizers of the khaddar movement and, therefore, very little faith can be placed on the true value of it." We should be sorry if such an impression was conveyed by what we said. We did not certainly intend to cast doubt on the good faith of the promoters of the movement. What we wished to point out was that the propaganda as at present carried on, ignored the consumers' point of view altogether. No industrial movement which does this, can hope for permanent success. That the khaddar propaganda, as at present conducted, invites exploitation, cannot be gainsaid. Many persons who would be glad of the opportunity of making sacrifices in the general interest, would not care to be fleeced by middlemen whose sole object is to make money out of everything. The khaddar propaganda, unless it provides for the production as well as marketing of khadi cloth under conditions which reduce the possibility of exploitation to a minimum, cannot strike root in the economic life of the country. A sub-committee, has been appointed by the Working Committee of the Congress to put this part of the programme on a sound footing. The sub-committee will do well to call into consultation men versed in the science as well as the art of matter.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 30, 1922.

THE CONGRESS OUTLOOK.

We have pointed out in previous issues that there is a growing feeling in several parts of the country as to a need of revision in the Congress programme. The actual working programme at present is that laid down in the resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi in February last. These consisted of the resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Bardoli plus two in favour of individual civil disobedience and picketing of shops selling foreign cloth. Since, however, these two have been suspended voluntarily by the Provincial Congress Committees concerned in deference to the personal desire of Mahatma Gandhi, the working programme to-day is virtually that adopted at Bardoli. Though this is the present working programme, there is in the back-ground the various unfulfilled parts of the general Non-Co-operation programme, which have not been expressly repealed or remodelled. Further, there is the Ahmedabad Congress resolution about mass civil disobedience which, in spite of the Mahatma's express prohibition, Mr. V. J. Patel stated the other day at Calcutta as one which might be revived at a date "not far distant." We quote from the report of his speech from the Congress daily, the *Servant of Calcutta*, of April 22:

Let us not forget for one single moment that by the Bardoli Resolutions we have not given the go-by to Civil Disobedience. No, not at all. I tell you and I tell the Government from this very platform that time is not far distant—if in the meantime, things are not settled to our satisfaction—when the country will take up the movement not only of individual Civil Disobedience but also of mass Civil Disobedience. (hear, hear).

Mr. Patel till recently had been professing to shrink from any variation of the Mahatma's programme as a sacrilege, but it is now clear that he has no objection to reviving mass disobedience or, perhaps, also any of the other obsolete parts of the Non-Co-operation programme such as withdrawing children from recognised schools. The possibility of the section of the Congress represented by Mr. V. J. Patel—opinions sharply differ regarding its size and weight—going back upon the Bardoli programme to the more aggressive items of the older Non-Co-operation programme, has thus to be reckoned with in forming an estimate of the present situation. Since writing the above, we have seen Hakim Ajmal Khan's sharp reproof to Mr. Patel. The Hakim Sahib is the acting President of the Congress organisation of which Mr. Patel is General Secretary. Hakim Ajmal Khan declared, with reference to Mr. Patel's outburst, that the time for mass civil disobedience was far distant.

A more weighty section of opinion within the Congress seeks changes of an entirely different character. It seeks to discard the negative and

boycott items of the Non-Co-operation programme, to make use of the constitutional methods open to redress grievances and to advance on the path to full self-government. It intensely believes in an effective *swadeshi* effort, including in the term not merely Khaddar but also Indian mill cloth, and is prepared to accept if necessary the boycott of foreign cloth. It would start new schools better than the recognised schools, but would not boycott the latter or seek to withdraw children except by the superiority of the method, equipment and character of its own. It will work through the local bodies, the Universities, the Legislative Councils as well as independently of them. It will not insist on any one giving up his titles or legal practice, though it would recommend that those who have no titles should not accept them. In brief, the aim of this school of thought is to bring the Mahatma's programme within the conditions, political, social and economic, prevailing in the country especially since his incarceration. The Mahatmaji by his own splendour of example could ask the country to make vast sacrifices. There is no other who can do the same. Some sacrifice everyone should make, but to ask for too much—all or nothing—is either to repel! average men or to make them hypocrites. After all, the people for whom we want *Swaraj* are the average people of the country and not an imaginary lot with nothing left to sacrifice. This line of thought represents what may be called the commonsense school, for want of a better term. It may be asked, it has been asked, wherein does this differ from the Moderate platform? Well, no one should start a programme with the object merely of differing from the Moderates. A sound Liberal programme cannot differ materially from a sound Congress programme, and to evolve one such is an object to be worked for by people within both the parties. We should welcome the day when the Liberals and Congressmen join hands on a common platform. At the present moment, the Liberals lean too much upon Government to be able to influence it. When the news of Mr. Montagu's resignation was published in India, a prominent Calcutta Liberal leader was reported to have naively exclaimed "Now, what will become of our party?" The Liberals have been told almost in so many words both in England and in this country that, while Government have done much for them, they have done little for Government. The Liberal party should cease to proclaim itself by its acts and associations as sprung from the midriff of the Montagu scheme before it can function as a national party. We are glad that not a few Liberals are profoundly dissatisfied with the present irregular position of the party.

The Nagpur Maharashtras who have drawn up a memorandum for the Provincial Congress Committee, of the changes needed in the Congress programme, belong, we would hope, essentially to the common-sense school. One would think from some of the reasons adduced by them for the changes, that these men are cynics devoid of morality and religion, and that their

passion to rob, kill and burn was only kept in check by the acceptance of non-violence as its creed by the Congress. Nothing can be farther from the truth. They are quite as moral and peaceful as any believer in the verbal inspiration of the present programme and some of them are exerting themselves actively to take measures for the relief of the Hindus forcibly converted to Moplaism in Malabar. Their protests against importing religion and morality, and against making non-violence a cardinal principle without reference to time and circumstance, must be understood—at least so we understand them—as an impatient ebullition rather than as a serious and considered contribution to political science. By their irresponsible observations on these fundamental matters they have needlessly prejudiced the fair consideration by the general public of their practical proposals. By the insistence on non-violence as a cardinal principle of Indian nationalism, the Mahatmaji not only linked up nationalism with the ancient spiritual evolution of the country, but also provided the best assurance possible to minorities of religious freedom and personal security. Historic continuity is not a sentiment but a real force. To get the momentum of centuries behind a movement is to endow it with the best prospects of success and permanence in a community. This was a masterstroke, and any one who cavils at it cannot be seriously regarded as a political thinker. As for religion and morality, any one can see for himself that Indian politics has not lost in any way, on the other hand it has gained immensely, by its being moralised and spiritualised by the genius of the Mahatma. A narrow machiavelian policy may gain some local applause by its seeming cleverness and possibly also it may be productive immediately of some little practical result. But it could not have aroused the world-wide interest which the Mahatma's unflinching emphasis on religious and non-violent methods has aroused, and in the long run it will be seen that the "small profits and quick returns" policy in politics is, even from the so-called practical point of view, not to be preferred to the far-seeing faith in the security of a straight road. No. Non-Violence and morality and religion—these are but three in one—are now an organic part of our nationalism. They cannot be separated from it without killing it. Whatever we may build now or hereafter must be built into them and upon them, and whatever cannot be assimilated to them, must be ruthlessly thrown aside in our selection of the materials out of which the nation is to be built up. The separate proposals of the Nagpur Sub-Committee should be considered each on its merit. We have here merely indicated how the lack of self-restraint in some of the preliminary parts of the report has detracted from its weight and value.

Sanity : The *Leader* which represents a peculiarly strait sect of liberalism, instead of welcoming and making smooth the path of Congress reform as every patriotic Indian should, scoffs at the movement as one of "Returning Sanity." "Sanity indeed! We are glad the Mr. A. P. Sen presiding at a meeting of Lucknow Liberals, struck the right note in this matter.

An Eminent Statesman-Reformer : We print to-day excerpts from the farewell address presented by the Ezhava Samajam to Dewan Bahadur T. Vijayaraghava Chariar, the late Dewan of Cochin, on the eve of his retirement early this month, and his reply thereto. The appreciation expressed by the Samajam to the classes in Cochin State, regarded as untouchable, was in no sense conventional as the orthodox party in the State will but too readily admit. Dewan Vijayaraghava realised as keenly as Mahatma Gandhi that the future of the nation is the future of the suppressed classes, and he unhesitatingly staked his personal popularity with the orthodox masses and, to a certain extent, the success of his administration, on his policy of ameliorating their condition. That he was able to do as much as he did, is due to the liberal social tendencies of His Highness the Maharaja to which testimony is borne in Mr. Nair's review of Cochin affairs. Dewan Vijayaraghava's courageous statesmanship cannot be appraised at its full value unless it is realised that the disabilities of the untouchables is nowhere more severe and grinding than in the Malabar District and States. His zeal and earnestness in the cause of the Maharaja's most neglected subjects, made an extension of his term of Dewanship in such a caste-ridden community out of the question, but Dewan Vijayaraghava may find satisfaction in the thought that by his policy in Cochin he has brought the national problem a step nearer its solution at its most crucial point.

Six Years of Cochin : We have received a copy of a brochure entitled "Cochin under His Highness Sir Rama Varma Atham Thirunal, G. C. I. E.," by Mr. C. D. Nair with a foreword written by Sir Dinshaw Wacha. The author says in the preface that his pamphlet is intended only as a personal narrative of His Highness the present Maharaja and his Consort. In the first chapter, Mr. Nair deals with the commercial significance of Cochin as being "the birth-place of the international trade that exists today between the East and the West." He also deals in this chapter very briefly with the history of the State and how in 1701 Cochin entered into treaty relations with the British. The other chapters record the progress the State has made during the six years under the present Maharaja. The author specially records the economic and social progress made by the State during the administration of the present Maharaja. Mr. Nair says that "His Highness ascended the *musnad* of his ancestors under clouds of depression caused by a world-devastating war, and with practically an empty treasury. Within a few years His Highness has been able to replenish the treasury, not by additional taxation, but by wise and economic management of the State." As an instance of the attitude of the present Maharaja towards social questions, Mr. Nair observes :

Himself a social democrat, he had always allowed his Consort certain social and domestic privileges which had always been denied to the consorts of his predecessors though his actions in this respect were considered unwarranted by the orthodox few. However, when he ascended the *musnad* of his ancestors he got the opportunity to make his Royal Consort a real partner in the various activities of his life as a ruler. She was not required to remain as a non-entity as her predecessors, and was freely given opportunities to make herself useful to her sisters and to her country.

Any one who is interested in Cochin will find much that is interesting and instructive in the brochure which has for frontispiece the portraits of the Maharaja and his Consort. It can be had from the author Mr. C. D. Nair, Trichur,

THE SITUATION IN THE PANJAB.

(CONTRIBUTED)

With the issuing of a manifesto by 51 prominent public men of the Panjab (not non-co-operators) as a protest against the attitude and the policy of the Panjab Government, and the formation of an impartial Commission of Enquiry, under the Chairmanship of Raja Narendra Nath M. L. C., to investigate the present situation in the Province, the happenings there of late will arrest country-wide attention. Till now sufficient publicity has not been given to some of the phases of the situation there, and it will serve the purpose at present if but a bare account of the events in that Province is given in order to indicate their grave significance.

The manifesto above referred to was issued as a result of several informal conferences held between all sections of political opinion in the Province, brought together by Pandit M. M. Malaviya who has been touring the Panjab at the special request of people of all shades of views. "We draw the serious attention of the Government", the signatories of the manifesto declare, "to the widespread feeling of uneasiness prevailing in the Province due to the wholesale arrests and convictions of political-minded persons in various places". Having full regard to the fact that law and order must be enforced and lawlessness put down by by right application of the law, they further assert, "we cannot shut our eyes to the numerous complaints of excesses and illegalities by Government officials", and the manifesto concludes with the warning "as we find that the present policy of the Government does not satisfy this wholesome test, we think it our duty to raise our voice in emphatic protest and sound this note of warning".

The problem presented by happenings during recent weeks in the Panjab has become so grave, the *Tribune* remarks, that it surpasses in magnitude even the fateful events of April 1919, and hopes that the efforts of Pandit Malaviya will soon clear up the situation so the public is made aware of the details of the situation, just he did during the Panjab Martial Law days three years ago.

In the meanwhile a brief resume of the events in the Panjab may be made here deferring comment thereof till the Unofficial Inquiry has published its report. So far as is known and so far as public sentiment is concerned, the wholesale arrests have been effected coincidentally with the departure of the Prince of Wales from the Province, and have occurred as a result of alleged offences committed by sections of people in places which the Prince visited. The general feeling is that Government has resorted to these prosecutions "out of vengeance" against the people, and the Panjab Government has not made clear if there is any ground for such a suspicion of the matter. During the Prince's visit itself not much appeared in the Press as to the alleged breaches of the peace, though about the middle of March or sometime later diverse accounts of two events of that nature were told in papers, the one at Gujranwala, where a mob had

stoned a passenger train going to Lahore with people intending to attend the Prince's visit there, and another about the behaviour of a certain number of individuals at Peshawar at the time of the Prince's tour in that city. Beyond this, however, much cannot be said as to what actually happened in those other places where a regular combing of the members and the office-bearers of the Siromani Gurdwara Prabhandhak Committee and Congress Committees has been taking place recently. According to Press reports of the Prince's visit in the Panjab the event passed off quietly, and as I am myself aware, at Lahore itself the atmosphere was perfectly calm, and honorable to the people. Hartals were observed as a matter of course throughout the Province and it is claimed by the Provincial Committee that there occurred no instance of disturbance either from the side of the volunteers or otherwise.

Now as to the facts of the situation, whatever their origin may be. Roughly they may be arranged according as they pertain to the (1) wholesale arrests, (2) the Sikh Community in particular, (3) alleged highhandedness by the Police, and (4) treatment of political prisoners.

WHOLESALE ARRESTS.

During the period of one month from about the middle of March up to the present there have occurred according to the Provincial Congress Committee, between 2,000 to 2,500 arrests, which is nearly three times those made during the period of the Congress campaign of "offensive-defensive civil-disobedience." Of this total number, the Siromani Gurdwara Prabhandhak Committee claims, 1471, or more than 60 per cent. of the total are Sikhs, arrested according to this Committee, for participating in purely religious gatherings and for wearing and manufacturing *kirpans*. Most of the arrests have been made by the application of sections under the Cr. L. A. A. and those under the Cr. Pr. U., except in the cases involved in the Gujranwala incident, where a section under the Railway Act has been applied. In most instances no defence has been given by the arrested persons, whether Sikhs or others. The Seditious Meetings Act has been in force in the five Districts of Lahore, Amritsar, Sialkot, Rohtak and Ambala, and no attempts have been made to defy the orders and consequently no arrests have been made. Congress Committee meetings were prohibited recently at Lahore and Sialkot during the visit of Pandit Malaviya in those places, and vigorous protests were made by the Panditji who pointed out that the meetings which were called were restricted to the members of the Congress organisations, and that even according to the decision of the Panjab Government itself *re* the case of Lala Lajpat Rai and others, such meetings could not be held to be public meetings. Members at these places had to disperse consequently, and at Sialkot they assembled to hear the Pandit outside of the city limits. Processions of volunteers have been occurring almost every day in several places, but no cases have been reported of arrests under the volunteer section, that is, recently.

THE SIKHS

Perhaps the most significant phase in the present situation in the Panjab is the fact that the majority of those arrested come from the Sikh community. The fact will surprise the reader if he recalls that as late as March 8 last a compact was made between the S. G. P. C. and the Panjab Government, when the Amritsar keys affair was settled agreeably to both the parties at the time as a result of which undertakings were exchanged between them to the effect that "in order to produce the requisite atmosphere, nothing should be done by either party to prejudice the chances of reconciliation." Nevertheless, 1471 arrests have been made up to the 20th instant and the S. G. P. C. is responsible for the claim that they have been effected for purely religious activities and the wearing and manufacture of *kirpans*. Numerous instances have been given in the Communiqués published by this Committee from time to time, from which I shall cite a few here.

A number of Sikhs attending the Amrit ceremony at Varyan Rangal (Amritsar District) were threatened by the police with arrest if any of them became Akalis, and as a result several of them were arrested. At Lyallpur a similar case occurred when several Sikhs were arrested for worshipping in the Gardwaras. Sardar Khadak Singh, President of the S. G. P. C. and the Provincial Congress Committee, was recently arrested and since sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment for manufacturing *Kirpans*. One other, Bhai Ajit Singh, was arrested for wearing a Kirpan. Numerous similar instances have been given by the Committee which claims that "it is in possession of voluminous evidence that throughout this campaign of repression the Sikhs have been subjected to inhuman treatment and religious insults of a revolting nature".

It is generally known that the Sikhs are most sensitive to any interference from outside in their religious Diwans and ceremonies, and in the matter of wearing and manufacturing of Kirpans, which they consider as a matter of birthright of every Sikh, and a right too that the Panjab Government has conceded to them for a long time now. It is as a result of such intense feeling that the S. G. P. C. has bitterly and summarily resolved in one of its recent meetings in reply to the Government's request to carry on certain negotiations with it, that all "negotiations be broken off with the Government until the latter changes its present policy", and further charges the Government with faithlessness to their mutual contract concluded on March 8th. It denies that Government has any reasons for making arrests by applying sections under the O. L. A. A. and they point to instances where 'hundreds' of persons have been arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment 'for no obvious reason but that of wearing lack turbans (the style of the Akali Sikhs) and kirpans'. The S. G. P. C. had moreover advised all its constituents to take warning from the wholesale arrests and safeguard their interests persistently.

ALLEGED POLICE HIGHHANDEDNESS.

Reports are appearing almost daily about the police highhandedness in several places of the Province. The following incident told by S. Amar Singh President of the Sikh League, is almost typical of these. At Sobraon there has been stationed for several months now punitive police and lately the authorities made attempts to collect taxes for the same. People persistently refused to pay up and on the 7th of March the whole village was surrounded by the police and a few leaders were arrested. People made representations that they shall pay for P. P. but that no further demands should be made; the request was refused. Then the police harassed the villagers by beating of the people and in some instances by seizing the ornaments of the women. Cattle and green fodder were snatched away.... Two by two the Sikhs were bound by their hair and thrashed and were not released until they had paid up. Cattle were restored only when people had consented to turn in the police dues. In reply to this communique the Government denied the truth of certain of these allegations, but admitted "having used the baton in the dispersal", and that "all sums were collected by distraint of movable property wherever available."

At Raikot even more alarming news came at the beginning of the month indicating that offences were perpetrated on shopkeepers there not dissimilar to those that occurred during the martial law days. An old woman was given blows, according to the report, for saluting an arrested person who was passing in the street in a procession.

At Peshawar quite a different sort of report has come that the Telegraph and the Post offices have been removed to the Cantonment, and that all carriages and other loaded conveyances, except those containing foodstuffs, are being hauled up for inspection.

JAIL TREATMENT.

The treatment of political prisoners in several of the jails in the Province is anything but satisfactory, according to those who have seen their friends and relatives in the prison and who have sent in accounts to the press from time to time. One of the most frequent complaints made is that in many cases interviews are not allowed to relatives or friends with the arrested persons, and as well known instances one may recall the cases of Lala Lajpat Rai, S. Khadak Singh and others who could not see their relatives in jail. In the Lyallpur jail, it is alleged, even political prisoners of education and respectability are given first grinding work and then *munj* pounding. Though Government seem to have made some provision for giving special diet, etc. to those who apply for the same, very few have taken advantage of the privilege, and several instances are known where prisoners who have availed themselves of the special treatment have refused to accept it, demanding equal treatment to all their associates.

Whatever may be any one's point of view or opinion on the situation that has developed as a result of, to think of one point only, the more than two thousand

arrests that have been made, the case for an immediate inquiry into the allegations and the several incidents and complaints made by people appears to be more than well grounded. The *Tribune*, (Independent) April 21, rightly remarks, that the policy of wholesale arrests, prosecutions and convictions has created a situation, which, unless properly handled, might easily lead to either widespread and dangerous unrest, or to equally widespread and equally dangerous political inaction.

D. S. V. R.

ANGLICAN BISHOPS AND INDIAN POLITICS

IV

(Contributed.)

JESUS AND THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

The Bishops enlarge on the parallel between this country and Judaea in the time of Jesus. They argue that Jesus did not concern himself with the political struggles around him though the country was seething with unrest. When people tried to carry him off to head a nationalist revolt Jesus would have none of it, for "His ideal was both broader and deeper, and His method of winning acceptance was very different from that of political rebellion."

The yoke of Rome was galling to the Jews and as the centuries passed by, the oppression became more grinding and terrible. The Jews of Jesus' day were expecting a miraculous divine interference to restore them to the kingdom while the zealots persisted in hoping that God would bless their attempts to shake off the yoke. The desperate efforts of the latter culminated in the horrors of the last siege of Jerusalem. Jesus believed that the Roman oppression was too bad to last for ever and announced that a new earth and a new heaven would appear if the Jews accepted His method of non-resistance. We see the identity of Gandhi's attitude to Indian nationalists and Jesus' attitude to the Jewish nationalists. Both disbelieved in armed resistance and proposed to build on deeper foundations.

Jesus illustrated the evil which existed in the Roman oppression by three examples which are apparently trivial though really illuminating and offer a remarkable parallel to what Gandhi and his followers look upon as the central defects of the British Government of India. The first evil is giving the blow on the face. It is the stunting of the manhood of the race, the disarming of a whole nation, the emasculation of the country which is now trotted out as the impediment to the grant of swaraj. The stripping a man of his garment represents the economic exploitation of the country which is going on steadily and surely. The suppression of India's industries, the increasing burden of taxation due to an unconscionable military budget and an extravagant civil service, the neglect of nationbuilding have unchained pestilence and hunger and India's sons are helpless spectators of the inhuman sequence of pitiful stumblings and unconscious cruelties*. Mr. Vincent

* See Gandhi's statement before the Court.

Anderson writes in the *Nation* N. Y. "Gaunt cheeks, protruding ribs, bloated bellies of children, bleak of hunger in women's eyes—these are the outward evidences of an exploitation which makes it absurd to use the same of the word of the lesser suffering of the west." The compelling of people to go a mile, the coercing of them to do the bidding of another, refers to the invasion of the soul, the enslavement of the mind. Very few are literate; even these are brought up under a system which has neither ideal imagination nor inspiring purpose. The *elan* of life is stifled, the vital impulses are forced into narrow moulds where spontaneity gives way almost completely to automatism and passivity and possessive instincts, love of ease and comforts of life are encouraged. If there is enthusiasm it is not for the higher ideals of life but for competitive examinations and council seats. The defect is not so much in the programme as in the spirit. The fact of subjection produces the feeling of dependence. We are to-day content to copy in literature, imitate in life, obey in politics, shut our eyes to God in religion and compromise in crises at the cost of the spiritual.

In spite of so much evil, Jesus and after him, Gandhi, assert, 'Resist not evil.' Shall evil then triumph? Is the victim to continue helplessly at the mercy of the injurer? Is he to accept servilely the indignities put upon him? No. Jesus clearly said that we must oppose evil. We cannot continue living in a lie, co-operating with a wrong. This is to stab the soul. To resort to violence is equally ruinous. The victim must effect a spiritual triumph over the evildoer by ridding himself of all lust and greed, anger and hate and enduring suffering at the hands of those who allow these bad impulses free rein. We must expel the wicked forces that stir potentially in our breast. If the victims of evil are to achieve a real triumph over the aggressors, they must first secure freedom from subjection to passions. This method of non-resistance assumes the divine possibilities of men. Beneath the horrible mask of a Judas, there is the potentially divine face of a Jesus. Faith in the better nature of the wrongdoer, in the spiritual principle resident in him which no crime committed by him can wholly crush, requires us to adopt this policy of resisting oppression by love.

The plan of meeting hatred by love is not a mere fancy with which Jesus played but is the governing principle of his life. The manner in which the law of retribution, an eye for an eye, is contrasted with the new law of love shows that Jesus was earnest about it. Early in His career when the earthly kingdom to be won by the sword, the method hallowed by the associations of the past, and in agreement with the settled convictions of the Jews who were thinking of noise and battle, and of garments rolled in blood, when the vision of the prophets, the world-wide kingdom Zion, the joy of the wide earth, swept before Him, He resisted the temptation. "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou serve." The method of force is a denial of God. The spiritual basis of the kingdom is consistent only with love

and non-resistance. Jesus would not step one hair's breadth out of the path He had seen to be God's will for him. He would have none of armed revolts. "All those that take the sword shall perish by the sword." No subtle sophistry can explain it away. The refusal of Jerusalem to accept His method oppressed Him in His last days. He fondly hoped that His death in obedience to this principle would rouse His generation to the truth of God. So without resisting evil, without any resentment, without any parade, He gave up His life begging His father to forgive the evildoers who know not what they do. In the demeanour of Jesus on the Cross, we have a perfect example of how a genuine non-co-operator should behave. He offers no defence, no resistance, takes no step to ward off penalties but allows a judicial crime to carry itself on to its miserable end.

This is the religious way of dealing with evil taught by all the great religions of the world. Buddha said, "Hatred is not conquered by hatred at any time but hatred is conquered by love." The Hebrew precept runs, "Greater love hath no man than this that he should lay down his life for his friend." Whatever the Bishops say, this non-violent method of Gandhi is that of Jesus who asks us to bless those that curse us and despitefully use us. It is faith in this that made it possible for Stephen to bless the men of blood at the very moment when they were crushing him under stones.

It is not right to suggest that Jesus did not concern Himself with the nationalist movement of Judaea. It is true that he made the distinction between the things that are Cæsar's and those that are God's, when his opponents tempted him to question the political sovereignty of Rome. But this does not mean that the kingdom of God belongs to the other world and this earth is given over to satanic misrule. It is this false separation between this world and the other, politics and religion that accounts for the self-complacency of Christians even when they encourage man's inhumanity to man. To Jesus as to Gandhi, politics is applied religion. Love of neighbour means a constant endeavour to rescue the neighbour from sin and suffering and share with him the good things of the world. The Bishops in their hostility to the present movement seem to justify the spiritual isolation of some religious fanatics who in their devotion to God forget their fellowmen. They are sorry that Gandhi does not attend wholly to God and cease to meddle with the miseries of men. But if we go past the priests to Jesus himself, He would support Gandhi's attitude and condemn the fugitive and cloistered virtue, in Milton's fine phrase, that "slinks out of the race where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat." In spite of His universal love, Jesus felt that He had to serve in a special manner the "lost sheep of the house of Israel." When his cherished hopes for Jerusalem were shattered, He bitterly wept over the city "Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen

gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not." It is consoling to know that to imitate Jesus is to take up the cry of our country and assist in removing the burden of our people.

Even as the nationalists of Jesus' day mistook His attitude, so do our workers jeer at Gandhi for introducing religion into politics and attempting to rebuild the nation from its foundations. Now and then he does things which are politically unsound simply because they are religiously sound. He believes that there are issues more vital than the current political ones and employs the compelling forces of politics for the recreation of mind, heart and will. He warns the country that men's minds must be tried by fire before freedom can be won. Heaven puts a heavy price for things of value. What is obtained cheaply is esteemed lightly. No tyranny is easily conquered. We are suffering to-day because we have sinned in the past. Unless we expiate in anxiety and suffering for our past disloyalty to God, we cannot be saved. Freedom is not a matter of good luck. It is not to be gained by mere waiting like the celestial Mr. Micawber for something to turn up. We have to pay the price for it.

JOTTINGS FROM MADRAS.

(From a correspondent.)

THE REFORMER'S ANTICIPATION.

The Bengal Council's decision to encourage the use of Charka in suitable schools affords an interesting study in contrast to the strange attitude of the non-Brahman members of the "Justice" party to Mr. Vellingiri Gondar's resolution urging the encouragement of cottage industries in the Madras Presidency. While several members of the Bengal Council expressed surprise that the University representative smelt politics in the Charka, the discussion in the Madras Council on the Charka and the Handloom revealed either a woeful lack of technical knowledge or "the prudent propensity of seeing a bear in every bush." There was, of course, no dearth of technical knowledge. Blind partisanship on the part of Sir P. Theogaraya Chetty and his followers in the Council accounted for the defeat of this resolution and the subsequent one on the better treatment of political prisoners. The *Indian Social Reformer's* anticipation that Sir Theogaraya, if out of the non-Brahman ministry, is likely to be more irresponsible to enlightened public opinion than he would be if he had accepted office is now fully borne out by the "logic of events."

THE JUSTICE PARTY.

The Justice Party is now quite well under the searchlight of public criticism both from within and without. Moreover, it is not likely that men like Mr. A. P. Patro, and Mr. O. R. Reddy will fall into line with the anti-Brahman extremists. "Sans Commentaire" writes in the *Swarajya* of Madras: "There is no doubt that the *pays legal* has voted for a solid non-Brahman majority, but it seems absurd in the face of what is happening in the Andhra province to claim that the mass of population is

behind the *Justice* party.....May I ask Mr. Reddi what far-reaching measures of democratic social reform his party has undertaken since it got into power? Has anything been done to abolish the tyranny of caste; anything to widen the outlook of the poor man? Has any great educative measure been undertaken? Has anything been done to better the lot of the poor outcasts?" Quite recently Sir Theogaraya has bowed to the "Zeit-geist" or Time Spirit by declaring himself in favour of the abolition of untouchability. The untouchables are quite justified in demanding tangible results of this new angle of vision.

A NON-BRAHMAN PIONEER.

Readers of the early numbers of the *Indian Social Reformer* will easily remember the leading part taken by Rao Bahadur O. Kandaswami Chettiar in advancing the cause of social reform. Astute politicians know however that public memory is short and are not slow to exploit this fact of human psychology to their best advantage. But Rao Bahadur O. Kandaswami Chettiar is never in the habit of mincing matters. He is nothing if not outspoken. His best friends know that he is a pioneer of the non-Brahman movement, and it was in his capacity as a pioneer that he bade public farewell to Mr. Whitehead, the pioneer of the Madras Social Service movement. In his remarkable speech published in the *Justice* of the 4th inst. Mr. Chettiar said: "A leader is one to whom popularity is the very breath of his existence. He often finds himself by a concatenation of circumstances, for which he is not responsible, at the head of a party. His opportunity comes to him when the pioneer has done his humble and often thankless task. The glory of a pioneer is in converting a minority into a majority; in creating a party where none existed before. The glory of the leader is in getting hold of the party and riding it for good or for evil."

Mr. Kandaswami Chettiar's handling of the problem of untouchability was even more significant and statesmanlike than his reference to the respective functions of the pioneer and the leader. He said: "The tree is judged by its fruit. If the non-co-operators do most to break the shackles off the flesh and bone of the depressed classes they will carry the country with them. If the moderate politician only befriends the depressed classes just to use them as the fox in the well used the goat, namely to help himself out of a tight hole, then his hold on the depressed classes will be not firm or enduring. If the non-Brahmans retain their feeling of social kinship and blood relationship with the depressed classes, then their permanent success is assured. If, on the other hand, they treat them as less than human beings the punishment which has befallen all tyrant power in the past will be theirs also. It is only a question of time." This is, no doubt, a timely warning.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Communications addressed to the Editor if they are not used, will be destroyed unless postage stamps are sent with the request that they should be returned.
B. Bhimayya, and a true British Indian:—declined.

DEWAN VIJIABAGAVAN AND EZHAVAS.

On the eve of his reversion (on the 7th April) to the British Service, Mr. T. Vijayaraghava Chariar, Dewan of Cochin, was presented with a farewell address by the Cochin Ezhava Samajam. In the course of the address, it was said:—

The declared policy of His Highness' Government is equality of treatment, equality of opportunity. Your uncompromising and persistent determination to work on this salutary principle must have made the task of administration at times embarrassing and uncomfortable, but you pursued your selfless work to the end with inflexible vigour and enthusiasm. Verily, you cared not for the passing interests of the hour but for the permanent prosperity and greatness of the State and you have now the proud satisfaction to find, before you leave the State, that your firm stand and passionate appeal for co-operation have at last opened the eyes of the dominant classes, with prospects of a happy future. We feel we cannot adequately express our profound gratitude for the invaluable work you have done for us and other submerged communities. Attractive facilities afforded by you have stimulated education among all backward communities. You have striven hard to give us fair representation in all departments of the Government service, Municipal Councils and Village Panchayats. We have had your wise counsel and liberal support in all our undertakings calculated to promote the material prosperity of the community. Above all, your striking personality has tended to smoothen the path of our progress. The Pulayas, the Pariahs, the Nayadis, the Malayars and the Kadars, hardly treated as human beings, have all had your best attention. You have given them shelter from the sun and the rain. You have given them the light of education. You have shown them higher ideals of life. In short you have made their lives worth living."

The Dewan replied as follows:

Members of the Cochin Ezhava Samajam,

Let me thank you heartily for the kind Address of welcome with which you have presented me. I feel I do not deserve a fraction of the good things you were good enough to say of me.

Now that my term of office is drawing to its close, I trust I may be forgiven if I emphasise the principles on which I have worked. They were two. The first was to rouse the self-consciousness and awaken the self-respect of the backward, depressed and submerged classes. The second was to rouse the self-consciousness and self-respect of the people of the state as a whole. The first object was strictly subsidiary to the second. I felt that if the social and political consciousness of the people of the state as a whole was to be awakened it could be awakened successfully only by rousing that of the most backward portion of them. The progress of the state was to be measured not by the progress made by the most advanced section of its people but rather by the progress made by the least advanced section. No caste was too humble, no community too low to take its part in the national life. History furnishes us with only too many examples of the way in which the progress of the country is retarded, by the presence in it of unprogressive communities, and I made it my aim that this cause of stagnation should be removed from Cochin. My depressed classes policy, the Pulaya and Nayar colonies or settlements, the educational concessions to the backward classes were all in this view only part of the larger policy which has given the people of the State elected village Panchayats, elected Municipalities with

self-governing powers, and a popular legislative Council.

These fundamental ideas inspired the policy that I have pursued and if I may strike a personal note it is they that made the work interesting to me. Administration merely from the point of view of departmental efficiency, important as it is would not have appealed to me. This may seem a strange confession for a sundried bureaucrat to make, but it is not true that all officials are bureaucrats and may I venture to say it is not true either that all non-officials are democrats.

It is to me a source of genuine gratification that during the last nine months there has been a change in the attitude of the castes usually styled "higher" towards the classes ordinarily treated as "depressed" or "backward". And I am glad that in your address you recognise this. The remarkable document signed by 47 leading Nayar and Brahmin gentlemen of the State condemning the "Theendal" or caste pollution custom and calling on their caste fellows to give up its observance in public roads, schools, places and offices will form a landmark in the history of the social movement in Cochin. I could add other equally gratifying circumstances from my own knowledge. Twice within the last six months when applications from Ezhavas for building temples of their own were resisted at the departmental enquiry by Nairs resident in the locality, I referred the papers when they came up to me to leading Nair non-official gentlemen and these went to the spot and came back with the written consent of the Nairs to the erection of the Ezhava temples. And in one case the Nairs not only withdrew their objections but even offered to subscribe towards the building of the temple. Quite recently a committee composed of Nairs and Nambudiaris pronounced in favour of throwing open till now forbidden roads to the Ezhavas. I trust that this feeling of solidarity will grow and that the government's policy will be continued. I see in my mind's eye a united Cochin in which Nair, Brahmin, Christian, Moplah, Ezhava, Pulaya and Nayadi will work together harmoniously just as I can see the harbour in front of us grow into an emporium of the world into which the wealth and commerce of the East and the West will flow.

And now comes the sad moment of farewell. I loved my work. It filled my thoughts. I have had my share, perhaps more than the usual share, of criticism which falls to a Diwan's lot. I do not complain of it. It is good to know oneself as others see one. And from the public point of view it is all to the good that sleepless criticism keeps the Diwan in the straight path. I have made my mistakes, but I have not been slow to admit them when I discovered them. Life is one long process of learning and un-learning. I trust I may be allowed to say that I have never been too wise to learn or to unlearn. On an occasion like this, one is conscious of lost opportunities, of mistakes that could have been avoided. But I feel that I may honestly claim that I have given of my best these three years to Cochin. I came to Cochin at a time when new thoughts born of the world-war were invading Cochin as they were invading the rest of India, when new ideas were revolutionising the old order of things. Cochin was at the parting of ways. I have striven my best to make Cochin take the right way. I tried to put the proper national feeling into Cochin. I feel I am entitled to make this claim. To what extent I have succeeded, let posterity and Cochin judge.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND GUJARAT.

The *Praja Bandhu* (Ahmedabad Weekly), Congress.

There is none in the country who does not recognise the necessity of a "common platform for all Nationalists Congressmen and Liberals." But we do not think any purpose would be served by a unity at any price. Unity is essential for liberty, but it cannot be secured so easily as some among us seem to believe. Divisions on the political plane are not, at any rate at present in India, based on mere personal considerations. Deeper issues are at stake. The Liberals still believe in the efficacy of the so-called constitutional method, e. g., the use of the Councils, while the present Congressmen believe in the efficacy of the method of direct action e. g., non-payment of taxes and civil disobedience. So long as these fundamental differences exist, it is idle to talk of a "common

platform." No one was more competent for such a consummation than Mahatma Gandhi with his loving disposition and persuasive habits. He tried and succeeded in bringing communal and personal differences. He won over the sympathies of Parsees and Christians as well as of Hindus and Mahomedans. He also won over the hearts of Moderates like Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Natarajan as well as of Nationalists like Mr. C. R. Das and Lal Lajpat Rai. But he could not convince the Moderates as a whole. It was impossible for him. He, therefore, cherished the utmost respect for individual Moderates and even invited them to co-operate with him in certain activities of an innocent character. But he never exhorted them to meet him half way and compromise with him in fundamental principles. Nay he had been persistently refusing to compromise even with those Congressmen who want to deviate a little and seek elections to the Councils or contemplate with equanimity outbreaks of violence.

These considerations and not "personal attachment to the Mahatma," explain the lukewarm attitude of Gujarat towards all efforts for a "common platform." In fact in Gujarat M. Gandhi is not so respected and worshipped as other Provinces. A prophet is not worshipped in his own home—this common saying holds good with respect to Gujarat and Mahatma Gandhi for other than common reasons. Gujarat is essentially a cold, calculating Province. She never accepts a principle or respects a personality without cool deliberation and mature consideration. At first she ridiculed even Mahatma Gandhi for novel theories and philosophy of life. But as the course of events and series of experiments proved the validity of his teachings and the significance of his practices she has taken to them readily. Even now she is far behind in coming up to the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi in all their reality. But she has seen their truth, and will not be dissuaded from them till their falsity is proved. She will, therefore, cling to Mahatma Gandhi's programme and carry it to a successful end rather than rush forward to any nostrum that is put in the market. She knows what the programme of Mahatma Gandhi has meant so far. It has vitalised her villages and rejuvenated her masses. The peasantry no longer starves for want of a subsidiary employment, and the ordinary villager no longer fears the petty official. The programme that has thus enriched and inspired the masses with courage and hope cannot but bring *Swaraj*. For what is *Swaraj* but the enrichment and the self-realisation of the masses?

The Liberals are welcome to co-operate in the prosecution of this programme. But nothing can be gained by their joining the Congressmen in a separate body which will work along lines representing a "synthesis of the cherished and conflicting ideals and views of all sections of the party of self-Government in the country". No idea is given of such a synthesis, and we think it arriving at one much of our precious time and energy will be wasted in mutual wranglings and vivacious disputations. A complex programme with many reservations and counter-reservations, which a "synthesis of conflicting ideals" must imply, will confound the minds of the masses, and they will be at a loss to know what to do and what not to do. Let, therefore, for the present be before the country the simple programme of peace and *khaddar* which Mahatma has enjoined on the eve of his arrest. When Mr. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru are released, we shall think of further developments. Meanwhile the Liberals may work like Pandit Malaviya, not in evolving useless schemes of *Swaraj*, but in hastening our march towards *Swaraj* by preaching and practising the gospel of peace and *khaddar*.

SOCIAL SERVICE SOCIETES.

We are frequently receiving requests from various parts of India and abroad for a list of Social Service bodies in the country. It has not been easy to compile one, because we have not always been able to keep in touch with such bodies. In order to meet this difficulty, we propose under this heading to give from time to time brief notices of the social organisations whose reports reach us. It is hoped that after a time, it may be possible to make a fairly complete list of them.

SECOND DIVISION, CALCUTTA AMBULANCE CORPS.

We have received a copy of report for 1921 of the second Calcutta Division of the St. John's Ambulance Brigade overseas. The Division which consists of a Surgeon, a Superintendent, an officer and 42 men of all castes and creeds, is doing excellent work. The most important piece of public duty undertaken by the members during the year was work in connection with returned emigrants at Matiabazepet and elsewhere for eight months, for which the Division received the thanks of Government. The Headquarters of the Division is Y. M. C. A. 86, College street, Calcutta, and the Superintendent and Secretary are H. S. Sukrawady and Mr. A. N. Banerjee.

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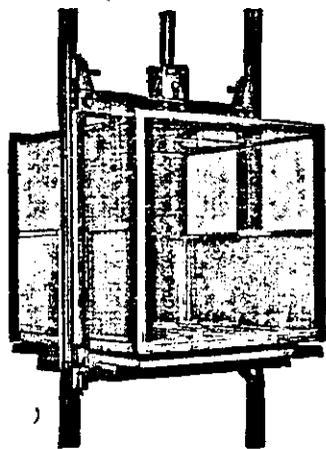
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BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MAY 7, 1922.

No. 36

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Lord Buddha's Triple Anniversary: For the first time, Bombay will hold a celebration of the thrice sacred anniversary in commemoration of the birth, enlightenment and bodily dissolution of the Buddha Sakya Muni, on the full moon in Vaisakh, which falls this year on Wednesday next, the 10th May. The celebration will take place appropriately at Madhav Baug, and representatives of all communities are expected to take part in honouring the memory of the greatest Indian and the greatest man of any age or clime. Similar celebrations will be held at Calcutta, and also at the holy places sacred to Buddhism, namely, Kapilavastu, where the future Buddha was born 2546 years ago, at the hallowed site, Buddhagaya where the Bodhisattva became the supremely enlightened Buddha 2511 years ago, and at Kusinara where the Blessed one passed away 2466 years ago. The venerable Anagarika Dharmapala observes in a letter to us: "Brotherhood, loving-kindness, renunciation, are the principles that India's children have to follow which the Great Teacher taught. Egoism, selfishness, caste pride are the principles that He condemned. India was the beacon-light of Asia in the Buddhist period. Her great sons went all over Asia carrying the torchlight of arts, crafts, agriculture and an ennobling morality. The discoveries of modern science, the researches of psychologists, are bringing Buddhism nearer to the Western world. "Hatred does not cease by hatred, hatred ceases by love," was the law that the Buddha laid down 2500 years ago. In the Buddhist period there was no untouchableness, because of the low birth of man. Then the criterion was character. 475 millions of Buddhists look to India as their holy land, and yet the sons of India through their ignorance know not this fact." It is sometimes said that Buddhism breeds pessimism. There is so much of silly, sentimental optimism about that we are not sure that pessimism is a thing to be contemned. We are most foolish when we are most happy. That was said not by a Buddhist but by a Christian. Pessimism does not at any rate shut its eyes to painful realities. The morbid type of it sinks fascinated by the sight, but the healthy, sturdy type which was

that of Buddha impels us to self-reliance and to strenuous endeavour.

Ho! ye suffer! know

Ye suffer from yourselves. None else compels,
None other holds you that ye live and die,
And whirl upon the wheel, and hug and kiss,

Its spokes of agony,

Its tire of tears, its nave of nothingness.

This is the message that India needs most today, and it is not mere chance that Bombay next Wednesday will institute a celebration which, we earnestly trust, will become an annual national celebration all over the country.

Ecce Homo: We reprint to-day the comments of the *Vedic Magazine*, the monthly organ of the Gurukula section of the Arya Samaj, on the prosecution and imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi. It is curious that, while it has shaken the faith of some people like the Maharashtra Sub-Committee of Nagpur in the efficacy of morality and non-violence as a political method, it has prompted a much larger number, including several who had set themselves for years to counteract the proselytising work of Christian missions, to turn to the figure of Christ upon the Cross in reverent contemplation. Orthodox Hindus, militant Arya Samajists, devout Mahomedans and, of course, Brahmos have had their minds turned to Calvary in commenting upon the event. It may be said without exaggeration that the Mahatma in jail has achieved in a short while what Christian Missions had not in a hundred years with all their resources of men and money,—he has turned India's face to Christ upon the Cross. Some Missionaries who understand this, rejoice in their hearts, while some, we fear, are rather jealous that God has blessed the Mahatma's sacrifice more than their own devotion. Strange, too—is it not?—that this should happen under a Viceroy of the ancient race which, though it gave Christ to humanity, has since then withstood Christianity more zealously than any other! Reflections such as these may seem irrelevant or out of taste to politicians whose business lies on the surface of things, but they furnish a clue to the unfolding of the deep purpose in history.

The "Dnyanodaya's" Remarkable Article: We are glad to count among the discerning class of Christian Missionaries those—and they are many—for whom the *Dnyanodaya* of Bombay speaks. In a remarkable article on "The Present Indian Situation," in its last issue, our contemporary surveys the whole field with discriminating eye, and makes suggestions which deserve the earnest consideration of the leaders of the people as well as of Government. A few days ago an English friend wrote to us to say that he could not understand the complete calm which has supervened on the Mahatma's imprisonment, and that many others were in the same case. The *Dnyanodaya* regards it as some proof of India's advance towards fitness for self-government.

"We believe," it writes, "these two months have provided clear evidence that the discipline through which the Non-Co-operation movement is passing is purifying it and that the deep differences of opinion manifesting themselves within the movement are leading it to a worthier conception of India's goal and of the methods of attaining it." At the same time, it adduces reasons which lead it to conclude that one result of the Mahatma's imprisonment has been to drive discontent underground. It gives prominence among these to the increasing part of women in Indian politics—to their crowded meetings, to their political societies, to the lead taken by imprisoned patriots' wives, to the growingly bitter tone of their addresses, to their large use of *Khadgar* because the Mahatma requested them to use it. It calls attention, as a retrograde sign, to the tendency in some Non-Co-operation circles to relegate the abolition of "untouchability" to the back-ground, but at the same time, it notes, as a solid proof of the resolve of the better mind of India to remove this reproach from its social life, that a Mahar untouchable has been elected to the Municipality of such a Hindu stronghold as Trimbak near Nasik. Turning to remedial measures, it places in the forefront the calling of "a conference at which every community in India should be represented and at which Mr. Gandhi should attend".

The Maharaja of Mysore on Indian Nationalism. His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore is well-known for his earnest and constant endeavour to live up to the ancient Hindu ideal of sovereignty as applied to present-day conditions. We print to-day the exceedingly graceful speech which he made in opening a mosque. At a time when Hindu-Mahomedan relations in the South are apt to be thrown off their normal balance on account of the Mopla outbreak, His Highness has rendered a great national service by impressing on Hindus and Mahomedans alike the importance of the "unity in diversity" which, he hoped, "will become in an increasing measure, a pleasing characteristic of the motherland with all its diverse castes and creeds." In the philosophical and metaphysical field, the realisation of the essential unity underlying the phenomenal diversity is the crowning glory of Hindu culture. What we have got to do is to apply the principle in the political and social spheres. To the Hindu thinker and statesman, the diversities of our population are not a hindrance but a help to sound political evolution. They can not be overcome by being steam-rollered into an artificial evenness, and even if they can be, it will not be the right solution of the problems arising from their existence. Mutual appreciation, understanding and disinterested service, will give us the inestimable benefits of a rich variety of tradition and talent fused into a beautiful and harmonious whole.

Treatment of Political Prisoners. The question of the special treatment of "political prisoners" has become acute since the last few months owing to the large number of persons, several of them persons of education and refinement, who have been imprisoned for "political offences," chiefly against notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act, and the sections of the Indian Penal Code relating to sedition, and the "fatwa prisoners." Some amelioration seems to have been introduced in Bengal and the United Provinces, also in the Punjab. In Bombay however, a point seems to be made of treating political prisoners absolutely on the same footing as those imprisoned of crimes involving moral turpitude. The Home Member has taken his stand on the plea that the law does not

make any difference between the two. The English Prison Act of 1877 provided that any person convicted of misdemeanour and sentenced to imprisonment without hard labour, might be ordered to be treated as a misdemeanant of the First Division, and, as such, was not deemed to be a criminal prisoner. Persons convicted of sedition or seditious libel, or imprisoned under any rule, order, or attachment, or for contempt of any court, were to be placed in the First Division. The Prison Act, 1898, further expanded this provision by giving absolute discretion to the Courts to order in which of three divisions (then introduced), any prisoner should be placed, having regard to the nature of the offence, and the character and antecedents of the offender. In this way, it was hoped to secure that "individualisation de la peine" which, remarks Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise in his book "the English Prison System" published last year, modern penitentiary science declares to be the ideal at which a good system should aim. The refusal to distinguish between political and other prisoners is felt by the public as crude and vindictive, and as perpetuating that irritating racial differentiation which it is the object of recent reforms to eradicate from Indian administration.

Cost of the Reforms : The *Pioneer* of Allahabad computes "that the extra direct annual expenditure resulting from the introduction of the Reforms is nearly Rs. 49 lakhs. Of that total the creation of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly accounts for over Rs. 11 lakhs, the travelling and daily allowances of the members of these bodies being about Rs. 7½ lakhs. Coming to the Provinces, the extra expenditure in Bengal and Madras is in round figures, Rupees five and three-fourth lakhs in each case; in Bombay Rs. 5 lakhs; in the United Provinces nearly Rs. 8 lakhs; in the Punjab Rs. 4 and three-fourth lakhs; in Bihar and Orissa Rs. 3 lakhs; Central Provinces Rs. 2 and one-fourth lakhs and in Assam Rs. 2 and three-fourth lakhs." We do not know, is the comment of the *Hindu* of Madras on these figures, what is exactly meant by direct expenditure. Probably, it includes only the cost of the Councils. But what about such items as compensation awarded by way of proportionate pensions and otherwise for the diminished (?) "rights" and unfulfilled (?) "expectations" of the Services which are also the direct results of the introduction of the reforms? When the extra burden that the Reforms Act thrust on us is correctly and fully assessed, we have little doubt that the bill would come to a pretty big sum indeed!

An Inverted Scripture: It was an ancient dispensation of the Hebrew Testament that the sins of the fathers would be visited upon their children, but this was revoked later and it was declared that each one should bear his own sins. The Madras Government, however, have inverted the Scripture and visited the sins of a Non-Co-operating son upon the head of his Government Pleader of a father. This gentleman, Mr. Jogiah by name, and a much respected Congress leader in the days before Non-Co-operation, was virtually given by Lord Willingdon's Government the alternatives of expelling his son from his house or of imprisoning him in it, if Mr. Jogiah wished to retain the honour and emoluments of the Public Prosecution. Mr. Jogiah resigned. We wonder if Lord Willingdon in the same position would have acted differently. Yet, when one thinks of it, Mr. Jogiah should have seen for himself that to have a Non-Co-operator son living with him and at the same time to be carrying on work involving the prosecution of other Non-Co-operators, was an embarrassing position. The days of accommodating public life are no more.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 7, 1922.

THE LATEST SEDITION CASE.

The trial of Maulana Hasrat Mohani on the two charges of waging war against the King and of sedition took place last week before Mr. D'Sonza, the District Judge of Ahmedabad, who has taken the place of Mr. Blomfield who tried Mahatma Gandhi a few weeks ago. The first charge was in respect of a speech which the Maulana delivered at the Khila'at Conference, and the second, in respect of three speeches made at the National Congress, both held in Ahmedabad last December. The Maulana when arrested at Aligarh refused to co-operate in the proceedings against him even to the extent of walking to a conveyance, and had to be carried bodily to it. Before the Magistrate who committed him, again, the Maulana declared that he did not recognise the Court and maintained unbroken silence to the questions put to him. In the Sessions Court, however, he adopted an altogether different attitude, entered a plea of "not guilty" against both the charges, and spoke in justification of this plea to such effect that the jury of five, which had been conpanelled, brought in a unanimous verdict in his favour on both counts. According to the criminal procedure obtaining in India outside the Presidency while a trial for the offence of waging war requires a jury to be associated with the Judge, in a trial for sedition, the Judge is merely assisted by assessors whose opinions are not binding upon him. Not that the verdict of the jury is final either, but, while in the case of assessors, the trying judge can, as he did in this case, himself, disregard their considered opinion in the case of a jury, the power of disregarding it is vested in the High Court. In this particular case, owing to the two charges being tried by the same set of five men, their verdict on the charge of waging war is that of a jury that can be rejected only by the Bombay High Court, while that on the charge of sedition is one of assessors only, which the Judge overruled on the spot, sentencing the Maulana to two years rigorous imprisonment. The charge of waging war against the Maulana, therefore, awaits the judgment of the High Court, and comment on it must be postponed, until that judgment is given. But the accused has been convicted and sentenced on the charge of sedition, and on that matter alone is comment permissible and directed at present.

The Maulana's speeches at the National Congress were made four months ago. They were answered by other speakers, including Mahatma Gandhi, and his views found no favour and, in fact, were rejected by an overwhelming majority of his hearers. In the face of this fact, the learned judge's observation in his judgment that "this result (intensifying disloyalty) was all the more likely to come at the time and at the place where the speeches were delivered considering that political feeling ran high in the country as well as among the audience whom the speaker addressed," is obviously pointless and irrelevant. The Maulana's

speeches *did not* inflame passions or intensify feelings of disloyalty. On the contrary, they evoked expressions of strong condemnation from more influential speakers who carried the Congress with them. The Maulana cannot help his opinions. He is not punished for holding his opinions, but for expressing them. The Judge thought that their expression at the Congress was an aggravation of the offence because he imagined that they would have carried the audience off their feet. As a matter of fact, the Maulana's speeches fell flat upon the audience. What effect the Maulana's speech did actually have upon his audience is, it may be said, irrelevant to the commission of the offence. If so, what effect it was likely to have had, is equally irrelevant—if not more—and when the latter is at variance with the former, the situation becomes unintelligible to the average man. The assessors could only look at the matter from the point of view of the average man, and their verdict in this case will be that of most average men. If the object of having assessors to help the Judge in trying a case of this kind is to supply him with something which he cannot find in himself, namely, how the facts strike the average man apart from their legal aspect, we cannot help thinking that that object has not been fulfilled in this case. The Maulana's opinions may be perverse, wicked and even immoral but they only become ripe for prosecution when they begin to produce seditious results. For all the result produced by these speeches, the Maulana might have addressed a wilderness instead of the Congress.

This is an aspect of the case which concerns the Government which launched the prosecution more than the Judge who tried the case, and but for the fact that the latter made a point of the likely consequences of the speeches at the time and place where they were made, we should not have referred to it in connection with the trial. No Government conscious of its strength would have prosecuted the Maulana who is respected in political assemblies rather as a poet than as a politician. A Government which feels that the Maulana's speeches seriously challenged its security, would do well to take a course in auto-suggestion from M. Cane. If Government did not think that the Maulana was a serious seditionist, and yet started the prosecution, we cannot help thinking that they have not used the public time and resources involved to the best public advantage. The Indian Penal Code, in its passion for symmetry, casts its net so wide in the case of political dissent that it is possible to convict almost any person in the land under one or another of its sections. And when to these sections, is added "constructive" offences, the menace to freedom of thought and speech becomes alarming. To keep a considerable number of persons in expectation of arrest and prosecution for acts and opinions, expressed or implied, is to create the conditions that are most productive of unrest in the country. We have not come across any prosecution for sedition which seemed to be less called for by the probable consequences of the acts indicted. Whatever in the speeches, which were the subject-matter of the charge, was technically seditious, was amply atoned for by the Maulana's passionate plea in the Court that he did not aim at creating disaffection against Government. There is no reason to think that the Maulana was insincere on making it and he would certainly not have done so had he been desirous of earning the congratulations if the now conventional kind on his martyrdom.

THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT.

We reprint to-day the conclusion of an address on "War and Population" which Mr. Harold Cox, the eminent English publicist, well-known in India where he was for some time a Professor in the Aligarh College, delivered at the first American Birth Control Conference held in New York last November. At the instigation of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, the Police, just before Mr. Harold Cox delivered his address, suppressed the meeting. The meeting was held subsequently elsewhere; the Police action meanwhile having been over-ruled by judicial authority. It is generally admitted that the Police interfered without authority. As the *World's Work* observes:

This is a subject of profound importance to the welfare of the State. It most emphatically has two sides. But this meeting was called by a group of citizens of the highest standing; and their character, as well as the character of the principal speakers, was assurance that the subject was to be discussed in the most earnest and elevated manner. Nevertheless, upon the presumption that the subject was too immoral for public discussion, and upon the unwarranted assumption that the discussion itself would be demoralizing, the Catholic Archbishop of New York demanded that the Police suppress the meeting before it began. This was done by the exercise of physical force and without any process of law.

Our contemporary proceeds to observe that upon reflection both the Archbishop and the Police authorities have probably realized that they were wrong. It points out what is systematically lost sight of in this country, that "neither law nor abstract right sanctions interference with freedom of assembly and freedom of speech until overt acts demonstrate that the one tends to a breach of the peace or that the other violates public morals. His (the Bishop's) recourse was to have waited until somebody said something that was immoral and then to cause the speaker's arrest." It adds that, in a nation where public opinion has the last say, whoever attempts to suppress free speech does his own cause a lasting injury.

Immediately, the high-handed action of the New York Police has proved a valuable publicity measure to the movement which is fast acquiring mass and momentum. Mrs. Margaret Sanger, the leading figure in the American movement, has gone to Japan where she has a circle of sympathisers. The Japanese Government at first refused a visé to her passport. Later it agreed to accord it, but on condition that Mrs. Sanger refrained from advocating birth-control. Finally, it withdrew the ban and left her free to carry out the purpose of her visit and to lecture to the Japanese without hindrance. An International Birth-Control Congress is to be held in London next July. Eminent clergymen of the Church of England like Dean Inge and the Bishop of Birmingham have declared themselves in sympathy with the movement. A Church Congress had the subject for discussion on the introduction of the eminent physician, Lord Dawson. Mr. Harold Cox

struck a note at the outset of his paper which must have gone home to his audience. He said:

You have in America at the present time two Conferences in progress: one in New York, the other in Washington. The one in Washington is engaged in considering how the nations of the world can get rid of armaments. But what are armaments? They are the devices that men adopt to meet what they regard as the necessity of war. Armaments are merely a symptom of man's fear of war, or of man's desire of war, whichever it be. On the other hand, this Conference in New York is considering how the causes of war can be removed. I will not go so far as to say that over-population is the only cause of war. In the past there have been causes. In the past we have had dynastic causes, monarchs going to war for a matter of personal pride or fighting for a tiny scrap of land because some social or dynastic question was involved. Such wars have to a large extent disappeared. Wars to-day are people's wars. Some peoples, it is true, fight about religion. But they happily are now in a minority. The one dominating object for which they still fight when the need arises is the room to live. People will always fight for the means of living. A man will sooner kill his neighbour than starve himself. Where the means of subsistence are insufficient for a people demanding to be fed, war ensues.

Some of these statements as applied to India need qualification. The wars in which India has been engaged for about a century are in no sense the Indian people's wars. At any rate, they have not added to the Indian people's scope of movement or means of subsistence. True, again, the general statement that a man will sooner kill his neighbour than starve himself, has more exceptions in this country than in any other. On the other hand, it is but too true that the coloured races have been the principal victims of over-population in Europe. As a movement of Birth Control which, so far as it succeeds, will relieve them of this pressure appreciably, they may well feel an interest in its progress.

Very early in India's history there seems to have come into operation some effective principle of birth-control. This was not achieved by chemical or mechanical means, but by a rigid doctrine of the purpose of marriage working in and through the social and domestic environment no less than personal inclination and conduct. The Hindu law relating to the partition of property, including landed property, was obviously framed in a society where large families were not the rule. Notwithstanding that there was in the old days far more unoccupied land, the ancients were not so obtuse as not to see that the constant subdivision of land in a community in which large families were the rule, would be economically ruinous to the country. It is a fair presumption that the families in the society for which they legislated were generally small ones. The now obsolete devices for raising a son to a dead man upon his widow point to the same conclusion. Then, again, the institution of "adoption" shows that the cases of couples without even a single son, were frequent. No legislator, would make an elaborate law for rare cases of conjugal infertility. But most conclusive of all is the insistence on the enormity of the sin of a man dying without a son and the horrors of the pit of hell to which his soul

would be consigned. No doubt, the emphasis is always upon the possession of a son. But the proportion of male births to female births is fairly constant in a given community, and it is not rash to infer that the great stress laid upon sons is but a specialised protest against a general tendency to an abnormally low birth-rate. Although the word *putra*, with *sunu*, is the usual word for "son" from the Rigveda onwards, the invention of *put*, the special hell for sonless parents, and the derivation of the word therefrom, belong to a later period. The original sense of the word *putra*, according to the learned authors of the *Vedic Index*, was apparently "small" or something analogous. Most probably this was the outcome of the spread of the post-Vedic and Buddhist ideas of renunciation and monasticism.

ANGLICAN BISHOPS AND INDIAN POLITICS.

V

(Contributed.)

The Bishops remind us that Jesus "rated highly the value of stable Government and desired to inculcate a respect for Government in general as necessary to human society." That order is necessary for freedom, that a stable Government is an essential condition of all progress are obvious truths admitted by all. The non-co-operators are not to-day up against all Government. They are not fighting for no-Government. It is not a question of law *versus* lawlessness but of one form of Government as against a better form of it. While Jesus may admit the need for Civil Government. He does not determine the forms of Government. Jesus would not ask the Jews or any other unfortunate peoples who are groaning under an iron yoke, oppressed, trodden underfoot, overcome with suffering and hunger to be calm and silent, and at best weep while their blood and tears are being drunk in peace by those who call themselves their rulers.

"The British people value freedom for themselves so much that they feel it is not fair to deny it to those who desire it." Students of history cannot forget that the Irish settlement was proposed after centuries of misrule and abuse, warfare and bloodshed, when all the resources of meanness and malice, cunning and cruelty failed. The Boers of South Africa had to burn their fields bare and exhaust in a three year's war, (the most determined nation in the world) before they could wring self-government from the hands of the people whose hearts are for it. If those belonging to the same stock and tradition were obliged to pass through hell, the Bishops will agree that those Indian patriots who suspect the *bonafides* of Britain are not without justification.

The Bishops point out that the Government of a country is entitled to receive respect and support from the people and has a right to exercise force, if it represents the 'common mind', the general conscience. In India where the Government is alien to the people, the identity of interests between the rulers and the ruled cannot be taken for granted. "It is

not for selfishness nor for domination that the British will keep order in India" say the Bishops. That they do so for the exclusive good of India is rather a mystical assumption than a critical conclusion. It is true that British rule has conferred great benefits on the country. It has given peace and security, built railways, stretched telegraph wires, encouraged the people to cultivate raw products and trained them to receive manufactured goods from Britain. While the benefits can be traced to the spirit of the times, the evils are those inevitable to alien rule. The cynics sometimes compare the order introduced by the British to the proverbial fattening of the calf prior to its consumption by the owner. The Bishops say and all admit, that "if the British left India now, she would be at the mercy of the ambitions of external enemies, not to speak of the discords of her own people." In other words, Britain who discharged her obligations for 150 years in a spirit free from "selfishness and domination" has done nothing to prepare the country to stand upon its own legs. Does this not warrant a change in the spirit of the administration? Nor can the Bishops understand the deep feeling of humiliation of the classes and the suffering of the masses.

The toad beneath the harrow knows
Exactly where each toothprick goes,
The butterfly upon the road
Preaches contentment to that toad.

To-day all political bodies are demanding a change in the form of Government. A blank negative is the answer of the Government. If Lord Chelmsford non-co-operated with the people, in the passing of the Rowlatt Act, the present Government is imitating him in refusing to hear any demands for extension of Self-Government. There are occasions when disobedience becomes a duty. The use of the word 'trust' with reference to the British Government in India shows that the people for whom the Government is a trustee have the right to protest and resist, if the trust is not discharged. A Government which is not representative of the national will has no right on its side. All Government without the consent of the governed is another name for slavery. The existence of such a Government is illegal according to the law of God and the equity of the civilised world. The orders of such a Government do not possess the sanctity of law. We cannot rightly defend the crawling orders of the Punjab and the arbitrary decree of legislatures passed into law against the express wishes of the people. Even the Bishops cannot invoke divine sanction for devil's work.

The British administrators are invited by the Bishops to uphold law and order and realise their responsibilities, not merely as the inheritors of the British tradition but as the custodians of the Christian ideal. So if any officers have any pricks of conscience the Bishops quote scripture and quell their qualms. Well is it said that "the church is the Tory party at prayer." The anxiety of the Government, when its existence is threatened is intelligible. It cannot tolerate its own effacement. Gandhi whose avowed purpose is to spread disaffection against it has

courted its wrath. Neither side can grumble since each has acted according to its best light. But the zeal of the Bishops in putting on the mantle of Pontius Pilate, and suggesting the repressive handling of one who has suffered much and endured worse things than ever happened to any other leader of humanity is pathetic. They should have known that when Jesus was condemned it was more a trial of the system of things of which Pilate was the representative than of Jesus. The empire of Rome has vanished but Jesus lives. The arrest at Ahmedabad of the Indian leader even as he returned from Ajmere whither he had gone to persuade Muslim divines to his non-violence and his subsequent conviction show that the British empire is being tried before the judgment seat of God and of humanity. There is nothing to be surprised at what has happened to Gandhi. The story of the reformers constitutes a very sad chapter in the history of humanity. Contemporary society never gave thanks to its benefactors for their pains on its behalf. Many of the saviours of the world have been the victims of law and order. The poisoning of Socrates, the crucifixion of Jesus, the strangling of Savonarola, the burning of Huss, etc., etc., were all done in the name of law and order. Gandhi may one day shake off his body for the sake of law and order. There is nothing unexpected even in the attitude of the Bishops. They have always stood for traditional order, fixed dogmas, settled society, for bad laws fixed rather than good ones subject to change, for all that old men love and adore and young men dread and deny. They can never understand that law has always been in danger for a better law to come into birth. There is nothing in common between Jesus that "transcendent revolutionary who seeks to regenerate the world from its very foundations" and these professional 'pillars' whose contribution to the spiritual growth of the world has been nearly summed up in Paul's caustic comment "They added nothing to me."

SWARAJYA.

Vainly we strive to snatch the golden mace
And jewelled manacles from alien hands,
If still thereafter over these sacred lands,
With panther-tread and with relentless pace,

Hunger should steal, and quench the Home-
fire's light,
And drink the voice of men; or if hearts
should long
To cover servitude and speechless wrong
With golden banners and with iron might.

For one Desire alone can make us free,
And sweep the tarrying midnight from our skies,
One common anguish which no time might quell:
That no man's life less than his brothers' be,
Nor bounden, that joy might dwell in all
men's eyes,
And godlike peace more deep than song can tell.

Coimbatore,
1st May 1922.

B. N. SALETOR.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR ON MALABAR RECONSTRUCTION.

(By Mr. E. B. MENON.)

Sir Sankaran Nair has confided to the Calicut correspondent of the *Pioneer** his views on the recent happenings in Malabar. Coming as they do from the most distinguished son of Malabar, his observations deserve special attention. It is gratifying to note that he has given clear expression to the outstanding factors in the Malabar situation. He emphasises with refreshing candour that so long as the unnatural system of inheritance through females (Marumakkathayam) and the inhuman agrarian laws exist, there is no hope of salvation for the Malabarees. His statement lays bare the utter hollowness of the gentlemen of the Reconstruction Committee who have not thought of including in their "scheme" the ways and means of solving these two outstanding questions. No one who has any knowledge of the affairs of Malabar will fail to appreciate the gravity of the social and economic evils that have been menacing the peace and prosperity of Malabar.

But the latter portion of Sir Sankaran Nair's statement must have caused pain to Malayalees in general and to the Nairs in particular. After the rather belated admission that he committed a grave blunder in leaving Malabar, he says that "he had often felt ashamed to style himself a Nair which term proclaimed his nationality" and that "so long as the present systems of tenure and inheritance remained, he would not allow his children to settle down in Malabar". One may retort by saying that one who has national self-respect cannot be ashamed of his nationality. If such a statement had come from one who has been driven to despair by the constant failures of his attempts to remove the evils for which he has been feeling deeply, one can understand it. But Malayalees can hardly find any justification for Sir Sankaran Nair's intention to "non-co-operate" with Malabar. One will not be surprised if one fine morning in the near future he may happen to read in the papers a Reuter's summary of an interview Sir Sankaran Nair gave to a correspondent of the *Morning Post* in which he expressed himself as being ashamed to call himself an Indian because in his opinion Indians "were dominated by slave mentality".

That the two great evils for which Sir Sankaran Nair evidently feels do exist in Malabar even to-day shows that none has been able to remove them. That Sir Sankaran Nair is confident of his own ability to remove them is evident from his own statement that "had he stayed here (in Malabar), he would somehow or other have got destroyed the two great evils under which Malabar labours". Under the circumstances, Malabarees would naturally expect him to remain in Malabar and to work to relieve Malabar from these evils. While deploring the inability of the Malabarees to solve the tenancy and social questions, it is not yet time to despair. One who can perceive the change in the attitude of the Malayalees to the social

* Galatians, II, 6.

questions since the days when Sir Sankaran Nair introduced the Malabar Marriage Bill cannot even doubt of the possibility of the attempts at social legislation ending in failure. I know there was a storm of opposition especially from the Numbodiries, the most conservative community in Malabar, to the introduction of the Cochin Nair Bill some years ago. Two years ago the Cochin Nair Bill has been passed and it was very significant to observe that several prominent Numbodiries gave evidence before the Commission in support of the Bill. If Sir Sankaran Nair had cared to keep himself in touch with the events in Malabar, I am sure he would have been less unkind in his denunciation of the Nair community and more hopeful of their future. What is required is able leadership. There is no son of Malabar more competent than Sir Sankaran Nair to solve these questions and it is to be hoped that he would still see his way to save Malabar from the pernicious customs and laws which have been threatening her peace.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, April 13th, 1922.

GENOA CONFERENCE.

The expected vote of confidence in Mr. Lloyd George's Genoa policy has been put to the House and passed by a sweeping majority. Those of his opponents who thought the Premier was a finished man politically, must have been disagreeably surprised at the reception that was given to him when he rose to put his resolution. Only the Labour vote remained hostile and a few of the old die-hards. And now the stage is set for a new scene in European politics and the play has commenced.

The official programme before the Conference for discussion is a mighty one. The Assurance of European Peace. The re-establishment of international confidence. Financial relations. Organisations of private and public credits, by issue banks and central banks. Reconstruction of Russia.

The last named item on the programme seems to be causing the most discussion here in London, whatever it is doing in Genoa. It is suggested that the Bolsheviki are feeling very elated at being allowed to appear in the council of Nations, and though Lenin says communism has failed, and that capitalism must be again of paramount importance, Lenin and his party say this with their tongues in their cheeks.

MR. TCHITCHERIN.

Mr. Tchitcherin, Russia, "Commisary of the People for Foreign affairs" is reported to have created a bad impression in Genoa—almost as soon as he arrived there. In a conversation he had with a press representative, he is reported to have said, "We have been asked to Genoa because Europe cannot get on without us." When he was asked what, if any, pledges he had brought to Genoa to allay the suspicion with which his government was regarded in Western

Europe, he replied, "On every point of the agenda we have definite practical proposals. As representatives of 150 millions of people, we consider ourselves sufficiently important for our views and demands to be considered. Hostile Governments will be compelled by economic necessity to enter into business relations with us". These remarks getting into circulation before the opening of the Conference gave a disagreeable feeling, they seemed to savour of an arrogance that could be and was resented, and they certainly did nothing to allay the suspicions of Russia's hostile critics.

The opening of the Conference itself was marked by an unquiet moment. This was when the Italian Prime Minister said in his inaugural address, "that the agenda included political as well as economic and financial questions and that the goal of the Conference is to co-ordinate the various economic systems". The words aroused the fear that they would include Bolshevism among the systems to be "co-ordinated". This fear, however, was partly allayed when, before closing, Signor Facta put on record that the Cannes resolutions were the basis of the proceedings, and stated that the acceptance of the invitation to Genoa is taken as evidence that those attending adhere to the principles the resolution contains.

After several delegates from various countries, including Germany, had spoken, Mr. Tchitcherin rose and commenced his address. He did not seem to capture his hearers' sympathy, his words were probably not calculated to attract, on the contrary he raised a considerable amount of antipathy, and a strong discordant note was struck. Immediately he had finished, Mr. Barthou uttered a strong protest against the sentiments expressed by the Russian delegate. He said Mr. Tchitcherin had travelled a long way, far beyond the limits of the Cannes resolution, even proposing to discuss the question of disarmament. Mr. Lloyd George and Signor Facta supported the French contention. Mr. Tchitcherin replied that he did not know how far the programme was supposed to go, and in his attempts to qualify the things he had said he irritated M. Barthou more, at which again a vigorous French protest was raised. The incident closed without a satisfactory clearing up of the discordant elements scattered about.

LACK OF HOUSE-ROOM AND ITS EVILS.

France has dealt in a very determined manner with the speculation in flats and apartments, and England may hope that something will also be done here to stop exploiting the needy flat seeker. It has been no uncommon thing for one person to manage by some trickery to get three or even a dozen flats at nominal rents unfurnished, put into these furniture of the poorest trumpery kind and charge exorbitant rents for same. Or hundreds of pounds will be asked for so-called furniture and effects contained in a flat or maisonette that is to change hands. The furniture and effects nearly always being worth a purely nominal sum. This scandal seems to be in all the big cities of Europe. Some time ago the Rent Restriction Bill was passed in England, but the unscrupulous

have found many means of getting round it, and its sub-sections and sub-sub-sections become so confusing to the ordinary lay mind that the question on trying to take a furnished flat is not what is the owner's legal position, but can I afford to pay the entrance price demanded! The frequent promises made by responsible men that more housing accommodation is being attended to, has not seemed to alter the pressing need for rooms, flats and small houses at reasonable rents. Many young couples of the lower middle classes have been engaged for years, and still see no chance of the dreamed of little home materialising. Some of these have saved up a hundred or two pounds and have bought their way into a furnished flat, hoping to be able to realise at least two thirds of their outlay on the flat's furniture and effects by a sale of the same, only to find it is difficult to get 30 pounds for what has cost them at least one hundred and fifty. It is no wonder that, with all the uncertainties of securing an income, the lack of domestic help, unless it is at an almost prohibitive rate of pay, and the impossibility of getting suitable house room, fewer marriages are taking place than is healthy for the country. A recent outcry has been raised that the lack of house-room is responsible for the growing immorality, and for having no children to those who. Since one evil produces another, both these statements are probably true, for human nature does not alter in essentials, it simply adapts itself to its environment.

POLICE FORCE AND ACCIDENTS.

It is a generally recognised fact that England has one of the best police forces in the world, and one of the functions of her police force is the regulation of traffic. Yet fatal accidents through traffic were greater last year than ever recorded. According to a Home Office return issued last week, no fewer than 2,845 persons were killed and 61,273 injured on public highways in the United Kingdom. In the Metropolitan Police district alone there were 571 fatal and 22,647 non-fatal accidents in 1921. The growth of the motor industry seems responsible for this, for out of the total number given, at least 15,487 are attributed to motor driven vehicles. All kinds of "Take care" and "Safety first" notices are posted about, but the rush of modern life in our big cities drives people on, and where life is abundant, the individual loses his value even of himself, and rushes into danger with all the unconcern of a fanatic or a lunatic.

ENGINEERING DISPUTE.

The engineering lock-out has taken a new turn. Representatives of 51 unions have opened negotiations with the Employer's Federation. These unions have accepted the principle of the right of the management, pending negotiations, to give instructions except where modified by agreement which may be entered into as a result of the negotiations which follow. The conference is expected to last about 4 days and it is hoped that a good working understanding will be arrived at. The A. E. U. have refused to take part in these negotiations. They decline to accept the present document as a basis to negotiate

upon. This means a very severe split in engineering and allied trades, and since this has happened in one big group of labour unions, it is very possible it would happen in others, were the others put to the test just now.

SHIP-BUILDING.

The ship-building crisis continues, with the result that big and urgent jobs are going to the continent for completion. The men who are out must be exasperated by this, it being probably something they had not reckoned with at the time of the strike. One job alone that went away a day or two ago would have kept employed on it for weeks at least 500 men. The Belfast district committee of the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Federation has decided to recommend the men to accept a proposed wage reduction now and enter into negotiations for a further one. This recommendation will also cause a split in the ship-building labour unions. Perhaps it is recognised by these unions that have split from the main body that trade to-day will not carry the high wages that have been paid and with tremendously high figures of unemployment still agitating the country, a compromise is the only means of life for them.

SHORTAGE OF MILK.

A serious shortage of milk has arisen in the London market, not because nature through the cow is not producing it, but because the farmers declare the summer price fixed by the combines for their milk supply will ruin them if accepted. They, therefore, decline to supply the market with milk, threatening to quit the fresh milk business altogether. For more than a week now, householders have been rationed by the retail dairy farmers, and where in a household five or six pints was the usual quantity taken daily, now one and a half or two pints is the amount allowed.

The only way out of the difficulty seems to be for the farmers themselves to establish their own depots for distribution and thus control prices. Co-operation in the matter of distribution would regulate supplies and give the farmer the reward of his labour. In a resolution unanimously carried by the farmers of the Eastern Counties, it was urged that they should all unite, establish their own milk depots in London and get rid of the middleman. This experiment is being tried in Newport with apparent success and satisfaction both to the farmer and the householder.

ANNIVERSARY OF LORD BUDDHA.

The revival of the memory of some of the great personages India gave birth to is a healthy sign of the times. Accordingly the anniversary of Lord Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist religion that once held sway over one-fifth of the inhabited globe, is going to be celebrated next Wednesday in Bombay when a public meeting will be held in his honour and Bhajans will be sung and also useful Buddhist literature will be distributed. The Calcutta people are celebrating the event on the same day at the Dharma Rajika Vihara under the leadership of the Anagarika Dharmapala and also at Kapilavastu where Buddha was born 2546 years ago. In Bombay this will probably be the first occasion when a public function of the nature will be celebrated. There are a

large number of Buddhists in the town and learned members of other communities as well are not a little interested in Buddha's teachings.

TEACHINGS OF LORD BUDDHA.

The Sakya Muni otherwise also called Buddha the Enlightened taught to the world a doctrine which is rather unique in the spiritual history of the world. That doctrine embodies in it the strictest principles of spiritual discipline without which ascension to the Kingdom of God, called in the Hindu shastras as Moksha or Mukti, was impossible. These principles are briefly noted as the Eightfold Noble Path consisting of Righteousness in speech, Righteousness in thought, Righteousness in deed, &c. But of all the teachings that of Ahimsa or non-destruction, promoting the idea of piety and mercy to all living things on earth, is the greatest. Prior to his resignation from the world, the Lord found that there was universal warfare everywhere even among the beasts of the forest and the birds of the air and so he sought peace on the more serene regions of the woods, where he performed his great Tapasya and attained to the Buddhahip.

BAISAKHI PURNIMA AND BUDDHISTS.

The World and the New Dispensation, Calcutta weekly, (Brahmo Samaj.)

But if the month of Baisakh is sacred to our Hindu brethren as the month of Vows, and to us as a legacy from Keshub to be turned into a consecrated instrument of the Spirit, to the Buddhist this month (the Wesakha) is indeed as the holy of holies. The *Baisakhi Purnima* is at once the anniversary of the birth, the enlightenment as well as the passing away of our beloved Buddhadeva. Is then the celebration of Buddha-day to be left to the few professing Buddhists, scattered over the country, most of them outsiders—either Ceylonese or Burmese, while Hinduism rests content with merely giving a place to a deified dead Buddha in its pantheon of *avatars* (incarnations)? Or is not this ancient country one vast *lilakshetra* of the Master who has risen again and again weaving the golden thread of a divine love and spirit of service, of compassion and *nirvana* in the tangled web of Indian life? Who knows how much the spirit and memory of Buddha is interwoven in the old Shiva-cult—Nature's hill-god—when it finally emerged as a benign and compassionate personality in the ascetic Mahadeva, in the enlightened Sankara—described as a *prachchanna buddha*, and in Chaitanya with his *five daya* (compassion to the creature) whose birth is said to have been welcomed with rejoicing by contemporary Buddhists in Bengal? Surely none but the God of Resurrection could have, later, wrought out of the passionate *bhakti* of Keshub a new and risen Buddha-deva made memorable by Yogi Aghore in his life and work? And since historic researches point to Bengal as the greatest propagating centre of Buddhism down to the 15th century with the very term *dhamma* reminiscent of the Buddha's times, it is fitting that Bengal and especially the believers of the *Vidhan*, should celebrate with illumination the return of the Light of Asia to his own kith and kin?

THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE ON HINDU-MAHOMEDAN UNITY.

The Mysore Patriot, (Weekly).

H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore got a mosque built at a cost of a little over Rs. 20,000 and made a free gift of it to the Musalman section of His Highness' Body Guard

Troop. This Mosque was opened on the afternoon of the 14th April in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering. H. H. the Maharaja made a very interesting speech in Urdu and declared the mosque open. The following is the English translation of the speech:—"It is a source of sincere gratification to me to get this mosque built for the use chiefly of the Mussalman living in the Body Guard Lines. It is one of the striking features of Islam that it lays special emphasis on the inestimable value of prayer. Prayer is the chief pillar in the fabric of religion. It is a potent means of the moral elevation of man. It will give me great pleasure if the Musalman community make full use of the mosque and if they constantly resort to it for prayer and meditation. This mosque is situated on one side of the lines. The Hindu temple is on the other side. Each ministers to the spiritual needs of its followers. Each is symbolic of that unity in diversity, which will, I hope, become in an increasing measure, a pleasing characteristic of the motherland with all its diverse castes and creeds. To a devout Hindu they represent but one of the paths leading to the same goal. If by providing them with a mosque and by coming and taking part in the function, a Hindu like myself encourages them to become truer Muslims, practising the high principles and following the noble traditions of their religion, I feel happy and amply rewarded. The Almighty God can confer no greater blessing on him than the happiness and well-being of his people, be they Hindus, Mahomedans, or Christians, in whose welfare, spiritual as well as material, he is deeply interested. I have much pleasure in declaring the mosque open. I invite you to go in and recite your prayers bearing always in mind this line of Koran—"Keep up prayers, surely prayers keep one away from evil and certainly the remembrance of the Alla as the greatest Almighty being, keeps us free from sin and ensures our salvation." I look upon you all whether Hindus, Mahomedans, or others, as equally dear to me. I hope that you will bear in mind the fact that you are Mysoreans first and all the rest next, owing a duty to the State and that you will always work together for your common benefit and for the prosperity and advancement of the State in all possible directions."

SIR SANKARAN NAIR ON MALABAR RECONSTRUCTION.

The Calicut correspondent of the *Pioneer* writes to the journal under date 22nd April:—"Interviewed before his (Sir Sankaran Nair's) departure, he expressed himself very strongly on the schemes of Malabar reconstruction now before the public, and said emphatically that no abiding reconstruction was possible unless the Marumakkathayam system of inheritance and succession through females peculiar to Malabar was radically altered and various agrarian problems solved. The systems of inheritance and land tenure converted Malabarees into slaves and destroyed self-respect, thrift and enterprise; the relation between landlord and tenant in Malabar was like that of master and slave. The tenants of Numbudieries and Thampurans were suffering the greatest hardships. Sir Sankaran Nair said Malabarees, once noted for their martial spirit, were now effeminate and dominated by slave mentality. Whether the agrarian discontent was the cause of the rebellion or not need not now be discussed, but the fact was clear that unless Malabarees were emancipated, they would fall easy victims to the more virile sects. He said there was no use of re-establishing *kalaras* or rural

schools for physical training, once a prominent feature of Malabar, as suggested by the Reconstruction Committee, because the Moplahs are warlike in spite of their having no *kalaris*. The Malabar tarwad system guaranteed meals for members thereof, which encouraged idleness. Sir Sankaran said he felt he committed a grave blunder in leaving this province, for had he stayed here, he would somehow or other have got destroyed the two grave evils under which Malabar labours. So long as the present systems of tenure and inheritance remained, he would not allow his children to settle down in Malabar, though it was their ancestral home. Malabar was the laughing-stock of other parts of India owing to the peculiar customs prevailing, and he had often felt ashamed to style himself a Nair, which term proclaimed his nationality. Sir Sankaran Nair earnestly advised the Malabarees immediately to start organisations for getting tenancy and succession reforms and carrying on a vigorous campaign in the press and on the platform for relieving Malabar of the two incubi sapping her vitality. Lastly, Sir Sankaran Nair said Malabar was suffering from sins she committed on her depressed classes who got treatment worse than beasts. Mr. Logan, the quondam Collector of Malabar, told him, said Sir Sankaran, fifty years ago what would happen in Malabar to-day unless the tenancy problem was solved. Sir Sankaran promised every help lying in his power for the reconstruction of Malabar."

MAHATMA GANDHI IN JAIL.

The *Vedic Magazine*, Lahore Monthly (Arya Samaj.)

The world has always persecuted, tortured and killed its greatest benefactors. Christ was crucified, Socrates, Shankara and Dayanand were poisoned. Mahatma Gandhi has been described as the greatest of mankind in our time. No wonder then that he is paying the penalty of his mightiness. He has awakened the masses of India to a sense of manliness and self-respect and thus equipped India for the task of taking her place as an equal partner with England and the Dominions in the comity of autonomous nations—the British Empire of the future. A weak nation is at once a menace to the peace of the world because it is the cause of international jealousies and rivalries and its own greatest enemy for the modern world has no place for the weak. By rousing India to a consciousness of her own latent strength and by teaching her that she has a message to deliver to humanity, a sacred mission to fulfil and a holy trust to discharge, he has rendered an incalculable service to humanity, become the idol of the hearts of millions of his countrymen and countrywomen who look upon him as one of the divinest men in her history and earned the lasting gratitude of England by making it impossible for her brave sons to seek the path of national suicide by exploiting the weakness of a helpless people. And what is his reward? He is locked up in gaol like a felon, and yet if history is not a tissue of falsehoods and fabrications, some day the coming generations of England will worship his memory just as the descendants of Pontius Pilate worship the memory of Jesus Christ. And his trial! It was a glorious episode in the history of human achievement. The modern Christ standing with a dignified pose and a supreme equipoise in the dock and with a smiling countenance radiating heavenly repose and glances full of tender pity for the judge and the doomed system he represented, is a picture that will inspire many a minstrel to heights of poetic glory hitherto unattained and many a painter to print pieces that will bring him eternal glory.

..... Meanwhile the friends of Indian freedom are rejoicing. The Goddess of Liberty demanded the sacrifice of the sinless and the innocent. And now, that the most sinless and the most innocent has voluntarily sacrificed himself at her altar, the hour is fast approaching when Mother India, old, patient and long-suffering—with her bright eyes gleaming with the eternal light of ageless wisdom fixed upon the goal—now for the first time in sight—will rejoice as her shackles drop and her manacles fall to pieces! Blessed is our generation, for it is destined to witness the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven; the dawn of the era of peace and good-will among nations when the King, by right divine, will be installed upon his throne of glory resting upon the undecaying pillars of homage paid by grateful hearts and worship and adoration of the entire human race.

THE PUNJAB SITUATION.

THE PUNJAB LAWYERS' PROTEST.

We print below the protest of the Punjab lawyers against the policy of wholesale arrests to which reference was made in the article published last week:

We the undersigned members of the High Court Bar, Lahore, think it necessary to draw the serious attention of the Government to the widespread feeling of uneasiness prevailing in the Province, due to wholesale arrests and convictions of politically minded persons in various places.

While fully realizing the necessity of maintaining peace and order in the country, and of effectively putting down all attempts at lawlessness, we cannot shut our eyes to the numerous complaints of excesses and illegalities by Government officials, appearing in the press. In our opinion nothing is so dangerous to the State as a deliberate disregard of people's primary rights, held sacred by every civilized Government. Irregular and illegal arrests, followed by hasty and questionable convictions, instead of doing any good to the cause of law and order, not only create general panic, but lower the prestige of the Judicial administration, the purity and integrity of which must always remain above suspicion. Every conviction to prove of any use must carry with it the approval of the general public, or at least of all those who are not interested in the accused, or in the nature of his offence.

As we find that the present policy of the Government does not satisfy this wholesome test, we think it our duty to raise our voice in emphatic protest and sound this note of warning.

1. M. Shah Nawaz, M. L. C.
2. Moti Sagar.
3. Tek Chand.
4. Aziz Ahmad.
5. Gopal Chand Naurang.
6. Durga Das.
7. B. R. Puri.
8. Ganpat Rai, M. L. C.
9. Badri Das.
10. Niaz Mohamed.
11. Sundar Das.
12. Abdul Rashid.
13. Mohamed Rafi.
14. J. G. Sethi.
15. Haq Nawaz.
16. Mobsan Shah.
17. Shubja-ud-Din.
18. Gbulmed Moby-ud-Din.
19. Kharak Singh.
20. Jagan Nath.
21. Mehr Chand Mahajan.
22. Dharm Das Suri.
23. M. Barkat Ali.
24. Faqir Chand.
25. Prem Lal.
26. M. L. Puri.
27. Nanak Chand, Pandit.
28. Shamar Chand.
29. Amar Nath Chona.
30. Pir Te-ud-Din.
31. Gordial Singh.
32. Devy Raj Sawhney.
33. Chuni Lal Anand.
34. Badri Nath Kapur.
35. Madan Gopal.
36. Nanwa Mal.
37. C. L. Gulati.
38. Rama Nand.
39. Gobind Ram Khanna.
40. S. K. Mukerji.
41. Amar Nath Chopra (Senior).
42. M. S. Bhagat.
43. Nanak Chand.
44. Baghorah Sakai.
45. Umar Fakhrah.
46. Behari Lal.
47. Balwant Rai.
48. Arant Ram Khosla.
49. Ram Lal (Diwan).
50. Marghub Ahmed.
51. Manohar Lal, M. L. C.

NON-OFFICIAL INQUIRY COMMITTEE.

In view of the widespread complaints about the alleged illegalities and excesses committed by Government officials in arresting and trying a large number of persons for alleged offences connected with political unrest in the province, a committee of the following gentlemen unconnected with the N.C.O. movement has been formed to inquire into these complaints and to place the results of their inquiry before the public and the Government. The names of the members are as follows:—Baja Narendra Nath, M. L. C.; Bakhshi Tek Chand, M.A., Advocate; Lala Durga Das, Vakil; Mr. B. R. Purri, Bar-at-Law; Mian Mohamad Shah Nawaz, Bar-at-Law, M. L. C.; Dr. Gokul Chand Naurang, Bar-at-Law; Maulvi Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, Vakil; Raizada Bhat Ram, Bar-at-Law, Jullundur. Sardar Narsin Singh, Vakil, Gujranwala. Mr. Ganpat Rai, Bar-at-Law, M. L. C.; and Main Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, Lahore.

On the 16th instant, a preliminary meeting of the Committee at which the first seven members were present, with Raja Narendranath in the chair was held at the house of Mian Shah Fawaz. It was resolved that Dr. Gokul Chand and Maulvi Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din be appointed as Secretaries. It was also resolved that general notice be issued through the press inviting information from all sources relating to the subject matter of the inquiry. It was further resolved that on receipt of information, the Committee will take steps to make an inquiry with a view to verify the allegations by visiting the various localities and otherwise as may be deemed proper and necessary in each case. All correspondence is to be addressed to Dr. Gokul Chand Naurang, Bar-at-Law, McLeod Road, Lahore or to Maulvi Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Vakil, Temple Road, Lahore.

WAR AND POPULATION.

The *Birth Control Review*, New York for April prints the address delivered by Mr. Harold Cox, Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, former M. P. for Preston, and for two years Professor of Mathematics at the Aligarh College, at the first American Birth Control Conference held in that city on November 12, 1921. We reprint below the concluding part:

I contend that the most urgent duty of thoughtful people is to strive to change the public conscience of all nations with regard to the problem of population. At present governments and churches are on the side of ever-increasing populations. Governments subsidize the large families of the poor, and on this point I should like to express my disagreement with a previous speaker when he asked why the government should not do more to help these large families. It would be most mischievous. The responsibility of bringing a child into the world rests upon its father and mother and they alone are responsible for its maintenance.

The churches also preach the duty of unlimited procreation. Why I do not know. Happily of late years there are signs of a change, especially in England. Among those who have come forward strongly in favour of Birth Control is the Dean of St. Paul's, Dean Inge. Another prominent English Churchman who has declared himself in favour of Birth Control is the Bishop of Birmingham. Quite recently a very significant episode occurred in England. On October 11th last, Lord Dawson, who is one of the most highly distinguished members of the medical profession in England, and is the King's physician, read a paper at the Church Congress on the subject of Birth Control. The keynote of his paper was, in his own words, "British Control is here to stay." He went on

in the very plainest language to attack the theological view—which I may say has no basis whatever in biblical authority—that sex love is only permissible for the sake of producing offspring. He said that this was an utterly untenable and utterly inhuman view, and he used a beautiful sentence which I will quote to you. "Life without the love of man and woman would be like the world without sunshine." Then he ended by telling the assembled clergy of the Church of England that it was their duty to approach this question in the light of modern knowledge and the needs of a new world.

The upper and middle class throughout Europe and throughout the United States are practising Birth Control. They are limiting their families. They have the knowledge; they see the necessity. The well-to-do artisans are doing the same thing. The rural laborers also, on the whole more intelligent than the poorer classes in the towns because they are brought daily in contact with the facts of nature, are also limiting their families. In our English villages families have become relatively small. It is in the slums that Birth Control is not practised. In those crowded areas of our large towns, where sunshine and fresh air hardly ever penetrate, the worst types are being daily brought into the world. It is these types that are multiplying; it is these types that are forcing modern nations to seek new outlets for their manufacturers. It is these types that force fresh wars upon the world.

Happily in some countries public opinion has already recognized that we can only stop the evil by popularizing the knowledge and the methods of Birth Control, so that the "masses" may do what the "classes" already have done. That is recognized in England, where there are no laws against propagating this knowledge and where there is a growing volume of opinion in favour of it.

Unfortunately the United States still has—if you will allow me to say it—foolish laws to forbid dissemination of essential knowledge—laws based upon a false standard of prudery and upon ignorance of the real facts of population. The figures I gave you just now show clearly that to-day the United States is increasing its population at a rate which in a comparatively brief period must produce an impossible situation. You cannot have four thousand million people in the United States. The present rate of increase must be reduced. You can only reduce the rate of increase by reducing the birth rate or by increasing the death rate. Which is it to be? For the sake of false ideals of prudery are children to be brought into the world to die in infancy, or are they to be brought into the world to kill the children of other nations?

At present, unfortunately, the official attitude in almost every country is against Birth Control. Some countries have even gone back on their previous policy. France, for example, in terror of Germany, has since the war passed new laws making it a crime even to advocate Birth Control. Why has France done this? Because England and America refused (I think unwisely and unjustly) to agree to protect France against Germany. In view of the failure of the proposed Anglo-American Alliance, the French say: "We must be strong enough to defend ourselves against the Germans, and therefore we must increase our population." They even post up in the streets placards "Faites des enfants" (Produce children). The idea seems plausible, but is really absurd. The population of France is about forty millions. The population of Germany is about sixty millions—50 per cent. more. You will see at once that, supposing the French had a high birth rate and the Germans had an equally high birth rate, the

Germans would produce 50 per cent. more children each year. And that would go on from year to year, the balance getting more and more in favour of Germany. In other words, France wants to go into a cradle competition with Germany she is bound to be beaten. So that remedy will not serve. Moreover if the policy which the French have adopted to protect themselves from a fresh war were to be followed by every other country, fresh wars would be inevitable because there would not be room for everybody.

How then is this madness to be ended? I contend that it can only be ended by a change in the mental attitude of all nations. And I say: Let the strongest nations lead the way. Let them set the example. If necessary, let the nations who have the wisdom to adopt a low birth rate for the sake of the prosperity of their children, for the sake of peace of the world, band themselves together and agree to defend one another against those races that will not reduce their birth rate. I hold that a League of Low Birth Rate Nations would be much useful to the world than League of Nations.

In conclusion, may I sum up my argument in a few words? I contend that the ideal of peace on earth and goodwill among men is unattainable as long as we are too thick on the ground. Progress is impossible without room to live and leisure to think. This is no new doctrine. It has been endorsed by all economists of weight ever since Malthus first insisted upon its essential truth; it has been demonstrated by every type of living thing. Everywhere the lower races, whether plant or insect or animal, are the most prolific; everywhere the unchecked multiplication of rival species leads to mutual destruction. If we wish to attain universal peace, if we wish to secure the progress of mankind, we must persuade all the peoples of the earth to limit their numbers.

SOCIAL SERVICE INSTITUTIONS.

We are frequently receiving requests from various parts of India and abroad for a list of Social Service bodies in the country. It has not been easy to compile one, because we have not always been able to keep in touch with such bodies. In order to meet this difficulty, we propose under this heading to give from time to time brief notices of the social organisations whose reports reach us. It is hoped that, after a time, it may be possible to make a fairly complete list of them.

WOMEN'S INDIAN ASSOCIATION, MADRAS.

The first quinquennial report, 1917-1922, of the Association has a splendid record of services to its credit, a record of which any institution may well be proud. The Association, non-sectarian in character, with its headquarters at Adyar and 47 branches in different parts of India was started by Mrs. Dorothy Jinarajadasa in 1917, with the purpose of advancing the interests and furthering the progress of women in India. Its activities are vast and varied, extending to the religious, educational, political and social aspects of Indian life. It has rendered signal service, to the cause of Women's Suffrage by securing the right of Women to vote to the elected bodies of Madras and Bombay Presidencies. The official organ of the Association is *Stri Dharma* published in three-languages, English, Tamil and Telugu. Those wishing to promote the aims and ideals of the Women's Indian Association, should write to Mrs. D. Jinarajadasa, the Hon.-Gen. Secretary, Adyar, Madras.

WOMEN'S INDIAN ASSOCIATION ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Women's Indian Association was held at Adyar on the 16th instant, when a large assembly of delegates from the Branches, members and interested ladies and gentlemen gathered. Lady T. Gadsdenville presided and gave an interesting opening address in Tamil. Mrs. Cousins, in giving a Report of the past year's work stated that nine new Branches had been started, over two hundred new members enrolled, five suffrage campaigns conducted of which three had been entirely successful, one educationally so and one still unsatisfactory, liberal donation had been given subscribed by the Branches to the Malabar Relief Fund, the official magazine of the Association was

now firmly established as a monthly with a growing list of subscribers, a comprehensive Report of the Five Years' work of the Association had been published and would be sent to anyone who applied, the membership roll was 2,800 and the funds in hand Rs. 1,119/14/11 for general purpose and Rs. 1,650-2-6 earmarked for suffrage propaganda. Sister Subbalaxmi spoke on the work of the Association for the promotion of education among women and grown-up girls. Mrs. Lakshman Rao referred to the general lectures held regularly by the Branches. Mrs. Mahadeva Shastri moved a vote of thanks to the President and also referred to the General Secretary, Mrs. Jinarajadasa, who owing to ill-health has had to go to Australia for some months and to whom the Meeting sent a message of affection and good wishes. Arising out of the speeches the following Resolution was moved and unanimously passed "That this Meeting of the Women's Indian Association demands that any measure proposed by the Madras Corporation or any other Municipality for introducing Free and Compulsory Elementary Education shall be applied to girls equally with boys."

An exhibition of work done in the classes of the Branches and by members preceded the Meeting and showed beautiful specimens of embroidery, drawn-thread work, beadwork, drawing and designing, knitted and crocheted articles and rattan work. The work of the Bombay Branch was specially admired.

Girl Guides were in evidence looking after the comforts of the visitors. Amongst those present were Mrs. Galletti, Dr. Besant, Mr. and Mrs. Tiruvankatachary, Mr. and Mrs. M. S. Ramaswami, Mr. and Miss Rangnathan Mudaliar, Mrs. Cannon, Miss Banning M. A., Mrs. Vasudeva Rao, Mrs. Viswanatha Iyer, Mrs. Venkatarama Iyer, Mrs. Komalavalli, Mrs. Srinavasa Chary, Mrs. Gopal Naik, Mrs. Bashyam Iyengar, Mrs. Moodlyandan Chetty, Mr. and Mrs. Ramenathan, Mr. and Mrs. Parthasarathy Iyengar (Chittoor), Mrs. Stead, Mrs. Kanniammal (Vellore) etc. etc.

ARCHITECTURAL STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION.

We have pleasure in acknowledging receipt of the fifth annual report (1921-22) of the Architectural Students' Association, Bombay. The Association is trying its best to create a taste for Architecture in the Bombay public and specially to revive and popularize Indian or national style of architecture. We are glad to find Indians and Englishmen in the list of members. During the year under report the Association submitted a memorial to the Municipal Corporation, the Improvement Trust and other public bodies urging the adoption of Indian styles of architecture in their buildings. The President of the Association is Mr. Claude Batley, and the Joint Honorary Secretaries are Messrs. Rustom M. M. Kapadia and Dominic D'Silva. The address of the Association is 81-83, Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay.

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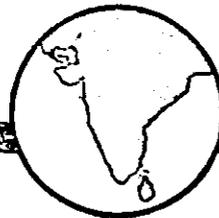
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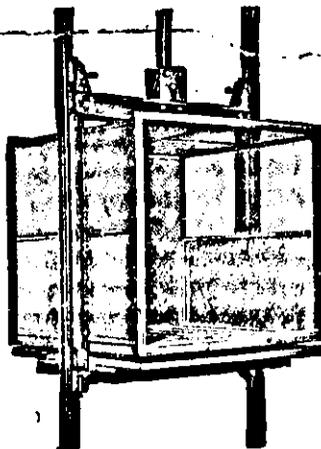
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BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MAY 14, 1922.

No. 37

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

— 10: —

Indians and Englishmen: Sir Montagu Webb who, as member of the Fiscal Commission, toured round the country examining all classes of witnesses, is reported to have said to a press representative:

One feature of the evidence taken has pained me very much, and that is the wide-spread feelings of ill-will that exist towards British merchants, British industrialists and British officials. Although these feelings have been in evidence on all sides, and to a degree that I had never suspected before and although they have been uttered with a conviction that has impressed me with the entire sincerity of the witnesses, nevertheless I am now certain that these opinions are based on deplorable misunderstandings and on an imperfect appreciation of history and economic laws, and further that those who hold them do grave injustice to a large body of Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen who have done well by India and who feel nothing but good-will towards India and its peoples, and more particularly to all those Indians with whom they have worked in most friendly co-operation for some generations past.

It may be noted at the outset that, as no Non-Co-operator would give evidence before an official Commission, Sir Montagu's impressions have been entirely derived from those who have not renounced co-operation with Government. It is also to be noted that Sir Montagu specifically mentions British merchants, officials and industrialists, that is to say, all those who come to India to get something out of her, as coming within the orbit of aversion. In contrast to this, attention may be called to the quite recent testimony of Bishop Whitehead of Madras, the Rev. R. A. Hume of Ahmednagar, and several other Missionaries and social workers, of the cordiality which prevails in their relations with Indians. The fact is that Sir Montagu is wrong in describing the attitude of Indians to Englishmen as one of ill-will. The relations of individual Englishmen and Indians remain absolutely the same as they were twenty or thirty years ago, and, if anything, there are to-day more cases of intimate spiritual contact between the two races than ever before. But it is quite true that in national matters few Indians cherish the same high expectations of Englishmen as they used to do. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in his last presidential address to the Congress exactly represented the case of most of his countrymen:

In 1868, when I made my first little speech at the inauguration of the Bombay Association, in perfect innocence of

heart, influenced by English education into great admiration for the character, instincts and struggles for liberty of the British people, I expressed my faith in the confidence in the British rulers. Such was my faith . . . And now, owing to the non-fulfilment of solemn pledges, what a change has taken place in the mind of the educated!

This was spoken in 1906. Since then there has been, on the admission even of the late Secretary of State for India, one more solemn pledge broken. Mr. Sastry, in spite of his desire to prophesy smooth things, had to admit at the Bombay Liberal Conference that the situation has not changed for the better since Dadabhai spoke. If Sir Montagu ponders Dadabhai's words, he will see that Indians have some cause, not for ill-will towards individual Englishmen, but for not continuing to regard them as capable of rising in national questions superior to their own interests. He says that this is the result of ignorance of history and economic laws; we think, on the contrary, that it is the result of a proper appreciation of them. Indians now want themselves to take care of their own interests, the same as the English on any other people. When Englishmen get over the first shock of finding Indians, who have been so long looked after by them, claiming to look after themselves, they will, we are sure, recognise that there is nothing wrong in it and even that that is exactly what would serve England best.

The Punjab Situation: We published a fortnight back an article contributed by a well-informed publicist describing the situation in the Punjab. Last week we published the manifesto signed by 51 Pleaders of the Punjab High Court and the terms and personnel of the non-official Committee which has been commissioned to investigate the people's grievances. The address delivered by Mr. K. Santanam, who presided at the Punjab Provincial Conference at Batala, was to a large extent a conspectus of the grave complaints that are being heard of the repressive policy of the Provincial Government. The Punjab Government have been obliged by these grave indictments to issue a press note to vindicate their policy. The communique does, we are sorry to say, little to satisfy the readers' desire to have a plain statement of the position without question-begging adjectives. Single cases are magnified, without assigning any grounds, into typical instances; a few atrocities which, without strong testimony, cannot be presumed to be other than exceptional, are dwelt upon with an elaboration of epithet, which would have been impressive but for the unfortunate fact that similar atrocities three years ago did not evoke similar official horror. The case which the Punjab Government had to make out was that the wholesale arrests of Sikhs that they have been making, was forced upon them by wholesale activities which left them no option. To begin in the first sentence by characterising these activities as "lawless" is rather a pettifogging way of trying to browbeat the Jury. "Assume a virtue if you have it not," said

old Polonius, and really there is much more than worldly wisdom in the advice, because a quality persistently assumed tends to become a habit. But there is no pretence of judicial detachment, discrimination, anxiety to sift fact from inference, in this lengthy document. It is not impossible that the Punjab Government has a better case than that made out by this communique which, on its own showing, convicts it of having exhibited prejudice, precipitancy, and other unstatesmanlike qualities in dealing with the Sikh question.

Arrests before Information: Take this statement in paragraph 2 of the communique, which is made as proving beyond cavil the solicitude of the Punjab Government for the religious sentiments of the Sikhs.

When it was made plain that no body of Sikhs wished to dispute the claim of the Prabandhak Committee to the management of the Golden Temple and its subordinate shrines, it was decided to hand over the keys of the Golden Temple treasury to the Committee and to withdraw all objection to their acting as administrators of the Temple, leaving further disputes, if any, to be settled by the Sikhs themselves. Simultaneously with this decision those who had been arrested under the Seditious Meetings Act for attending meetings where speeches were made on the keys question were released, and a short time afterwards orders were passed on the question of the wearing of the *kirpan* which were in accordance with the directions given by the Prabandhak Committee themselves issued to those who accepted the guidance of the Committee in regard to their religious observances.

What does this show? It shows that, under the misapprehension that the Prabandhak Committee's claim was disputed by other bodies of Sikhs, the Punjab Government not only refused to hand over the keys of the treasury of the Golden Temple to that Committee, but arrested a number of persons under the Seditious Meetings Act (1) who attended meetings where speeches were made on the keys question—speeches which were, no doubt, mainly instrumental in making plain to the Government that no body of Sikhs disputed the claim of the Prabandhak Committee. For opening the eyes of the Government to its misapprehension and enabling it to arrive at a right apprehension, these persons were arrested under the Seditious Meetings Act, and their release from arrests which should never have been made, is adduced as a proof of the sympathy of Government with Sikh aspirations in the direction of religious reform! Who will believe after this admitted instance of flagrant abuse of power that the 1000 arrests—the non-official estimate puts the figure at 2000—made in a month, have not been similarly the outcome of some misapprehension of the Punjab Government rather than the misbehaviour of those arrested? In one district, it is admitted that out of 253 persons arrested, the Commissioner found that 103 had been arrested without any cause, and ordered their release at once. When it is stated that the Akali bodies whom the Government denounce number not less than 25,000, one expects something more than bare assertion to show that the Government measures were welcomed by the large body of Sikhs who have no political bias against Government.

A pernicious Tangle:—As observed above, there is perhaps more to be said for the Punjab Government than it has been able to say for itself. But if we may add a word of friendly warning, it is against allowing the growth of fraternal relations between Sikhs and Hindus to affect its judgment. The Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab have been, and are today, practically one social entity. The policy of isolating the Sikhs into a separate "nation"—a phrase used in this communique—was a shortsighted one, as was the policy of giving communal recognition to Mahomedans and others. The communal Frankenstein deliberately raised against the earnest protests

of Indian leaders, cannot be put down by wholesale arrests or by rambling communiqes. What is happening to-day is that, thanks to the policy of Government, it finds itself in the position of having to deal in an increasing number of spheres not with individuals but with whole communities. As each community fears that what happens to one may happen to the other, inter-communal understandings are becoming the order of the day, and as Government does not belong to any community, it is becoming daily more and more isolated from public support and sympathy. Nothing short of a complete change in the system of Government can provide a sure way out of this pernicious tangle in which the present system has involved itself. Though we have had to traverse the arguments of the communique in attempted justification of a policy which has been described to us by men who are not prone to sensationalism as little short of terrorism, we recognise that the Punjab Government has shown its desire to relieve it of its immediate effects by deciding, with the concurrence of the Chief Justice, that all cases of a political or semi-political nature in which the accused persons have not defended themselves or have not exercised their statutory right of appeal, should be examined by one of the Judges of the High Court, who would bring to the notice of Government any cases in which in his opinion the sentences might be suspended or reduced. We trust that a strong Judge commanding the utmost confidence of the Punjab people will be deputed for the onerous task, and that his recommendations will be completely carried out. We do not see why the Chief Justice himself should not undertake it.

Lord Lytton's Indian Private Secretary. We understand from the *Dnyanodaya* that Dr. S. K. Datta has been appointed Private Secretary to his Excellency the Governor of Bengal. We congratulate Lord Lytton on the liberality as well as the excellence of his choice. No Governor has till now had an Indian Private Secretary, and even Lord Sinha, we think, had to conform to the tradition of an English P. S. That Lord Lytton has had the imagination to initiate this important departure, speaks much for His Excellency's grasp of the Indian problem. As for Mr. Datta, he is one of our most ardent nationalists, and has, with Mr. Paul, been the life and soul of the Y. M. C. A. in India. It will be an enormous source of strength for the Governor of Bengal to have at his right hand an Indian so thoroughly patriotic, independent and well-informed as Dr. Datta.

Ahmedabad National Congress Souvenir: We have much pleasure in noticing the Congress Souvenir, Ahmedabad, 1927, published by Goras' Studio, Benares. The last Ahmedabad Congress will for long stand out in India's political history. It was organised, and every arrangement in it was carried out, with the closest reference to the principles of Mahatma Gandhi who appears in several of the excellent illustrations in this souvenir in very characteristic attitudes. It is a vivid presentation of all the most important aspects of the Ahmedabad Congress. We cordially commend this memento of a historic gathering. The souvenir is cheap at the price fixed, Rs. 1-14-0 per copy.

The Prince in India: The souvenir of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India, which the *Times of India* has brought out, is a magnificent specimen of the printer's art produced in this country. The publishers claim with truth that the cover is unequalled in design and finish. The illustrations are well-chosen and finely reproduced. The souvenir is a thing of beauty and well worth the occasion which it commemorates. The price is Rs. two a copy.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 14, 1922.

THE BOMBAY LIBERAL CONFERENCE.

It is inevitable that, with the larger number of Indians in the Executive Government as Ministers and Members of Council, there should come into existence a Government party, and we see nothing wrong and even some good in it. And if the Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference which met in Bombay during the last week-end, had frankly avowed its character, it would have made no difference in the public estimation of its proceedings. All the Indian Members and Ministers of the Government of Bombay attended the public meeting of the Conference and were also members of the Subjects Committee. The two English members of the Executive Council did not attend. The Indian members, in our opinion, had no more right to participate in the proceedings of a professedly non-official political Conference than their English colleagues. They are, for the time being, members of the Permanent Civil Service as much as the Englishmen, and are bound by the same rules, the first of which is that they have no politics. This rule rests upon a principle of as much importance to the public safety as the rule that Judges should have no politics. After the precedent of the Bombay Liberal Conference, we do not see how those who acquiesced in the participation in it of Indian members of Government, can complain if the English members of Government run a European or Anglo-Indian Conference which may or may not be acceptable to them. We trust that an authoritative declaration will be forthcoming as to the circumstances in which the Indian members of the Executive Council participated in the Bombay Conference, and if and how far it is to be taken as a precedent. There is another reason why the participation of Members of Government in professedly non-official political Conferences is objectionable. Every person in such a Conference is expected to throw the whole of his mind into the common stock. He is expected to give his colleagues the full benefit of his disinterested advice, without reserve and without regard to any other extraneous consideration. Because members of the Executive Government cannot do this, the constitution of the United States forbids their being members even of the Congress. The case of the British Cabinet is entirely different. The Members of Government there are virtually the nominees of the House of Commons. In India, as in the United States, Members of Councils are nominees of the Government, and the American rule, and not the English rule, should apply to them. The innovation in Indian practice is so glaring that we cannot believe that a statesman of such strict conservative principles like Sir George Lloyd would have sanctioned it, had His Excellency been anywhere in the Presidency and was apprised of all the circumstances of the case. This is a practical illustration of the inconveniences attending the absence of the head of the Government beyond the limits of his administration, to which we were constrained to call attention in a recent issue. The case of the Ministers is, of course, somewhat different.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

That the participation of the Members of the Executive Council affected the character of the proceedings of the Conference, is evident from the resolutions which we print to-day. The omissions in them are in their way as significant as the selections. If any schoolboy in India were asked what the most stirring event was that happened in Western India during the last two months, he would unhesitatingly declare that it was the trial and imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi. The promoters and controllers of the Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference did not think it worth its while to waste a word of regret that this great-souled Indian, who specially belongs to this Presidency, is now in jail. Apart from the rights and wrongs of the matter, it is, and it has been recognised all over the world as, nothing less than a tragedy that a man of such high character should be thrown into prison. The applause which greeted the cautious reference in the President's address to Mahatma Gandhi—even though Mr. Sastry carefully avoided actually mentioning his name—showed the feelings of the bulk of the members of the Conference on the event. But the Subjects Committee had ruthlessly barred a resolution even of regret, and the Conference had to disperse without giving any more formal expression to its feelings. Another not less glaring omission is with reference to the extraordinary ukase of the Government of Bombay without any explanation extending the terms of the sedition section of the Penal Code in the Civil Stations adjoining Indian States, to which we called attention last week. That was a significant omission, as significant as the resolution of the Conference virtually endorsing the measures adopted in various parts of the country—on some of which the presidential address threw lurid light—in the name of law and order. We are obliged to observe that this resolution, in the face of the loud complaints from all parts of the country, can be interpreted only as a *carte blanche* to the Executive to take the law into its own hands. As for the other resolutions, the liberalism of the Conference was more visible in matters concerning the Central Government than in those concerning the local Government. The closing of one old-established High School, without opening any other, and the heartless increase of fees by the Educational Department, have created bitter complaints, but the Conference's concern for education was indicated by its including it in an omnibus along with forest grievances and cottage industries. The important and burning question of excise policy finds no place among the resolutions. Any one who goes about with his ears open in Bombay will hear a lot about the Development Department. So far as the Bombay Provincial Conference was concerned, however, there might have been no such Department existing.

SIR D. E. WACHA'S FISCAL FALLACY.

The address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sir D. E. Wacha, was noteworthy for his strong remonstrance against what he called "the

intolerable tariffs" of the last budget. To describe a 15 per cent. import duty as "intolerable" is, in view of the much higher duties levied in most other countries, an intolerable perversion of language. The straitest sect of Free Traders allows the raising of import duties for purely revenue purposes. The limit at which in given conditions the duties should be fixed, must, of course, be determined by each country with reference to those conditions. Sir Malcolm Hailey claimed, and the huge deficit that had to be made good was sufficient justification for the claim, that the latest increase in the customs duties was for purely revenue purposes. In our opinion, a higher limit of duty would have been perfectly justifiable in the conditions of Indian finance even under strict Free Trade principles. The Legislative Assembly was actuated by considerations extraneous to sound finance—by political considerations, in fact—when it agreed to exempt the import duty on cotton goods from the general increase as a concession to Lancashire which was greatly wroth when the Assembly threw out the proposed countervailing increase of the excise duty on Indian mill-made cloth. The Assembly shrunk from the contest which insistence on the 15 per cent. duty on imported cotton goods would have involved. An eminent Indian publicist viewing the move from the detachment of an Indian State, wrote to us at the time that the pusillanimity of the Assembly must cost the country dear on the next occasion when the question comes up, as it must soon, for settlement. An evil precedent has been created where a sound one might and should have been, and the next Assembly has its task of resisting the pretensions of Lancashire made "intolerably" difficult. As for Sir Dinshah's censure of "those who are vigorously urging the Central Government to impose high protective tariffs," we do not know that any one wants such tariffs for their own sake. There is no rigid standard of a high or low tariff. A thirty per cent. tariff will be a low tariff in a country where, owing to various causes, an article of national necessity, for which the country should not be dependent on foreign countries, cannot be produced except at a cost exceeding by 30 per cent. the cost of the article if imported from other countries. America's great iron industry was built up on this principle, and Americans will laugh at Sir Dinshah if he told them that they were foolish to have done so. The hypotheses on which the Manchester school based its Free Trade, left out large considerations vital to national well-being. It did not care if the progressive cheapening of commodities involved the progressive degradation of the worker. President Hardinge in one of his inaugural addresses went to the root of the matter when he said that a country was entitled to put its tariffs high enough to provide the workers with the wages and leisure indispensable to a cultured life.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Sir Dinshah Wacha excused himself from touching on "burning provincial topics" in the confidence that Mr. Sastri will do ample justice to some at least of them "fortified by his accumulated experience of the last seven years as a member of the Imperial Legislature." It is a strange view that the Imperial

Legislature is a better place for acquiring experience of Bombay provincial topics than Bombay City. Mr. Sastri, for his own part, courteously declined the task allotted to him on the ground that he was not sufficiently conversant with provincial problems. This reluctance to deal with provincial topics in a Provincial Conference was general throughout the proceedings, and one obvious reason was, of course, that Members and Ministers of the Government responsible for the affairs of this Presidency practically controlled the Conference and held it in leash. We reprint the report of Mr. Sastri's presidential address as given in the *Times of India*. We have been told, and we quite believe, that it did not please the principal promoters of the Conference. The main object for which the Conference was called, as may be gathered from the resolutions, was to pronounce the reforms to have been a complete success, and to endorse the policy recently pursued towards Non-Co-operationists. Mr. Sastri evidently had no idea when he accepted the Presidency and till he came to Bombay of the conditions surrounding the Conference. That explains his opening sentence that his views may be unacceptable but he must express them, and his declaration that he would in no wise attempt to influence otherwise the proceedings mapped out for the Conference. Mr. Sastri's presidential address is an honest, straightforward and, on the whole, a true and correct estimate of the main factors of the political situation, except on one point to which we shall refer presently. He does not interpret the outward calm that has ensued within the last few weeks as signifying an inward calm. In grave words he calls attention to the almost universal distrust of Government prevailing in the country. He holds that diarchy has failed wherever its distinctive diarchic features have not been obliterated in practice, which means that it has failed as a system. If he does not in so many words denounce the policy which has led to some thousands of persons being held in imprisonment, he clearly sees that there can be no peace in the country unless some way is found of relieving that policy of such a sinister corollary. These are things which every one who does not wilfully shut his eyes to facts must admit and does admit. It needed both courage and conscience to speak out on these matters at the Bombay Liberal Conference, and Mr. Sastri deserves well of the country for having exhibited these qualities at this juncture.

MR. SASTRY ON NON-CO-OPERATION.

The one matter on which Mr. Sastri's estimate did not come up to his high dispassionate standard in regard to others, is Non-Co-operation. There was nothing grudging in his tribute to the great qualities of its leader, his testimony to the impetus it had given to social reforms and *swadeshi*, and his appreciation of the awakening of the masses through its means. But his estimate of the Non-Co-operation movement, as a whole, fell short of the complete proportion which one expects from a thinker and statesman of his high calibre. It ignored altogether the circumstances in which Non-Co-operation was born—the Rowlett Act, the Punjab tragedies, the glaring violation, not beyond all doubt by Mr. Montagu's admission, of the Turkish pledge, and the unsubstantial character of the Reforms, also now beyond cavil.

If Mr. Sastry's estimate of Non-Co-operation suffered by its not being taken in its proper historical setting, his criticism of it as bad philosophy was inspired by the shallow utilitarianism of the mid-Victorian era, which the great War had finally trodden down into the dust of ages. Non-Co-operation, Mr. Sastry urged, was an expression of the old Indian principle of giving up, doing without, of reducing the denominator of self. What has the opposite philosophy—if it may be so called—that of grasping, of competition, of constant extension of self, led to? If politics is, as it ought to be, a branch of ethics, and political methods must submit to ethical tests, a method based upon giving up must stand the test better than the political method of getting on. In any case, it is not for the President of the Servants of India Society, if it has not radically changed its principles, to decry renunciation as a sinister creed.

A MISLEADING METAPHOR.

Non-Co-operationists have made many mistakes, nearly all of them avoidable. Their programmes have been throughout empirical and there has been no correlation between their several successive programmes. With an almost British disbelief in theory, they have refused to admit the existence of a stone wall, when it was sought to be pointed out to them, until they ran their heads against it, and when they did and were rudely made aware of the fact, they rubbed their foreheads and ran against other stone walls as if nothing had happened. They have often treated advice and remonstrance with arrogant contempt. The less experienced of them—and experience is the one great want of the movement—have persisted against earnest advice in mistaking the rustic cackle of their bourgeois for the murmur of the world. No one has been more severe to their mistakes and miscalculations than ourselves. We agree with many of the counts of Mr. Sastry's indictment of the movement, but when he charges it with having oppressed the people it professes to help and likens it to an ignorant mother who beats her child in impotent wrath at her own folly, we can only say that he does not know what he is talking about. He would, we are sure, have spoken differently if he had been in the country and seen more of it during the recent eventful months. The blunt fact, whether we like it or not, is that the people look on Non-Co-operators not as oppressors but as their sole supporters in their trials and tribulations. They look upon everyone who wears *Khaddar* as their true friend, although, we fear, that there are quite as many among *Khaddar* wearers as among others to whom public life is worth just as much as it brings to them and no more. Liberals of the Bombay Conference type will have hard work to convince the masses that they and not Non-Co-operators are their true friends. And the masses, ignorant, illiterate as they are, are not always deceived. Rather, they, like little children, have a way of penetrating intuitively behind appearances. Mr. Sastry's homely simile is not the right one in the circumstances. A more appropriate one would represent Mr. Sastry's party as a superstitious mother-in-law who, not having the heart or courage to rebuke her vagabond son, upbraids her unhappy daughter-in-law for her evil star which sends her husband prowling about amidst the dark places of the earth.

ANGLICAN BISHOPS AND INDIAN POLITICS.

VI

(Contributed.)

The writer was pained to read the following from the servants of the Lord of Peace. "They are trustees for the progress of India and they will be faithful to their trust even if it means fighting for it. And all that is Christian in them will support them in so doing." By means of bombs and bayonets, aeroplanes and machineguns, these willing tools of imperialist ambitions would like to pay their homage to the crucified Saviour and continue the capitalistic imperialism in India.* A nation's will is outraged, her body is bleeding, solemn covenants are flouted and Indians are asked to accept all this as though it were the will of God over which we have no more authority than over the course of the stars or the motions of the tide. If they ask for change, they are presented with bellicose threats. The Bishops would have been more honest if they had said that they were trying to realise the gospel according to the fifth evangelist which believes in amending the world's wicked existence by absorbing it into the British Empire. The war mentality is still persisting. Brute force which has made the world a shambles and darkened life around us is in the saddle; nay, it has never been out of the saddle. A Europe prostrate and stricken has not been enough to convince men of the futility of force. The Bishops however need not be told that to fight is not to destroy, to crucify is not to annihilate. The present writer has sufficient faith in the good sense of Britain and has absolutely no doubt that Indian claims will receive recognition at no distant date. But if Diehards get into the helm they may become mad and try to reconquer India by the sword. That will be a time which will try men's souls. We hope the country will have sufficient faith and strength to stand by the gospel of Gandhi. If the country develops the strength to be content to die, if it can offer the true Christlike non-resistance, if it does not become so 'infidel' as to believe that God has relinquished the Government of the world, then it may be desolate, it may be wounded, it may be oppressed but it shall not die. India made purer by the suffering of death may yet be crowned with glory and honour. Jesus is our pledge that God is no idle spectator of the darkness of the world but will carry all things through into light. If by accepting love and truth India passes out of existence, it does not matter. Civilisations may pass away, empires may crumble but God's truth remains. Gandhi says, "God is even though the whole world deny Him." My Christian friends will recognise in Gandhi the sufferer, the true image of Jesus. Those who wear His official uniform and brandish the big stick have become cogs in the imperial machine and are walking arm in arm with that great patriot Barabbas. They are unwittingly raising a fog of falsehood and mystifying our minds. We have tried the Christianity of the Churches for nearly

* It is refreshing to read Gandhi's statement, "I cannot pull the trigger against my worst enemy". *Young India*, 9-3-22.

20 centuries. Let us now try the religion of Jesus which is a complete denial of the practice of Christendom. Nietzsche asked, "What did Christ deny?" and answered, "Everything which to-day is called Christian." Tolstoy writes, "there is not only nothing in common between the Churches as such and Christianity except the name, but they represent two principles fundamentally opposed and antagonistic to one another". Gandhi is interpreting for the whole world the true meaning of Jesus' message of love and non-resistance. He believes that the fire of love will melt even the 'hard fibre' of the Britisher. He is in the line of succession from the Christian martyrs who carried their faith in God to the amphitheatre and the leopard, to the stake where they were burned alive. An English lady of Calcutta wrote the other day, "His patience and his work are like the spring that lies hidden far below. No matter what the world may preach, God will give him a harvest greater than he expects. Millions are watching and judging him. But there is one above all watching and judging each struggle in his daily life, and when his toil and struggle are over, his work and name will live for ever." Another English Missionary lady put it to him thus, "I believe that you have caught the central idea and spirit of His message and are applying it far more correctly and consistently than we have done as a people and I believe that the Indian people are this day showing who is the real Master of their hearts because you show Him to them more truly than we do." Such is the verdict of all thoughtful Christians whose minds are not obsessed by prejudices.

The pastoral letter concludes with the need for reconciliation. If the Bishops cease talking shibboleths of empires and trusts at the altars of which millions of God's creation have been slain and utter the healing words of the peace-maker whose livery they wear, they will help to ease the situation. If they have any faith in the regenerating force of love which alone can bind broken hearts, let them instead of asking for a little more 'brutality' ask for a little more sympathy towards India as His gracious Majesty King George V did. The economic depression has brought about a tremendous mass upheaval though as yet it has not developed into a red revolution. People are already feeling that a wasting sickness is worse than a devouring fever. Let this fact be noted. The war fought to make the world safe for freedom fired men's hopes and the later disappointment is acute. No amount of coercion can kill the will for freedom. The reforms have been tried and found wanting. They have added to the cost and taken away from the well-being. The ministers are blinking like owls left in the middle of the Indian Ocean with freedom to reach the shore as best they might, bearing their own expenses. Moderates and Extremists, Hindus and Mohammadans, all are asking for the abolition of Dyarchy, Provincial autonomy, responsibility in the Central Government and early Indianisation of the army and the Civil Service. The problem of the hour is not a hairsplitting discussion to be accomplished in the cloisters as to whether the struggle for *swaraj* is Christian or not but an adequate and responsible re-

cognition of and adaptation to the new facts and relations. The India of the present day is a challenge to the Christians of Britain whether the faith in them is vital or dead. It calls for generous statesmanship and not slipshod opportunism which changes from hour to hour, from expedient to expedient. Only the grant of a new constitution to India determining the stages towards complete *swaraj* to be attained in a decade or two can restore the impaired prestige of Britain and bind India fast to her. Will the Bishops promote such a true Christian reconciliation between India and England? The Government of the country will have to realise the truth of Burke's dictum, "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; a great empire and little minds go ill together". Will Lord Reading with his watchwords of justice and equality treat India in that spirit? She has been considered equal to the other parts of the Empire so far at death in the battle-fields of Europe is concerned. Will she be considered equal in problems of life and policy? Surely the world is not wide enough for two kinds of equality. Will Lord Reading rise to the occasion and be true to his creed? Did not Isaiah say, "When ye come to tread my courts, who has demanded this of you? Go wash you, make you clean. Put away the evil that is in your hands. Cease to do evil, learn to do good". And later on, "That ye let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?" Will he remember these solemn words that have been ringing down the ages finding their echo in millions of human hearts? Who knows what is contained in the manuscripts of God?

(Concluded).

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, April 27th, 1922

The crisis that threatened the complete break up last week of the Genoa Conference seems to have blown over. For a day or two, a distinct pause in affairs was noticed here. The papers stated what was happening, but very few ventured to prophesy as to the future of the Conference. Had it ended then, very little surprise would have been expressed; in fact nothing else seemed possible, for one of the fundamental reasons for holding the Conference was threatened with destruction. Such an abrupt termination then would have brought Lloyd George in for a vast amount of criticism, a great deal of it adverse. For it would have meant that though he had called the Conference into being, he was proving himself unable to carry it on. His star which had seemed to shine in greater glory than ever before when the Conference first met, would have clouded over, perhaps never to shine so brightly again. For some kind of international agreement must be arrived at, and if Lloyd George cannot bring this about, then some other figure must arise in European history who can. The report that he had known of the Treaty between Russia and Germany, knew also it was going to be signed when it was, received a most emphatic denial from him. It was evident that while most countries knew of the negotiations going on between the Soviet Government and Germany, not one of the delegates at Genoa had contemplated for one moment the completion of such negotiations and the signing of a treaty that would alter the face of European affairs without the consent of the Conference, or even consultation of it.

However, the sittings were resumed, with Germany shut out of their discussions that deal with Russia. But the spirit of the Conference has changed. Suspicion

has given place to knowledge, and the hope of good things coming to birth from this international meeting had dwindled considerably. The havoc the storm wrought remains. May 31st is now looked upon as the crucial day. M. Poincare, the French Premier, speaking on April 24th, said that if on May 31st Germany had not fulfilled the obligations due from her, and the Allies were unwilling to participate, France would act alone. A rumour is abroad now that Hungary is negotiating a secret treaty with Russia, but while the rumour is on everyone's lips, little credence is given to it.

Dublin joined in the South and West Ireland one-day strike, which took place this week end. Work of every description was suspended, with the exception of the necessary public health services. Transport of all kinds came to a standstill, and each part of Ireland stood isolated from the other. Schools were closed and even the municipal offices shared in the cessation of labour. The Irish Labour Party proclaimed the strike as a protest against the despotic armed forces of a section of Irishmen. The success of it was sufficient evidence of Ireland's approval of it. The strike was specially remarkable in that it obtained the co-operation of large sections of the community of all classes, who, under ordinary circumstances, would never have dreamed of joining forces with the Labour Party. But Labour's organised non-violent protest against the military forces taking command of the civil life of the country without responsibility to the people of the country, found an echo in the hearts and minds of the majority of the Irish people, who crave now a time of peace to enable them to reconstruct their nation on its new basis.

The milk crisis apparently came to an end last week. A round-table conference was held between producers and distributors, and certain prices were fixed as being just and equitable. However, the farmers in at least ten counties are dissatisfied with the prices agreed upon, and propose once again to hold up supplies. The milk thus refused to the big cities is to be diverted into cheese making. Some of the protesting farmers propose to form a combine, embark upon an advertising campaign, fix a standard quality and give it a distinctive trade mark. Considering the enormous amount of cheese imported into this country yearly, the new English cheese industry should find a good and profitable market here, but whether the country as a whole will benefit by it remains to be seen. In the recent campaign against allowing England to produce C. 3. people, milk as an article of food was insisted upon for nourishment for young and growing children. It is rich in that most precious and much advertised quality, vitamins, and while cheese as a product of milk will still possess this valuable quality, infants and young children cannot digest it, so that it is useless in that form to them. It has been proved that a whole series of diseases, often fatal in young children are due to lack of vitamin in the diet. These are now called "deficiency diseases" and to avoid, or overcome them, a sufficiency of milk is considered by most medical experts a necessity. All this then makes it doubtful if some form of Government interference in the milk trouble will not be called for, and a price for it be fixed at what will be acceptable to the farmer, so that a supply of milk at a reasonable price to the masses be assured.

A party of people, known as the Industrial Workers of the World, the latter an American labour organization, is passing through England just now on its way to Siberia. The party numbers about 68 persons, of whom 8 only are women. It is reported from America that some 6,000 more workers are to follow, and all are to take up their abode near the Ural border in a place called the Kousnety

basin. The climate there is very severe, and though some years ago, during the Czarist regime an attempt to open this part of the country was made nothing of any importance was concluded, so these people go as pioneers to unoccupied and comfortless territory. A concession from the Soviet Government has been granted to them, the terms of which are, quite unique. In exchange for food and necessities, clothing and material for working the districts, all the product of their labour during the first year is to be handed over to the Soviet Government. After the first year one half is to be given over, the other half is to be distributed amongst the little community of settlers. It is not proposed that the community should become agricultural, but should exploit the natural mineral resources of the place, report having endowed this district with rich coal fields and possibly gold.

On Sunday last was celebrated St. George's day. Saint George, as everyone knows, is the patron saint of England. The dedication of this day first took place about 700 years ago, and through all the changing times that England, during hundreds of years, has seen, some observance of this day has been kept. In honour of it this year, flags and roses were sold in Windsor in aid of local charities. Special services were held in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and St. Paul's Cathedral London. At Windsor the service was attended by members of the Royal family, the Military Knights of Windsor and the Mayor and corporation of Windsor, all wore uniform or robes of office. At St. Paul's, the Lord Mayor, and sheriffs attended in state. Canon Newbolt, who preached the sermon in St. Paul's, referred to the dragons in English life to-day that have to be slain, specially emphasising the evil of the Divorce Court with its ever-increasing number of cases to be heard. "Go home and slay the dragon within," he said, "the dragon of lust, murder, dishonesty, things hateful in the sight of God, and an insult to our conception of what is meant by an 'Englishman'." Most of the people present in St. Paul's wore red and white roses, the flower emblem of the day.

An influential meeting organized by the Income-Tax Payers' Society took place at the Mansion House on Monday. With absolute unanimity the gathering approved a resolution demanding an immediate and substantial reduction in the rate of income-tax and further economies in national expenditure. In a speech made by Lord Inchcape, we were warned that at the present rate of expenditure and taxation we should in a short time find ourselves in national and individual bankruptcy. "The heads of the spending departments and their officials," he said, "have only succeeded in persuading the Cabinet to adopt reductions of £64,000,000, instead of what must be, and can be £100,000,000; and so we go on, our revenue can never balance our expenditure. Are you, and is the country willing, that this vital issue of economy be made the football either of party politics or of departmental pride and intrigue? It is up to you, to the entire nation, to insist upon drastic reductions in expenditure. If we do not get a great diminution in expenditure we shall get no appreciable reduction in taxation on anything like sound lines. The first line of a country's defence and of defence of civilized life was solvency. At present we are slithering down an inclined plane of prodigality and indebtedness that will lead us, unless we act promptly and resolutely, in the ditch."

Parliament reassembles this week and the Cabinet Council on the Budget proposals will be heard on Thursday. During this week it is possible a good deal will be heard in the House about expenditure, as some of the proposals of the Geddes' Committee are to come up for discussion.

LORD BUDDHA'S ANNIVERSARY.

(From the *Bombay Chronicle*.)

At the Madhav Bang on Wednesday evening a public meeting was held to celebrate the birthday anniversary of Gautama Buddha. There were *bhajans* and songs in the beginning. Mr. K. Natarajan presided. The meeting was a representative one, including members of most of the communities in the city.

Mr. Natarajan said it was very strange that Indians should not celebrate the life of the greatest Indian and the greatest man ever known, namely, the illustrious Lord Buddha. The receiving of a poem from a Mysore lady had reminded him of this and he had at once written to the venerable Anagarika Dhammapala at Calcutta and the latter at once wrote an encouraging letter to the speaker, naming the day on which the anniversary fell, and they were thankful to Dr. A. L. Nair for the arrangements made for that gathering. He welcomed the Japanese friends present at the meeting, on behalf of them all. He hoped that they would celebrate this annual event not only in Bombay, but in every city throughout this country.

MR. A. H. HYDARI.

Mr. A. H. Hydari said it might be news to them that as an orthodox Moslem he should revere and adore Buddha. His teachings had reached Europe through Arabic books and he was revered as a saint, both by the Moslems and Christians. Buddha had inspired the best art they had ever produced. The speaker had shown a European author the paintings of Ajanta and he had told him that they were as great works of genius as any of Michael Angelo. Because their religious art was so great and because he inspired it, he asked the Indians to revere the greatest Indian ever born in this country.

THE CULT OF LOVE.

Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas was glad that the teachings of Buddha had not been yet forgotten by them. His greatest teaching was his love of men, and it was the misery of men—his love of humanity, that led him to renounce the world, with a view to relieve humanity. If he had loved humanity a little less he might not have been so successful in finding out a solution—the solution of Nirvana. His real teaching was love of humanity and his teaching had affected the lives of many of them.

BEST WEAPON AGAINST CASTE.

Mr. G. K. Devdhar said Buddha's great teachings were likely to be of great use to them at this juncture of their national life. There were scores of their countrymen now living, whose fallen condition would not but bring tears to their eyes. It was Buddha who called himself their friend to their countrymen of the depressed classes, were treated worse than dogs, especially in Southern India. Buddha's teachings would be of the greatest help to them in raising their depressed brethren. Let us shed the insolence of superiority of caste from our hearts, said Mr. Devdhar, and lift up the fallen in the light of Buddha's teachings.

JAPANESE CONSUL'S SPEECH.

The Japanese Consul, Mr. E. Naita, said he was thankful to the President and the Indians present there for the hospitality and friendship extend to him and the Japanese present there. He was from Japan where many of their Buddhist friends must have gathered that very day to celebrate the occasion. The Japanese had, therefore, accepted the invitation and come to the meeting and they felt as if they were in Japan amongst their own friends. The Japanese would be very glad because Indians had extended hospitality to them. It was needless for him to review the history of Buddha and Indo-Japanese relations from the Buddhist point of view. Japan had made remarkable progress in every line of her national life and for that progress she owed much to the spirit

of Buddhism which came from India to Japan. They, in Japan, would be very gratified at the friendly relations between the Japanese and Indians. He was a Japanese and he was glad to be united with them. He was glad to be present at the meeting and he was thankful to them for their hospitality on behalf of his friends and himself.

Mr. G. B. Trivedi and Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer also spoke.

SWAMI SATYADEV.

Swami Satyadev said they would not have fallen so low, if they had not given up Buddhism. He asked them to study the teachings of Buddha. Never was there so much tolerance as under the Emperor Asoka. That was the grand beauty of Buddhism. It was Buddha who liberated women, as no other religious preacher had done. Buddha had shown the way to the fallen, raised them, encouraged them and taken them to his heart. Fallen women or fallen men were the same to him. He was their saviour. Buddha had spread his teachings throughout the world by means of his missionaries. His teachings to-day were as applicable as they were 2,500 years ago. Because they had given up Buddhism they had fallen so low, and they would get swaraj when they would embrace that religion again. He hoped to devote the next few years of his life to the spread of Buddhism.

MR. M. R. JAYAKAR.

Mr. Jayakar said he was glad to have such a gathering as that where persons of all kinds of political opinions were present. They had in their midst the Japanese Consul and Mr. Jayakar emphasised the need of such occasions being revived, because mankind and humanity honoured those virtues in dead men, for which they imprisoned living men. They must condemn such a practice. There was a great need in this country that the human belief and confidence, which they had always associated with Buddha should be revived. During the last two years India had seen those very virtues, which they all admired in Buddha, being imprisoned. They spoke of *Tyaga*, and complete self-effacement which they admired in the great Buddha. When they went to the root of certain events which had happened in this country, which they had carried in their minds, they would think that such an occasion as the present one was needed. They had to be member one or two things in that regard.

ASIATIC UNITY.

They wanted to make a beginning by making a little endeavour for constructing Asiatic unity. There was no harm in having as high ideals as possible and the presence of the Japanese gentlemen there was a good augury. Their best letter of introduction when they went to Japan, or to outside countries—was that they came from a country, the highest spirituality of which was embodied in the figure of Buddha. In course of time they wanted to find out the central medium which ran throughout all Asiatic countries. The unity of Asiatic countries had been denied from high quarters, because some of these were high and some low. The second principle was that conquest or capture could take place by tenderness and not by violence? What was the better way of capturing—tenderness or violence? That was the struggle of theirs. They were amidst the movement which typified that struggle. They must not judge of the success or otherwise of the great movement, from a tiny little part of a couple of years. They must have at least 200 years for that purpose. Fortunately the Indian Penal Code did not touch ambition and their ambition was that the psychological unity of Asia might be constructed by such efforts and that the virtues which they revered in dead men might be admired in living men. (Cheers).

With a vote of thanks by Mr. Narottam Morarji, who asked that subscription might be collected for the purpose of having a permanent society, the meeting terminated.

BOMBAY PROVINCIAL LIBERAL CONFERENCE.

The first Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference was held in Bombay on the 6th and 7th May, the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry presiding. The following is the presidential address.

THE RIGHT HON. SRINIVASA SASTRI'S ADDRESS.

(From the "Times of India.")

THE PRESENT SITUATION.

Mr. Sastri, who rose amid cheers said he would take as his subject the present situation, and what to do in the immediate future to relieve it. It was not his purpose at all to stir up dispute or utter a word which would embitter controversy, but certainly the Liberals had to make up their minds as to the character of the movement of which for the moment they saw the suspension. Now, the non-co-operation movement he would say at the outset had had the exceptional advantage of having from the very start functioned under the guidance of one whose character was above cavil and whose motives were beyond suspicion. (Applause.) Such a movement naturally enjoyed great advantage. He must give here an unaffected tribute to the way in which his great prestige and popularity were lent, although for the time being only, to the great social causes that they had all at heart. For example, the elevation of the depressed classes, the removal of untouchability, the question of temperance including prohibition, and the old comprehensive subject, no less dear to their hearts than to those of the others, of Swadeshi. This movement had caused destruction of much valuable property public and private, and the loss of many a life. It had indirectly been the means of the deprivation of the liberty of nearly twenty thousand of their fellow countrymen. It had strengthened the hands of the executive who now employed the forces of repression almost without restraint. It had increased, rather he would say, it had given more than a decent excuse for the maintenance and increase perhaps of the military burden on the land. It had caused an outburst of ill-feeling as between races and or between communities, almost unparalleled in the history of this sore-stricken land. Then, strange to say, that so far as his own Presidency was concerned, it had not merely imperilled as it might have in other parts of the country, but had torn up by the root such friendly understanding as had existed between Hindus and Mahomedans. Then, again, it had been the indirect occasion of manifesting to the world how their people, when excited by angry passions, could be guilty of acts of cruelty and barbarity, scarcely compatible with that character for spirituality which they wished to establish amongst the nations of the world, and scarcely compatible with the contribution which so many patriotic sons of India desired to make to the history of human civilization. Then again, strange as it might appear, it had enormously increased such slave mentality as existed before in this country.

DOCTRINE OF NEGATION.

It had demonstrated that their common people were lacking in the practical sense and political instinct which might protect them against, crude and unrestricted propaganda. Likewise, it had exhibited on a scale that he had never seen before the disparity between profession and practice—(hear, hear)—which one occasionally saw in political matters, but which in the case of the N. C. O. programme, involving as it did the boycott of schools and colleges, and courts and councils, and acclaimed by tens of thousands of people, was followed, happily enough from his point of view,

but unhappily from the point of view of national character by singularly little purpose. Then, it had produced amongst the people at large a curious psychology. Then, they had people young and old, villagers and townsmen, men and women, falling into the habit of excessive pessimism in their estimate of things, and on every occasion expressing their dissatisfaction by saying they must boycott, or withdraw, or non-co-operate or do nothing in fact—a doctrine which could not be described as anything else than a translation into their political life of the old Buddhist doctrine of perfect negation, detaching themselves from life by doing as little as possible and by adding nothing to their load or karma. That was the spirit which was abroad to-day, and he did not think it made a wholesome addition to national character or promised a much vigorous effort for their improvement in future. Then, it had spread a spirit of revolt and undermined those foundations which wise people were careful to instil—the foundations of obedience to law and order. Above all, his complaint against the movement was this. That starting with the idea of undeniable grievances from which the people suffered and for which Government were responsible, professing to hit Government and save the people, it had throughout its period of activity at every turn hit the people more and more, much like an ignorant mother who finding her child battered by his relatives brought it home and belaboured it still more for moving out of the house. That, it seemed to him, putting plus against the minus, was the balance of disadvantage wrought to the people by the N. C. O. movement.

LACK OF FAITH IN GOVERNMENT.

Anybody would see at once they could not have peace in the country till the grievances which caused annoyance and distress were removed, but Mr. Sastri pointed out that unhappily they were living under conditions when grievances had a way of fortifying themselves. When vested interests grew around them and when there were enormous facilities of propaganda, for good as well as evil, then they had the curious spectacle of generations of efforts being required before a grievance, acknowledged on all hands, could be removed. Among these grievances Mr. Sastri mentioned the exclusion of capable young lads from office in the military ranks, and said the worst of this state of things was that when repression removed a great movement like non-co-operation, it employed the weapon, commonly called terrorism. Public life fell below its usual level and the people were seized with a fit which looked like despondency, but which really approximated to a complete and entire hatred of things as they were. Now Government and its agents having for the moment accomplished the task were likely to mistake this apathy and construe it into a feeling of gratification or satisfaction or contentment. The truth however was that there was no real satisfaction. He had never known such profound distrust of Government as existed to-day, such absolute lack of faith in their sincerity, a rooted tendency to put aside all their pledges, promises and declarations as of no value whatever. Now, he would come to a question of great importance. The road to peace was by no means easy. It was blocked by such a serious thing as the imprisonment for various causes and for various terms of something like twenty thousand of their people several of them young and immature, led into ways of disorder, it might be, under a mistaken sense of patriotism, but young people, ardent, eager and animated by high purpose whose incarceration was causing a poignant feeling of distress all over the country. It was impossible to conceive of people falling into their normal ways of thought and act in the political and other matters, until something was done to reduce

this great volume of distress in the homes. Was it impossible? He did not think it was impossible by any means. They in Bombay had no great complaint to make in this regard but in other provinces like the United Provinces and Bengal and to some extent in Madras certain volunteer associations were proclaimed and young fellows were marched to the prison for belonging to them. He thought these were technical offences—offences which had been committed merely for the fun of it and in such cases the sooner the people were let off the better for society.

FURTHER ADVANCE.

Proceeding, Mr. Sastri submitted that the mind of India would refuse to rest satisfied if nothing was done in the constitutional direction almost immediately. He recognised the immediate necessity of a further advance of a constitutional character in their governmental arrangements. There were three ways proposed in which this might be accomplished. They differed somewhat in character. The first he had heard of from a very high authority was that without the people making a great demand either by deputation or by memorial or in any other way the Imperial authorities of Great Britain must be persuaded to offer provincial autonomy or Dominion status—whatever that was—to the people of India as an unsolicited boon. But was that possible? It struck him that there was not within the British Isles any statesman of such vast and unquestioned authority who would propose provincial autonomy and Dominion status to India and could really persuade his Cabinet or the Imperial Parliament to sanction. The next thing was this. Some people said let them by their own effort try and procure this further advance, for he was not aware of any one who asked for any further stages until provincial autonomy was reached. All of them were agreed that there should be only one further step in the matter and that they should get provincial autonomy at one stroke. People said why should India not unite together and make one tremendous effort at once and straight away to obtain the consummation? He was not sure that a thing of that kind was practicable. A proposal of that character was passed at the Allahabad meeting of the All-India Liberal Federation few months ago. Since then the boycott of the Prince of Wales assumed a strong phase and he could tell them from personal knowledge that that move on the part of their N. C. O. friends had estranged the sympathies of a good section even of their friends in Great Britain. It was not a thing for which he or the Liberal Party was responsible. He merely brought them news of the state of things existing there. Then England herself was on the eve probably of a general election. The time therefore was not particularly propitious for the success of a big effort such as perhaps they might be induced to make. It was none of their doing. The forces were there. They could only manipulate them and if it was not possible for them to attain success it was no blame to them; it only meant a slight postponement of their effort.

A CONVENTION AND A SCHEME.

Now, he would mention a somewhat more elaborate method of approaching the problem, a method compatible with the existing constitution, a method the success of which he should think was a little less certain than the success of the alternative methods he had just mentioned. That was the method of working the whole thing up through their electorate and through the legislatures which were the creatures of those electorates. The best plan was to educate their electorates, then, to go to them and talk to them about the necessity of their attaining provincial autonomy at one stroke. So his plan would be for each such legislature to

elect a few people, say, six men of the ripest experience and most sober judgment, to form a convention to which the Imperial legislature also contributed, and to charge it with the duty of framing a new constitution of India on the basis of the present one without the necessity of scrapping it, so that when it did produce a scheme it would represent the best wisdom and statesmanship available in India. When such a scheme came out of the ordeal of public discussion and criticism it would be really a wise, well-constructed scheme fitting in so admirably with the constitution that they already possessed, that it stood every chance of being accepted as practicable, proper and wise. Supposing further, to clinch the whole matter, if the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State acting together chose a deputation consisting of about ten men, whose names would command influence in English Parliamentary circles, and if they went up with a scheme of that kind, he knew of no statesman in England or of a political body of any eminence who would treat their representation either lightly or contemptuously.

FAILURE OF DIARCHY.

They all knew that the principle of diarchy was accepted by them under a sense of necessity. The system worked best in those provinces of India where the safeguards and the correctives upon which they insisted were most scrupulously observed. But in some places Governors, carried away by extra consciousness of their abilities, did not bring the two offices of the Government together as often as they should have done. Moreover, there was one thing, above all, which drew the harsh character of this dual government out and exhibited in a most glaring form. That was the visit of the Prince of Wales. He did not think there was any one there who desired it most enthusiastically. He certainly did not. He counselled against the visit as long as he could, but the visit came and what happened when the boycott of that visit was proclaimed by the non-co-operators? The result was that Government in order to make it a success against this opposition had to use all the arms in their control. They used all the repressive laws they could think of. The result was that even the liberal public and the moderate party stood out of that co-operation with Government in all that went to maintain law and order for which they had previously pledged their word. This had drawn into prominent relief the odious feature of diarchy. He mentioned this to show that through the action of Government itself the bad nature of diarchy had been brought out to the knowledge of everybody. Coming next to the Central Government, Mr. Sastri said he he was one of those who pressed with the greatest insistence on the introduction of a certain element of responsibility in that Government, and he very much wished at that time that the Government had yielded to their wishes and placed the Imperial and Provincial Governments on a more or less parallel footing. During the eighteen months that the reforms had been actually in operation the Government had not been using the weapon of safety administration which they had been allowed under the Act even in highly provocative conditions and the Viceroy had gone out of his way to assure people that he would not use this weapon. Where the Viceroy had a discretion he always exercised it in favour of extending the power of the legislature. The system therefore of no responsibility in the Central Government had had this extraordinary result, that instead of confining the power to one item or two as it would have been if they had had responsibility, their power extended over the whole range of the functions of the Central Government. Now this was a development which he had not drawn from his ingenuity. It had been drawn in from official quarters in England where their constitution, young as it was, was being studied with attention and sympathy. (Applause)

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were passed by the Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference—(a) That it is essential that effective measures should be taken on behalf of the Liberal Party to organise and educate the electorate of this Presidency.

(b) That with a view to carrying out the work as early as possible in an efficient and practical manner this Conference hereby appoints a Standing Working Committee consisting of the following with power to add to their number.

2. This Conference earnestly urges upon the Secretary of State for India and the British Parliament the necessity of accelerating the pace for the attainment of complete Self-Government and towards that end the taking of steps for the immediate introduction of

(i) full responsible Government in the Provinces and (ii) responsibility in the Central Government in all departments except the military, political and foreign.

3. This Conference declares its staunch adherence to the policy of attaining Self Government by constitutional means and is of opinion that towards that end it is essential that law and order and security of life and property should be maintained in the country by all legitimate means.

4. This Conference wishes to record its strong protest against the unfair treatment meted out to the Presidency of Bombay in the financial arrangement made under the Reforms with special reference to taking over as Imperial Revenues practically the whole of the growing income-tax revenue. To saddle a Province which contains two important industrial centres and two important sea-ports with the entire resultant cost of higher standards of efficiency in the direction of maintenance of law and order, improved sanitation, technical and other forms of education, etc., and to deprive it wholly of the sources of revenue which are largely fostered by such special expenditure, cannot but be regarded as wholly inequitable. This Conference is of opinion that it is necessary for a fair financial settlement that the Presidency of Bombay should have a substantial share of the growing income-tax revenue.

5. This Conference strongly urges that it is essential on the grounds both of progress and of economy, that the pace of Indianisation of the Services should be accelerated.

6. This Conference urges that the Government of Bombay will continue to make strenuous efforts to economise expenditure in the administration so that a financial equilibrium may be reached as early as possible and larger sums made available for nation-building department.

7. The Conference accords full support to the Resolutions adopted by the Indian Legislative Assembly in February last with regard to the equal status of Indians in South and East Africa and emphatically disapproves of the unfair policy foreshadowed by the Colonial Secretary in reference to the future administration of Kenya Colony as far as the rights and privileges of Indian settlers are concerned.

8. This Conference puts on record its deep appreciation of the great services rendered by Mr. Montagu to this country during the period of his official connection with it, as Secretary of State and regards his resignation as a misfortune to India. The Conference further expresses its conviction that any departure from his policy towards India will have dangerous political consequences.

UNTOUCHABILITY.

9. This Conference trusts that all possible efforts will be made to remove the stigma of untouchability which at present attaches to the so-called Depressed Classes and urges on the Government to make strong efforts for providing special facilities for education and equal chances of employment both to them and the backward classes.

10. Viewing with the greatest alarm the enormous growth of military expenditure during the last three years, which has been the principal cause of the unprecedented deficits in the budgets of the Central Government, necessitating the intolerable burden of new and enhanced taxation of 30 crores this Conference places on record its considered opinion that it is imperative to bring down that expenditure to the level of the pre-war period. Unless the Government of India makes strenuous efforts in this important direction there will be no escape from a condition of bankruptcy, wholly calamitous to the moral and material prosperity of the country and its people.

11. This Conference strongly supports the demands of the Indian Mussalmans in regard to the revision of the Peace Treaty with Turkey and urges upon Parliament the necessity of meeting the religious requirements of the Indian Moslem Community.

12. The Conference urges on the attention of Government as also the public the great need for accelerating the process of nation-building and in particular emphasizes the need for adequate financial provision for the following:—

(a) The spread of primary education on a steadily widening basis so as to meet the requirements of all sections of the people specially the communities still backward in education and the depressed or untouchable classes, accompanied by facilities of hostel, scholarships and free studentships; (b) Spread of industrial and technical instruction among the artisan classes; (c) Systematic improvement of agriculture in this presidency by expediting the construction of the larger irrigation works now proceeding, and by undertaking similar work; (d) Encouragement and stimulation of Cottage industries on co-operative lines which would supplement small agricultural incomes; (e) The development of forest and the exploitation of their products for industrial and commercial purposes.

THE PRESENT INDIAN SITUATION.

The following remarkable editorial is reprinted from the issue of the 4th May of the *Dnyanodaya* Anglo-Marathi Weekly, which bears on its title-page the imprint that it is the organ of seven Missions working in the area of the Bombay Representative Council of Missions, namely, American Marathi, American Presbyterian, Church of the Brethren, Methodist Episcopal, Swedish Alliance, United Free Church of Scotland and Wesleyan Missions.

INDIA'S ADVANCE TOWARDS SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Nearly two months have elapsed since Mr. Gandhi's arrest. Whatever the explanation of the wonderful calm that has prevailed in India since that event—and we know the various explanations advanced—we believe impartial students of the present Indian situation will conclude that such a calm affords some proof of India's advance towards fitness for self-government. We believe these two months have provided clear evidence that the discipline through which the Non-co-operation movement is passing is purifying it and that the deep differences of opinion manifesting themselves within the movement are leading it to a worthier conception of India's goal and of the methods of attaining it. All reports indicate that India's 'national week', which has already become 'India's sacrament', is genuinely regarded by many as 'a week of purification, self examination, sacrifice, exact discipline', the expression of a national resolve to lay hold of 'the inner anchor'. Non-co-operation leaders are clearly beginning to realize the significance of the fact that

their methods are opposed by the great mass of non-Brahmins and that their programme will lead India to nothing but a wilderness. One of the healthiest signs in this connection is the fact that various Provincial Congress Committees are feeling after a change in the Congress programme and are beginning to say that election to the governing Councils of the nation is the soundest policy, since it will enable them to influence Government from within. So say Mrs. C. R. Das in Bengal and some of the leaders at the recent Maharashtra Conference.

DEMANDS OF THE UNTOUCHABLES.

Our impression, in which we hope we are wrong, is that there is already a tendency to relegate to the background that which Mr. Gandhi regards as of prime importance; the recognition and reclamation of India's sixty million untouchables, though we gladly recognize that some noble-minded enthusiasts have expressed the hope that when Mr. Gandhi is again free he may find 'untouchability' a thing of the past. The untouchables themselves are now beginning to put to the acid test these professions of interest in them and are making their demands known, the chief of these being their right of entrance into India's temples and their right to draw water from the public wells. When India's sixty million outcasts are allowed to worship in the Hindu temple and to drink at the village well we shall hail the day as a triumph for the democratizing influence of the Christian religion. The closing of the temples of religion and the refusal of drinking water to one-fifth of India's population have always been a grave condemnation of Hinduism and the crowning proof that India had not yet learned the A. B. C. of true democracy. But the more discerning of India's leaders have resolved that these age-long wrongs must be righted and one of the best items of news for many a day has been the election of a Mahar untouchable to the Municipality of such a Hindu stronghold as Trimbak near Nasik. The effort thus being made to remove from India the stain of 'untouchability' is a constructive work which, though as yet far too spasmodic, is one of the most encouraging signs of the times.

GOVERNMENT CHRISTIAN AND UN-CHRISTIAN.

We do not desire to adopt an alarmist tone but the view of many people in India that India's calm means all is well, is, we believe, a mistaken one. Only those whose newspaper-reading is limited to a certain class of Anglo-Indian journals can cherish such a view, for the purely Indian journals of almost every class show that a profound discontent is pervading the land. No Christian can contemplate with equanimity the sad fact that over twenty thousand Indian citizens, most of them leaders and many of them educated well enough to speak English, are at present in prison for offences almost entirely political. We have stated again and again in these columns why we cannot agree with the parallel so often drawn between Jesus and the man who is adored by millions as India's greatest living saint, but it remains a fact that the greater part of his programme was not only inspired by Christian principles, but was in line with Britain's Christian purpose for India. The fact that his programme was mixed up with propaganda leading to disorder, thus compelling Government in some way or other to silence him for a time, should not be allowed to camouflage a deeper question, viz., whether the unchristian elements in the system of India's Government may not be responsible for the tragedy of Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment? In these columns we seek to represent the missionary and Indian Christian community who ought to embody the best conscience of India. Last week we gave the Christian view of one of the gravest defects in India's government, that relating to the liquor traffic. Another defect is the traffic in opium. Our observation of the Indian situation leads us to the conviction that in so far as India's government is Christian in its methods it has India's whole-hearted loyalty and that the present discontent is to be traced to the unchristian aspects of India's government.

INDIA'S UNDERGROUND DISCONTENT.

Mr. Gandhi acted as a steam-valve for India during his days of freedom, but there is much painful evidence that one result of his imprisonment has been to drive India's discontent underground. To much of this evidence, as it seems to us, some Anglo-Indian journals are turning a blind eye. No one, however, can read the accounts of India's national week or of India's solemn resolve to celebrate the 18th of every month, the date of Mr. Gandhi's sentence, or can note what is perhaps most significant of all, the new menace arising out of the attitude of India's women, without feeling that all is not well in India just now. If any one question the accuracy of our diagnosis we would call attention to the crowded meetings of Indian women, most inadequate reports of which are given in certain journals; to the political societies springing up among Indian women; to the lead that is being taken by the wives of imprisoned patriots; to the growingly bitter tone of addresses delivered by these women since Mr. Gandhi's arrest; to the increasing use of *khaddar* among women, simply because Mr. Gandhi requests them. It is not a good omen that there is just now manifest more bitterness among India's women than among the men, who as mixing in the world are less impracticable in politics. We have good reason to believe that one explanation of this bitterness among Indian women is the memory of the unmentionable outrages reported by the Congress committee of enquiry to have been committed on Indian women in the Punjab by British officers in 1919, reports that have not been denied, particularly the worst of them, and outrages for which the perpetrators, it is maintained, have not been adequately punished. We believe the Punjab outrages on Indian women have burned themselves ineffaceably into India's memory. The daily press supplies other evidence of India's disaffection. Why, for example, has Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, one of India's greatest sons, been so widely and so unjustly criticized?

THE REMEDY—(1) GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE.

All the information that reaches us through various channels convinces us of two things; first, that the situation is deeply disturbing; and second, that it is not beyond repair if wise and speedy measures are taken. What should those measures be? Among such measures we would put *first and foremost* the calling of a conference by Government, a conference at which every community in India should be represented and at which Mr. Gandhi should attend, for now that Government have re-established public order there could be no possibility of Government being counted weak by the calling of such a conference, all parties at which should previously agree to bind themselves by its findings. Mr. Sastri's suggestion about Dominion Autonomy for India, might well provide a basis of discussion, for the probable alternative to such a conference is the growth in influence of the Indian extremists.

(2) FRIENDLINESS, COURTESY AND HELP.

The second remedy we would urge is that everyone anxious for India's good, whether Indians or foreigners, should resolve to show more and more friendliness and courtesy in all social relationships. This means that Britishers and other foreigners must adopt a less patronizing attitude towards every Indian and must increasingly identify themselves with the latter's point of view and aspirations. It means also that Indians of all classes must give up their suspiciousness and must try to believe that Britishers really desire to help India and neither to ill-treat nor exploit her. All the evidence that reaches us convinces us that such a mission of friendliness would perform wonders in India, and that Indians would quickly respond to European friendliness, while Europeans would appreciate more than words can tell a new determination to co-operate with them. In this connection we would especially commend the new association for adult education recently started in Bombay city with a committee drawn from the various communities.

(3) THE MESSAGE OF MISSIONS AND CHURCHES.

Thirdly, recent evidence has shown that India is probably more kindly disposed than ever towards the Indian Christian Church and its missionary work, Mrs. Naidu's presence and her tribute at the Pandita Ramabai meeting and Mr. Natarajan's presence and his tributes at both that meeting and the earlier one held in honour of a senior missionary supplying proofs of this kindly attitude. We would therefore urge Churches and Missions all over India to prosecute their programmes with redoubled energy, teaching incessantly that Christ alone can satisfy India's need.

INDIA'S GIGANTIC TASK.

How imperative the need for co-operation between all sections of people was demonstrated by a reply given in the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council. In reply to three questions by Mr. S. T. Kambli of Dharwar the Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, Minister for Education, stated that out of 28,056 villages in the Presidency, no less than 23,594 were without a primary school, 2,769 of the villages having a population of 500 or more. If these 23,000 villages are to be provided with schools and their children assured a chance in life it seems that Government and people, missionaries and Churches need to join forces and eliminate the terrible poison of Non-co-operation from India's body politic.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Communications addressed to the Editor if they are not used, will be destroyed unless postage stamps are sent with the request that they should be returned.
S. D. Nadkarni :—Declined.

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Reserve Fund	" 72,50,000.

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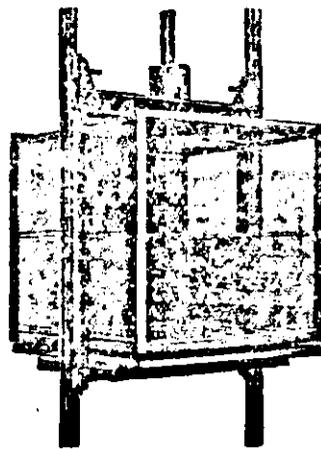
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Vol. XXXII.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MAY 21, 1922.

No. 38

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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—:—

Is it a Massacre? For several months past, the British Government tried to come to a settlement with the Governments at Constantinople and Angora. Their representatives were invited to London. The Paris Conference, at which the negotiations were to be resumed, was precluded by the publication of the despatch of the Government of India, strongly espousing the Indian Mahomedan point of view and urging a settlement consonant with it, and the resignation of Mr. Montagu. The controversy arising out of Mr. Montagu's resignation on the eve of the Paris Conference, disclosed that the Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon, who was to attend the Conference on behalf of Great Britain, held views about the right of the Government, the Mahomedans, and the people of India generally to have any voice in the Turkish question, which roused the liveliest apprehensions in this country. For several days, the country was plunged in anxious suspense which was only partially relieved by the Viceroy's declaration at Peshawar that he was satisfied that the British Government's attitude was not such as to raise any question between it and His Excellency's Government. The Paris Conference met and dispersed without result, and it was generally regarded as having failed of its object in bringing about a settlement of the Turkish question. The Genoa Conference immediately supervened, and public attention was amused and distracted by its performances from day to day. Now that this diversion is about to end, a fresh sensation has been caused by the discovery that the Angora Government has massacred 10,000 Greeks and that a Commission should be sent out to investigate the matter. Coming as it does when the negotiations with Angora had failed, we are unable to avoid a suspicion that political as much as humanitarian considerations have some part in this sudden discovery. When did the massacre take place? Before or after the Paris Conference? Where did it take place and how? When did Lord Curzon come to know of it? What is the Commission to investigate? English newspaper correspondents, as the example of the Editor of the *Times* at Genoa shows, are no longer regarded as trustworthy in matters concerning their own country, and we are unable to credit them with exceptional accuracy or impartiality where Turkey and Mahomedans are concerned. Of course, it will be a horrible thing if the massacre had taken place. Apart from the heinousness of it, the Angora leaders do not seem to be such arrant fools as to

present Lord Curzon with such an opportune massacre at the moment when the goodwill of the civilised world is of so much importance to them. The Turks have unfortunately been associated with massacres for nearly a century past in the European mind, and nothing was likely to catch its imagination so well as the story of a new massacre of Christians. The refusal of the United States to accept the British invitation to appoint a representative on the proposed investigation Commission, is not without significance.

The Retrenchment Committee: Lord Inchcape has accepted the Chairmanship of the proposed Retrenchment Committee to overhaul the expenditure of the Government of India and, we hope, Provincial Governments, and the name of other members and the terms of reference are expected to be announced shortly. The Committee will be of no practical use as a means of effecting retrenchment—it may conceivably end by advising additional expenditure—unless the terms of reference are wide enough to cover every part of the administration and to allow of recommendations for its complete redistribution and reorganization. If they are such as to restrict the Committee to a consideration of what economies can be effected in the system as it is, nothing more can be expected than the saving of a few crores by abolishing posts in the subordinate ranks held by Indians. Retrenchment to be effective in rehabilitating our finances, can be accomplished only by getting as much as possible of local administration done by voluntary agency, by employing Indians on reasonably reduced scales of remuneration to do much of the work that cannot be so transferred, and by strictly restricting the employment of Europeans, on liberal salaries which require no pensions to make them attractive, for limited periods and expressly for training Indians, to those superior posts for which Indians of sufficient experience and training are not available in British India or the Indian States. This triple reform can be accomplished only by a redistribution of the present provinces into smaller units containing from 5 to 8 or 10 million of population speaking a single vernacular. Thus, there may be five or six Hindi provinces, two or three Marathi provinces and so on. To group all those who speak a vernacular in one province, has the defect of introducing great inequality in the size of provincial units, and, what we consider to be worse, that of tending to harden each linguistic group into a separate sub-nation. These new provinces we would designate States as in America, in order to fit in with the Indian States together with which they will ultimately federate in an Indian Commonwealth. These provinces should have Governors elected by their Legislatures for five years on salaries fixed by the Legislatures. The position of Governor-General of India should be separated from that of Viceroy, the latter dignity being devolved by rotation every year on one of our great Indian princes—Mahomedan, Hindu and Sikh. In this way, the example of a large economy can be set in the highest quarter, while enhancing the dignity, splendour and hospitality

of the Viceroyalty which will thus become wholly national. We cannot in the space of a paragraph, meant merely as the barest outline of a scheme, indicate all the implications of economy of these few large measures. It is intended to interest every class of our people in the effort to make the administration a much-appreciated asset instead of a heavy recurring liability of the country.

Godspeed to Mr. Sastri: If it is true that the Government of India looked askance at the project of Mr. Srinivasa Sastry's tour to the Dominions and only acquiesced in it under pressure of the India Office, those of us who had expressed doubts about its necessity and expediency at the present juncture, cannot do less than follow the example of His Excellency the Viceroy who did not allow the prior objections of his Government to come in the way of his giving Mr. Sastry a hearty send-off at a farewell banquet given in his honour. The best treatment of domiciled Indians—there is of course no question of re-opening the issue of free immigration anywhere—in the Dominions is not so perfect that Mr. Sastry would be at a loss, in any of those that he visits, for material for his good offices. A study of Privy Council reports, we are told, discloses some cases in Australia of invidious legal disabilities in regard to Indians. In New Zealand, only recently, there was the case of Dr. Mapilal who was refused enrolment as an Advocate in the High Court of that Colony. As for Canada, *Social Welfare* (Toronto) received last week, publishes the report of a Committee on "the Oriental Situation in British Columbia" which has been presented to and adopted by the General Ministerial Association of Vancouver, which is evidently a Christian clerical body interested in social work. This report, while it emphasises the importance of the Chinese and Japanese questions, treats of the Indian issue as one of rapidly diminishing importance. "Sikhs, or Hindus, as they are commonly called, the third group of Oriental extraction in British Columbia," says the report, "represent a small diminishing body, numbering now, it is believed less than two thousand in all. Since immigration was stopped in 1908, more than half of the original number have returned to India or gone elsewhere, probably some three thousand or more, carrying with them, in some cases, disaffected feelings on the score of their treatment." It is to be remembered, it adds, that not only further contingents of males, but Sikh or Hindu women, including wives, were barred admission, by the nature of the conditions imposed, making compliance practically impossible. Referring to the ill-fated attempt of the Komagata Maru to break through these restrictions, the Committee remark that "apart from the political bearings the effort failed. Some change has been made, within the past two or three years, but the practical effect has been nil." That is true so far as Canada was concerned, but if the present political situation in the Punjab is closely examined, the Komagata Maru affair will be found, we think, to have been one of great significance. The Committee leave the topic there merely calling attention to the fact that it is one which, on account of its bearings on India, was and is of significance for the whole Empire. That these are not the most numerous or most serious of Indian grievances in the self-governing Dominions, should not and does not detract from the value of Mr. Sastry's mission to get them removed. Though we continue to be of the opinion that the presence of a Liberal leader of his rare candour, courage and ability, is more needed in India than anywhere else at this juncture; now that he is going, we are sure that the unanimous good wishes of the country follow him in his great mission. The Dominions which he visits, we are equally sure, have far more political sense than to mistake the differences in this country on internal affairs, for indifference in any

section of opinion to the absolute necessity of securing equal citizenship with their white neighbours for Indians domiciled in them in all respects.

The U. P. Liberals and Non-Co-operation: The *Leader* prints in its issue of the 13th May the speeches of the President, Mr. A. P. Sen, Mr. Gokarnath Misra and Babu Bisheshvar Nath Srivasta at the Lucknow Liberal League. The President in his speech dwelt on the failure of the principal items of the Non-Co-operation programme and remarked that "all that remains is the constructive programme which has little or nothing to do with Non-Co-operation and with many items of which we are in complete sympathy." He proceeded to say that Non-Co-operation had something to its credit:

It has roused the conscience of the people in a very large measure. A number of people have set before them a very high ideal of self-sacrifice which is the chief glory of Mahatma Gandhi's personal example. People are being attracted towards simpler form of life. As the leader of a movement of social purity and simplicity, Mr. Gandhi stands pre-eminent. But we may be forgiven for doubting the safety of his political guidance.

To our mind, these achievements to the credit of Non-Co-operators have a very profound bearing on politics, though Mr. Sen seems to think otherwise. A pure and simple life, an awakened conscience, and a high ideal of self-sacrifice, are more valuable foundations of a sound political and social life than a knowledge of the chapter and verse for each item of the Montagu reforms. Mr. Sen appealed to his friends of the Non-Co-operation party "to reconsider their position and to pursue constitutional methods with all their wonted vigour, energy and self-sacrifice. If they will bring all their resources to the task of orderly progress they will hasten the day of Swaraj on which the eyes of all of us are fixed." This is the right and patriotic way of dealing with dissentients. Mr. Sen noted that with the decline of Non-Co-operation and the resignation of Mr. Montagu, reactionaries were again raising their heads. He admonished his own party "to throw off their slumber and to come into the arena of public life and vigorously carry out their duties in the present critical state of the country." Mr. Misra severely condemned the way in which Non-Co-operators were being dealt with by the authorities, while Babu Srivasta denounced as high-handed and illegal the arrest of 55 persons of the Provincial Congress Committee at Allahabad while holding a meeting of the Committee. The Lucknow Liberals do not evidently take the short-sighted view that Non-Co-operationists have to thank themselves for any oppression practised on them and that they as Liberals were not called upon to protect them from it.

Scuttling: The *Hitavada*, Liberal weekly of Nagpur, suggests that those who do not agree with the Non-Co-operation programme, should leave the Congress. On the same reasoning, it may be urged that those who are dissatisfied with dyarchy should walk out of the British Empire, and that those who do not approve of caste should give up Hinduism. This has never been our view, and it is not a far-sighted or patriotic view. We hold that there is no room for more than one Indian political party in the country till full responsible Government is attained, and as our oldest institution the Congress has the first claim upon the adhesion of every Indian. We have from the first held that the Liberal party has a place mainly as a second chamber of our non-official Parliament, and we feel to-day that the strength and power of the Congress as well as of the Liberals stand in danger of diminution if there is not a certain amount of correlation between them.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 21, 1922.

MR. SASTRY OF THE EMPIRE.

Until Disraeli educated English statesmanship in them, Empire and imperialism were sinister words in English thought. The ideas represented so abrupt a departure from English political tradition that Morley carefully records almost the very spot and moment of their birth on English soil. "On midsummer day (in 1872)," he says in his life of Gladstone, "he (Disraeli) essayed at the Crystal Palace a higher flight, and first struck the imperialist note." The year before, it may be noted, Bismarck had forced on the king of Prussia against his angry protests at Versailles the ill-fated title of German Emperor. The stream of English tradition against Imperialism prior to Disraeli is to be seen flowing clear and strong in English literature and history. The spirited little poem, *Boadicea*, is one of the first things Indian scholars learn in English literature. There they read :

Rome for empire far renowned,
Tramples on a thousand states,
But soon her pride shall kiss the ground,
Hark the Gaul is at her gates !

Gibbon concludes his three wonderful opening chapters of "the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," descriptive of the golden age when it was at the height of its prosperity and splendour, by remarking that the division of Europe into a number of independent States, connected, however, with each other, by the general resemblance of religion, language and manners, is productive of the most beneficial consequences to the liberty of mankind. But, he continues,

the empire of the Romans filled the world, and when the empire fell into the hands of a single person, the world became a safe and dreary prison for his enemies. The slave of Imperial despotism, whether he was condemned to drag his gilded chain in Rome and the senate, or to wear out a life of exile on the barren rock of Seriphus or the frozen banks of the Danube, expected his fate in silent despair. To resist was fatal, and it was impossible to fly. On every side he was encompassed with a vast extent of sea and land, which he could never hope to traverse without being discovered, seized and restored to his irritated master. Beyond the frontiers, his anxious view could discover nothing, except the ocean, inhospitable deserts, hostile tribes of barbarians of fierce manners and unknown language, or dependent kings who would gladly purchase the emperor's protection by the sacrifice of an obnoxious fugitive. "Wherever you are," said Cicero to the exiled Marcellus, "remember that you are equally within the power of the conqueror."

The ancient English ideal of freedom was hard to reconcile with imperialism, however prosperous and successful the latter might be for the time being. The strong opposition which Disraeli's measure to confer the Imperial title on the British sovereign encountered in and out of Parliament is well-known. The English adopted imperialism but they found serious practical difficulties in applying it to any part of their "Empire" except India. The British Colonies won't have it and the other non-British possessions were too

primitive, backward and dispersed to provide a decent basis for an Empire; In India alone was a people whose geographical, historical and political conditions rendered the establishment of an Empire not only possible among them but also acceptable to them.

These reflections are prompted by the declaration of his faith in the British Empire which the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry took occasion to make in acknowledging the toast of his health proposed by the Viceroy in the farewell banquet to which His Excellency entertained him at Delhi. Mr. Sastri is vexed that "this Britannic Commonwealth of Nations is not always best understood by the Englishman so as to feel the great influence of this Commonwealth and to feel also its benevolence in full." It is because the Englishman at heart is too much a lover of freedom to worship whole-heartedly at the shrine of any Empire, even his own. This esoteric significance of the Empire, to which Mr. Sastry has obtained the clue, he is anxious to proclaim far and wide even though he has been criticised every now and then for his excess of enthusiasm to the ideals, and his unquenchable faith in the future of the British Empire. True to the Hindu traditional precept which deprecates enquiry into the origin of Rishis and Rivers, lest no doubt the reverence due to them may be shaken by the turbidity of their sources, Mr. Sastri rules out of court "our petty measures and our small things" in regard to "the serious imperfections and flaws in the ways in which this Commonwealth has been built up or in the way in which it is now held together." In plain language, it means: "Never mind how the Empire was won or how it is kept going. Sufficient it is an Empire and it is a sacrilege to apply our moral tests to a thing so sublime." Against this characteristically levitical view, let us set that of a great English exponent of the philosophy of History. Let us quote a few sentences of Lord Acton :

Whatever a man's notions of these later centuries are, such, in the main, the man himself will be. Under the name of History, they cover the articles of his philosophic, his religious, and his political creed. They give his measure; they denote his character: and, as praise is the shipwreck of historians, his preferences betray him more than his aversions. . . . If we lower our standard in history, we cannot uphold it in Church or State.

Perhaps, in his present role of "practical statesman," Mr. Sastry will be inclined to defer to Burke more than to Acton. And what did Burke say? "The principles of true politics are those of morality enlarged; and I neither now do, nor ever will admit of any other." It is an ill service to the Empire to prevent Englishmen, in the words of their own best historian, "to learn from undisguised and genuine records to look with remorse upon the past" as a necessary preliminary to looking "to the future with assured hope of better things." Said Mr. Sastry :

It (the Empire) stands for the reconciliation of the East and the West, the bringing together in happy harmony the people of varied races and varied complexions, the blending together under one law, under one Sovereign, under one Imperial Parliament, people of adverse nationalities, various cultures hitherto felt in many another political organizations to be irreconcilable and never under one flag.

It has been remarked that the mistaken rendering of a phrase which meant all men ought to be equal into "all men are equal," precipitated the French Revolution. If Mr. Sastry had said that some of the things he predicates of the Empire "ought to be" its attributes, no reasonable person would dissent from him. The blending together under one law, one Sovereign, of people of adverse nationalities and various cultures, was even better achieved under the Roman than the British flag. Mr. Sastry ought to revise his Gibbon during his long sea voyage. Says the historian :

The obedience of the Roman world was uniform, voluntary and permanent. The vanquished nations, blended into one great people, resigned the hope, even the wish, of resuming their independence, and scarcely considered their own existence as distinct from the existence of Rome. The established authority of the emperors pervaded without an effort the wide extent of their dominions, and was exercised with the same facility on the banks of the Thames, or of the Nile, as on those of the Tiber. The legions were destined to serve against the public enemy, and the civil magistrate seldom required the aid of a military force. In this state of general security, the leisure as well as opulence both of the prince and the people, were devoted to improve and adorn the Roman Empire.

Would a future Gibbon fifteen hundred years hence be able to say as much of the British Empire to-day? It stands for the reconciliation of the East and West, says Mr. Sastri. But the Roman Empire not only stood for but actually achieved the reconciling of the antagonism of East and West whereas that antagonism to-day is nowhere more rife than in the British Empire, and in India. As for bringing together in happy harmony varied races and complexions, while the "bringing together" is a fact, the "happy harmony" is a postprandial fancy. It is the absence of it that is the cause of Mr. Sastry's mission. Having regard to the absence of modern means of communication, the Roman Empire in its palmiest days was politically and morally a greater achievement than the British Empire to-day. Mr. Sastry's test is not thus borne out by facts, and must be accepted, as he does, as an article of faith.

Has the British Empire, then, no special purpose and function to fulfil which can be established as logical propositions? Lord Morley thought that the permanence of the Roman Empire was only valuable to mankind because it ensured the spread of Greek philosophy and Christianity. There was another and more immediate service which it rendered—it carried the reign of law wherever it went. We do not know what ultimately will be the best benefit which mankind will derive from the British Empire. But it is clear that the immediate practical service it can best render is the extension of responsible Government, which is its own special discovery, to lands where such a system has been hitherto unknown. Mr. Sastry generalises from the self-governing Dominions to the whole Empire. As a matter of fact, the self-governing Dominions occupy a special position which only ignorance or self-delusion will fail to differentiate from that of India and the Crown Colonies. To be in the League of Nations, or

to be represented at Washington and Geneva, does not make India a self-governing Dominion with equal status with Canada and Australia. There are certain definite attributes belonging to self-governing Dominions which notoriously do not belong to India, and the possession of which alone will endow her with equal status with these Dominions. So far, full responsible Government has been extended only to parts of the British Commonwealth which, in the words of Sir Charles Lucas, the English, with or without other European races, have peopled. (Diarchy is not it but a travesty of it, as Mr. Sastry himself must acknowledge.) The theory, in fact, is that the English carry with them this right of responsible Government wherever they go. The possession of full responsible Government by the present Dominions and Newfoundland, cannot, therefore, be regarded as any special service to mankind. The acid test of that is what England has done and is doing in India. No one is so simple now to claim the introduction of railways, telegraphs, irrigation and famine relief, as special benefits of British rule. Sir Charles Lucas has conclusively killed the school of imperialists which used this argument. He writes :

All these material benefits, however, flow in a greater or less degree from the establishment of any strong Government which maintains law and order, and uses civilised machinery with vigour and effect. They may be grown under a German system as under English administration, and they are compatible with a rule of force and with absence of any vestige of freedom.

Freedom! That is the test by which the British Empire will be judged by the historian. Will any historian be able to say of 1921-22, when over 20,000 persons are in jail for what Mr. Sastry himself calls technical offences, that India then was in the enjoyment of a large measure of freedom as an equal member of the British Commonwealth? If it is urged that the country is not fit for full responsible Government after over a hundred years of British rule, it only shows that either that rule has been unwilling or unable to impart the capacity for it to the Indian people. The truth is that there has been no serious intention during these years to impart self-Government to India. If there was any, India would have qualified much earlier for responsible Government. Reconciling of East and West and harmonising of races and colours, are vague phrases without any definite meaning. Full responsible Government is a tangible thing which every Indian can understand, without the gift of the will to believe, which Mr. Sastry possesses in such ample measure. Four Empires have disappeared in the last few years—the German, the Russian, the Austrian and the Turkish. In their own day, there were orators who idealised them as highly as Mr. Sastry does the only surviving Empire. No doubt, the very fact of its survival shows that it embodies some principle of vitality which is peculiar to itself. It should be the wish of all whose lot is cast within the Empire to nourish that principle into an ever-increasingly fuller life. But we doubt if this is best done by fulsome panegyrics which only blunt our political consciences to the widespread miseries and hardships that are to-day the sinister obverse of the Empire in India. Flattery is not friendship.

THE PERSON OF JESUS CHRIST.*

I

(By DR. J. N. FARQUHAR.)

1. I am no Church dignitary; yet I should like to express my opinion on the supremely practical question which the writer raises as to whether men and women who cannot fully accept the creeds may be received to full membership in the Church. Personally, I should be much inclined to go further than the writer desiderates, and to say that every man and every woman who truly accept Jesus as *Lord*, and are eager to make Him the Rule, Guide and Inspiration of their daily lives, are qualified for full membership in the Christian Church, even if they be not yet fully convinced that Jesus is the Eternal Son of God. That seems to be all that Christ Himself asks in Matth. XVI. 24; and from I. Cor. XII. 3 and Phil. II. 11; it is clear that the words "Jesus Christ is Lord" were regarded in Paul's day as a full confession of Christian Faith. It is my belief that the man who faithfully lives with Jesus as Lord will be gradually led by his practical experience to a full perception of the transcendent significance of the person of Christ.

2. As to the question of the application of modern historical criticism to the New Testament, there can be but one answer. The books of the New Testament, as documents which the Christian uses for the establishing of the history of the earliest age of Christianity, must be submitted, like similar documents in other religions, to modern historical criticism; for the methods of this criticism have proved themselves tools which enable men to reach historical truths. This does not mean that we must accept every judgment expressed by a critical scholar: as in other domains, only those results which stand the fire of the fiercest cross-criticism and finally approve themselves to critical scholars generally, can claim acceptance from us.

3. It is quite true that in the words of Jesus contained in the Synoptic Gospels, there is no passage which states in clear unmistakable terms that He is the eternal Son of God, or that He had been for a long stretch of time in the bosom of the Father before He was born of Mary. Thus far historical criticism may be said to have gone with surety.

But, mark, there are several variant inferences which men may draw from this hard fact. Some at once jump to the conclusion that Jesus was simply an ethical theist, like a modern Unitarian, or that in His faith He was like one of the greater Hebrew prophets, only with a loftier ethic, a wider outlook and a deeper insight into the relation of God to man.

But loyalty to historical criticism must at this point give us pause. Clearly, to decide what Jesus believed about Himself on the basis of a single *negative* result of criticism would be a serious offence against criticism. We must gather together every utterance and act in the Synoptics that is likely to throw light on

* In our issue of 12th March, a letter signed "A Disciple of Jesus" was published containing several questions, with a special reference to Dr. Farquhar to answer them. Dr. Farquhar sends us this article and regrets that, owing to illness, he was not able to respond earlier. We publish it with pleasure. Ed.—I. S. R.

the question at issue; so that our judgment may be based on all the historical evidence available.

This task, clearly, cannot be adequately undertaken in a short article such as this; but we may summarize the masses of evidence that bear on the question and see in what direction it tends to lead us.

(a) Jesus regarded Himself as the "the Son" in relation to God, "the Father"; "the Son of Man" as being the Messiah sent by His Father to plant the kingdom of God on earth; and the Servant of God as fulfilling in His character, life and work the prophecies about *the Servant of Jehovah* in Isaiah.

(b) He held that His mission was of transcendent significance and importance for the world.

(c) He declared in the most explicit language possible that His work is universal, meant for the whole human family. He brings a message that is for all men; He stands in close personal relation to all men; He is the living example for all men; He dies as a ransom for men; and He will be our Judge.

(d) He sets His own authority above that of the Old Testament, re-writing its commandments, and declaring that its teaching and its prophecies alike find their fulfilment in Him. He declared that He has authority on earth to forgive sin; He calls Himself the Lord of the Sabbath; and, on one occasion at least, He acted as the Lord of the Temple in Jerusalem.†

(e) He summoned His followers to make a complete personal surrender of themselves to Him, to love Him far more deeply than mother, father, wife or child, to confess Him publicly, to live in perfect loyalty to Him and to accept torture, loss or death itself rather than be guilty of unfaithfulness. In loss of life for His cause they would win eternal life.

4. The history of critical scholarship in recent times in relation to the Person of Christ is extremely interesting and instructive.

(a) Twenty years ago some of the chief critical scholars were inclined to say that Jesus did not believe himself to be the Messiah; and leading Aramaic scholars declared that the phrase "the Son of Man" could mean only "the man", and had no supernatural significance whatever. The study of Jewish Apocalyptic literature has now made it quite impossible to hold this view. In the Book of Daniel and in the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, which was current in Christ's day, the phrase not only designates the Messiah but represents him as a superhuman person. In some of the passages in the Synoptics in which the phrase occurs, the reference to these Apocalyptic passages is quite plain; while in others the exposition of the phrase as meaning merely *the man* or *man* empties them of all real meaning. Thus it is now freely acknowledged by critics that He regarded Himself as the Son of Man of the Apocalyptic books.

(b) Another line of critical advance has led to the acknowledgement by the very greatest scholars that, while Jesus thought of Himself as the Messiah, His Messianic consciousness was subordinate in importance

† Note in this connection that He held Himself to be greater than the Temple, Matt. XII. 6.

and posterior in time, to His consciousness that He was the Son. He seems to have used the phrase *The Son of God* Himself very seldom, if at all; but He was accustomed to call Himself *the Son* in relation to the Father. That this great conviction was prior to His consciousness of Messianism is clear from many indications. Here we need only note the narratives of the Baptism and the Temptation, and the wonderful story of His boyhood. The question, of course, remains *what did He mean by The Son?*

(c) Scholarship has also come to the conclusion that Jesus applied to Himself the great passages in *Isaiah* in which the Servant of Jahveh is prophetically described. To this fact is due the extraordinary change which the conception of the Messiah as usually pictured in the Old Testament underwent in the mind of Jesus. Arms, world-conquest and the earthly throne have completely disappeared; and meekness, suffering, self-sacrifice and death as 'a ransom for many' have taken the vacant place. Jesus regarded Himself as the Messiah, because He was the Introducer of the Kingdom of God, but He found His character as the Messiah in the Servant of Jahveh.*

These are great gains. The strictest critical scholarship recognises that Jesus believed Himself to be "the Son," the Messianic "Son of Man," and "the Servant of Jahveh," and drew His conceptions of Himself from the noblest passages of the Old Testament and of the Apocalyptic books.

SEDITION IN INDIAN STATES.

(BY MR. G. R. ABHYANKAR.)

The Government of Bombay have by an executive order modified the definition of Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code so as to include the ruler or the Government of any state in India in addition to His Majesty's Government, established by law in British India and extended this provision to all agency areas in the Presidency, namely, Kolhapur, Kathiawar, Mahikantha, Rewakantha and Palanpur. This order purports to be based on the authority of the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order-in-Council promulgated by His Majesty in 1902. We fail to see what occasion there was to issue this order unless it was at the pressing request of the Indian Rulers. The Bombay Government have not made this clear in their notification. Obviously, we cannot believe that it was at the instance of Government themselves. The propriety of such an order is highly questionable at the present time when the Indian Legislature is made entirely responsible to Indian opinion. His Majesty would be ill advised to issue any order directly in conflict with the wishes of the Government of India which is the chief central authority in this country. This question engaged the attention of Government and was thoroughly discussed by Dr.

* The triumphal entry into Jerusalem was clearly planned by Jesus in order to teach, in the most emphatic way possible, those of His followers who believed Him to be the Messiah, that His kingship was based on meekness and not on militarism. Similarly, He cleansed the Temple, but His only weapon was His moral authority. The scourge of small cords was purely a symbol.

Sapra's Committee and their recommendations were accepted by Government in the form of the repeal of the Press Act. The Committee had observed "we do not think that we should be justified in recommending on general grounds any enactment in the Penal Code or elsewhere for the purpose of affording such protection in the absence of evidence to prove the practical necessity for such provision of the law." We do not know whether any additional evidence was adduced before His Majesty for giving this much-coveted protection to Indian princes in defiance of the considered opinion of the Press law Committee. Further we fail to see why the initiative in this matter has been taken by the Provincial Government. Coming as the notification does on the heels of the repealing Act of Press laws, the Bombay Government was bound to explain the reasons which justified them in taking such an arbitrary and drastic measure against the liberties of subjects, living under British protection in the Agency areas.

There are three jurisdictions which are to be considered in dealing with the problem of sedition against the Indian States. Firstly, there is the jurisdiction of the Indian States. In their own territories the Indian princes are absolute masters and can pass any law which their sweet will may desire, affecting the interest and liberties of their subjects. But such laws can only be enforced against those who are living within the limits of the respective states. If persons living in British India commit the offence of sedition against the Indian States the rulers of such states are helpless to prosecute the offenders. Section 124A is not an extraditable offence. Some of the Indian princes were told made an audacious suggestion of including section 124A in the schedule of the Extradition Act. But no English statesman would ever countenance a proposal fundamentally opposed to the canons of International law. The British Government did not concede this presumptuous request of including sedition in the list of extradition offences. The repeal of the Press Act has removed the semblance of protection which the Indian princes thought was afforded by British Indian Legislature. As the law at present stands the Indian Princes cannot claim any protection within the limits of British India. This is the second jurisdiction of the three referred to above. The third jurisdiction is of Agency areas. The position of Agency areas is not exactly that of British India. The Chief executive authority in such areas is British. The personnel of the executive consists of political officers appointed by the British Government. The laws in force are those made applicable in British India. But they are not theoretically passed by the Indian Legislature. His Majesty has assumed jurisdiction in these areas "by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance and other lawful means to determine the laws and procedure with or without modification which are in force elsewhere or otherwise." The laws therefore in force in Civil stations of Agency areas are the creations of the executive power vested in His Majesty as the Emperor of India. But the paramount consideration in the exercise of this power is not to violate the cardinal principles of

British rule. The Civil Stations though quasi-British in their legal character are to all intents and purposes regarded as British territory by all those who have resorted to them. Subjects of Indian States and British subjects are residing in these civil stations and agency areas because they think that they can enjoy security of person and property under British protection. Many of them have invested their fortunes in industrial and financial concerns. Still more are carrying on agriculture and commerce and have reared up vested interests in the full confidence that they would not be molested in the enjoyment of their properties and their rights by the arbitrary acts of despotic rulers. Is it therefore just and wise under these circumstances to extend the definition of sedition so as to endanger their lives and properties at the sweet will of an Indian Prince? If the ruler of a state alleges that an inhabitant of the Agency area has committed the offence of sedition against his state, he will be hauled up before the Agency Court and his fate will be almost sealed; knowing as we do the capability of these political officers for the exercise of judicial functions and the great friendliness they bear to the rulers of Indian States. The notification, therefore, of the Government of Bombay is fraught with the greatest danger to the liberties of the subjects of the Agency areas. It is viewed with very great apprehension by all of them and has created intense feeling of insecurity in the people.

But before Government gave this protection to the Indian rulers, what guarantees have they imposed upon these rulers for a legitimate and proper criticism of their rule and for the redress of the untold wrongs under which their helpless subjects are labouring? There is no press, much less any influential press, in any Indian State. There are no institutions like the Legislative Councils where the subjects can voice their grievances. The ruler is absolute in his dominions. The subjects are treated as aliens. They are not associated with the Government in any capacity. There is no platform from which the subjects can ventilate their wrongs. Is it not, therefore, imperatively necessary that the rulers should provide means through which the subjects, as a matter of right, can claim redress of the wrongs before the Princes can pretend to claim protection for their injured innocence? If any one wants protection it is certainly not the Indian ruler but his unfortunate subjects. It is, therefore, passing comprehension that the enlightened British Government should run to the rescue of these despotic rulers with such solicitude without imposing any conditions on them to safeguard the rights of their subjects or of those who are interested in them or of those who sympathise with their cause. The inevitable result of this notification would be to make the rulers still more despotic and to uproot any agitation for the betterment of the subjects carried on in the Agency areas. The foreign jurisdiction Order-in-Council refers to the foreign jurisdiction Act. But the spirit of this Act is entirely opposed to the trial of political offences against other jurisdictions. Why should His Majesty's Government take such an arbitrary step,

militating against the accepted principles of international law? The Government we are forced to conclude have been swayed by the *ex parte* representations of the Indian rulers and have not at all cared to safeguard the interests of the subjects of the Indian States, who too with equal justice and emphasis are entitled to claim protection at the hands of the paramount power. We respectfully invite the attention of His Excellency Lord Reading to this notification as we hope and trust that a jurist of his eminence will be able to see the highly unjust character of this notification, its direct conflict with the accepted doctrines of international law and the disastrous consequences which it will entail upon the subjects of Indian States. We, therefore, fervently appeal to His Excellency to abrogate this notification as early as possible.

AGRARIAN DISCONTENT IN MALABAR.

(By MR. H. ANANTAKRISHNA.)

OBSOLETE FEUDALISM.

The Land System in Malabar is strikingly reminiscent of the general features of Medieval Feudalism in Europe with its implications of military tenure, sub-ifeudation, unfree villeinage and the centralization of political power in the hands of various tenants-in-chief. Tradition has it that the proprietary right of the landowner of an ancient demesne originated with the bestowal of absolute rights (*âchandrarka* : as long as Sun and Moon exist) by Parasurama, the legendary conqueror, after his extirpation of Kshatriyas *en masse*; and this gift of land to the New Nobility dotted the country with independent principalities which assumed gradually the role of an *imperium in imperio* under the rule of the Perumals, now fighting one another for self-aggrandizement, now organizing a coalition for self-defence against a strong and aggressive neighbour like the Rajah of Cochin or Travancore. The greater tenants-in-chief like the Kolathiries of Chirakkal, the Rajahs of Kadathnad and Kottayam, represent even now the old tradition in North Malabar, even as the Zamorin of Calicut and the Rajah of Palghat continue it in South Malabar. Side by side with these greater tenants-in-chief, the existence of a priestly landed class, called Nambudiris whose title rested on the generous assignment of land by Parasurama as free gift, provided the necessary advisory body and check against any arbitrary use of military power on the part of the greater barons.

Thus pitted against one another, the greater tenants-in-chief had to organize a permanent militia which ought to be cheap and efficient at the same time. They, in consequence, had to parcel out their lands in small lots to their men within their respective jurisdiction on "Karam Kari" and "Adima Yavana" tenures which stipulated military service on requisition and the enjoyment of the economies of their fief without let or hindrance, the payment of tax in case alienation by escheat or outright transfer takes place. Consequently, a large phalanx of able-bodied fighting men; recruited and trained in *Kalaries*

(school for training cadets), constituted the middle-class, pledged to do service at call. These Nayagars or Nairs held large and extensive fiefs rent-free and were exerting immense influence in their respective domains, by the creation of subservient tenantry, serviceable working classes as Cherumas and Pulayas in liveries of serfs, and by the organization of the professionals as washermen, barbers, potters into subservient social units by the assignment of fiefs in provision for their services. Similarly, the Brahmia landlords also created and organized a feudal social system within their jurisdiction, the interest of every unit being subordinated to the greater interests of the Jenmi, their rights and privileges definitely stipulated on their entering into the occupancy right of their plot of land.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS OF TENANCY.

This type of social arrangement on a feudal basis did not continue long and the disintegrating elements as the influx of foreign settlers, the introduction of metallic money as the mechanism of exchange, the beginnings of foreign trade and the advent of Law Courts and civil jurisprudence were making their influence felt and creating a chaotic conflict of feudal privileges and equity Law. The larger Jenmies, however, adjusted themselves by leasing out lands on "Kanom" tenure which actually meant the receipt of loan from a prospective tenant, for the use of which the landowner authorized the tenant the privilege of enjoying the economies for 12 years, stipulating, of course, the payment of the surplus rent over and above the remuneration of labor and interest on capital advanced to the landlord. Thus the advent of the new tenancy on a different footing, was the cause of unprovoked evictions by force during the 19th century. Complications ensued; prices chased capital values of land; landowners had to meet heavy recurring expenses commensurate with their status; and being never businesslike, the helpless landowner utilized with a vengeance all his superior position to fleece out the hard-earned money of the distressed tenant, to provide himself with funds for his maintenance and upkeep. Originally advanced as a loan to the Jenmi, the "Kanom" amount incredibly low as it would appear in our days, had a high purchasing power in those days and the contention of the Jenmi that the tenant should surrender his land now on payment of the old debt as well as on receipt of compensation for improvements if any, does not stand to reason or our sense of equity. The tenant's personal interest in his holding and the sentiments imbibed by continuous occupancy right, were, in a large measure considerations for fraternising even with tyrannical exactions of the jenmi. And as a matter of fact, no tenant has ever thought it desirable to surrender his land even if his Kanom amount as well as compensation for improvements were satisfactorily settled. Thus the psychological aspect of landholding for the tenant has ever been a strong incentive to stick to his land even on impossible conditions, conditions that would gradually reduce him to destitute farm-laborer, on account of his indiscreet submission to his jenmi. In the course of the last 4 or 5 decades, the

smaller tenants have disappeared by almost 60% either through oppressive exactions or by the concentration of land in the hands of the capitalist, by the payment of abnormal premiums or by redemption of the land by the jenmies themselves.

A SANDELINED SQUIREARCHY.

Thus, we see now the Jenmies continuing to exist as flagrant anomalies and obsolete institutions, basing their claims with uncompromising tenacity on their technical proprietary right and ignoring the share of the tenant in the matter of improvements and of transferring barren plots into fertile and productive lands. His insistence on the specific performance of obsolete stipulations as contributions in kind and coin during the celebration of a daughter's marriage or son's thread ceremony, assumes the nature of a threat of actual eviction without consideration if not complied with. And if the jenmi is particularly interested in furthering the cause of self-government in India, he stands as a candidate for the Provincial Council and his election expenses have to be met by a graduated contribution from the already fleeced tenant. Then again, he organizes a Company of players "Kathakali" for instance, and expects all his well-to-do tenants to patronise the travelling company of players by turns, involving an expense of at least a hundred or two. All these extravagances with many besides, of the jenmi have to be shouldered by the tenant proportionately so much so the limit of perfect elasticity in the tenant's finances has always been over-reached. Then again, every renewal of of the lease once in twelve years provokes the cupidity of the jenmi in fixing prohibitive renewal fees, ranging even to Rs. 20 per para of sowing land. A tenant holding a plot of land, say one acre, with a gross yield of Rs. 120 per annum is insisted to pay on renewal a sum of Rs. 200 and the inroad that this depletion makes into his family budget as well as his necessities of efficiency as tools, oxen, seeds, etc., goes a long way in bringing about his economic ruin. Should he take it into his head to fight out his case in a law court, he is at an unequal fight with his more resourceful jenmi and the costliness of litigation and law's delays make him almost desperate, even if he wins his case. Many tenant litigants have made their families literal Golgothas by fighting out their claims right up to the High Court and Privy Council. The reckless extravagance of the jenmi not only encumbers his property with debt but ruins his tenants also in consequence.

TENANTS' CRUCIFIXION AND SALVATION.

But it is not every tenant that can afford to fight out his claim. The generality of them quite submissively surrender their land on intimidation or at the shock which the baptism in a law court necessarily produces. Fees, process, witnesses, battas, and goodness knows what else, are real bugbears to him, and in strange company he gradually has to sell himself to avoid being confined within the tentacles of an octopus. All the same, an impatient minority frequents civil courts and ever since 1906, there has been a phenomenal increase in the number of original suits, and suits for eviction, etc., so much so additional

Munsifs' Courts have become a regular feature in small towns even. There are about 2 dozen Munsifs' Courts in Malabar District alone as well as two District Courts, working in full swing. The natural inference from this is obvious enough, that the hard-earned earning of the tenant is sacrificed to satisfy the whimsical propensities of a blind and absentee landlord.

Naturally enough, when the tenant is dragged to answer satisfactorily the claims of the jenmi, he has to find ways and means and consequently, he mortgages his lands and gets loans on high rates of interest which, with depressing trade and high cost of production as well as high prices, intensifies his distress and makes him unable to pay off his debt from the scant earnings of his land. The capitalist steps in after two or three years, makes good his claim by getting a decree and evicts him from his hearth and home and thus finally he swells the ranks of laborers and destitutes. Thus the tenant, cornered by the rapacious jenmi, never recovers from the shock nor rallies from the discomfiture. More sinned against than sinning, how can he be expected to owe allegiance or have goodwill towards his land-lord?

OPPRESSORS OR SUPPORTERS?

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In the *Reformer* of the 14th instant, in the course of the leading article on 'the Bombay Liberal Conference' you say "that the people look on Non-Co-operators not as oppressors but as their sole supporters in their trials and tribulations," as a blunt fact by way of correcting a statement in the speech of the Rt. Honourable Srinivasa Sastri as President of the Liberal Conference... Sir, you assert it as a fact that people look upon the non-co-operators as supporters. If you will believe me, I have come in contact with numberless persons who look upon the N. C. O's (generally) not merely as oppressors but something more, and abundant evidence could be collected from Broach, Surat, Ahmedabad, Ajmere, Sangli, Bijapur, Shahapur etc. to substantiate my statement, [I mention only these places because I have personal experience of them]. It may be said without any fear of contradiction that wherever there are N. C. O's, there they all were looked upon as oppressors till Mr. Gandhi was imprisoned.

You say Sir, that people look upon the N. C. O's as supporters. Who are these meant to be understood by the term "people." Are they those who are opposed to Non-Co-operation such as the Liberals, the lauded proprietors, the aristocracy of the country, government servants and supporters of Government, Europeans and Anglo-Indians, the Non-Brahmins, the agriculturists, the backward and depressed classes etc. or are they such of those vakils and government servants who have left off their profession and become N. C. O's? If the term is meant to be applicable only to the latter, you are perfectly right, in what you say because they are supported by N. C. O's. To the former, N. C. O's are in one sense or other, oppressors.

Sir, the fact is that it is not a fact that people look upon the N. C. O's not as oppressors but as their sole supporters. Those who have suffered at the hands of N. C. O's are human beings partaking of the faults and virtues of humanity. They have not become touched with any extra divine spirit.

If one were to go into the villages one can hear any amount of stories of oppression employed by the N. C. O's to collect money for the Tilak Swarajya Fund. The way in which the N. C. O's treated those who went to the polls to vote during the election to the Legislative Councils, the way in which they were treated in front of the polls, not to speak of on their way to the polls, and the manner in which they were dealt with afterwards are too terrible. Instances of N. C. O's preventing the performance of *sraddha*, preventing the burial of dead bodies and socially boycotting those who have not relinquished their titles are not a few. Even in this very city of Bombay petty shop keepers and small merchants have been intimidated to close their business places during *hartal*. Is it not oppression to put millions of people into unnecessary inconvenience and trouble? Is it not oppression to prevent people from going to see the Prince of Wales or to punish them on their return for having gone to see the Prince? Is it not oppression to prevent persons from speaking on public platforms. Is it not oppression to deny to others the freedom to choose his dress, food, etc. Sir, I can mention the thousand and one ways in which the N. C. O's have oppressed and yet you say that the people look upon the N. C. O's as their supporters. I am not prepared to deny that there might be some who have been financially helped by the N. C. O's to look upon the N. C. O's as their supporters.

You also say that "they look upon every one who wears khadder as their true friend." Of course, those who are N. C. O's are forbidden to wear anything else but khadder. Therefore, those who wear khadder are looked upon as N. C. O's whether they are so or not. Those who look upon N. C. O's as their supporters will naturally look upon them as their true friend. It is but natural.

Since the N. C. O's programme has been altered from a destructive one to one of construction and visibly from imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi, an abatement in the oppressive attitude of N. C. O's is discernible. But to say that they (N. C. O's) are looked upon by the people as their supporters is a figment of imagination.

Girgaon,
14th May 1922.

N. V. SARMA.

[We publish Mr. Sarma's letter omitting personal reflections not relevant to the topic. Mr. Sastri has not been in India for several months, and if he took his information from Mr. Sarma, no further explanation is needed of his curious misjudgment of how Non-Co-operationists stand with the masses. We have known Mr. Sastri for many more years than our correspondent and we are sure that, if he were not going away again out of India, he would very soon revise his opinion in this respect. That is one main reason why we regret his present mission. Mr. Sarma asks us as to whom we meant by the "people." He would have found the answer in the article itself, if he had read it carefully. The "people" are neither the Liberals, landed proprietors, the aristocracy of the country &c., nor the Non-Co-operating lawyers to whom he refers. They are the ignorant, illiterate masses, with the little child's intuition for penetrating beyond appearances. We have never minced words in dealing with the excesses of Non-Co-operationists. But these excesses do not blind us to such a fact as, for example, that enormous crowds, a large proportion of them women, moved about in perfect order and safety at all hours of the day and that the attendance of delegates at the Ahmedabad Congress ran to thousands, while the Liberal Conference had an attendance of about 500 at its most crowded moment. Mr. Sarma may interpret it to mean how he likes, but we take it to mean that the masses have more faith in Non-Co-operators than in Liberals, and it is our duty to tell our readers the truth as we see it. We are sorry that it offends Mr. Sarma's susceptibilities, but we cannot help it.—Ed. I. S. R.]

FALSE PRETENSIONS.

The *Indian Mirror* of Calcutta, a zealous supporter of Government writes:—Some of our so-called Moderate contemporaries have been busy propagating the fiction that in consequence of the activity of the citizens' Protection League and the Anti-non-co-operation Society—we owe an apology to the former for bracketing them with the latter—there is a visible improvement in this political situation and a corresponding decline in the mischievous work of the non-co-operators. We think the simple truth is that owing to a variety of circumstances such as the absence of the leaders in jail, the efficiency of the measures taken by Government, and, above all, Mr. Gandhi's insistence upon non-violence, the non-co-operators have temporarily suspended their work probably to resume it at a more favourable opportunity. But as much money has been spent and is still being spent in carrying on the so-called loyalist propaganda, it is necessary for the leaders of this movement to make an attempt to impress upon its supporters that their money is being well spent and the labourers are worthy of their hire. That a large sum of money, contributed by a credulous and deluded public, is being spent in employing a number of agents some of whom have certainly seen the inside of a prison, may be freely admitted. But wild horses will not drive us to admit that the money is being well spent or that the contributors are not being duped.

WHAT INDIA THINKS.

THE BUDDHA ANNIVERSARY.

The triple anniversary of Lord Buddha on the 10th May, has evoked appreciative comments.

The *World and New Dispensation*, the Brahma weekly, writes:—We hail with joy the new spirit in this country which is becoming increasingly conscious of the presence of the living Buddha. This year simultaneous celebrations will be held not only at Calcutta, Bombay and other places but also at the old Buddhist centres, Kapilavastu, Bodh-Gaya and Kusinara. The new national movement in India, initiated by Mahatma Gandhi has somehow driven us nearer to Buddha and to the living, palpitating heart of long-suffering Hindusthan. Some years ago a scholar writing in the *Buddhist Review* observed:—"The future possibilities of its regeneration in India is tremendous. The Age of Buddha saw an all-complete, economic, artistic and political life, and yet pointed to life's goal as being purely spiritual.... Such an all-complete life of the world with its comprehensive outlook offering a complete programme of life and society must be the ideal of future India." These are significant signs of the times, and to us they are, verily, the presence and operation of the same Divine Spirit which resurrected Buddha in Keshub and Aghore, building up an abiding place for him in the sanctuary of the Navavidhan.

The *Sind Observer*, Karachi, observes:—It is the glory of Hindusthan that she tolerated his faith without adding the tragic glory of the Calvary, incorporated it, at a latter date, into her own time-old systems, and elevated him to the dignity of an Avatar. Those who hastily conclude that Hinduism has driven out Buddhism from the land of its birth talk without their book. All that is best in the second faith, which was of an essentially protestant and corrective nature, has stimulated and modified the Hindu faith of the later eras.

The political influence of Buddhism is remarkable, and here the specific contribution of the great Prophet of Kapilavastu and Kasi comes before us in its mighty volume. Outside India, the nations which embraced the faith that the Buddhist missionary taught came to look upon this country with filial

reverence. The "Land of our Lord" had a charm and a glory all its own to foreign eyes and ears. The great broadway of spiritual, intellectual and worldly commerce began, and the wilds of Central Asia as well as the scattered islands of the Eastern Archipelago came into the broad sweep of the new faith, which was followed by political and social conquest. Nor was the power and potency of Buddhism in building up this country less obvious. When kings and peoples were thinking in terms of kingdoms and clans, the Buddha's faith which penetrated the whole country within less than three hundred years, opened up new vistas—of wonderful empires and wonderful peoples. These were slowly covered by the "One Umbrella" of the Mauryans and the Andhrae. The passion for the diffusion of Buddhism created a wave of imperialism which sustained itself for a number of years—imperialism which was based, in however qualified a measure, on love and justice and truth. Slowly out of the scattered units of men and kingdoms of the earlier era was built by the faithful and healing hand of the Buddhist monk and the Buddhist monarch this great country we call India and the Indian People. And, therefore, now when we cast our eyes on the heirarchy of our nation-builders, let us reverently remember and salute the name and faith of the Great Buddha.

Have we not a lesson to learn to-day when we are asked to worship the Great Buddha? Born in purple, he died in yellow rags. A prince became a recluse. A kingdom he forsook to answer the call of the Inner Spirit. The Great Master lived Love and taught Love. He would give up his life as a sacrifice to the god of fire in place of an innocent sheep. Love and Sacrifice these, verily, are the bedrocks of all life, which rightly lived, must be Buddhistic. A great religion knows no boundaries of East and West, North and South. And there may come a day, when revived, the religion of the Buddha, which covers all what the Prophet of Nazareth stands for, may submerge the world under its benignant floods. Then peace and goodwill may reign among mankind, and all gates lead to the one Temple of Truth.

The *Servant*, Calcutta daily, writes:—Little over two thousand five hundred years ago Gautama Buddha entered the world on this sacred day of the *Baisakhi Purnima*. He is the great Avtar who took birth when decadence and formalism were eating into the vitals of Indian society and he it is who by a life of devotion and sacrifice taught the world to rise above narrow formulas and self-centred activities. The cult of *ahimsa*, as it is known to the human race to-day, may be said to be the direct result of his preachings. Long before the Prophet of Nazareth expounded his gospel of Love, Gautama Buddha, king and saint in one, had pointed out to a world that had turned its face away from the light of the first Aryan revelation how all the evils of human life could be conquered by love, and love alone. India, Japan, China, and Tibet to-day worship the Great Teacher; and, as the Bengalee poet has sung, we may well be proud that it was in our country that the Divinity in him unfolded Himself in order to open wide the path of salvation. To-day when the world is staggering from the effects of the moral palsy which overtook it as the result of the War, one may well appreciate how badly we stand in need of the lofty idealism of Prince Sidhartha and the spirit of tolerance and charity which he inculcated. In India we most of all require the strength and patience which Buddha, the strength to persevere and the patience to suffer, which are cardinal doctrines of the religion which Buddha gave to the world. May God give India the wisdom to follow the advice and example of one of her greatest sons!

New India, Madras daily, remarks: For more than a third of the human race, and for all who have learnt to revere the Great Teachers of the world irrespective of considerations of caste or creed, to-morrow will be a day of hallowed memory. As signifying the day on which the Buddha took Birth, attained Enlightenment, and passed away from this earth, it will be held in reverence wherever His Message has spread. In our own city, the Day will be celebrated by the Buddhist Association, in Bombay and in Calcutta, arrangements have also been made for such celebration, and in addition at the holy places sacred to Buddhism, at Kapilavastu, where the future Buddha took birth as Sidhartha 2546 years ago, at Buddha Gaya where He became the supremely Enlightened Buddha 2511 years ago, and at Kusinara where He passed away 2,466 years ago. It is but meet that on such an occasion the Buddha's Teachings should be recalled to our minds. These are fundamental truths underlying all religions, and all of us can bend our heads in humble reverence in memory of Him who made the Supreme Sacrifice through his measureless love of humanity. His message, expressed so beautifully in a foreign tongue by Sir Edwin Arnold still applies, and will at all time apply to all countries and nations.

THE PUNJAB SITUATION.

The political situation in the Punjab is causing anxiety all over the country. The official explanations are not considered satisfactory. An independent enquiry is demanded.

The *Leader*, Allahabad Liberal daily, writes:—Official statements and utterances have been emphasising the gravity of the situation in the Punjab and apprehensions have been expressed about the bursting of a storm. The authorities there have taken action of a drastic nature to maintain law and order and to bring the lawless elements under control. No reasonable person can take objection to legitimate means adopted to vindicate the supremacy of the law, but complaints are rife that excesses are once more being committed and, what is worse, humiliations being inflicted on the people there. Fifty-one members of the Punjab High Court Bar have issued a protest in which they state they cannot shut their eyes to the numerous complaints of excesses and illegalities committed by Government officials appearing in the press. A committee of enquiry consisting of a number of leading men of moderate views has been formed to investigate the allegations of official excesses and illegalities. Mr. K. Santanam in his presidential address at the Balata Conference has drawn up an impressive catalogue of illegalities, irregularities and even barbarities, perpetrated by the myrmidons of law, which, if substantially true, call for the severest condemnation. The Punjab officials, in spite of all that happened in the past, do not seem to have changed their nature. Making allowances for the difficulties of Government in dealing with organised defiance of authority by large bodies of people, it is impossible for us to view with equanimity deliberate acts of humiliation and cruelty perpetrated with a view to break the spirit of non-violent resisters and to overawe the people. Mr. Santanam states that a number of blank warrants are issued by the magistrates to police officials and the filling up of the names of the accused is left to their sweet will and pleasure. The Punjab police does not enjoy an enviable reputation for its methods and these blank warrants must be a great temptation in their way for terrorising and black-mailing the people. Mr. Santanam mentions instances in which a large number of persons were arrested and then let off after some days' detention without any charge being brought up against them. The irresponsible police have thus been made the masters of the situation and they appear to be having a jolly time of it.

The *Tribune*, Lahore daily, says:—The Government therefore, ought not to be surprised if a mere categorical denial on its part of certain doings ascribed to its own officials, fails to convince the people. What is wanted is an independent and sifting inquiry into the allegations, which have been made and repeated so often, an inquiry conducted by men in whom both the Government and the people have confidence and whose findings will command general acceptance. After giving instances of its "general sympathy with the movement for religious reform among the Sikhs," the Government proceeds to refer to the Akalis in significant words. In one word, the complaint of the Government amounts to this that the Akalis ought not to have associated themselves with Hindu and Mussalman non-co-operators, who are exploiting them for their own purposes, which, in the opinion of the Governor-in-Council, would mean a grave disaster to the "Sikh nation." Whether the Sikhs acted wisely or otherwise in joining the non-co-operation movement or whether it was in the interests of their community to have made common cause with the other communities must be left to the Sikhs themselves, who alone are the best judges as to what is and what is not conducive to the well-being and advancement of the "Sikh nation." Similarly, it is for the Sikhs themselves to decide whether their Hindu and Mussalman brethren are exploiting the Sikh community for their own ends. In spite of our differences with the non-co-operators, we have no hesitation in saying that the Government was extremely ill-advised to offer this unsolicited advice to the Sikhs, because the words quoted above are likely to be interpreted in that light and resented by the community to which they are addressed, as well as by the Hindus and the Mahomedans who are accused of having used the Sikhs for their own selfish ends.

The *Searchlight*, Patna tri-weekly, observes:—It has to be noted that apart from the political unrest that is common to the whole country the Punjab is witnessing, perhaps for the first time in this intense form, a reformatory unrest among the Sikhs and it is notorious that the Punjab Government had not the foresight to tackle even this religious movement with wisdom. A heap of burning coal has been poured on the head of the Akalis and it may be, as we verily believe it is so, that these latter have off and on been guilty of acts that cannot be permitted. It is, however, undoubted that the Gurudwara Prabhndak Committee have been exercising a restraining influence and it is well-known that it is not without a tussel that Government realised the necessity of treating with the Committee. Indeed the Committee are recently reported to have refused to negotiate with the Government on the ground that they have been guilty of a breach of faith by inaugurating the policy of repression in spite of an agreement between the two parties that "in order to produce the requisite atmosphere nothing should be done by either party to prejudice the chances of reconciliation." And above everything it may be regarded as an axiomatic truth that Government cannot restore respect for law by permitting lawlessness among their subordinates. The Government dealing with the Sikhs will perhaps remain as a momentous exhibition of bureaucratic purlblindness. To have driven a community that has been a valued asset to the administration on more than one occasion of grave emergency into an attitude of hostility is a feat worthy of the bureaucrat and intensely suggestive of the incline he is going down. What is true of the Punjab may any day become equally true of the other provinces and those who claimed for the reformed era the capacity to prevent official lawlessness would be showing elementary good sense if they recognised realities.

The *Bengalee*, Calcutta Liberal daily says:—The Punjab Government has issued an interesting resolution on the recent developments of the Akali movement in that province. The Akalis are a sort of nomadic Sikh preachers, resembling somewhat the "charans", who flourished among Hindu principalities in the olden days of Rajput chivalry. To them belongs, in a great measure, the credit of keeping undefiled the true spirit of the Sikh religion, customs, and institutions. That the Government have so far been able to draw upon the Sikhs for purposes of military recruitment is the result of the activities of the Akalis in keeping alive the traditions of martial ardour among this people. However, it is stated that, though the origin and growth of the movement have been attended with satisfactory results not so its subsequent history and later developments. We are told that an extreme section of Akalis carries on an agitation of a definitely revolutionary character and acts in complete defiance of law, order and authority. The Government are in duty bound to keep an anxious watch and ward over the movement of this section of the Akalis and vindicate the majesty of law. But, at the same time, it is also necessary that the Government should not countenance indiscriminate arrests without warrants and encourage the Police to err on the side of severity. Let it not be said that the accused have a foretaste of penalties inflicted with a vengeance before they are hauled up for trial. The Punjab Government have done well in clearing the air of misrepresentations by the publication of the resolution. The support of the sober section of the community must be enlisted on the side of law and order, for a slight loosening of these forces must mean a great injury to society. We trust the Punjab Government will now come forward to meet several serious charges that have been formulated by the President of the last Conference at Batala and disabuse the public mind of any suspicions that anything in the nature of oppression is being practised upon any section of the Akalis.

INDO-BRITISH RELATIONS.

Sir Montagu Webb's statement regarding the attitude of ill-will shown by Indian witnesses before the Fiscal Commission to British merchants and industrialists, has evoked comments. The *Bengalee* points out that the British members of the Commission have an excellent opportunity to show their goodwill towards Indians. Our contemporary writes :

If the widespread ill-feeling, to which Sir Montagu refers, is to be removed, the causes that have given rise to it should be probed and bold and vigorous efforts should be made to eradicate them in an effective manner. Any attempt to explain them away or to minimise their effects would, instead of removing the present bitterness, accentuate it and further add to the difficulties of the situation. We are among those who believe that the economic advance that patriotic Indians desire to bring about can be achieved by the joint efforts of both the communities working hand in hand in mutual co-operation, and not by any policy of exclusion or monopoly or preferential treatment. A serious responsibility thus rests with the Indian Fiscal Commission, especially its European members. Only if they are able to mould the future fiscal policy of India in such a way as to suit the interests of India and her people, can they expect that their recommendations will be of any material benefit to India and inspire public confidence. If this test is to be satisfied, the present fiscal system should be replaced by a policy of effective protection; the obnoxious excise duty on cotton goods manufactured in India should be entirely knocked on the head; the project of Imperial Preference, which is almost universally regarded as economically

unsound in its application to India, should be rejected; effective measures should be taken in order that the object of a policy of protection is not defeated by an unconditional flow of foreign capital into the country; the proposed organisation for investigating the claims of various industries to protection from time to time and for the periodical readjustment of tariff rates, if deemed necessary, should be constituted wholly on popular lines, instead of making it a bureaucratic body rendering it a fifth wheel in the coach; and, above all, fiscal autonomy, such as that is enjoyed by self-governing dominions of the British Empire, should be given to India.

Justice, Madras Non-Brahmin daily, observes:—Like Sir Montagu, we too have, in recent years, witnessed the growth of "widespread feelings of ill-will" towards British merchants and industrialists in various parts of the country. But we do not agree with him when he says that they are solely due to "deplorable misunderstandings" and "an imperfect appreciation of history and economic laws." On the contrary, we hold that a part at least of the responsibility for this regrettable state of affairs belongs to British merchants and industrialists as well. The latter have, more often than not, evinced an unsympathetic attitude towards the Indian industrialists; they have seldom shown a disposition either to mix with the Indians freely or to treat them fairly; and what is worse, there have even been occasions when they were known to have assumed a hostile attitude towards the efforts of Indians to start and promote industries in the country. In this connection we may refer to what happened at the time of the failure of a certain swadeshi bank started and run exclusively by Indians, a few years ago. It was said at the time that the European commercial community of a certain city became so jubilant over this unfortunate collapse of what was widely believed to be a sound banking concern that they at once got up a dinner in commemoration of the "great" event. We do not for one moment suggest that this spirit is typical of the European commercial community as a whole. On the other hand, we mention this incident simply to show that it is not the Indians alone who are to blame for the widespread feelings of ill-will towards the British merchants and industrialists that exist at present and of which Sir Montagu so bitterly complains.

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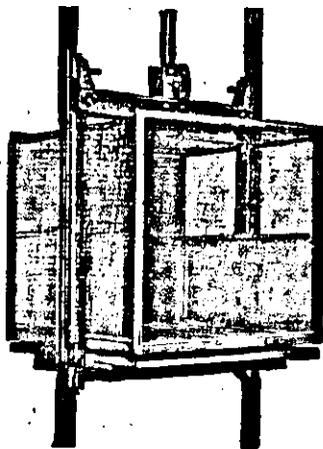
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Vol. XXXII.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, MAY 28, 1922.

No. 39

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excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

:01

The Sinking of the Egypt: The week opened with news of an unusual disaster. The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's steamer, *Egypt*, bringing mails to India, collided with the French steamer, *Seine*, in the English Channel, and sunk in twenty minutes. 218 of the crew and 29 passengers were saved, while 86 of the crew and 16 passengers lost their lives. 50 lascars were of this number. Almost simultaneously with the news of the disaster, the fomentors of racial trouble were at work disseminating the information that, but for the disgraceful behaviour of the lascars, every one on board might have been saved. This was, no doubt, followed by a message that authoritative opinion held that the sensational stories of the conduct of the lascars should be treated with great reserve, but such stories have continued to be repeated all the same. French accounts show that the excitement and confusion were not confined to the lascars, but were general among the passengers as well. The collision is said to have been due to a thick fog. The mystery as to how a comparatively small vessel could inflict a damage capable of sinking the *Egypt* in twenty minutes, is explained by the fact that the *Seine* was constructed specially for service in the ice-strewn Northern seas.

Distress in Malabar: The declaration by His Excellency the Governor of Madras, on the strength of a report from the Collector of Malabar, that there was no longer any appreciable distress in the area of disturbance, has been flatly contradicted by the Malabar Relief Committee, an entirely non-political body of which Mr. G. K. Deodhar is a Vice-President and the moving spirit in Bombay. In endorsing the Collector's testimony, Mr. Knapp who was special Commissioner in Malabar, had made reference to some information which he received from Mr. C. F. Andrews about Mopla distress, as having proved incorrect. Mr. Andrews writes to the papers stating what information he gave to Mr. Knapp, and asking why the report of the Committee sent into the interior by Government to investigate Mopla distress, has not been published. With reference to the first and second items of information mentioned in

Mr. Andrews' letter, which we print elsewhere, it will be remembered that the Government of Madras issued a communique threatening to prosecute Mrs. Sarojini Naidu for referring to them in a speech in Madras. Mrs. Naidu stuck to her statements. Happening to meet a high Madras official authority soon after, we enquired what Government proposed to do. We were told that Government had affidavits from the victims, which would be published, to the effect that they had been bribed by the Congress Committee to make the statements and that the injuries were caused by the Mopla rebels. This was nearly three months ago, and we have not seen these affidavits yet. We ventured a month ago to remind our authority of his promise, which really kept us from commenting on the atrocities, but have received no reply. No proceedings have been started up to date against Mrs. Naidu. Serious allegations regarding Police high-handedness in the affected area, are being publicly made by persons who have co-operated with Government in Malabar relief work.

Sindifying the Frontier: During Lord Curzon's time some five districts of the Punjab bordering on the North-Western frontier were torn off the province and constituted, with some tribal areas, into a Frontier province with a Chief Commissioner under the Government of India. The inhabitants of these districts, accustomed to the comparatively settled methods of the Punjab, have become sick of their separate province, and Sir Sivaswami Aiyar urged with great effect in the Legislative Assembly the need for their re-union with the Punjab. The Government have appointed the inevitable Committee which is now carrying on its enquiry. It is a pity that Sir Sivaswami himself has left India on his long-cherished tour in Europe and America, and that the Committee has to do without the benefit of his weighty and well-informed advocacy. We reprint to-day the evidence of Kazi Mir Ahmad Khan who strongly advocated the reunion of the districts to the Punjab. Confronted with a passage in an address presented to the Viceroy which bore his signature and in which it was declared that the people of these districts had no desire to merge their individuality in the Punjab, the Kazi Sahib disowned responsibility for the sentiment, and when pressed further, asked that he might be examined *in camera* on the point. He added that "he had to subscribe to that view" and that "the draft was made in the Deputy Commissioner's Office." The Chairman intervened and stopped further revelations. Mr. Samarth, who is a member of the Committee, asked the witness, since the Kazi Sahib objected that a Legislative Council for the Frontier province would be a glorified District Board, if it would suit him to have the five districts constituted into a Sind under the Punjab. The Kazi Sahib gave a non-committal answer. Is the Chief Commissionership of Sind regarded either in Sind or Bombay as being so superior to the Chief Commissionership of the present Frontier Province, that it would be an improvement upon it? The present province being directly under the Government of India, Sir Sivaswami was able to discuss its

administration in the Legislative Assembly. As a sub-province of the Punjab—itsself no conspicuous success—the five districts may find that they are worse off than as a separate province.

Sir Dinshah Wacha on Tariffs: Referring to the views expressed by Sir D. E. Wacha on Indian tariffs at the recent official Liberal Conference in Bombay, *New India*, Madras, remarks: "Those views seem to us to require revision, and at any rate, it is too soon yet to speak upon a fiscal question in dogmatic fashion, while the Commission entrusted with the task of suggesting a suitable policy for India, has not yet reported." Sir Dinshah, no doubt, knew when he spoke that Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola's Committee was at a very important and critical stage of its deliberations, even if he did not intend to throw his sword into the scale against those who are fighting for India's right to do what the British Dominions are freely doing. In the same article, *New India* takes exception to our statement that the majority in the Legislative Assembly which voted for keeping the import duty on cotton goods at its present rate of 21 per cent instead of 15 per cent which is the general tariff, was actuated by political rather than by financial reasons. It is obvious that no financial reason could have induced the Assembly to forego the increase of revenue from cotton goods, when there was a large deficit to be made good. The debate in the Assembly on the point has an air of unreality. The real reason was, perhaps, that the members somehow got to know that the Viceroy would not over-rule the Assembly's decision, while the new Secretary of State might insist on his using his veto, and that the result might be that Lord Reading might have to go. For our own part, we are not prepared to say that this was not a reason which the Legislative Assembly was entitled to act upon, if the members believed that Lord Reading was indispensable to India, but it is not ~~emphatically~~ a financial reason, and it is a political or, to be more exact, a personal reason.

Executive Councillors and Political Movements: The *Servant of India*, the Poona Liberal weekly, thinks that it has answered the objection to Members of the Executive Council taking part in political meetings, by asking why the point was not raised in the Conference when the names of the Subjects Committee were proposed. The *Tribune* of Lahore does not take such a superficial view of the matter. It observes:

The question which has been raised is novel so far as India is concerned and it is likely that the dangerous precedent established by Bombay may be followed in other provinces. And if Indian members of Provincial Executive Councils can take part in political Conferences, why not Indian members of the Viceroy's Council? The point raised is an important one and we hope either the Bombay Government or preferably the Government of India will issue a statement embodying their considered opinion and instructions for future guidance of all concerned.

We pointed out that, with the precedent set by the Indian members of the Bombay Executive Council, it will be difficult to protest against the European members running a European political movement in support of or in opposition to the Liberals. The issue is by no means inconceivable as a matter of practical politics. The matter cannot be allowed to remain where it is, and the Bombay Liberals are unlikely to take it up. The Non-Cooperationists are glad that the Liberal Party has so conclusively proved itself to be the party of the powers that be. The important point of principle is thus likely to be lost sight of unless the Press insists upon an authoritative declaration. This is the general position with which the country is confronted in most political questions now-a-days.

A Questionable Appointment: There has been no confirmation of the news of Dr. Dutta's appointment as Private Secretary to Lord Lytton which was evidently premature. Meanwhile, it is announced that Mr. H. E. A. Cotton has accepted the Presidentship of the Bengal Legislative Council vacated by Sir Shams-ul-Huda. An interesting controversy has arisen over this appointment, the *Englishman* and other Calcutta Anglo-Indian papers condemning it as a reflection on the fitness of Indians, and the *Bengalee* commending it as an acceptable blunder on such grounds as the following:

The worthy son of such a worthy father, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton has great love for India and he has worked hand in hand with the leaders of the Moderate party among whom he counts many close friends. He has worked assiduously for the Reforms and assisted in the inauguration of the new era, for which services Mr. Montagu conferred upon him last year a Companionship of the Indian Empire. Mr. Cotton writes very frequently in the English papers and reviews on Indian matters, and very often they throw a flood of light on many dark corners of Indian public life. Since 1920, Mr. Cotton has held the office of the Secretary of the Indian Reforms Committee, an organisation that now looks after Indian affairs in England in succession to the old British Committee of the Congress, now abolished.

In other words, in the *Bengalee's* opinion, although the appointment is a mistake from the public point of view it is a desirable one from the party standpoint, and in keeping with the recent tendencies of the Liberal party in some places, the former should give way to the latter. None of the reasons given by the *Bengalee* is relevant to the question whether the appointment is right or wrong in principle. Mr. Cotton's love of India may be shown in other ways, and his father's worthiness and his own close friendships with members of the Moderate party, are no reasons why he should be nominated President of the Legislative Council. The appointment, in fact, is most of all objectionable as detracting from the high disinterested tradition which India associates with Hume and Wedderburn, the great Indo-Britons who taught India to think politically. The only plausible reason which we can think of to justify the appointment is that Lord Lytton contemplates sweeping changes of policy for which he would like to have a certain modicum of English support in India, which he is not sure of getting without importations such as Mr. Cotton's. In that case, we should look out for a few more appointments of this character. From every other point of view—economy, efficiency, principle—there is nothing to be said for the appointment, and a good deal to be said against it.

The Retrenchment Committee. The terms of reference of the Retrenchment Committee were published last week. They are: "To make recommendations to the Government of India for effecting forthwith all possible reductions in the expenditure of the Central Government having regard especially to the present financial position and outlook. In so far as questions of policy are involved in the expenditure under discussion, these will be left for the exclusive consideration of the Government but it will be open to the Committee to review the expenditure and to indicate economies which might be effected if particular policies were either adopted, abandoned or modified." Our hope that the Provincial expenditure will also be included in the reference, has been fruitless. Policy is also excluded except as a subject of pious speculation. Under these circumstances, we have little hope of the Committee being able to make head against the dead wall of military and services expenditure. We think we can write a forecast of the Committee's report at once.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 28, 1922.

INTER-MARRIAGES AMONG HINDU CASTES.

The question of the legal validity of marriages between persons of different Hindu castes, has been settled, as regards one category of such inter-marriages, by the judgment of Sir Lalubhai Shah (Chief Justice Sir Norman Macleod concurring) in the case of Bai Gulab *vs.* Jivanlal Harilal reported in the first number of Volume XXIV of the Bombay Law Reporter. The effect of the judgment is to establish that in the Bombay Presidency the marriage of a man of a higher Hindu caste with a woman of a lower Hindu caste—the so-called *anuloma* marriage—is valid according to the Hindu law. *Anuloma* marriages were recognised as valid by ancient Hindu law-givers. Mann, Yajnavalkya and his commentator, Vijnaneshwara, and other authorities agree on the point and lay down the manner in which each such inter-marriage should be celebrated: "In marrying a girl of one's own class, the hand should be taken, according to the rules of one's own Grihya Sutra. A Kshatriya girl should hold an arrow, a Vaishya girl should hold a goad in her marriage with persons of higher classes. A Sudra girl should take hold of the end of the skirt." The object of these provisions can only be to make it plain to all those who witness the ceremony whether the bride is of the same caste as the bride-groom or of a different caste, and if the latter, which. So there was no question of a girl of a lower caste being passed off as one of the same caste as the man. The whole thing was to be plain and above board. Summing up the principal authorities on Hindu Law on the subject, Sir Lalubhai concludes that Yajnavalkya and Vijnaneshwara do not lay down any *prohibition* as distinguished from *disapproval* of marriages with girls of a lower caste. On the contrary, Mann, Yajnavalkya, Vijnaneshwara and Nilakanta are agreed that *anuloma* marriages are not prohibited. Then comes the most important part of the judgment. It is argued that such marriages are obsolete and must be taken to be prohibited by usage. Sir Lalubhai Shah grapples with this fallacy and overthrows it with great vigour and effect. His lordship's observations should be quoted :

I am unable to accept the view that because such marriages are obsolete they are illegal or prohibited by law. The prohibition must be found in the law-books or in the usage having the force of law. Such usage must be proved like any other fact. It may be that the fact of their being obsolete may render the proof of such usage easy. But in the present case not only is there no proof of such usage, but the evidence, such as it is, goes to show that such marriages are not treated as illegal or void by the castes concerned. It seems to me that far too much weight is sought to be placed upon the circumstance that the *anuloma* marriages are more or less obsolete. The opinions of Mann and Yajnavalkya and Vijnaneshwara and Nilkantha, if I may so, are fairly reflected in the general attitude of the castes in these matters.

This is shown clearly by the facts of the case on which his lordship was adjudicating as well as by numerous others that can be easily compiled from different parts of the country. In the present case, a girl born to a Visa Modh Bania of Surat by a Maratha woman who was in his keeping, was married to another Visa Modh Bania. The marriage was solemnised as a Bania marriage, was attended by a large number of Banias who dined with the couple both before and after the marriage. The girl had been brought up by her father as a Bania along with his children by a regular marriage, but there was and could have been no concealment about the circumstances of her origin, and the fact that the caste nevertheless recognised and accepted her as a Bania of the special sect of the father, shows that the broad spirit of the ancient law-givers is still alive in the conscience of the community. His lordship rightly describes the general attitude of the Hindu castes in the following passage in his judgment :

They approve of marriages within their respective circles and, generally speaking, disapprove of marriages outside their circles. They do not, however, necessarily refuse to recognise the marriages outside their circles but extend the same toleration socially to those who depart from the usual rule as the Smriti writers and the commentators have extended legally to *anuloma* marriages. The readiness on their part to recognise socially what is legally not prohibited, depends necessarily upon the circumstances of each case as it arises including the nature of the departure from the usual rule and the attitude of the parties concerned. But the attitude of the castes, which is stated in different modern books as prohibiting inter-caste marriages altogether, is generally indicative of nothing more than the disapproval of such marriages according to the rules of practice of each different caste. It does not afford a sufficient justification for treating as illegal what has not been prohibited but in terms contemplated and allowed by law.

Inter-marriages of any kind are usually not looked upon with favour in any community or country. The satisfaction expressed at the marriage of Princess Mary with an English peer, and not a foreign Prince, is a recent conspicuous illustration of this tendency. The general dislike of inter-marriages arises out of the practical inconveniences arising from the introduction of an alien element into the family with its intimate social and spiritual life, marring its continuity. In ancient and settled communities everywhere inter-marriages will, for this reason, be always the exception and not the rule. In large areas there may be none at all for a long series of years. But this cannot mean that inter-marriages are illegal, only that the occasion for them does not often arise. Since the advent of the British Courts there has been an unfortunate tendency, to which we owe our social stagnation and its concomitant of political discontent, to regard as illegal what has become merely unusual. It is this tendency that Sir Lalubhai Shah has countered and he has thereby rendered most valuable service, incidentally, of course, to the cause of social and national progress.

So far as *anuloma* marriages are concerned, therefore, they can be celebrated in the Bombay Presidency according to the usual Hindu rites

without any doubt as to their legal validity. And at present and for some time yet the larger number of inter-marriages among Hindus will be *anuloma* marriages. And for this reason. Among "higher" castes, generally speaking, the education of men has progressed more widely than among the "lower", while all castes are more or less backward as regards girls' education. The educated men among the former seeking educated wives will, therefore, necessarily have to extend their field of choice beyond the limits of their own castes. Conversely, while the educated girl of the literate higher castes need not go out of her caste to find an educated husband, an equally educated girl of a non-literate or Sudra caste—we are using these terms only for the sake of convenience—must needs look up higher to find an educated husband. This is not merely an *a priori* opinion but one based on facts within our knowledge. This, however, is only a transitional stage and the transition is taking place with great rapidity. The question of *pratiloma* marriages is, in fact, already in sight, and we think that it should be, and might be, settled on the same broad lines as those of Sir Lalubhai's luminous judgment. The four original main castes have given place to nearly as many thousand sub-castes and sub-divisions of sub-castes which it is not always easy to assign to its true main division. Then, again, the superiority or inferiority of the main divisions was closely related to the functions prescribed for each. But these relations are no longer in force. Nowadays, a Brahmin may be an expert in tanning while a Sudra may be a Sanskrit professor in a University. Mahatma Gandhi is a Bania and Swami Vivekanand was a Kayastha. In this general levelling up of castes, it is extremely difficult to decide as to what are *anuloma* and what *pratiloma* marriages in the true spirit of the ancient law-givers. The law now settled regarding the validity of *anuloma* marriages must at no distant date be extended to *pratiloma* marriages also. The distinction has ceased to represent any rational or even recognisable difference, and must go.

LORD HARDINGE AS VICEROY.

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay returned from Kashmir on Saturday before last and on the same evening unveiled a memorial statue to Lord Hardinge at Apollo Bunder. Sir George Lloyd prefaced his own speech by reading a message from Lord Reading in appreciation of the work and worth of his predecessor. "To us," wrote Lord Reading, "the arresting memories among its many great events, are Lord Hardinge's steadfast adherence to his creed that India was worthy of trust and would trust without reserve where she could recognise true sympathy, and to his mission in his own words 'to lead India gently along the path of progress'. He saw his creed justified in 1914 when India sent forth the flower of his soldiery to fight the Empire's battles ;

and with the inauguration of responsible institutions his mission has borne its first fruit". We may be pardoned for remarking that, viewed in the light of subsequent events, neither the creed nor the mission seems to us to have the significance attached to it by Lord Reading. It would be ungracious, however, to subject a memorial tribute to serious criticism. Lord Hardinge's popularity—he was undoubtedly very popular—was due not much or at all to any great originality or liberality of policy of his. In that respect Lord Chelmsford, whether inspired or not by Mr. Montagu, was superior to him. Lord Hardinge could not even contemplate the prospect of Indian influence extending to the Central Government, and even as regards Provinces, his goal was autonomy not responsible Government. His popularity was personal—that is to say, due to the something in him which when wrong or injustice had been done, threw lightly aside the trammels of red-tape and rushed forward to right the wrong and undo the injustice. His Madras speech on the Indian problem in South Africa and his personal intervention in the Cawnpore Mosque affair, were the incidents that fixed him in Indian estimation. Lord Reading's attempt to imitate, with reference to the Turkish Treaty, Lord Hardinge's calculated indiscretion regarding Indian passive resistance in South Africa, miscarried with disastrous consequences to Mr. Montagu, merely because Lord Reading would not, like Lord Hardinge, shoulder the responsibility for his indiscretion himself. If Lord Hardinge had asked Lord Crewe, the then Secretary of State, to obtain the sanction of the Asquith Cabinet to the Indian agitation in South Africa, the chances are that nothing would have been said about it, as shown by the fact that Lord Crewe from the Liberal benches echoed Lord Curzon's condemnation in the House of Lords of Mr. Montagu's breach of an obsolete Cabinet etiquette. There is one matter in which Lord Reading, we hope, will follow Lord Hardinge's example to better effect. We do trust that His Excellency will go down to Lahore and take the situation there in his own hands instead of leaving it to drift helplessly in its present course. If Lord Chelmsford had done this in 1919, there would have been no Non-Cooperation movement. The Punjab Government is the standing argument against excessive decentralisation and devolution of power to the Provinces.

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, took occasion in his eulogy of Lord Hardinge, to give a hint to Lord Reading and all future Viceroys that to give Provincial Governments a completely free hand was the most direct way to ensure for themselves memorials at Apollo Bunder. Starting with the assertion that it is "incontrovertibly true of most of us that we are apt to pay very little attention to past history," Sir George Lloyd made out that the pole-star of Lord Hardinge's policy, the ultimate cause of his popularity, and, indeed, the essence of his greatness, was his passionate desire to leave the Provincial Governments to go to wherever they chose to in their own way. This seemed to His Excellency to be the clear lesson of Lord Hardinge's

regime. We have referred above to Lord Hardinge's descent upon Cawnpore, setting Sir James Meston summarily aside, to settle the mosque dispute, which does not seem to confirm the lesson drawn by Sir George Lloyd. We have a faint recollection that Lord Sydenham rather commiserated himself as the toad beneath the Hardinge harrow, and he has, perhaps, a very different story to tell of Lord Hardinge's relations with Provincial Governments, and especially with that of Bombay. Indian history has taught us that excessive provincial autonomy has been the bane of past Empires. The Hindu, the early Mahomedan, and the Moghul Empires foundered upon that rock. We have, therefore, never been able to be over-enthusiastic about the cry for provincial autonomy by which, be it remembered, Lord Hardinge, in the words of his famous despatch, hoped to divert Indian aspirations from "matters of vital concern" by allowing them to play with provincial matters. If anyone thinks that this is a travesty, we ask him to re-read paragraph 3 of the Government of India's Despatch of the 25th August 1911. It has been always a mystery to us how an Indian patriot of the penetrating intelligence of Mr. Gokhale failed to understand the depressing implications of this paragraph. Our apprehensions regarding undue autonomy to Indian provinces, especially in matters concerning the liberty of the subject, have been more than justified by events during the last few years. We have had erstwhile ardent exponents of a clean-cut provincial autonomy asking us with upraised hands, in view of happenings in the provinces, if Lord Reading's Government had gone to sleep after all the assurances of His Excellency's first eight months in the country. It was a fatal mistake to introduce responsible Government or a semblance of it in the provinces without simultaneously introducing it in the Central Government. If there was a question of precedence, we should have liked to see it first in the Government of India before the provinces. India cannot maintain herself secure from foreign invasion or from internal commotions except she have a strong central Government which is, thus, the first necessity of her national being. The Central Government has been never so weak as it is to-day. The provinces grudge to contribute to its financial stability. Provincial Ministers, seeking to cover their own crying lapses, denounce in unmeasured terms on public platforms the defects and delinquencies of the Central Government.

Rattle his bones over the stones,

He is a pauper whom nobody owns.

Such is the condition to which the Montagu diarchy has reduced the Central Government—the mainstay of Indian as a country and as a nation. Viewing the condition of the country today, we feel less inclined than ever to pin our faith for the future on uncontrolled provincial autonomy. If the Government of India does not become a full responsible Government in the next ten years, we shall have repeated on an empire scale the tragedy of the great ship *Egypt* being sent to her doom by the small ship *Siam* in the fog of Indian politics which is bound to thicken.

AN EPISODE OF THE BOMBAY LIBERAL CONFERENCE.

As the discussion in the Subjects Committee of the Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference on the subject of Mahatma Gandhi's imprisonment has been commented upon in the Press, it is desirable to state exactly what happened. Mr. Deole (of the Servants of India Society) and myself had given in the following for the consideration of those in charge of drafting resolutions two or three days before the Conference:

From Messrs. K. Natarajan and C. S. Deole.

That this Conference places on record its deep regret at the circumstances in which it has been found necessary to prosecute and imprison such a great-souled patriot as Mr. Gandhi, and earnestly represents to Government that the terms and conditions of his life in prison should be reduced and liberalised to the utmost extent compatible with the object of his incarceration, namely, the prevention of his participating in political propaganda.

Not having heard anything about the matter, I asked Mr. N. M. Joshi at the Conference on the first day, what had become of our resolution. He said: "I will put you on the Subjects Committee. You can propose it there." I asked "What are the chances of its acceptance?" Mr. Joshi replied "You may get some support." "Only some?" I asked. He smiled and said nothing.

As soon as the Subjects Committee met, I went up to Mr. Sastri, who was in the chair, and said I should like to have priority for my resolution. He read it and remarked that it was very carefully worded. I next showed it to Sir D. E. Wacha who was sitting by the Chairman. I do not remember Sir Dinshah's exact words but I understood him to be distinctly opposed to anything being brought forward on the subject. I went to my place and formally asked for priority. It was opposed by Mr. Samarth, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and one or two others, whereupon Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola asked for a ruling from the chair as to whether resolutions not on the printed paper of the Reception Committee, could not be moved in the Subjects Committee. The Chairman replied that any question might be brought forward, whether or not it was included in the draft resolutions of the Reception Committee, but he suggested that, in view of the opposition of some members, I should not press the motion for priority, as I might thereby be imperilling the chances "perhaps, of a unanimous acceptance" of my resolution, if it came in due course, after the printed resolutions had been disposed of.

So I waited till the end, and was then asked to move my resolution. Briefly, my arguments were as follow: The trial and conviction of the Mahatma was the most stirring event during the past two months in the Presidency. The Conference cannot pass it by in silence. The Mahatma himself was a great-souled patriot and believed to be such by a great many people. Whatever the rights or wrongs of the matter, his imprisonment was a matter of deep regret. I explained that, in my opinion, both

* Mr. Deole was not put on the Subjects Committee.

the Mahatma and Government had committed mistakes. The Mahatma should have accepted the generous terms offered by the Viceroy in December last; he should have supported more fully the Malaviya Conference's efforts to bring about a Round Table Conference; he should not have sent the ultimatum to the Viceroy. On the Government side, I said the mistake was in arresting him when the offensive parts of the Ahmedabad programme had been abandoned and the Mahatma was striving, and had largely succeeded, to replace it by a social, constructive programme, that of Bardoli. If they had taken action after the Ahmedabad Congress, they would have been justified but there was no justification for prosecuting him after Bardoli. The Government of India had itself suspended the order of arrest on receiving news of the Bardoli resolutions, and the Delhi resolutions made practically no difference, as the Mahatma had immediately after the All-India Congress Committee meeting persuaded the Provincial Committees not to make use of the power extended to them at Delhi in the two matters of picketing of foreign cloth shops and individual civil disobedience.

As for the second part of my resolution, I pointed out that the Mahatma must come out some day and it would be a loss to the country and to the world if the restrictions imposed on him were such as to impair his health or prevent his keeping himself informed of the important movements of the time. As soon as I sat down, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad rose and opposed the resolution strongly. His points were, so far as I can remember, these: Mr. Gandhi's mistakes were much earlier and greater than I had stated. The starting of Non-Co-operation was itself a mistake. Government had been extremely patient and forbearing. They had to uphold peace and order which were menaced by his activities. The resolution reflected upon the Government action though it was cleverly worded. As for the second part, Sir Chimanlal said, Mr. Gandhi had his accustomed food, was well looked after, and books and newspapers were allowed him. When Sir Chimanlal finished, the Chairman remarked that both sides were now before the Committee. Further speeches would only create bad blood. He would, therefore, call upon me to reply, and then take votes on the resolution. I made a brief reply in which I said I had not meant to give an exhaustive list of the mistakes of Mahatma Gandhi or Government, and that if the Committee would not accede even to an expression of regret as proposed, they would show that they were out of touch with the country, and I should then think that I had made a mistake in believing that something could be done to smooth the way to a friendly understanding between Liberals and Congressmen. I said that I was glad to be assured that the Mahatma was allowed books and newspapers, which went to meet the second part of my resolution a large way. The resolution was thrown out by a large majority.

Before concluding, I may refer to two other matters. On the printed paper of resolutions put before the

Subjects Committee was one, which was passed by the Conference:

This Conference declares its staunch adherence to the policy of attaining Self-Government by constitutional means, and is of opinion that towards that end, it is essential that law and order and security of life and property should be maintained in the country by all legitimate means.

I pointed out that this was really giving a *carte blanche* to the Executive to take the law in its own hands, in view of what had been said in the presidential address itself of abuse of power. I, therefore, moved to amend the resolution so as to emphasise the necessity of taking care, while taking measures to protect life and property, not to let them degenerate into indiscriminate repression. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad opposed this strongly and my amendment was defeated. Sir Chimanlal also strongly opposed Mr. Abhyankar's attempt to bring up the question of the recent extension of the definition of Sedition in the Penal Code, by the Bombay Government, to include disaffection to Indian rulers. Apart from the constitutional principle, which will have to be soon settled, these facts show that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad acted in the Subjects Committee throughout as a member of the Bombay Government.

K. NATARAJAN.

THE PERSON OF JESUS. II.

(BY DR. J. N. FARQUHAR.)

It is, therefore, my conviction, as a critical student of history, that all serious historians will be driven in the coming years, by the force of the evidence of Christ's own words, to acknowledge that he held Himself to be more than man. This is but a prophecy; but I do not think it is a very hazardous one when one considers the mass of evidence in the Gospels and the critical progress of recent years.

5. One difficulty however remains. If Jesus held Himself to be a superhuman being, why did He not tell his disciples so in the clearest and most unmistakable language? Why has He left the whole matter under a cloud?

The solution of the problem is to be found in this that, while Jesus held that it was essentially necessary that men should think seriously about His Personality, and come to a definite decision as to who He was, yet He realized that such a decision could be of real value only when it was a matter of clear personal conviction arising from a consideration of His character, teaching and work.

Hence we have the strange situation at Caesarea Philippi; Jesus asking His disciples who they believed He was, and yet forbidding them to tell the truth to others. So, when John the Baptist explicitly asked whether He was the Messiah or only a forerunner of that personage, He gave no direct answer, but bade John consider the significance of His works, and then stated explicitly that the man who rightly appreciates Him is blessed. Again, He raises the problem of His Personality in its acutest form in discussion with the Pharisees, but leaves the task of solution to them. The only exception to His habit of silence is to be

found in His trial before the Sanhedrin. There, in the highest court of the people of Israel, when asked by the High Priest, the official head of the Jewish religion and of the court, whether He was the Messiah, there was no alternative open to Him; and He replied distinctly that He was. It is also of the greatest interest for our enquiry to note that, in His reply, He used such language that the members of the Sanhedrin had not the slightest doubt that He had claimed divine privileges, and therefore that it was their duty to condemn Him to death for blasphemy. Surely we have here historical evidence of the strongest possible type, that Jesus believed Himself to be in some sense divine: He went to the cross, because He could give no other answer to the High Priest.

Thus Jesus, during His life, asked both friends and foes the question, "Who think you that I am?"; and, within the early Church, in obedience to His persistent pressing of this problem, there arose the great movement of thought which culminated in the Pauline, Petrine and Johannine Christologies.

On this basis, then, the action of Jesus in probing men's consciences on the great question is fully comprehensible; and we are led to look with sympathetic eyes upon the efforts of the Church to create a true Christology. We can also look forward with confidence that, sooner or later, critical scholars will recognise, to the full the facts as they appear in the Synoptics, and will openly acknowledge that it is historically true, that *Jesus believed Himself to be a Superhuman Personage.*

6. But, even if every critical scholar had already made the acknowledgement, that Jesus held Himself to be a Supernatural Person, the question, *Whether Jesus was right in this conviction of His,* would still be raised on all hands. The conclusion, that Jesus believed this about Himself, settles the question of the psychology of Jesus, but does not answer the main question.

Hence, around us to-day, men of every nation and of every religion still doubt or deny the claim of Jesus to be the eternal Son and the one Saviour of men. Many scientists, philosophers and students of religion bring forward innumerable objections to the acknowledgement of His divine nature and absolute Lordship. The Person of Jesus Christ thus stands on precisely the same ground as the supreme problem of the existence of God: it is a question of moral and spiritual conviction, a question to be finally decided by Faith alone.

For the settlement of these great questions reserved for Faith, we are bound to use all the evidence which knowledge, experience and reflection can afford us; but, in the last resort, the court in which each one of us must answer them is our conscience; and to the illumination of that inner Judge not only education, knowledge and experience make, their contribution but, above all, the moral and spiritual life each one of us lives day by day.

Thus Jesus still stands before every man who knows the Gospels, asking him this question *Who say you that I am?*

(Concluded).

TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT AMONG EZHAVAS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

The Ezhavas of Travancore are to be congratulated on the bold stand they are taking in the matter of suppressing the evil of drink. In accordance with the resolution of their S. N. D. P. Yogam they are not bidding at the auction sales of toddy shops conducted by the Government and they have as a community set their face against drawing toddy and manufacturing arrack. The Travancore Government being faced thereby with a serious loss in revenue is making every effort to induce the Ezhavas and others to engage themselves in this occupation and trade. But from all accounts, the Ezhavas are determined in their resolve. Here and there, through fear of the consequences of the displeasure of Government officials some Ezhavas may be found wavering and yielding to the persuasions of Excise officers. But on the whole the community is solidly on the side of prohibition. Whatever may be the immediate causes that precipitated the adoption of this bold policy by the Ezhavas at such great financial loss to themselves, all true lovers of Travancore cannot but rejoice at the awakening that has come over a people who have been for generations engaged in this trade.

It is the clear duty of all other communities in Travancore to stand by them and support them in their great fight. They have every right to expect sympathy and help from the Christian Community of all communities in Travancore and as a Christian and as a Travancorean I would appeal to the leaders of Christian Community to throw the weight of their influence on the side of prohibition. I know the Christians with their traditional notions of "loyalty to Government" are unwilling to do anything which will affect adversely the revenue or prestige of the Government. But the true interests of the Government cannot be in conflict with the true interests of the country. If the Travancore Government believes in a policy of making money from selling liquor, disregarding the ruin it is working among the people setting aside the growing public opinion in favour of prohibition, there is no other alternative for true Christians but to range themselves on the side of righteousness even at the risk of being considered as enemies of the Government.

Disquieting news is coming from Travancore that Christians are bidding for several toddy shops which Ezhavas will not touch now. Evidently the money that is in the business and the official favours that will follow by being on the side of the Government when it is passing through a critical time, are the considerations that influence some of the members of the Christian community in their action. But do they know they are helping in a cause which will ultimately bring ruin upon themselves and upon their country? It is strange that leaders of the Christian Community in Travancore have not yet raised their voice in condemnation of the action of several of the members of the community. Even influential vernacular newspapers conducted by Christians have safely adopted the policy of "much might be said on both sides" on this live issue. Are the devils whom the Ezhavas are driving out from their community going to take refuge and thrive among the Christians of Travancore? I would suggest that a united manifesto on the question signed by all the Bishops of the various Churches in Travancore and by the leaders of the Christian community be issued at once and circulated broadcast. There are a few Christians who are doing something in co-operation with their Ezhava brethren for the creation of a strong public opinion in the country against drink. Mr. K. K. Kuruvilla of Kottayam is well known as one such. I

would appeal to him and others like him to take the lead in this matter and approach the Bishops. I earnestly trust that all the Bishops will heartily sympathise in this effort and help forward the cause of prohibition in Travancore by issuing a joint manifesto urging upon Christians not to countenance in any way this great evil of drink, the ravages of which are only too well known to all of us.

Vepery, Madras,
May 10-22.

P. O. Philip

THE BAYA CULT.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I am in a forest amongst peasants. If there be any word on their lips, it is the word 'Baya'. When I ask them why they have not yet finished their work of agriculture, they say that is due to 'Baya'. This forest has been of late the scene of Baya Movement. It will be interesting to your readers to know something of this 'Baya Cult'. First I must mention that these peasants are not the only victims of 'Bayas' but there are many other communities, which are equally superstitious. I may safely say many communities of our peasantry in the Deccan and Gujarat are passionately attached to it. Baya means a goddess but a goddess of an epidemic. Individual sickness is attributed to the craft of a witch or to the wrath of a god whose dues and sacrifices have been left unpaid. All epidemics are said to be the result of the presence of a Baya. There is no one Baya but they are supposed to be many. They are to be distinguished from each other by the signs with which the epidemics break out. Thus there are Bayas of fever, throat swelling, vomiting, purging and what not. As all these goddesses of epidemics are taken to be the spirits of Brahmin and Bania women, victims of Baya are strictly advised to abstain from flesh-eating as long as Baya Spirit, i.e. the epidemic dwells in a village. The wizards who claim to have dealings with the spirits of the dead worship them with all and sundry things, which are necessary for the worship of a Hindu goddess and make an offering of a vegetarian diet to satisfy the Baya Spirit. At times tea with or without milk is offered, as the wizards know too well that spirits of our women can not be satisfied without tea. The backward classes are indebted to the orthodox Hindu for this Baya cult. The orthodox believe that smallpox is due to the presence of a goddess (Davi). The backward classes make liberal use of this theory and attribute all the epidemics to the spirits of Brahmin and Bania women. Last year on the coast line of Thana District and in some parts of Surat District a mild type of small-pox broke out which was attributed to 'Bayas' by one and all. This year when a mild type of influenza was spreading, people interested in 'Baya Cult' attributed it to Baya of fever who in turn was on her official tour. But all these 'Bayas' are said to be dumb spirits, who never tell their own tales, it is a wizard who has to find out why they came and what they want. There are other types of Bayas who tell their own tales through their victims' mouths. They move round their heads with loose hair and ask what they want and why they came. At times almost all women of the town are seized by the spirit of this type of Baya. Some women say that the spirits belong to Brahmin women, some claim to be fisherwomen who want Bombay docks and fish to be sent off. In Bombay some women in yellow garments go dancing as if seized by the same spirit to the sea-shore accompanied by singing party or Bhajan. These women represent Bayas of the 2nd type. Some women when taken with Baya spirit demand ornaments of gold and silver or sarees. These things are to be kept by the women, who were once the victim of the Baya spirit. This superstition

is exploited by crafty women and greedy Baalas. In Baya movement, I am told, an ordinary coconut was sold for 10 annas. A crafty woman pretends to be taken with Baya spirit and exploits the superstition of her husband, but woe unto her, if after some thrashing which is thought necessary to test the reality, she yields and makes a confession of her pretext.

Yours etc.
KARRAN, K. G.

Jawhar, 6th May 1922.

CRITICISM INDIAN OF STATES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

It is really unfortunate that the Government of Bombay should extend unqualified protection to the princes, when the subjects of the States were feeling the pulse of political consciousness for the first time. The way in which the beginnings of political legitimate constitutional activities were received in the States, leaves the impression on the mind of an impartial on-looker, that there is no freedom of discussion and thought in political matters, under the rule of the princes. Exceptions there may be, but they are so few that they may be safely ignored while a general discussion is on hand. The criticism too has not assumed that sentences or extremism so as to justify apparently the protection which the princes are accorded to. The M. C. Scheme expressed a pious wish that the States will imitate the progress of events in British India, but this warning seems to have fallen on deaf ears. Under these circumstances, if the subjects of the States and their sympathisers outside were to be prevented from carrying on political activities with a view to the realization of the pious wish, it is materially going behind the promises held out by the 1919 August Report.

Taking things as they are, development of a free and effective press under the rule of the princes is next to impossible. Then the only way of bringing into broad relief the facts about the States, is a free discussion in the British press, which alone ensures for the benefit of the princes and subjects alike, in the long run. If the Native States' rule needs reform, and no man of light and leading will deny that it does require it, the only way to achieve the end is not the suppression of all political activity whatsoever, but to give the subjects an opportunity to give vent to their feelings towards the administration, with a view to introduce reforms in it. As Mill says in his advocacy of freedom of thought and discussion, even an erroneous opinion ought to be allowed to pass so that truth may appear to advantage after the conflict with error. Thus even if the administration does not really admit of being subjected to criticism generally levelled at its door, it will clarify the atmosphere and win over public opinion to its side.

Besides, the very fact that the Report held out promise of Reform, shows that the British Government is as much responsible for securing good Government in the Native States, as it is for securing the person of the princes from criticism. A Government,—a Government imbued with Western political thought, cannot afford to forget its duty towards the subjects in its zeal for upholding the cause of the princes at any cost. As the great exponent of the liberty of thought and expression has put it, 'the best Government has no more title to it, (suppression of liberty) than the worst.' It is, therefore, against the avowed principles on which the relations between the States and the British Government are based. As the M. C. Report has rightly remarked the British Government and no good Government—can afford to see a neighbouring country misgoverned. But, the present act of the Bombay Government encourages the princes in their autocratic rule, by shutting out all criticism. Will some member of the Council open the eyes of the Government?

L. G. G.

MALABAR RELIEF.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has issued the following statement with reference to Mr. Knapp's report on Malabar:—"I see from the paper that Mr. Knapp has referred to me by name as giving him information with regard to distress among Moplah women and children which was apparently incorrect. I brought to the notice of H. E. the Governor and Mr. Knapp three facts which I had seen with my own eyes, (1) a Moplah child of about 9 years old who was mutilated (2) a Moplah woman who was bayoneted (3) some Moplah women whom I had seen in a terror-stricken condition and in great misery and fear. I reported immediately also either to Mr. Knapp or the Collector any case which were related to me directly by eye-witnesses of famished Moplah women in the interior. Mr. Knapp himself appointed a Commission of Enquiry into Moplah distress in the interior and himself nominated the members of that Commission. Why is the report of that Commission still unpublished? Why is the report of the Train Tragedy Commission also still unpublished in India? What has been done to the culprits? The public surely has a right to judge for themselves the findings of those reports"

BIRTH CONTROL.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I would be highly obliged if you or any of your numerous readers will kindly let me know through the medium of your journal the following information:--(1) Are there any standard books published on "Principles and Methods of Birth Control" by eminent Doctors in England or America and if so what are their prices? (2) Whether the "Birth Control Review" of New York can be had regularly from any of the Agencies in India; if not what is the subscription (foreign) payable for the same?

Yours faithfully,

10th May, 1922.

Yours faithfully,

R. SUNDARAM.

[The address of the *Birth Control Review* is 104, 8th Avenue, New York, U. S. A., and the annual foreign subscription dollars 2.25. It does not give contraceptive information, as it would be illegal in New York State and would bar the review from the U. S. mails. Mr. Harold Cox stated in his address, which was printed in the *Reformer* of the 7th instant, that there were no laws in England against propagating this knowledge. Our correspondent should apply to a bookseller for the further information he wants.—Ed. I. S. R.]

MISSING.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Will any of your numerous readers be good enough to let me know the whereabouts of Mr. Swaminathan M. A. (Madras), a literature scholar and late chief of 'Camis College' Madras. He married my daughter, Nagasundaram, in 1919 and left Madras in April 1920 for the Bombay Presidency and has not since written to me. My daughter, who is 16 years of age, is naturally anxious about her husband. The informant will be laying us under a deep debt of gratitude.

Yours faithfully

Siva Bhavan

A. Sambasivan M. A.

Adyar, Madras 19-5-22.

Retired Tasildar and Pleader.

A TAMIL BIBLE.

We are requested to publish the following: A new Tamil translation of the New Testament will shortly be published by the Association Press. The author, the Rev. G. Gnanaprakasam, is the first Indian Christian who has given himself to the study of the original Greek with a view to translating the New Testament into his own language. The translation is the result of thirty years' study, and has been for its author "a life-long labour of love and a solace in the midst of many distracting cares and anxieties". His chief aim has been to give a true and accurate rendering of the Greek in the best Tamil he could command, and in the opinion of those who have seen it the new version constitutes a real step on the part of the Indian Christian Church towards the production of a version of the Bible which shall be worthy to stand beside the great versions of the West. Copies can be had from the Association Press, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta.

BUDDHISM AND HINDUISM.

The *Prabudha Bharata*, Mayavati Monthly.
(Ramakrishna Mission.)

Religion is the soul of India and the true history of India is the history of the evolution and progress of her religion. Dominated as the generality of her children of Aryavarta has been by the higher considerations of life, they cared more for subjects concerned with the eternal interests of man than with the mundane affairs that minister to the transient physical comforts and material progress of the individual and society. Judged aright, the tendency of the Hindu race is found to be decidedly spiritualistic, and this spirit is clearly reflected in all its activity and thought.

The story of Buddhism—its genesis and growth, its triumph and achievement, its degeneration and fall—forms a most glorious chapter in the history of Bharatavaraha. The advent of Buddha marked a new epoch in the religious history of the world. He was born at a time when the noble and ancient religion of Aryavarta, promulgated by the Vedic seers of truth and developed and preached by successive lines of sages and saints, became enmeshed in dead formalism and blind ceremonials, in meaningless penances and mortifications. In direct opposition to the grand principles of the Religion Eternal, there came into existence, as time rolled on, invidious distinctions of privileges, inhuman oppression of the poor and bloody sacrifices which showed utter disregard for the sanctity of animal life.

The task before Buddha was no easy one. Fully conscious of the great mission which he came to fulfil, he gave up the glories of royalty, cut asunder the tenderest ties of the world, and gladly chose for himself the hard life of a Bhikshu to realise the truth and to find out the way to Nirvana. He had to fight the iniquities and irreligion of the age. He placed before man the true spirit of religion and brought the message of love and salvation to the doors of all—to the Aryan and the non-Aryan, the high and the low, the privileged and the oppressed alike. He preached a highly ethical religion and in his moral code there was place for every living being, even for birds and beasts. His was a universal religion and this backed by the great personality and the spiritual forces of the Master became the dominating faith in the continent of Asia. In every country where the religion of Buddha was propagated, whether in the land of its birth or in foreign countries, it fought against the sacrifice of animals, against immorality and unrighteousness. The triumph of Buddhism did not lie in grand temples and pompous ceremonials introduced later on by the followers, but in the moral precepts and in the message of "mercy and charity, truth and parity, kindness and goodness"—which the great founder preached at Benares, Rajagriha and other places,—teachings that are enshrined in the immortal Tripitakas of the Buddhists.

Of all the great religions of the world it is the special glory of the Vedic religion and its rebel child, Buddhism, that they were preached not by the power of the sword but by the innate strength and invincible potency of their principles and culture. The sphere of the influence of Buddhism has been much greater than that of the Mother-religion. And between the fifth and tenth centuries of the Christian era, more than one half of the human race embraced the religion of the Enlightened One. This was accomplished not with the help of religious persecutions or forcible conversions, which taint the history of the Semitic religions, but by the unconquerable power of love and by the unflinching appeal which the religion of Buddha made to the higher sense of

manhood. The Indo-Aryans who went to foreign lands never made their religion subserve any material end. And the commercial adventures, colonising enterprises and missionary projects they undertook were under no circumstances utilised as means to further any form of political domination or economic exploitation. India had no imperialistic policy and ambition, and, therefore, she never cared to make herself rich in material wealth by exploiting any nation on earth. No people that came under the direct influence of an Indian religion, be it Hinduism or Buddhism, had any occasion to complain of any political motive on her part as did the African chief who referring to the policy of the Christian nations of the West most pathetically said, "First the missionary, then the trader—then the gun-boat, and then—Oh Lord!" The great glory of India lies in the fact that she tried to keep her material prosperity subservient to the ultimate spiritual end of life. And India's missionaries, to whichever land they carried their message of peace and harmony, remained satisfied to advance only the cause of their religion and culture, without attempting, like the missionaries of the West, to destroy the distinctive civilization of the children of the soil.

Buddhism represents only a certain aspect of the great and ancient religion of the Indo-Aryans. The Sanatana Dharma takes into full consideration the capacity and tendencies of men who strive for the *summum bonum* of life. It recognises the great psycho-logical fact that although the Highest Truth is one, there must be innumerable steps leading to it, and men must travel from lower truths to higher truths until the very culmination is reached. In spite of the exaltation of Sannyasa, the Vedic religion does not inculcate that monasticism is only a way to salvation. The life of the monk and the life of the householder are both good; knowledge alone is essential for man's emancipation—this is the precept of the Sanatana Dharma. But Buddhism on the other hand put the greatest stress on monasticism and preached that it is indispensable for escaping the miseries of existence and attaining Nirvana. It placed the highest ideal of Sannyasa and Ahimsa before even the uncultured and uncivilised. It forgot that the pure and self-controlled alone can lead the life of true renunciation, and the strong and fearless only can practise non-injury in thought, word and deed. In the mad rush of the Buddhists to realise the highest ideal of religion and attain Nirvana, monasticism became in most cases a travesty, and Ahimsa a cloak to hide a dreadful weakness. This contributed to no small extent to the emasculation and degeneration of the people of India, and to the downfall of the country from the pinnacle of her glory.

Whatever may be the nature of degraded Buddhism, however great might be its divergence from the great Mother-religion, the pure form of Buddhism as preached by the Enlightened One, is an exposition of the true spirit of the ancient faith, a natural development of the old religion of the Vedas. Hinduism represents the brain, and Buddhism the heart of the same ancient religion of India. The followers of the two great religions have lived long in utter isolation to the great disadvantage of both. We want now a true union based on the eternal principles common to Hinduism and Buddhism alike. We should now recognise that the Hindu and the Buddhist both belong to the same Sanatana Dharma of India, so that we may realise the underlying unity, like the Nepali Buddhist who would resent and retort, if he is called a non-Hindu by any of his Hindu countrymen, saying, "You are a Hindu and so am I. You are a worshipper of Siva, and I am a worshipper of Buddha." In memorable words Swami Vivekananda advocated the union between the Hindu and the Buddhist, in the Chicago Parliament of Religions; and

that day would indeed be blessed when we all would realise the true significance of his momentous utterance:—
"Hinduism cannot live without Buddhism, nor Buddhism without Hinduism. The Buddhist cannot stand without the brain and philosophy of the Brahmanas, nor the Brahmanas without the heart of the Buddhist. Let us join the wonderful intellect of the Brahmanas with the heart, the noble soul, the wonderful humanising power of the Great Master." Such a union is sure to lead to the uplift not only of India but also of all the Buddhist countries of Asia. It would see the beginning of a world-federation established on the bed-rock of a common spiritual ideal, and strengthened by the common desire and efforts to realise the truth and perfection, the goal of man's existence on earth.

THE FRONTIER COMMITTEE.

The Frontier Committee to consider the re-amalgamation of the five Punjab districts which Lord Curzon had constituted into a separate province, recorded some interesting evidence on its last day at Peshawar. The following is taken from the report in the *Tribune* of Lahore: Kazi Mir. Amad Khan was the most important witness of the day. He is not only Vice-President of the Municipal Committee of Peshawar, but also the Secretary of Peshawar Bar. Speaking on behalf of the Mahomedans of Peshawar, he strongly urged separation from the transborder area and re-amalgamation with the Punjab. It was a fallacy to say that the people of the settled districts were the same as the people of the trans border.

Q—"Apprehension has been felt that Pathans would lose individuality by being amalgamated with the Punjab?"

A—"If they had not lost before 1901. I don't see how they would lose now."

Q—"Why do you object to the establishment of a Legislative Council?"

A—"Because it is not possible to work in a small province."

Mr. Rangachari—"I see in your memorandum that you strongly advocate amalgamation, may I know if this view shared by the whole population?"

Witness—"These things can never be decided by plebiscites. The intelligents is unanimous on this point."

Mr. Rangachari—"But many educated people have deposed the other way."

Witness—"If they have said so they have certain reasons, otherwise in their heart of hearts they are for amalgamation. I have heard many of them expressing their wish to go back to the Punjab."

Questioned by Mr. Raza Ali, witness admitted that he moved the resolution favouring amalgamation of the meeting of the local Bar Association and that he was also a signatory to the deputation that presented an address to the Viceroy in which it was stated: "We have no desire to merge our individuality with the people of the Punjab provided the rights and privileges are extended to us in such a measure as the special conditions of this province permit."

Mr. Raza Ali—"How do you reconcile these two statements?"

Witness—"You want to examine me on this point, I shall have to give my evidence *in camera*; but I may say at once that I don't own responsibility for the expression in the address, I had to subscribe to that view."

Mr. Raza Ali—"Did you first subscribe to this view. We have no desire to merge our individuality by amalgamation, provided all the rights and privileges are extended to us at once?"

Witness.—“Yes, but I might say that the draft was made in the Deputy Commissioner's office. I had to put my signature to it because—”

“The Chairman.—“We don't want insinuations.”

Q.—“You are advocating amalgamation because you believe it impossible to have reforms, but supposing they are made possible?”

A.—“If a thing is impossible I don't see how it can be possible.”

Mr. Samarth (to witness).—“You say in the memorandum that a Legislative Council for this province would be a District Board on a large scale?”

A.—“Yes.”

Q.—“Suppose the five settled districts are governed by a Judicial Commissioner subject to the Punjab Government in the same way as Sind is under Bombay and transborder area is left to a Chief Commissioner responsible to the Government of India, will that suit you?”

A.—(After a pause)“I think it will suit me but my acceptance is subject to a full examination of the whole scheme.”

Chaudhari Shabuddin.—“Are you representing the Mussalmans of Peshwar?”

Witness.—“Yes. I am also the joint Secretary of an organisation which consists of Hindus, Mahomedans (as distinct from Pathans) and the Sikhs.”

Q.—“So you think you are justified to speak on behalf of the Mussalmans of Peshwar?”

A.—“I think I represent the view which all the Mussalmans of the town hold.”

Q.—“Do you hold any credentials from them?”

A.—“I don't think the khans who gave evidence before the committee held any credentials.” (Laughter among the audience.)

In conclusion witness presented to the members of the Committee some bundles of papers containing statements of a large number of people, who, he said were asked by a notice issued by the barristers to state their views in writing. This step had to be taken because permission to hold a public meeting in Peshwar was refused by the Deputy Commissioner under section 144, which had been hanging over the people for the last year and a half.

WHAT INDIA THINKS.

MALABAR RELIEF.

The Madras and Malabar papers severely criticise Lord Willingdon's optimistic reference to the situation in the disturbed parts of Malabar as unwarranted by facts.

The *Muhammedan*, Madras weekly, writes:—The Relief Committee itself was simply flabbergasted at the audacity with which Mr. Ellis penned his letter to the Governor so much so that it has dared publicly to protest against it. “The Committee have read with considerable surprise,” says a resolution which the Committee recently passed, “the speech of His Excellency at Ootacamund and the letter of Mr. Ellis, Collector of Malabar, quoted by him and is strongly of opinion that the optimistic impression sought to be conveyed is not warranted at all by the facts of the situation and the very real distress prevalent here with which the members of the Committee are thoroughly conversant through actual experience and personal contact.” But the Government of Madras have the completest confidence in Mr. Ellis, as Lord Willingdon put it, and we do not know if they would therefore care to revise their views of the situation.

The *West Coast Reformer*, Calicut tri-weekly says: His Excellency Lord Willingdon, in his speech at the Y. M. C. A. (Ooty) recently, read an extract from a letter of Mr. Ellis, the Collector of Malabar, relating to the present situation in Malabar. Mr. Ellis, in the course of the communication observes “I am glad to say I have so far failed to find any serious distress.” We do not wish to enter into any acrimonious controversy with the authorities of the Government on their premature optimism but it seems to us that in view of the stupendous task that lies before the Government and the people in effecting a restoration of devastated Malabar into tolerable conditions of life the statement cannot be allowed to go unchallenged. All observers of the existing conditions in the disturbed areas are unanimous in thinking that urgent and genuine need for relief on a large scale unquestionably exists in the district. The Central Relief Committee run under the supervision of the Servants of India Society has had more than any one else peculiar opportunities of feeling the pulse from day to day, and at its meeting held on the 6th instant it passed the following resolution “This Committee has read with considerable surprise and regret the speech of His Excellency at Ootacamund and the letter of Mr. Ellis, the Collector of Malabar quoted by him, and is strongly of opinion that the optimistic impression sought to be conveyed is not warranted at all by the facts of the situation and the very real distress prevalent therein with which the members of the Committee are thoroughly conversant through actual experience and personal contact.”

THE BOMBAY LIBERAL CONFERENCE.

The comments of the Indian Press on the Bombay Liberal Conference generally follow party lines. The *Malabar Journal*, the Calicut weekly journal, has a discriminating article in which it pithily sums up the net effect of the proceedings:—

The resolutions of the Conference nevertheless proved the desire for quicker progress and some changes in the existing order. It was resolved to urge the Secretary of State for introduction of full responsible Government in the provinces and responsibility (in unmentioned measure) in the central Government. Pious wishes were also recorded, for the spread of education, industries, etc., towards “nation building.” It was also resolved to educate the electorates. This was the only practical measure suggested but the difficulty of overcoming the diffidence about the reforms was not considered. The Conference did not evidently take into adequate consideration the need for a large organisation of enthusiastic and self-sacrificing workers to carry out even this small measure of active programme. The Liberal leaders have failed to arouse enthusiasm by placing a satisfactory ideal or goal of public activity, which is necessary for organisation of workers. Their outlook is very uncertain and uninspiring while their programme is an empty list of unworkable wishes, such as the spread of education and industries, which they have no means of carrying out. If they consider that the official machinery is sufficient for the purpose, there was no necessity of passing the resolutions at a non-official conference.

MAHARASHTRA AND THE CONGRESS PROGRAMME.

The *Mahratta*, (Poona Weekly) Congress.

Maharashtra does not want to defect from the moorings of the Working Committee but is emphatically of opinion that the National programme must be altered to suit the circumstances and the attainment of object in view. Maharashtra believes in obstruction tactics and holds that it is impossible to defeat a united people in their own land, who are determined to be free because persistent obstruction

tactics alone would suffice to achieve their ends, were they to use no other. We do not know if the rest of India would appreciate the view but looking to the present methods of ruthless repression by bureaucracy which every day is assuming a new and challenging significance, the suggestions deserve serious notice at the hands of leaders of public thought and opinion in India. There is indeed a necessity of a change of tactics if not of strategy, and this change may necessitate the entry into councils, a question which need not be discussed at the present moment but which cannot be put out of sight. Bitter bias against any change or jaundiced prejudices against personalities should not be allowed to stand in the way of National progress. In high Congress circles, a fetish is being made of certain items but we need not remind them the word of the great Irish patriot that 'littleness in National affairs is more fatal than the wildest rashness.'

Maharashtra has thus once again recorded its faith in the general principle of Non-co-operation which to the mind of many, if not all, includes obstruction and legitimate and peaceful fight. It demands a suitable change too in the National programme with the above object in view. We do not know if Maharashtra errs in holding this view but if it errs at all it errs in good company. Shrimati Basanti Devi in her presidential address remarked that it was the spirit behind the action and it was the accumulated merit behind great movements, that win the battle and even went so far as to suggest the entry into the councils if need be. There is a section in all provinces who hold and very strongly hold that national movements cannot go on, if hedged in by an iron ring of hard and fast rules and pledges, and it cannot be denied that they are right. The national movement must flow in varied and different channels as suit the requirements of particular time but all must be directed towards one aim of Swarajya. The view expressed by the Maharashtra Conference or by Shrimati Basanti Devi reflect this mentality. We know it is a blasphemy in the eyes of some too conservative and orthodox politicians even to express an honest difference of opinion and they would cry anathema on the heads of these bold and honest spirits but we wish to dismiss them with the thought that they cannot serve the national purpose.

AN INDIAN STATES JOURNAL.

(The *United India and Native States*.)

We should be glad if Indian Princes establish, as it is proposed, a paper that will voice their views about Indian matters. It will certainly remove many fruitful sources of misunderstanding and it can easily be utilised for giving the rest of India more information about doings in the States than we possess now. Criticisms based on ignorance in other papers can easily be answered by this paper which will possess unique sources of firsthand information. Particularly will such a paper be useful in connection with the Chamber of Princes. Indian Princes do require, all things considered, such an organ: it will serve as an interpreter of their hopes and aspirations to the rest of India. We also quite see that the place for publishing such a paper will be Delhi: because Delhi is equally important to the Princes as well as the people of India. It is there that the compromise of Indian aristocracy with our democracy will be effected: and God grant that the compromise which will bring India happiness will be effected without a hitch by good understanding and good will on both sides!

WORDS OF AN EDITOR.

The *Catholic Leader*, Madras weekly, (Roman).

Few people understand the cares and responsibilities of a Catholic editor, especially if one has to run the paper single-handed and with additional work to boot. In a

sympathetic estimate of an editor's work, a German Bishop, who has had personal experience of journalistic work says:— "There are those who read newspapers only to speak in criticism and arrogance of them. It were good for such people if they would become editors for only half a year." Apart from the mental anxiety and exertion of writing week after week, the editor is unfortunately the target of unfair and unkind remarks. There is a class of readers who attribute sinister and absurd motives to his writings and sit in judgment on him for the most impersonal and harmless expression of views. We would ask of such critics to extend to the editor the same spirit of toleration, they would demand themselves, were they placed in a similar position. The work of the editors of Indian Catholic journals is a thankless and often an unpleasant task and Catholic readers should not make it more unpleasant by a constant and unsparring volley of criticism on the policy of the paper, as if they had acquired a proprietary right by subscribing to it.

SEDITION IN INDIAN STATES.

United India and Native States, Madras weekly,

The Government of Bombay have taken the extraordinary step of issuing an executive fiat whose effect is to extend the definition of the offence of sedition in the Indian Penal Code so as to include the ruler or Government of any State in India, so far as it applies to the Agency Tracts of Kathiawar. We should be sorry to think that there are Indian Princes who are willing to accept "this humble token" of Sir George Lloyd's grateful memory of his recent visit to their Highnesses of the Kathiawar Agency. Lord Reading, we know, was sometime ago of opinion that a special measure from press attacks which is not required by the King Emperor is not required for the Indian Princes. We know as a fact that there are several Princes who take the same view and if there are any Indian Princes in Kathiawar who hold differently, it is high time that they were told that there is something rotten in their States which gives cause for criticism.

CASTE TYRANNY.

Praja Bandhu, Ahmedabad Weekly.

Caste Tyranny—A Great disturbance is raging in the *Kapala Bania* community of Bombay. Some years ago a girl was betrothed to a boy, but afterwards the father of the girl suspecting some foul disease in the boy petitioned the *Mahajan* of the caste to get the boy examined medically, and if found diseased, to permit him to break off the betrothal. The *Mahajan* for one reason or another could not decide the question and the father of the girl died leaving the girl a helpless orphan at the mercy of charitable neighbours. It is said that the funeral costs of the man as well as the maintenance charges of the girl were met by neighbours. Under these circumstances the girl, who was already 18 years of age, at the advice of her friends requested the *Mahajan* to expedite the decision of her case. But she received no reply, and in despair married a man of her caste. This gave offence to some of her caste fellows who are moving heaven and earth to excommunicate her and her husband. Uproarious meetings of the caste are held, and acrimonious correspondence is carried on in the Press. This is but one instance, which has come to light, out of the many that are daily happening in the numerous castes of the Hindus. Our castes have become the fields of acrimonious disputes and tumultuous divisions. Justice is seldom done to the contending parties, and the day is carried by the strong in number and influence. The poor and the lonely few are oppressed, threatened and visited with heavy fines and excommunication. It is a pity that such engines of tyranny and injustice do not receive the attention they should.

WHY THIS YEAR ?

Srijat Jamintkansta Koar writes in the *World and the New Dispensation* the well-known Brahmo weekly: As we go over the old files of this Paper we find from the exhaustive records left that the Buddha anniversary day has been fittingly celebrated every year in the community of the Navavidhan. Year after year we have offered our heart's homage and loyalty to the Prince of Beggars and the Peggat Prince. But this year there has been an amazing and overflowing response from the heart of Hindusthan itself,—a response so spontaneous and wholehearted as to make us pause and ask,—“Why this year?” What hidden forces so long working behind the veil have thus burst out in a simultaneous cry for the Buddha to reappear and make himself felt in the lives of India's children as he did 2500 years ago? We have no hesitation in saying that it is the life and labours of Mahatma Gandhi furrowing its way over the length and breadth of this vast peninsula that have at last prepared the heart of Hindusthan for the reception of him who cannot come till Truth (*Satya*) and Non-violence (*Ahimsa*) and the removal of untouchability become the war-cry of the whole nation!

Is it not mysterious that Mahatma Gandhi even when he passes into the prison-house ministers unto us by releasing forces long pent-up so that Young India finds a new national leader and a powerful ally in the living Buddha of old? Who will measure the depth, the extent, the far-reaching consequences of the coming in of this revolutionary character in the Indian life of today? We can only pray that the larger life towards which India and Asia are moving may be largely moulded by this master-spirit in unison with the other heroes of Asia, Zoroaster, Jesus and Mahomed! Unto this came Ke-hub, and for this works the ever-living *Navavidhan* of the Spirit. The day of the vindication of India and the emancipation of Asia is at hand. For Asia exploited and outraged means Jesus scourged, Mahomed crucified and Buddha humiliated. And neither Heaven nor Earth will suffer this state of things long.

PILGRIMAGE TO BADRINATH.

The Publicity Commissioner, United Provinces, has issued the following warning:—“Notice is hereby given for the benefit of the pilgrims for Badrinath that in Garhwal owing to the failure of the rains in March there will be very high prices on the pilgrim route and persons not in possession of at least Rs. 800. are advised not to go. Owing to want of money the roads will not be so good as in former years and perils of the route may be considerable. All classes are therefore strongly advised to postpone pilgrimage this year.

SOCIAL SERVICE INSTITUTIONS.

We are frequently receiving requests from various parts of India and abroad for a list of Social Service bodies in the country. It has not been easy to compile one, because we have not always been able to keep in touch with such bodies. In order to meet this difficulty, we propose under this heading to give from time to time brief notices of the social organisations whose reports reach us. It is hoped that, after a time, it may be possible to make a fairly complete list of them.

PUNJAB VIDHYA VIVAH SARAIK SABHA.

Under the auspices of the Vidhya Vivah Sahaik Sabha Lahore, 80 marriages took place in the month of April 1922. The total No. of marriages arranged during the year 1922 reaches to 101 as detailed below:—

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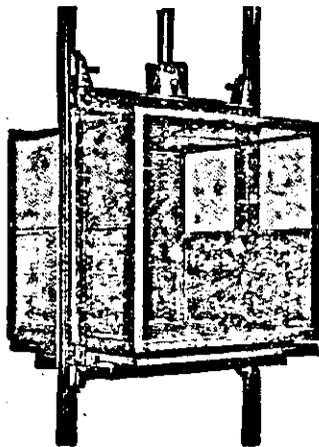
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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

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No. 40

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

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Modern Pativratyā: Pativratyā—utter devotion to the husband in thought, word and deed—is exalted as the supreme virtue of a wife and endowed with miraculous powers by Hindu tradition. A new and broader significance is being imparted to this ancient virtue by the example of Mrs. Gandhi and other ladies who, when their husbands and sons have been sent to prison for their political opinions, have patiently taken up their work and are labouring at it with touching devotion. Mahatma Gandhi told the present writer not long ago that he regarded it as the most important result of his work that he has given woman a prominent place in public activities. Mrs. Gandhi has set a great example of how to combine zeal in the discharge of public duties with the perfect fulfilment of every thing that pertains to woman as wife and mother. How valuable such an example is, can be understood only if we realise that an ancient and conservative people like that of India, is likely to view with distrust any departure from the old ways which seems to clash with the duties of family life. Mrs. Gandhi's presidential address at the Gujarat Provincial Conference held at Anand, was a short, simple, and sincere utterance. She pointed out that Mahatmaj had laid down that Gujarat must progress in three matters in order to fit herself for *Swaraj*: swadeshi, non-violence and removal of untouchability. In all three directions much remained to be done, and she exhorted them all to exert themselves to do it in the interests of the country. Her pleading for the untouchable classes, must melt the most stony orthodox heart. "What splendid services the untouchables render to us!" she exclaimed; and went on to say:

Yet we do not admit their children to our schools. We do not allow them to draw water from our wells. For hours together they have to wait at our wells till some one takes pity on them and gives them a potful of water. They are refused admittance in the railway carriages, and if they dare to enter, they are abused. Their touch is considered pollution, so that they are beaten with shoes from a distance. There is a good deal of all this in Gujarat. How can we expect to get *Swaraj* terrorising as we do our own countrymen?

A movement in which men and women are not afraid to face the truth so inexorably, whatever its defects, is a great and true national movement.

American Appreciation of Mahatma Gandhi: *Justice*, the Madras non-Brahmin daily, prints the following from a letter which Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, senior member of the deputation to Guiana sent by the Government of India, writes from New York, to a friend:

We have here in this land a number of revolutionaries. Their influence of revolutionary ideas has waned in consequence of Gandhi's movement. Mahatma Gandhi has done thus a great and incalculable good to the British Government as well as to the Indian Races. His passive resistance creed and his saintly character have alienated the sympathies of the majority of young men and women of India from the revolutionary propaganda for independence. It is a revelation to know here that Gandhi Mahatma has a hold on the cultured American men and women. He is freely compared to Christ and, even Roman Catholics, I am credited to have reverenced his name. The American admiration for his ideals secures American sympathy for Indian cause.

One of the greatest disabilities of British rule in India is that it seldom knows its friends and often mistakes flatterers for them. The testimony of a distinguished non-Brahmin leader like the Dewan Bahadur, who has kept aloof from Non-Co-operation, to the influence of the Mahatma in dissipating the revolutionary party in America, is of great value.

Members and Ministers: The *Indian Messenger* of Calcutta, while holding that "in the interest of freedom in public life the members of the Executive Council should not participate in political meetings as long as they are not made responsible to the Legislature," is inclined to contest our view that they are for the time being members of the Permanent Civil Service as much as the English members, and are bound by the same rules, the first of which is that they have no politics. Our contemporary's reason for holding that they are not on the same footing as members of the Permanent Civil Service, is that "they are appointed by the King and are responsible to the British Parliament." Apart from the flimsiness of this argument—the Secretary of State is the Minister responsible to Parliament for India and not even the Viceroy as the episode of Mr. Montagu's resignation shows—the absurdities to which this position will lead in practice—the European members will be free on the same reasoning to join the contemplated European Association—seem to have struck our contemporary which dismisses the point almost immediately by saying that "the constitutional issue is not quite clear." Still the *Messenger* seeks for some excuse for the attendance of Members of the Executive Council at the Bombay

Conference and finds it in the supposition that, though they were not responsible to the Legislative Council, they have by their act voluntarily put themselves in the position of the Ministers and have assumed for themselves such responsibility. In other words, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Mr. Cowasji Jehanger have undertaken, by attending the Conference, to hold their offices subject to the vote of the Legislature. Let us wait and see.

The Kirpan Controversy: We have received a little pamphlet on the question of the wearing of the Kirpan by the Sikhs, which has created a good deal of ill-feeling owing to the mishandling of the matter both by Government and the Sikh leaders. The bearing of arms by any class of citizens as a part of their everyday costume is not a thing that we can commend at the present day. The free possession and practice of arms is quite a different matter. The history of the Sikh religion clearly shows that, while Guru Nanak's faith in no wise differed from other Hinduistic faiths in its profoundly pacific outlook, as an emergency measure of self-preservation, the illustrious Guru Govind Singh, who organised the Sikhs into a militant order, made the wearing of the *Kirpan*, a sword of some kind or other, as a part of their costume, obligatory on them. After the British conquest of the Punjab, the Sikhs showed tendencies of returning to the non-militant Sikhism of Nanak, but this was viewed with disfavour by Government as it might affect the recruitment of Sikhs, then and always the sword-arm of the Indian Army. The Akali movement, as the *Bengalee* points out, has been instrumental in keeping up the militant side of Sikhism. The mistake of Government has been the absence of a consistent policy in regard to the wearing of *Kirpan*. After playing fast and loose with it, they recently decided that *Kirpans* not exceeding 9 inches in length might be carried by Sikhs. It has, however, recently prosecuted one of the Sikh leaders for manufacturing these *Kirpans*. If Sikhs can wear *Kirpans*, somebody has got to make them. To permit the former and to penalise the latter, is unintelligible except on the assumption that the Punjab Government wants some foreign firm to profit by the manufacture and import into India of this article of religious obligation to the Sikhs. The Sikh leaders, if the suggestion is made to them in a friendly spirit, will, we think, agree to the use of a miniature *Kirpan* as a part of the ordinary dress of Sikhs, as sufficient to satisfy the religious injunction, the full dress weapon being reserved exclusively for purely religious functions.

The Blind in India: The April number of the *Young Builder*, the sprightly quarterly organ of the Prem Mandal of Karachi, opens with an instructive article on Education of the Blind by a worker in their cause. The writer points out that out of 600,000 blind persons in India only about 400 are provided in the various schools and homes for the Blind. The Calcutta School for the Blind and the Lahore School for the Blind each sent up this year a candidate for the B. A. examination. As a sign of want of co-ordination, the writer points out that the two schools for the Blind in Bombay use different Braille codes for teaching the same language, Marathi. The result is that students of the two schools cannot read each other's books and cannot correspond with one another. He cites the case of Miss Chatur S. Malkani of Hyderabad (Sind), who lost her sight when 18 months old: When young she came in touch with a missionary lady who got her some books in Moon Type, and she took enthusiastically to

learning English with their help. Another friend got her some Braille books, and she learnt up these, her brothers and other friends helping her, almost without knowing how. Then she framed a Braille code to read and write Sindhi, Gurmukhi and Sanscrit, and she is at present one of the best educated ladies in Sindh. She can also sew, cook and is an expert at embroidery and knitting. The Ida Rieu Poor Relief Association intends starting a school for the Blind at Karachi. A Sindhi Braille Committee has been at work for nearly two years and has produced a code which, in their opinion, is admirably suited to become the Uniform Braille Code for Indian languages, putting together their common features and allowing scope for the presentation of the peculiarities of each.

Hope for Lepers: "Without the Camp," the quarterly magazine of the Mission to Lepers, is always bright reading. The current number opens with the sentence, "Life is a great joy just now" quoted from the first impressions of a new worker, Mr. A. Donald Miller, stationed at Purulia where there is a model Leper Asylum. We are glad to read in the Indian notes the testimony to the efficacy of the new treatment borne by the Rev. Frank Oldrieve, the Mission Secretary for India, who recently returned to England. He writes:

During the last few months I have visited all the large leper asylums in India and wherever I have gone there is a different spirit among the lepers. And I do not marvel. Their ulcers are being healed, their faces, so marred, are becoming normal again; sensation is returning to the places where there has been anaesthesia, and strength is coming back. The present treatment is a hypodermic injection of the ethyl esters of hydnocarpus oil, and the latest preparation gives no troublesome reaction. Lepers are now eager to take the injection and even little children do not dread it.

A Statutory Puzzle. With reference to the recent visit of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to Kashmir, a legal-minded correspondent wishes to know what exactly is the force at present of the statutory provision that if any Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or ordinary member of a Governor's Council leaves the Presidency to which he belongs "otherwise than in the known actual service of the Crown" his salary and allowances are not payable during his absence to any person for his use. Sir Courtenay Ilbert says that the language of this clause is not clear and that it was framed with reference to circumstances which no longer exist. At present, it seems only to signify that the officers mentioned are not expected to leave their Presidencies otherwise than in the known actual service of the Crown.

Malabar Relief: We print to-day a new appeal for the Malabar Relief Fund. The present critical situation in Malabar caused by the unprecedented destitution among the suffering population, needs no description. Several outside agencies are doing all that is possible to relieve the distress; but the lion's share of the responsibility has fallen so far upon the Malabar Relief Fund, Bombay, which works through the Central Relief Committee, Calicut (Malabar). Daily information got from workers over there goes to show that the reliefs ought to continue as a matter of absolute necessity till at least the end of September next. The committee are willing to do so but the funds at their disposal are inadequate. In view of the critical situation, they are issuing this fresh appeal to the generous and the charitable for funds.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 4, 1922.

THE DEPUTATION TO THE VICEROY.

Introducing the joint deputation of representatives of Indian and British Chambers of Commerce to His Excellency the Viceroy on Tuesday, Mr. C. W. Rhodes anticipated being told that as a Retrenchment Committee had recently been appointed, there was no need for a deputation to preach to a converted and repentant Government the gospel of bringing expenditure down to the level of income. From the purely retrenchment point of view, the deputation was not of the same importance at the end of May as it would have been at the beginning of February or March. One could not help being reminded of the old adage about shutting the stable door after the horse had been abstracted, on first seeing the report of the deputation in the papers. It may be doubted whether Mr. Parshottamas Thakurdas, to whose initiative and efforts the deputation was largely due, intended it solely or mainly to batter the wide-open door of the Government of India as regards economising expenditure. It may be recalled that, while Mr. Rhodes as a member of the Fiscal Committee was examining Mr. Parshottamas in Bombay not many weeks ago, he asked the witness whether, as a leading Indian business-man, he (Mr. Parshottamas) thought that there could be co-operation between Indians and Englishmen in commerce and industry. Mr. Parshottamas replied that he had thought that it was possible till that morning when he read the report of the speech of Sir Frank Watson-Smythe, the President of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, at the annual meeting when he laid down his office and when Mr. Rhodes himself was elected to succeed him. That speech has been widely commented upon, though not in these columns. It was, on the face of it, the speech of a man labouring under an overpowering emotion detrimental to public prudence, good sense and good manners. But it left a decidedly unpleasant impression which it was imperative in the interests of British commerce in India to remove. Mr. Parshottamas did a signal service to the British commercial community by organising this deputation on the handy topic of retrenchment in Government expenditure. Mr. Rhodes' and Parshottamas' ideas of retrenchment, as their speeches showed, are radically different from and, indeed, opposed to each other, but the word "retrenchment" furnished a formula for the intended deputation, and that was all that mattered for the time being.

His Excellency, in fact, clearly indicated in his concluding sentences the sense in which the deputation was of real import at the present time. "I am encouraged," said Lord Reading,

by your presence as representative of the great British and Indian commercial communities of India, joining together here for the benefit of India, to make representations to me as Viceroy designed for the advantage of India. In this

joining together of the commercial communities for this purpose, which I understand is for the first time, I would express the hope that I see the first step toward that greater co-operation between British and Indians in all the field of activity in India for the benefit of India and of the Indian people.

That is the real value and significance of the deputation. At no points have Indian and British interests subtended so acutely as in commercial, industrial and fiscal matters. The English merchant and planter in India have been engaged, on high authority, in the business of exploitation. They have conferred no benefit on the country which was not necessary or incidental to exploitation. No large charitable endowments stand to their credit. No architectural monuments adorn the country as the outcome of their munificence. If and so far as the co-operation in this deputation is a sign of a changed attitude of mind on the part of the British commercial community, it is a great gain, and we join in His Excellency's hope that it is the precursor of co-operation on larger fields and deeper layers of life in the future. We should, indeed, rejoice if some striking demonstration can be organised, on a larger stage than the Viceregal drawing-room, of the fact—for it is a fact—that the racial antagonism between Indian and Europeans in India at the present time is exaggerated out of all proportion by political myopia or by interested propagandism. We had a curious letter from an American missionary two weeks ago in which, after putting several questions as to the situation here, he asked to be advised whether or not he should come to India with his family, and whether there was any field here for such as he. We at once wrote back to say that he ought to come, and that there was never more need and assurance of appreciation of Englishmen and Americans who come to work in a spirit of comradeship with Indians for the good of humanity, and not in that of dominance for their own aggrandizement. The responsibility of creating this serious misimpression abroad lies, to no small extent, with Englishmen in India. Even as regards Non-Co-operationists, statements such as Lord Ronaldshay's at the Calcutta dinner in London, are contradicted by a fact such as the following related by Miss Gertrude Emerson in her article on Mahatma Gandhi in the current number of *Asia*, the organ of the American Asiatic association of New York, of which she is associate Editor. She was trying to have a meeting with the Mahatma and pursued him from Delhi to Lahore, but he got down to address a mass meeting at Ferozepur before proceeding to Lahore, and she also got down there. She did not know a single soul there and was puzzled as to what she should do. There was a young English police officer on the platform, and when he learned that she wanted to attend the Gandhi meeting, he strongly advised her not to think of it since no Europeans were allowed in the city. But she was not to be deterred by his advice; and when she went to the meeting, she was treated with the greatest courtesy and led to a seat in the part set apart for women who were all extremely friendly to her. "I

shall not forget," she adds, "the courtesy of those uneducated women." We know several Englishmen who can bear personal testimony that hatred of Europeans is not the creed of Non-Co-operationists, as Lord Ronaldshay declared.

Coming to the subject-matter of the deputation, we cannot help thinking that Mr. Rhodes' reference to the evidence before the Fiscal Committee is calculated to prejudice and mislead the public in regard to the recommendations that may be made by that Committee. In a predominantly agricultural community like the Indian, the antagonism between consumer and producer, that is so visible in manufacturing countries, has but a slight significance. The consumer class such as exists in England, is represented by a very small fraction of the population here, and to devise a policy in their interests to the detriment of those of the overwhelming majority of the producer-consumer class, is neither sound finance nor wise statesmanship. It practically means penalising India for the benefit of a few sea-port towns. We are surprised that Mr. Purshottamdas did not take up the point, as he did that which Mr. Rhodes sought to make about Delhi as the Imperial Capital. Mr. Purshottamdas' observations on the latter, as far they represented Indian opinion. But they did not go far enough. He said in effect that we could not see all the expenditure so far incurred on new Delhi go for nothing, but counselled that no further additions should be made except what was absolutely necessary to bring the plan to some sort of completion. Even in the most favourable case, new Delhi would have invited comparisons with old Delhi, which were not to its advantage.

There is given

Unto the things of earth which Time hath bent,
A spirit's feeling, and where he hath leant
His hand but broke his scythe, there is a power
And magic in the ruined battlement,
For which the palace of the present hour,
Must yield its pomp, and wait till ages are its
dower.

But a new Delhi, cut off in its prime, will make the Empire of which it is the capital the derision of all Asia. An Empire can endure sedition more than derision. The transfer of the Capital to Delhi was right and wise: the idea of creating a brand-new capital was as petty as it was short-sighted. The old imperial buildings should have been adapted to the requirements of the new Capital. Almost all the significance of making Delhi the imperial capital was lost by the decision to build a new town in the vicinity of the old. Since, however, it has been begun, we think it ought to be carried out to the end. If this cannot be done, it would be worth many millions to erase every trace of the new structure before migrating from Delhi to any other place. Fatehpur Sikri offers, no doubt, a precedent of a new capital given up shortly after it was set up, but it was not given up because it could not be built, and even in its deserted state, it remains to-day a monument to the greatness of the Empire of which it was

to have been the Capital. The State like Society cannot exist without the principle of sacrifice which is that of life. If the Indian Empire is a living thing, it will not grudge the few more crores needed to complete new Delhi. And it will be a living thing, if the State in India becomes continuous with the people of India and not a thing super-imposed upon them from without. Which brings us to our last and first point: State your policy first and if it is sound, you will know where to make the retrenchment which is more productive than expenditure elsewhere.

STUDY OF CASTE.*

Professor P. Lakshmi Narasu is well-known as a writer and social thinker in South India. He has been for many years past the most noted exponent of Buddhist doctrines in that part of the country. His "Essence of Buddhism" published in 1907 (second edition in 1912) earned high praise from Buddhist scholars. The present book may be described as an earnest and learned endeavour to offer Buddhism as a social and religious background to the Non-Brahmin movement in Madras. If the Non-Brahmin party in Madras seriously sets itself to work for the revival of Buddhism in its pristine purity, as set forth by Professor Lakshmi Narasu, it will become a truly national and international movement of tremendous import to the future of Asia and of humanity. This book is one of the several symptoms which, in their cumulative effect, unmistakably show that the heart of India is turning to the Sakya Muni, for guidance in the great and burning national problems of the time. Professor Narasu rejects at the outset the stupid theory, advanced by some popular orators, which ascribes the origin of castes to the cunning policy of ambitious priests who modelled Hindu society to their own advantage. "The impartial study of institutions has shown," he remarks, "that few of them are based on mere charlatany." Sir Henry Maine, indeed, has laid down that in ancient societies no institution was started except to meet a long-felt want which could not be met by the usual device of stretching by means of analogy and legal fiction an existing institution to serve its purpose. Professor Narasu sometimes deviates from this principle in the study of institutions, being carried away by the current of prejudice against Brahmins whom he characterises, without any particular reason, as "wily" in some places, and who, he says, turned the system of caste to their own advantage as it was profitable to them. This is to suppose that all those who were not Brahmins—and they were always the vast majority—were fools not to see through the trick. As a matter of commonsense and observation, however, non-Brahmins of old any more than now were no whit less shrewd, intelligent and capable of looking after their own interests than Brahmins. It is as unscientific to ascribe the development of caste as to ascribe its origin to the cunning policy of ambitious

* Mr. K. V. Raghavulu, Publisher, 367, Mint Street, Madras. Price Rs. 1-6-0.

priests. Brahmins and non-Brahmins together made the caste system what it is. Indeed, it is arguable that it was the non-Brahmin who showed superior shrewdness in persuading the Brahmin to leave, in consideration of a contemptuous reverence, the substantial advantages of wealth and worldly happiness as the exclusive preserve of non-Brahmins. The alternation between high scholarship and ephemeral pamphleteering in this book, is sometimes exceedingly disconcerting. Another serious defect in this "study" of caste is the studious omission to give references for the many quotations made in it.

Professor Narasu's theory of the origin of caste in India is a good illustration of his method. Starting with the fact that there was a priestly class among the ancient Iranians, he assumes that the reformation of Zoroaster wiped out the difference between the priests and other classes, and that the orthodox Iranians who did not accept the reformed principles, came to India and established the caste system based upon the supremacy of the priestly class among the people of India whom he comprehensively styles Dravidians. We in Bombay know that the difference between the priestly class and the laity among Zoroastrian Parsees persisted within living memory and has not even yet quite died out. As for the pre-reformation Iranians having become the Brahmins of India, nothing is so well established as that the Vedic and Iranian systems represent a revolt, a conflict and a separation of the two sects—the gods of the one becoming the demons of the other. Professor Narasu's view that the caste system of India is something unexampled in the history of the world, is surely untenable. In almost every ancient community, the priest was also law-giver. It was so among the Celts, among the Jews, among the Iranians, and among the Hindus. Buddhism first, and Romanism, long afterwards, by adopting the principle of celibacy for monks and priests, effectually prevented the growth of a priestly caste. Even Buddhism had to tolerate caste among the laity, as Roman catholicism does to-day in this country. "Caste may be considered" said the Emperor Asoka to his Hindu Minister, "when it is a question of marriage or invitation, but not of the Dharma; for the Dharma is concerned with virtues, and virtues have nothing to do with caste." Caste, in this limited sense, exists in every country and community. For marriage and social intercourse, every one prefers those who are most near to him by culture and common habits. Heredity and occupation play a large part in producing a common basis of culture. Here are all the factors which go to make caste in the limited sense of the Buddhist Emperor. Hinduism has exaggerated this beyond the bounds of reason, owing to her having had to guard herself against alien influences. Now that there is reasonable security and freedom of social and religious beliefs, caste is rapidly resuming its normal purpose of a venue of marriage and social relations. And what is more, India is acquiring political consciousness. It is the absence of a political consciousness more than anything else that accounts for the grotesque exaggeration of caste into a cast-

engineers, suffering through the lockout, cared to show up in numbers. Only about twenty lining up under their banner when the procession was ready to start. Very many were probably in the Park, but it is estimated the total number of the demonstration did not exceed five thousand. The engineering dispute remains unsettled. On Monday it entered upon its ninth week, and each effort to bring about a successful termination has proved a failure.

THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR.

Every now and again someone who seems to hold a special grudge against the conscientious objector comes forward and raises his voice in abuse of him. Colonel Archer-Shee seems to be such an one. However, he has not succeeded in doing any harm, for the House of Commons failed to attend in sufficient numbers when his Franchise Bill was brought forward, on Friday last, to allow discussion upon it. Colonel Archer-Shee sought in this Bill to deprive conscientious objectors and naturalised aliens of the right to vote. The "Westminster" in its editorial dealing with this Bill, said *between the old and new gatherings. Formerly all arrangements were on western lines. Motor cars, carriages, furnished quarters, chairs in the mandap, restaurants, stylish dresses were the order of the day. Now all is simplicity. People do not object to walk in dust and heat and sit on the carpeted floor. Men, high and low appeared in dhotar shirts and sarees reached this conclusion indirectly and by a process of elimination, after trying both autocracy and oligarchy and finding them unendurable. Experiment has proved that neither one man nor any group of men can be trusted with power over the lives of their fellows. It still remains to be proved, of course, whether democracy will work. It is too early yet to assert dogmatically that it will. But if it does not, we shall have to abandon our hopes of political stability and of ordered progress, for we know the alternatives will not work for long.*

OUR TRAVANCORE LETTER.

was the most common word on the lips of young and old, townfolk and villagers. The truth of the credit given to the Non-Co-operation movement by the Right Hon'ble Mr. Shastry at the Liberal Conference that it carried the Swaraj gospel to the remotest corner of the country was amply demonstrated at Anand.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee inspired great admiration among all present, on account of his self-sacrifice. He is a Talukdar of Kathiawar and was threatened lately by our Government with dire consequences unless he gave up his Non-Co-operation creed. Undaunted, he worked steadily to make the Conference a success and gave a dignified address. The president-elect, Mrs. Gandhi, simplicity incarnate, reiterated her illustrious husband's constructive programme of khadar, temperance, touchability and unity in her simple yet inspiring words without rhetoric.

Gujarat stood by the Bardoli Delhi Programme—so say the several resolutions passed. But one who marked the undercurrent could not but feel that Gujarat was childlike in her politics. Her leaders decided and she followed. The rebellious spirit of Maharashtra is foreign to commercial Gujarat. She talks not, disputes not, she works, turns her charka and weaves. She does not brag nor does she

uneducated women." We know several Englishmen who can bear personal testimony that hatred of Europeans is not the creed of Non-Co-operationists, as Lord Ronaldshay declared.

Coming to the subject-matter of the deputation, we cannot help thinking that Mr. Rhodes' reference to the evidence before the Fiscal Committee is calculated to prejudice and mislead the public in regard to the recommendations that may be made by that Committee. In a predominantly agricultural community like the Indian, the antagonism between consumer and producer, that is so visible in manufacturing countries, has but a slight significance. The consumer class such as exists in England, is represented by a very small fraction of the population here, and to devise a policy in their interests to the detriment of those of the overwhelming majority of the producer-consumer class, is neither sound finance nor wise

What about the constructive programme beyond khadar? Gujarat does nothing for Temperance and Touchability. There is no house to house visitation in search of intemperate people. Bhils, Kaliparaj and other drinking classes are left to themselves. The untouchables have their grievances unredressed. They are not admitted in even national schools, go far enough. He said in effect that we could not see all the expenditure so far incurred on new Delhi go for nothing, but counselled that no further additions should be made except what was absolutely necessary to bring the plan to some sort of completion. Even in the most favourable case, new Delhi would have invited comparisons with old Delhi, which were not to its advantage.

There is given

Unto the things of earth which Time hath bent, They refuse to reply to inconvenient queries which they seem to resent. Swami Shradhanand is right in raising his voice in favour of the untouchables. After Mahatma's removal, the cause of the untouchables has gone to oblivion. Let social reformers in this presidency join the Congress in large numbers and take up Mahatmaji's social work about which Non-Co-operators were never enthusiastic except to please the Mahatma. Anand has demonstrated this. Mr. Patel's speech at the Antyaj Sabha Conference frankly admitted it. Let us not stand aloof and deride. There is a call of duty and let us obey it in the name of God and Humanity, be we Co-operators or Non-Co-operators.

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our own Correspondent.)

London, May 11th, 1922.

TRADE AND EMPIRE.

The secrets of the Budget which leaked out, and were known days before the Chancellor's speech was made last Monday, created a precedent. Usually speculation is rife on this subject, but knowledge does not take its place until the day of the Budget itself. The 1s. income tax reduction was received with some satisfaction, even though large numbers were disappointed that it was not more, and all still grumble

at the crushing taxation the Britisher labours under. The postal reductions also were well received, for against the high postal rates the commercial world has fought for months. The reduction in tea, coffee and cocoa duty will be immediately felt by the consumer. Sir Robert Horne in his Budget speech specially laid stress upon the need for reducing taxation so as to induce industrial schemes now held up to have a chance of going forward and developing. The suspension of the sinking fund which takes place to enable the reduction of taxation to be made, has caused the opponents of the present Government to foretell dire disaster. But unless a trade and economic revival is given a chance, the disaster will be greater than the mere suspension of the sinking fund for one year. Economies in all departments are strongly urged. The proposed Geddes cuts must not be curtailed, but enlarged, for the only alternative to economy seems to be the risk of industrial extinction. The lack of European stability still holds most things up. But Mr. Felix J. Blakemore, the president of the National Chamber of Trade, in his address on Monday 8th, emphasised the importance of developing Empire trade and not relying too much on the Continental. He indicated the comparative insignificance of our trade with Russia before the war, and the steady decline of our trade with Germany at the same period. He showed how our prosperity really and vitally depended upon the economic unity of the British Empire, and gave figures showing how previous to 1914 the Overseas Dominions were taking enormous quantities of our exports of manufactured goods. From the year 1900 to 1918, the increase was shown to be in the case of Canada more than doubled, New Zealand's increased by 97 per cent, South Africa's by 70 per cent, and India and Ceylon about 180 per cent. So that while every means must be resorted to restore Continental economic unity, the most vital need for us is to re-establish the Empire's commercial resources and to work up again to the figures that the war weakened or destroyed.

INDUSTRIALISM: THE BRIGHT SIDE.

So much is said of the evils of modern industrialism, of its death dealing and health destroying agencies that the pessimistic mind must feel the only hope for the continuance of humanity is the absolute destruction of all machinery and a return to the handplough of the almost forgotten days of our forefathers. But is modern industrialism so destructive to health and life? Western industrialism of today cannot be separated from improved sanitation, housing, better feeding, and better medical supervision than the old agriculturist had. An interesting chart was recently prepared and shown by a medical correspondent in one of the big London daily papers. In this it was shown that typhus fever that scourge at the present time in Russia, has disappeared from England. In the past that dread disease killed off hundreds of thousands of people. To-day it is said there is scarcely a British doctor who has not been out of Britain, that has seen a true case of typhus. Smallpox, which was no respecter of persons, and carried off or disfigured rich and poor alike, is also dying out here. Typhoid and enteric are following into the land of forgetfulness. Scarlet fever still attacks thousands, but it has ceased to be a deadly disease, and tuberculosis has steadily declined both in cases and deaths for some years now. The decline in this last named disease is certainly and distinctly traceable to better feeding and more home comforts being possible for the masses even in our over-populated and industrial cities. During the war years, the figures began to rise again, but fortunately with the cessation of war privations, the rise was checked and the decline continued.

EARL RUSSELL ON PRISON REFORM.

For some years past our prison system has come in for a lot of criticism. Ideas of punishment have undergone radical changes since the time that a man could be hanged for stealing, or kept indefinitely in prison for debt as in the days of Dickens. Many reforms into prison life have been introduced and very seldom is the extreme legal punishment given today for any ordinary offence. Societies have sprung up, which seek to help the man or women emerging from the prison gates, and of late, occasional concerts or lectures have been given to the inmates of our prisons. Probably a lot of prison reform could be traced to the large numbers of intelligent people who have passed through short terms of imprisonment because of their protests against some action, or inaction, of the ruling government. The women's Suffrage Movement for instance, was the cause of hundreds if not thousands of women, many delicately nurtured, serving terms of imprisonment. Each one of these came out with a wider knowledge of the meaning of prison life, and these have helped to develop the desire for a better understanding of our so called criminal population. Dealing with crime and character, Earl Russell delivered a thought compelling and very interesting, address on Monday night. In this he said, that our prison system reformed criminals was a theory very few would be prepared to maintain. Even with modern improvements the dehumanising of the system had been carried to such perfection that at the end of his term the convict left the prison gates something less than a man and quite unfit to take his place in the world of men. He had passed the greater part of his time in solitude, had had no human intercourse, and has never been allowed to laugh, talk or sing. Was it likely that such a man after such experiences, shot out upon the world almost penniless, could find his feet again and take his place among his fellow men? The great thing to do is to arrest the criminal in his early stages before turning him into a gaol bird. In the case of those who might be called society's derelicts, for whom the community was itself responsible, owing to the social conditions of their environment and upbringing, or those who through deliberate choice continued a life of crime, he suggested permanent and life-long seclusion, but in conditions of comparative comfort like those of an asylum. The community was entitled to say that it would not loose dangerous criminals to prey upon society, and give it the trouble and expense of their depredations and of their recapture.

MAY DAY IN LONDON.

The celebration of May Day in London by the various representatives of labour was not a very cheery one. The day itself was cold and gusty, and the carts and lorries, even with all their scarlet trimmings, looked sombre and unhappy. Only the children seemed to enjoy the outing, and they entered into the noise of the bands adding to it by shrill calls. Along the route of the procession a collection was made for the Russian famine. But the few spectators I saw did not seem to be much interested either in the procession or in the collection. A novel feature of this year's London demonstration was to be offerings of workmen's tools of all sorts which workers themselves were invited to bring. The speakers in Hyde Park delivered some fiery speeches in the usual spirit and tone of Hyde Park oratory. The iniquities of the present capitalistic Government were specially condemned, and the glories of Soviet Russia applauded. And although the collections had been taken in a capitalistic country to feed the starving in a Soviet country, no speaker remarked on that anomaly. Russia was all that was admirable. The trade unions were conspicuous by their absence. Not even the

engineers, suffering through the lockout, cared to show up in numbers. Only about twenty lining up under their banner when the procession was ready to start. Very many were probably in the Park, but it is estimated the total number of the demonstration did not exceed five thousand. The engineering dispute remains unsettled. On Monday it entered upon its ninth week, and each effort to bring about a successful termination has proved a failure.

THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR.

Every now and again someone who seems to hold a special grudge against the conscientious objector comes forward and raises his voice in abuse of him. Colonel Archer-Shee seems to be such an one. However, he has not succeeded in doing any harm, for the House of Commons failed to attend in sufficient numbers when his Franchise Bill was brought forward, on Friday last, to allow discussion upon it. Colonel Archer-Shee sought in this Bill to deprive conscientious objectors and naturalised aliens of the right to vote. The "Westminster" in its editorial dealing with this Bill, said "the mistake such suggestions as Colonel Archer-Shee's made for the restriction of the right to vote, sprang from the false assumption that it is a privilege to be allowed to vote, as it used to be before the franchise was put upon a broadly democratic foundation. To vote is, and always will be, a responsibility, it is not a privilege. For better, for worse, we have admitted that one man's, or one woman's wishes in political matters are as important as another's. We have reached this conclusion indirectly and by a process of elimination, after trying both autocracy and oligarchy and finding them unendurable. Experiment has proved that neither one man nor any group of men can be trusted with power over the lives of their fellows. It still remains to be proved, of course, whether democracy will work. It is too early yet to assert dogmatically that it will. But if it does not, we shall have to abandon our hopes of political stability and of ordered progress, for we know the alternatives will not work for long."

OUR TRAVANCORE LETTER.

THE COURSE OF SOCIAL REFORM.

It is well known that Malabar, including Travancore and Cochin States, is the very citadel of crystallised ideas of caste and all its evil accompaniments. It was on a visit to this Coast that Swami Vivekananda exclaimed in utter disgust that it was a veritable lunatic asylum. So queer, unreasonable and, to a foreigner unthinkable are the social habits and methods of life of the people. When, therefore, a process of reconstruction chiefly relating to the ways and means of ameliorating the social condition of the masses, of introducing great innovations, of removing flagrant inequalities and similar disabilities is seen as a mass movement, it is a happy sign of the times indicating a real and advanced step in social awakening. Every community has commenced to work to set its own house in order and bring about changes suitable to the modern ways of living and acting in consort and communion with other sections of people. The Namburi Brahmin occupying the topmost ring in the social ladder of Malabar, the Nair in the middle and the Tiya (or Ezhava) and the Pulaya and the Paraya forming the base, have all begun to move with surprising rapidity and constitute themselves into separate organisations to improve their lot and elip such social overgrowths which have a tendency to affect the central organism and blot it out of existence. That such a programme of social work has been persistently going on for some years is a guarantee of the earnest desire on the part of the people concerned to satisfy the social and material ideals of the present day.

THE NUMBURI CONFERENCE.

The Yogakshema Sabha of the Numburis of Malabar recently held its annual Conference at Chengannur in Travancore and passed certain resolutions which have a far-reaching effect on the present-day Hinduism and the form in which the religion of their forefathers should be shaped. Those who have a close knowledge of the Numburis and their ways have ample reason to be satisfied with the current of ideas working for their upheaval. For instance, one of the resolutions passed was that such of the Hindus who were forcibly converted into Muslims should be readmitted into Hindu Society. The mentality which has accepted such a resolution is an exceptionally progressive and the fact that the Numburi should have reconciled himself to such a vein of thought cannot be easily appraised and appreciated by any non-Malayalee. Another matter discussed was the admission of Ezhavas and all non-caste Hindus into Hindu temples. This is the question of questions, the problem of problems, now agitating the Ezhavas (Tiyas) in Travancore and their spokesmen have on different platforms flung their attacks on the high caste Hindu and the Government against the existing abominable practice of their unjust and cruel exclusion. The more enlightened of the Hindus among whom are both Brahmins and Nairs have accepted the reasonableness of the request made by Ezhavas and have even publicly expressed their approval of a policy under which this social and religious disability can be removed. But it was not expected that the Numburi would move so quickly in the matter. For, a proposition was placed on the agenda of business at the Yogakshema Sabha. No doubt, it was not passed, but the fact that this real grievance of the Ezhavas has been able to secure the practical sympathy and support of at least a few Numburis is a wonderful process of social evolution which has its own significance in this extremely caste-ridden portion of India. Probably, the same resolution now rejected by the Numburi Conference will be passed next year at the same Conference.

THE EZHAVAS IN CONFERENCE.

The Ezhavas of Travancore have in the meanwhile been meeting in Eramalloor in North Travancore to consider their present social situation. The most important matter discussed at their Conference was the abolition of caste. A most extraordinary demonstration of their utter condemnation of the caste-system as it exists to-day among the Hindu community was the public procession which they got up with an effigy of caste and towards the end of the procession the effigy was burned. The question that one has to ask is whether this way of condemning caste by the Ezhavas would have any effect. In the first place there are several strata of people above the Ezhavas in the Hindu scale and it ought to be their endeavour to take action on the lines indicated by the Ezhavas, as that is likely to be more fruitful of action than the efforts made by an admittedly lower community. However much they may protest against the idea, they have to accept their social inferiority. If they really want any progress to be made, they should act on principles of caste-abolition and should behave with people lower than they on terms of social and religious equality. That would be the best course for a practical reformer than tons of speech. The resolution on temple admission which was passed also evoked the substantial sympathy and support of a large number of high-caste Hindus. The general principle in all social reforms is to take the masses with the advanced party. It applies with great force to cases like these in which one community wants the support of another. The temple entry question cannot be solved by Mahatma Gandhi himself (on

whose advice much stress is placed). It is essentially an inter-communal question and the Ezhavas can never hope to solve this problem to their advantage by doing anything which will bring about the hatred or discord of other communities. Nor can Government do much in the way of removing this real and grievous disability of the Ezhavas. The crust of ages cannot be removed in a day. The social conscience of the higher castes to the wrongs inflicted on their brethren has been rudely awakened and that is a great victory for the Ezhavas in their agitation. As wise men, it will be better for them to dissuade themselves from setting the Travancore backwaters in fire. Patience has its own virtue of reward, unequalled by other fruits of labour.

MISSING.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In reply to Mr. A. Sambasivan's inquiry about the whereabouts of Mr. Swaminathan, M.A., I beg to state that Mr. Swaminathan saw me in Bombay sometime ago,—it may be last year or even in 1920—and said that he was proceeding to Europe for pursuing his literary studies. On further inquiries here, I gather that Mr. S. wrote to some people in Bombay about three months ago from Berlin. I enclose my address.

Yours etc.,

A.

1st June 1922.

IS THE REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY PROGRESSING?

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Mahatma Gandhi hammered with all his might against untouchability. He always gave it a prominent place in his Congress programmes. When he spoke, all the people nodded. Let us see how they act, when the time comes for action.

In the last November session of the Central Province Council, a Mahar member moved a resolution inviting the Council to place its opinion on record 'that the depressed classes should enjoy the same privileges as the other communities do, in making use of wells, dharmshalas, ghats, or tanks and water-pipes, built out of public funds in Central Province and Berar.

Both the Mahar members recognized the practical difficulties which stood in the way of giving immediate effect to this resolution. What they wanted was an academic expression of the opinion, which would have been of use to them. But the majority in the Council remained obdurate and the resolution was defeated by 28 against 10 votes. [From the *Servant of India*.]

The best criticism on the action of the Hindu members of the Central Province Liberal Council is to be found in the words of Mr. Nandagooli the Mahar member who moved the resolution. It is as follows: "The cry for more power and more rights from the whole of India on the ground that they are fit cannot mean anything more than that they are fit for depriving the present Government of their power and not using that power to any good or equitable purpose, if they deny the very rudiments of ordinary humanity to their down-trodden brethren."

In the *Bombay Chronicle* another case has appeared. The Namahudras of Gauhati in Assam wanted to exert their right of entrance into Hindu Temple of Kamrup. But the temple authorities appealed to police authorities and got them evicted from the temple. Mahatma Gandhi is eulogised as the greatest man in the world. It is not the certificate that he wants, but the real removal of untouchability. Hindus must understand that stopping the entrance of the untouchables into the Hindu Temples is blotting out sixty millions of men from the already diminishing ranks of Hinduism.

Jawahar, }
30th May 1922. }

Yours Etc.,
K. G. KARARE.

AN EPISODE OF THE BOMBAY LIBERAL CONFERENCE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

I only wish to add a word to the version given by Mr. Natarajan in his letter published in your last issue. The treatment meted out to political prisoners in our jails did not form part of the original list of subjects prepared by the Reception Committee. This was circulated to constituent bodies a little before the session of the Conference and they were asked to suggest any additional subjects they might like the Conference to take up. The Deccan Sabha of Poona being a constituent body, had received a similar request which, so far as my knowledge goes, was carefully considered at a general meeting of the members specially convened for the purpose. The result was that the Sabha is reported to have eventually decided to request the Reception Committee to include that subject among others in the list of those to be placed before the Subjects Committee. Unless my information is incorrect, this decision seems to have been duly communicated to the organisers of the Conference by the secretary of the Deccan Sabha; and yet the subject was conveniently left out until Mr. Natarajan brought it up for discussion in the Subjects Committee! Why the organisers should in this way fight shy of a question which has latterly assumed such serious importance is more than one can say; but it is doubtless true that they would have considerably added to their reputation for honest patriotism, had they of their own accord come forward to face it boldly.

Yours etc.

A POONA LIBERAL.

31st May.

MALABAR RELIEF FUND, BOMBAY.

A FRESH APPEAL.

Dear Sir (Madam),

The latest and detailed telegrams that have reached us from our own workers at present in Malabar and the reports that have an official source go to point out clearly that though the situation in Malabar is in a way settling down, still the distress and the troubles in the disturbed parts are not yet over; and the need for relief still continues, though in a different form. We, therefore, beg to appeal to you and the public for further financial support to our Fund in Bombay to enable the Malabar Central Relief Committee to carry on the relief operations to completion.

The Committee closed down the gratuitous relief in camps by the end of February last, gave a valedictory dole to the sufferers under their care, and thus helped their repatriation. But it is pointedly brought to our notice that the sufferers, especially the women, find it very hard to pull on as they have very scanty means to support themselves and their children owing to lack of employment. In addition, therefore, to the extension of this mode of relief, the Committee is now advised to undertake the opening of cheap-grain shops to enable the poor middle class people to tide over the period of stress till the next crop is harvested. Moreover, it is specially urged on our attention that unless the people are helped in either repairing or rebuilding the burnt houses before the monsoon sets in, sickness is sure to prevail. Thus, in order to relieve substantially the existing varied distress by these methods the Committee will need a large amount of money.

Besides, an additional heavy responsibility had to be undertaken by this Committee and that is to afford now a greater measure of relief to the destitute Moplah women and

children especially, when they have been deprived of the help and protection of their bread-winners, either killed in the rebellion or sent to jail. Their number is large and systematic relief is being organised for them in the interior with the help of the Joint Committees of Moplahs and Hindus.

There is again the most vexed and troublesome questions of the forcibly converted Hindus and others who need our special consideration and particular help. Mr. Devadhar has recently received an application signed by about a thousand women on behalf of six thousand women from the disturbed parts of Calicut Taluk asking for larger measure of help and praying for the continuance of present assistance on an increased scale till towards the end of September when it is expected that new crop will be ready for use.

Government are granting loans in small amounts and it is believed that such help though valuable will not go a great way in affording to the helpless sufferers adequate measure of necessary relief unless otherwise supplemented by charity for which purpose the people of Malabar confidently look to their countrymen in Bombay and elsewhere for generous help.

To sum up the situation, we find it necessary to give larger valedictory doles to the destitute Hindus, to continue to help those Hindus and Mahomedans, in their villages who have been rendered completely destitute, by enabling them to build houses, buy cattle, seed, implements, &c., &c., and thus equipped to begin their agricultural and other occupations; it is also suggested that with official help the Committee should undertake to start cheap-grain shops and devise schemes for employment to help the needy middle class people and in this way to pull the people through till September next.

The Malabar Central Relief Committee have unanimously resolved to request the Servants of India Society to allow its members, at present working there, to continue their help by carrying on the several measures of relief, at least till that time.

We hope that having said so much we need not say more about the great need for help felt by all who have been affected by the Rebellion in Malabar and about the thoroughly non-sectarian character of the relief so far granted by our Committee in Calicut and its branch Committees in the interior.

We, therefore, trust that the appeal we address to our countrymen in the name of destitute men, women, and children of agonised Malabar—Hindus, Mohammedans, and Christians alike—will not go in vain. They cry to us for help. Please send your contribution to Mr. G.K. Devadhar, Servants of India Society, Girgaum, Bombay.

Yours Sincerely,

Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy, (President) and other officer bearers,

BIRTH CONTROL IN ANCIENT INDIA.

United India and Native States, Madras weekly.

But it will be, in our humble view, quite right to say that our ancestors regarded marriage as a sacrament and its purpose was the begetting of sons. More to the point which the *Reformer* wants to prove are the many rules of the Hindu law of *achara* or conduct which restrict sexual relations between husband and wife in a number of ways. Matrimony is no pleasure but a duty and the householder has to regulate his relationship in marriage by the rules of his religion. Sexual intercourse was prohibited during fasts and during the particularly periods of time. These rules, widely as they were stated, were in practice effective in acting as efficient means of controlling births in a primitive society. There were elaborate rules regarding the observance of pregnancy which read like an echo of modern eugenic books: also suggestions for begetting offspring of the desired type by the restriction of sexual intercourse to specific days and the observance of special instructions by both wife and husband during the period of pregnancy.

VALIDITY OF HINDU INTER-CASTE MARRIAGES.

Bai Gulab (plaintiff) was born of a Maratha woman named Durgabai, who was in the keeping of a Vais Modh Bania named Jagjivandas. In the Municipal Birth Register the plaintiff was described as a Bania girl. The mother died two or three years after Gulab was born. Jagjivandas, thereupon, brought up Gulab as his own daughter. She was brought up along with Jagjivandas's legitimate children, a son and a daughter. She also moved about in Bania dress.

On the 18th December 1919, the plaintiff was given in marriage to the defendant Jivanlal, a Vais Modh Bania. The marriage was solemnised as a Bania marriage. It was attended by a large number of Banias who dined with the wedding pair both before and after the marriage. In course of time, the marriage was consummated.

Differences, however, soon arose between the parties. They began to live apart. Eventually, on the 28th July 1920, the plaintiff filed a suit for a declaration that the marriage between her and the defendant was invalid and to recover Rs. 10,000 as damages from the defendant.

In his written statement, the defendant contended that the marriage was valid; and counter-claimed that he was entitled to restitution of conjugal rights with the plaintiff.

The trial Judge (Kajiji J.) held that the marriage in question was valid and dismissed the suit, but decreed the counter-claim. Justice Sir Lalubhai Shah delivered the following judgment:

MR. JUSTICE SHAH'S JUDGMENT.

This is an appeal from the judgment of Mr. Justice Kajiji in a suit filed by one Bai Nandubai as the next friend of the minor Bai Gulab for a declaration that the marriage of the minor with the defendant was null and void for certain other reasons.

The defendant is a Vais Modh Bania of Ahmedabad living in Bombay. The next friend of the minor is a Luhana by caste, and the minor, whose caste is a point in dispute between the parties, lived under the care of Bai Nandubai at the time of the marriage.

The plaintiff filed the suit alleging that the marriage between the minor and the defendant was the result of fraud, that the minor girl was a Sudra and that the marriage was invalid. A sum of Rs. 10,000 was claimed as damages.

The defendant pleaded that the girl was the daughter of a Bania named Jagjivandas, that the marriage was properly and openly performed as a marriage would be performed among Banias according to Hindu rites, that the girl was in fact a Bania girl and not a "Sudra". He repudiated the allegations as to fraud and damages and made a counter-claim for the restitution of conjugal rights as the husband of the minor girl.

Several issues were raised, but at the hearing, issues Nos. 4 and 7 relating to the fraudulent character of the marriage ceremony and the claim for damages were abandoned.

It was admitted before the trial Court that the marriage ceremony was performed and that consummation had taken place. It was also admitted that the minor girl was born of the connection between Jagjivandas and one Durgabai, a Maratha woman, and that Durgabai was not married to Jagjivandas.

On a consideration of the evidence the learned trial Judge held that the girl was a "Sudra," but was accepted as a Bania girl at the time of the marriage as she lived with

Jagjivandas, who looked after her practically as his daughter until she went to live with Dhangavri, the legitimate daughter of Jagjivandas who put her in charge of Nandubai. The learned Judge found that the marriage was valid as she was practically recognised as a Bania girl at the time. Certain other improper suggestions made by the plaintiff in the course of the hearing were found on the evidence to be unfounded and accordingly a decree was passed disallowing the plaintiff's claim and allowing the defendant's counter-claim.

In the appeal before us it is urged that the marriage is invalid as the girl is, in fact, a Sudra girl; that the circumstance that the girl was recognised as a Bania girl by the caste people cannot make the marriage valid if it be otherwise invalid, and that according to the Hindu law a marriage between a Vaisya male and a Sudra female is invalid.

BANIA OR SUDRA ?

As regards the caste of the girl, on the facts admitted in these proceedings, it is clear that her mother was a Maratha woman and her father is a Vais Modh Bania. It appears from the evidence that she was brought up by the father as a Bania girl. In the Birth Register the caste is described as Wani and the names of the parents are mentioned. It appears from Gulab's evidence that her mother died, when she was about two years old, and apparently she lived as a Bania girl with her father. A few months before the marriage in question, which took place in December 1919, the girl was sent away to Dhangavri, the daughter of Jagjivandas. Then Nandubai who was a neighbour of Dhangavri, came to have charge of the girl, and the marriage in question was arranged apparently by Nandubai with the defendant. Though there is no evidence on the point, under the circumstances it is not unlikely that at least in the beginning Nandubai was acting with the knowledge and acquiescence of Dhangavri—and perhaps of the father of the girl—and it is also not unlikely under the circumstances that the parties concerned might have been aware of the parentage of the girl. However that may be, apparently the marriage was brought about on the footing that she was a Bania girl. As a fact, however, her parentage is known now, and the question arises whether she was a Sudra or occupied any better status. The lower Court has recorded the finding that she was a Sudra, but has found that her caste is a matter of doubt according to law and that as she was treated as a Bania girl, for the purpose of the marriage, she must be treated as a Bania girl. It is also urged on behalf of the defendant—respondent that, according to Hindu law, as stated in *Brihadaranyaka v. Radhamani*, the caste of the girl would be higher than that of the mother and lower than that of the father and reliance is placed upon Manu, Chapter X, Verse 41 and Yajurveda, Verses 91, 92, 95, and 96 of the Yajurveda Smriti, Acharadhyaya with Vijnaneswara's commentary thereon as supporting the view that the girl in the present case cannot be treated as a Sudra. Apart from the decision in *Brihadaranyaka v. Radhamani*, the difficulty in the way of accepting this argument is that where the *anulomajyas* are referred to they are referred to as born of the wedded wife of a lower class; and where the *pratilomajyas* are described there is no reference to the lawful wedlock. We are not concerned here with the *pratilomajyas* but in the case of *anulomajyas* Yajurveda and Vijnaneswara refer to those born of a wife though she may be of a different class. The word used is *vivaha* which indicates a married state and not any irregular connection it is true no doubt that in *Brihadaranyaka's* case the learned Judges held that a son born of a Kshatriya male and Sudra female though not married was higher in caste than a Sudra. In fact they applied the principle applicable to the *anulomajyas* to the case of an illegitimate son. They observe at p. 85 of the report as follows:—

"Though the illegitimate children of members of the regenerate classes are excluded from inheritance by the author of the *Mitakshara*, they are substantially recognised by him as members of their father's families for purposes of maintenance and the absence of legal marriage is, in our judgment, no bar to the determination of their caste with reference to the law applied to the *anulomajyas*, the point in analogy being the conventional notion regard to the superior efficacy of the seed."

If the learned Judge in Madras were prepared to go so far on the strength of these texts I am unable to discover any serious difficulty in applying the same rule in this presidency. Of course, if this rule be applied Bai Gulab would not be a Sudra. In view of the difficulty of applying these texts in their entirety on account of the mixed marriages being very uncommon, the absence of any precedent in this Presidency on this point and the special features of the caste system on this side of India, I prefer to leave this question open, and to deal with the case on the footing that the girl is a Sudra.

CONSENT OF CASTE.

The fact that the caste people of her father, who is a Visa Modh Bania of Surat, raised no objection to her father treating her as a Bania girl before the marriage, and that the marriage was celebrated as though she were a Bania girl without any objection on the part of the caste at Ahmedabad, to which the defendant belongs, does not appear to my mind to afford a sufficiently firm basis for the view that the marriage is valid, even though otherwise it may not be valid. It is urged for the defendant that as the caste people of the defendant have raised no objection to the marriage and are not shown to be likely to do so, the marriage must be accepted as valid. No doubt where there is any plea of special custom or usage, the attitude of the caste people would be very relevant as bearing on the existence of such a custom. But it is very doubtful to my mind whether the validity of a marriage can be determined solely with reference to the position which the caste people may take up with regard to it. Their power to deal with the matter socially whenever they find any departure from the usual practice of marriage within their own circle, is undefined and practically unlimited. But this Court has not recognised the power of the caste to decide questions as to the legal validity of a particular marriage. That must be decided ultimately with reference to the provisions of law subject of course to the proof of any special usage having the force of law. For instance in *Reg. v. Karsan Goja* and *Reg. v. Sambhu Raghu* the Court refused to recognise the interference of the caste as having any effect on the question whether the particular marriage was void or not. These rulings have no direct application here, but the principle underlying them is capable of application to this case, and even apart from these decisions on principle the position is clear to my mind.

THE REAL ISSUE.

The question, therefore, that arises for decision is whether, according to the Hindu law, the marriage between a Vaishya (in this case a Visa Modh Bania of Ahmedabad) and the illegitimate daughter of a Vaishya (in this case a Visa Modh Bania) born of a 'Sudra' (in this case a Maratha woman) is valid. It is valid if according to law the marriage between a Vaishya and Sudra is not prohibited by law. If it is prohibited, it would be invalid. The *paratiloma* marriages have been held to be invalid in this Presidency. In *Bai Lakshmi v. Katiawing* a marriage between a Brahmin girl and a Rajput male was set aside. In *Bai Kashi v. Jamnadas* it was held that a Brahmin woman cannot contract a valid marriage with a 'Sudra'. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar has discussed the various texts bearing on this question and the judgment is very helpful in deciding the question now under consideration. Both these were decisions relating to *paratiloma* marriages. But there is no decision of this Court, so far as I am aware, and none has been cited to show that *anuloma* marriages also are invalid.

(to be continued.)

THE BUDDHA ANNIVERSARY.

Indian Messenger, Calcutta weekly, Buddhism Brahma Samaj.

The teachings of Buddha have not influenced the civilization of India alone, but it has influenced the civilization of the entire East. The Japanese Consul gave testimony of the debt of Japan to Buddhism. The new national awakening in India should inspire a number of scholars to study the progress of civilization in the East since the days of Buddha. We in India know very little how much the greatest saint India produced is still working for the people. The mission of Buddha's life was to teach the doctrine of Nirvan, the mode of life which sets at rest all the passions. His spirit is still working, and in these days when man is often troubled by various problems he comes to us as the great torch-bearer. "His greatest teaching was" said Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, "his love of men, and it was the misery of men, his love of humanity, that led to renounce the world, with a view to relieve humanity. If he had loved humanity a little less he might not have been so successful in finding out a solution—the solution of Nirvana. His real teaching was love of humanity and his teaching had affected the lives of many of them." This was the central theme of Buddha's life. How we wish he should come back again to save men from despair and despondency.

PROBATIONERS FOR THE IMPERIAL FOREST SERVICE.

Applications are invited from natives of India and Burma for probationerships for the Imperial Forest Service. Candidates of European or Anglo-Indian descent must be unmarried and, if appointed as probationers, must remain unmarried until completion of the prescribed course of training and their return to India. Applicants, who should not be more than 23, nor less than 19 years of age on 30th June 1922, must possess an *Honours*, or a first class degree in Science of a University incorporated by law in British India. Any attempt on the part of a candidate to enlist support for his application through persons of influence will disqualify him for appointment. Testimonials or other recommendations should not be attached to the applications. Applications from officer already in the public service, whether as probationers or on a permanent establishment, will not be entertained. Applications from residents in Coorg, Ajmer, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Province and Delhi should be addressed to the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Revenue and Agriculture through the Chief Commissioners of those Administrations, and from residents in Indian States through the Political officer or Agent in time to reach the Government of India *not later than the 15th June 1922*. Applications from residents in other territories should be addressed to the Revenue Secretary of the local Government concerned in time to reach him *not later than the 15th June 1922*. The applications must be in the form prescribed.

The period of probation is in ordinary cases, two years. The Director of Indian Forest Studies instructs probationers in each case as to the order and manner in which they should fulfil these various requirements. Further information as regards charges, allowance, and terms of service has been published at pages 148 to 154 of the Supplement to the *Bombay Government Gazette*, dated 25th May 1922.

A BRAHMO MARRIAGE.

A marriage was solemnized between Mr. Appanna Mudaliar of Mysore and Miss Sundarammal on Monday the 29th May 1922 at the Bangalore Cantonment Brahma Samaj, Mr. E. Subbukr shuaiya, the Minister of the Samaj, officiating at the function. The marriage was as usual, registered under Act III of 1872 and the ceremony was witnessed by a large number of friends and relatives of the bride. This is the 8th. reformed marriage performed in Bangalore, under the auspices of the Bangalore Cantonment Samaj.

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The first year class only will be opened this year on 3rd July. An admission-test will be held on 15th June and the following days in Sanskrit, English, Hindi & Gujarati. The standard of Sanskrit knowledge required, will be higher than that of the Matriculation. There will be also a viva voce test. The examination fee will be Rs. 5 only, and must reach us before 10th June 1922, along with (1) a certificate of having read upto the Matriculation standard in any High School from the head of that school and (2) a certificate of good moral character from the same authority or from any other gentleman of note in that locality.

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Hostel arrangements will be made on the receipt of a sufficient number of applications for the same

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There are several gentlemen who have well-nigh completed their Allopathic Courses, in medical schools or colleges, but have not been able to secure the final diploma for various reasons also those, who having secured their diplomas, are yet desirous of studying Ayurveda in original. For all these, we have decided to hold special Ayurvedic classes in Sanskrit and English (or Hindi) from 3 to 5 p. m. daily. Their course will be finished in 2 years, and they will be given the same diploma as above. They will be charged at the same rate as the college students.

For those Brahman youths who do not know English, but are desirous of mastering Ayurveda, there will be free classes daily from 8 to 10 A. M. in all branches of Ayurveda. Their curriculum will be similar in all respects to that of the College students except the Allopathic side. Their final diploma will be सिद्धलोकवैद्य. The students will be expected, in consideration of the free education imparted to them, to do more practical work for the Ayurveda Seva Samiti. The Standard for their admission will be—a fair knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, viz either Laghu Kaumudi, Saraswat or Bhandarker's two books, and a fair acquaintance with important portions of वैचक्रस्य.

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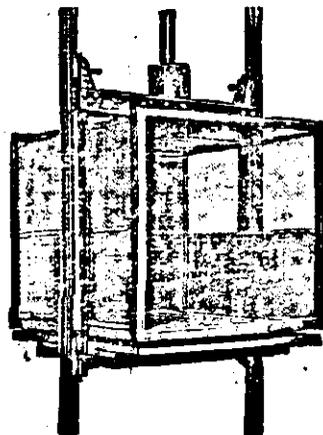
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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The Hindu Law of Intermarriages: The judgment of the Bombay High Court declaring *anuloma* marriages (marriages of men of higher Hindu castes with women of a lower ones) to be valid according to Hindu law, has been received with general satisfaction. But, as usual, there is a fly in the ointment. The *Hindu Missionary*, the journal of the Society of that name which claims to admit or re-admit to Hinduism persons born in or gone over to other religions, welcomes Sir Lalubhai Shah's judgment on the ground, among others, that it enables a higher caste man, who has already a wife living, to marry a woman of a lower caste, which he can not do under the Special Marriage Act of 1872 as it requires that the parties to a marriage should have no wife or husband living at the time. This was the great objection which we felt as regards Mr. Patel's inter-caste marriage Bill, and he was prepared to introduce the above condition of the Special Act, if the Bill went to a Select Committee, which it never did. If a man marries a second wife of the same caste when his first wife is living, it is bad enough, but for him further to aggravate matters by bringing in a second wife of another caste, would be intolerable. If the first wife has children, the position would be one of inconceivable misery. We think that opinion in the Hindu community is ripe for an enactment which fixes a minimum limit of marriageable age for girls and which enables Hindu marriages to be brought under the monogamous principle by a voluntary declaration of the husband at marriage or at any time later. If there is a provision of this kind, fathers of daughters may be relied upon to get their sons-in-law to make the necessary declaration at marriage. Meanwhile, we can imagine nothing more calculated to bring the movement represented by the *Hindu Missionary* into deserved discredit than that it should encourage marriages of men who have wives living, with other women in or out of their castes or communities.

Mr. C. R. Reddy on Diarchy: Mr. C. R. Reddy, late Inspector-General of Education in Mysore, who now represents the Madras University in the provincial Legislative Council, writes a trenchant article in the May number of the *Indian Review* headed

"Diarchy and after." Mr. Reddy is of opinion that Mr. Montagu's reforms have been hampered from the outset by various causes. They came too late. The Rowlatt Act, the Punjab excesses, the Khilafat embroglio and Non-Co-operation, seriously militated against their success. The financial position was a great handicap. The Ministers nominated in the several provinces "have not the popularity and in some cases even the moral prestige attaching to personal distinction, to undertake to propose new taxes or do anything beyond thread-bare routine." They know that "though they may have office, they have not the power and influence; they are already a beaten lot." What little Ministers have been able to do, has been due to the constraining fear of Gandhism operating on the bureaucracy. "Ministers themselves are in most cases able to advance only under shelter of Gandhism. It is no secret that Liberals and Moderates crawl forward on their bellies under the protection of Gandhian big men." Non-Co-operation, mixed up with the M. S. S. recoil from all things Western, strikes Mr. Reddy as madness, but "Gandhian madness is not a method." Mr. Reddy holds that the Mahatma has reduced Government to his own level so far as constructive work is concerned. "It can do nothing; it is at a stand-still." It should be the aim of every thoughtful man to lead the country out of the blind lane in which it finds itself. Mr. Reddy voices a large body of intelligent opinion when he concludes:

Gandhi's movement in its present form must fail and is failing. It is not possible to predict its future course with certainty. No Indian desires to see it destroyed completely. Its disappearance will leave a big gap that would horrify the Moderates themselves and deprive them of their tower of indirect strength. Without the Gandhian breeze the Moderate boat would get becalmed in its own placidity. Men of large vision would therefore like it to be transformed into an agent of constructive statesmanship. The soul of the movement, its energy, enthusiasm and nationalism, and genius for organisation and self-sacrifice, should be immortal but it should undergo a reincarnation. The Gandhites should fight the elections and try to enter the Councils.

Politics and Education: The *Educational Review* (Madras) disapproves of the appointment of Dr. Gour, a member of the Legislative Assembly, as the Vice-Chancellor of the new Delhi University. Our contemporary observes:

It is true that Dr. Gour is a lawyer of considerable ability and a politician who has made some mark in the Imperial Legislative Assembly, but these are hardly qualifications for the Vice-Chancellorship of a University. In the newly-constituted Universities of a unitary and residential type, the Vice-Chancellor is a sort of magnified Principal and should invariably be an educationist of long experience and academic distinction. We are afraid appointments of a different kind are not likely to be successful. It may be an act of clever administrative policy to silence a noisy politician by offering him a lucrative office under Government auspices, but we are afraid it is not inaugurating a new era in Indian education as has sometimes been claimed.

Our contemporary, we think, is misinformed about Dr. Gour's appointment being a full-time or salaried one. The position seems to be that, while the Chancellor has power to appoint a full-time salaried Vice-Chancellor, he is not obliged to do so, and in the event of his not doing so, provision is made for the appointment of a Rector to do part of the duties of the Vice-Chancellor. We expected to have an announcement of the appointment of Rector simultaneously with that of the Vice-Chancellor, but some difficulty seems to have arisen. Dr. Gour, meanwhile, has been speaking of what he wants the University to do and how he wishes to shape it, in a tone which seems to us to be out of keeping with the nature of his appointment, apart from his personal competence as an educational authority. Nothing seems to be settled about the Delhi University yet except the Vice-Chancellor. We concur generally with our contemporary's protest against these political appointments in educational spheres. The application of it to the present case is the greater because of the fact that in Principal Rudra of St. Stephen's College, there is available at Delhi a distinguished educationist who will make an ideal Vice-Chancellor.

Hydro-Electric Schemes and Land Acquisition: The current number of the journal of the East India Association, London, prints an interesting paper read before that Association on the 20th February last by Mr. Arthur F. Arnall on "Hydro-Electric Power in India," and the discussion thereon. Mr. Arnall and some of the other speakers, including the Chairman, Sir Thomas Holland, late Member for Commerce in the Government of India, laid special stress on the difficulties of acquiring the land necessary for such schemes. Mr. Arnall cited as an example of terms which do not properly belong to the land acquisition agreement in which they are inserted, the provision in the agreement with the Andhra Valley Power Supply Co. Ltd., requiring the Company not only to pay the usual compensation for the land, "but also to pay to Government a further sum equal to the total cost of such compensation, for the purpose of rehabilitating the disturbed ryot elsewhere." Mr. Arnall added: "It may be the opinion of some that such an additional payment, which in this case may amount to as much as £100,000, should and can be borne by water-power undertakings in India; but what the writer wishes to point out is that such terms, if justifiable, should not appear in land agreement, but form part of the terms of concession." We do not remember to have heard of this condition during the recent protracted controversy on the Mulshi Petha scheme. If the extra amount was paid to Government by the Andhra Valley Company, we should like to know how it was expended in rehabilitating the disturbed ryots. Is there any similar provision in the Mulshi Petha agreement? Mr. Arnall speaks with some authority, as he is described by Mr. Alfred Dickenson in a letter to the *Journal* as having been one of his chief assistants on the Tata Hydro-Electric Works.

The Young Builder: The *Prem Mandal* of Karachi has brought out the second number of its quarterly organ, the *Young Builder*, and is "filled with ineffable gladness owing to the fact that many of the contributions, contained in the present number, are by the young—some young in age, some in spirits, and others young both in years and spirits." The writer of the "Confessions of a Youth" belongs to the first category because he says that though in his life he had rebelled against many a thing, had defied the authority of age, and laughed at the self-arrogated wisdom of years, "but still I feel I have succumbed to the siren song, not of pleasure, but the temptation of having 'an old head on young shoulders,'—not that I have got it, but the agony lies in the fact that I sought it." He

would rather have the excesses of the Holi than "the life of inhibitions, of calculating inaction, of sordid surrender to equally sordid realities of life." We may remark in passing that a thing is not sordid because it is real—in fact, there is nothing sordid about realities, if we see them in the right perspective. The writer gives us a glimpse of the Sindhi way of celebrating the Holi. "Imagine," he writes, "what it means for women to come out of their homes with long twisted pieces of cloth and belabour the passers-by, not cruelly but out of sheer wantonness, and sing the ravishing ditties relating to the life of the Divine Flute player, of Brindaban, under the spell of the enchanting full moon. It means life; it also means running riot. Without such moments of joyous abandon, life would be utterly dull, uninteresting, a paltry nothing." An editorial note gives us a key to this outburst. "It is a fact, though a sad one, that we have not seen a single happy home in India." India is a vast country to generalise about, and even in Sind, surely, there are more happy homes than unhappy. It all depends on what one understands "happiness" to be. Doubtless, the need of liberal education for women is a great want, and we are glad to learn from our contemporary that the Kundamal Girls' High School in Hyderabad, Sind, will soon be raised to the status of a Women's College. We take the following striking example of the power of suggestion from an article by N. P. M. on "How to keep fit." "Three friends came to Karachi to sail for Bombay. It was their first voyage. It was impressed upon them that they could not escape vomiting owing to the rolling of the steamer. After finding out that the boat would leave at 10 p.m. they took their dinner and retired for the night. Early in the morning each one was found vomiting. After having a wash they went to the Captain of the ship to know what distance they had covered since leaving Keamari. To their astonishment, they found that the ship had not moved an inch as the orders for her sailing at 10 p.m. had been cancelled." So too as regards "happiness." If we look out for unhappiness we shall find it even amidst much happiness.

Indian Money Bills: In the March number of the Indian Economic Society, there is an editorial note pointing out the propriety of the Council of State not interfering with Money Bills which, it is contended, should belong exclusively to the province of the Legislative Assembly. Our contemporary notices that a convention is growing to this effect, although last year the Council of State was inclined to assert its right to co-ordinate authority with the Assembly in this as in other matters. These conventions are of no good in India, while even in Great Britain an Act has been found necessary to keep the hands of the Lords off the Budget. The point insisted upon by the *Journal* is even more important in India than elsewhere owing to the fact that Government has a virtual majority in the Council of State.

Report of the Representative Conference: The Report of the proceedings of the Representative Conference held in Bombay on the 14th and 15th January under the presidentship of Sir Sankaran Nair and, later, Sir M. Visveswaraya, has been published and is now available for sale at Re. 1 per copy at this office. The Report contains, besides the speeches, full appendices of the correspondence that passed between the Secretaries and the Government of India, and Mahatma Gandhi, the latter's letter to His Excellency the Viceroy, the Bardoli resolutions and other important documents, together with a list of those who attended the Conference. The Report forms an important chapter in the annals of present day Indian politics. It runs to 200 large-sized pages.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 11, 1922.

AMERICA AND MAHATMA GANDHI.

In the last issue we quoted Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillay's letter from New York to a friend testifying to American appreciation of Mahatma Gandhi whose influence, he said, had been to set back the revolutionary tendencies of some Indians in that country. Confirmation of the Dewan Bahadur's testimony comes from a hostile source. Mr. Brenton Thoburn Badley writes in the *Indian Witness*, the Lucknow weekly organ of the American Methodist Mission, an article headed "Gandhi's Gospel: an open letter for American readers." He starts by saying that "references in American papers, religious as well as secular, make it appear that America is getting a wrong 'slant' on Gandhi's standing and significance in this land." This, Mr. Badley, accounts for by alleging that "his supporters in the United States have shrewdly succeeded in putting forth just those aspects of his life and teachings that are calculated to captivate American thinking." This explanation is disposed of easily. The Mahatma set his face rigidly against any sort of foreign propaganda, and at his instance, and in spite of the scarcely veiled protests of some of his closest adherents, even the British Committee of the Congress and its weekly newspaper which have been in existence for many years past, were closed down. The Indians belonging to the revolutionary party have regarded the Mahatma and his movement with frank contempt. The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry, who was recently in America, cannot be said to have helped to keep back from the American public the weaknesses of the Mahatma's movement. The Young India Association at 1400 Broadway, New York, has for President, Dr. J. T. Sunderland, the eminent Unitarian divine, well-known in the Brahmo Samaj as a thinker and teacher of power and purity. This Association recently published and distributed broadcast a reprint of the report, as it appeared in *Young India*, of the proceedings at the trial of Mahatma Gandhi at Ahmedabad, including the full texts of his statement before the Court and of the judgment delivered by the Judge sentencing him to six years' imprisonment. Except for this, much that has been published in America regarding the Mahatma and his movement, has been written by American men and women who met him and studied the movement at first hand, like Miss Gertrude Emerson, the Associate Editor of *Asia*, to whose article we had a reference in our leading article last week.

Mr. Badley seems to imply at one place that few intelligent Indians believe in the Mahatma's sincerity. Let us quote Miss Emerson's statement on the point. She writes:

There are a great many different Indian attitudes, the why and the wherefore of which I shall discuss in another place. But I can remember only three Indians who accused him (the Mahatma) of out-and-out insincerity. Sir Surendranath Banerjee, who has rendered distinguished services to the

Liberal party in India and is now occupying an important post in the Government of Bengal, made no effort to disguise his feeling that of late Gandhi had turned into a mere politician. A Gurkha cook who looked after a little tea-house in the Himalayas where I sometimes dropped off my horse to have a cup of tea and get warm after a ride from Darjeeling, insisted that Gandhi's real object in life was merely to become *maharaja* of all India. And the superintendent of the model prison at Jaipur expressed his convictions with equal certainty. "He is a malicious disturber of the peace," said that gentleman. "If he dares to come into our state, I will see that very good care is taken of him, very good care indeed!"

We ought to add that these three do not exhaust the number of Indians who regard the Mahatma as a humbug. There are some of Sir Surendranath's type and standing even in Bombay. Mr. Badley avers that "representative missionaries" from America take a different view from that taken by the American press as regards the Mahatma. That is not our experience. The *Indian Witness* itself in its earlier comments was a different witness. The *Dnyanodaya* of Bombay represents seven missions of which the American Marathi Mission is one. Mr. Badley resents the comparison of "this seditious movement on equal terms with the American Revolution" in the American press. The only differences that we can see are that the Mahatma and the majority of the Congress do not want to get out of the British Commonwealth and that they are pledged to non-violence. Mr. Badley seeks to rouse the anti-Mahomedan sentiment in America against the Mahatma by stating that "Gandhi has played all along into the hands of the Mahomedans who have their own ulterior motives to serve. The fact is that Islam has been back of this Non-Co-operation movement with all its strength." The fact that Islam is at the back of a movement does not seem to be a sufficient reason against it. Mr. Badley does not seem to know that if Islam is at the back of Non-Co-operation, Lord Reading's Government has put itself at the back of Islam in practically all the claims put forward on its behalf by Mahatma Gandhi. We can not think that Mr. Badley would omit to mention that important fact if he had been aware of it, though it seems difficult for any one with an address at Calcutta not to have read of Mr. Montagu's resignation over the publication of the Reading despatch insisting on the revision of the Turkish Treaty according to the views of Indian Mahomedans. Most important of all, the Mahatma's alliance with Islam, if it may be so described, is strictly conditioned by the principle of Non-Violence—Ahimsa, the central common principle of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Christianity as Jesus taught it.

Mr. Badley says that "multitudes of intelligent and respectable Indians, who despised his (the Mahatma's) methods, did not come out openly against him, some from fear of the consequences, most of them because of the profound respect his personal life has inspired throughout India." This is to convict these multitudes of intelligent Indians of cowardice of one kind or another. A sweeping indictment of this kind cannot, of course, be right.

As a matter of fact, a considerable number of Indians opposed the Non-Co-operation programme. Later, when the Ahmedabad Congress adopted mass civil disobedience, a number of Indian workers sought through a Conference, the report of which has just been published, to bring about a settlement of the political troubles at a Round Table Conference. This opposition to the Non-Co-operation programme, emphasised by outbreaks of violence in some places, had an important influence in bringing about the constructive Bardoli programme which was hailed on all sides as an entirely unobjectionable one, but to which Mr. Badley makes no reference. This was the Congress working programme when the Mahatma was prosecuted and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. Its main items were the removal of "untouchability", the promotion of unity between different sects and castes, the promotion of abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs, and the spread of the hand-weaving industry. The secret of the Mahatma's hold on the public mind is to be found not in any belief in his infallibility—he has himself repeatedly confessed to gross mistakes—but to its absolute belief in his disinterestedness. We are astonished at Mr. Badley making light of high personal character as a qualification for leadership. Even where it stands by itself, it is by far the greatest thing in a leader, for the influence of character on judgment, even political judgment, is much greater than may be apparent on the surface. But it does not stand alone in the Mahatma. Practical political work which stands to his credit, exceeds in volume and quality that of any other Indian leader at the present day. The Mahatma came to India, after many years spent in South Africa, with a great reputation as a practical statesman, achieved by his sagacious conduct of the movement to protect the rights of Indians domiciled in that country. Serious mistakes committed by Government forced him into the political arena. The failure of constitutional methods to prevent the passing of the Rowlatt Act, for instance, predisposed a large section of the Indian public in favour of the peaceful, non-violent Non-Co-operation proposed by the Mahatma. His leadership has led to many mistakes, but to regard it as having done nothing else, is not to see the wood for the trees. His strongest opponents in India admit that he has awakened the masses. But Mr. Badley brings this as his gravest charge against the Mahatma: "He turned to the masses; he deliberately chose to educate the rabble in his political schemes... One can not educate a rabble in anything." Shades of Abraham Lincoln and Jesus Christ!

THE NATIONAL MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH.

(By MR. HAFIZUR RAHMAN.)

The Non-Co-operation movement was initiated by Mahatma Gandhi on the 1st August 1920 and its all-round activities were made known to all within a month. The installation of the National Muslim University came, therefore, as the first step in the

programme of the national boycott of the government academical institutions. It was in October next when after the Jumma prayer on one Friday, the inauguration ceremony of the National Muslim University took place in the M. A. O. College mosque. The congregation had not yet dispersed when people from outside including a good many Hindus of the place and some of the trustees of the M. A. O. College began to pour in. All the non-co-operating students of the M. A. O. College were to be seen there. The number of the gathering rose to some thousands and in half-an-hour the yard of the mosque was quite packed up. Among the notables present there were Maulana Mahommed Ali, Dr. Ansari, and Hakim Ajmal Khan. The meeting commenced under the presidentship of the late Maulana Mahmudul-Hason of Deoband, of revered memory, the Sheikal-Hind or the High Priest of India. The president was too old and feeble to stand up and deliver a speech. He was seated against a pillow in the central arch of the mosque. He acted through a deputy who in a lucid and forcible way explained the President's *Fatwa* wherein it was mentioned that to receive any education in Government or Government-aided schools or colleges was wholly forbidden by Islam; as the English education corrupted the religion and undermined their morale and was therefore sinful. Then followed Maulana Mohammad Ali. He spoke at length and with his famous eloquence and the vehemence of his voice kept the audience spell-bound. The sum and substance of his speech was that they ought to keep aloof from the evil effects of English education and substitute an Islamic one for it. I witnessed the above scene with my own eyes, as I had gone to Aligarh to join the new university but for one important reason I could not do so, alas! The foundation of the new university was laid with the chanting of a religious *Fatwa* seconded by Maulana Mohammad Ali who was then dressed also in the fashion of a Muslim Maulvi except that he wore an Anwer cap. I actually heard from some of the non-co-operating students of the M. A. O. College that for six months hence they were to be taught only Islamic lore and that there was no prospectus nor any syllabus of the university yet ready. True, there was distributed no prospectus in the meeting by which I could form any idea of the National Muslim University education. From my nationalistic point of view, I feared that the institution was a sectarian one and I did not, therefore, join it. I am, however, glad to remark that, from what I have heard since then of the National Muslim University, I can fairly conclude that it is fast developing into a true national institution and that now the word "National" attached to "Muslim University" does not sound strange to me as it did at first. On the succeeding day of the inauguration ceremony, Maulana Mohammad Ali removed the non-co-operating students of the M. A. O. College to a few bungalows which he hired near the site of the M. A. O. College and began his work in right earnest. He became the principal of the University. A college was at once founded and a collegiate school was later on attached to it. The

Maulana undertook to teach history but he was too busy with his propaganda work to devote the necessary time to the University. The principalship was consequently handed over to Abdul Majeed Khwaja B. A. (Cantab) Bar-at-Law who also taught history till he was imprisoned. Tasuddiq Husain Khan Sherwani B. A. Hons. (Cantab) Bar-at-Law, Secretary of the National Muslim University, remained professor of Economics till he became a political prisoner. The University has got an able, efficient, and brilliant staff. Dr. Sheik Mohammad Alam B.A. Hons. (Oxford), B.A., LL.D. (Dublin), Professor of Philosophy and Law is the Principal and Secretary of the National Muslim University.

The education imparted in the University is according to a scheme formulated by Maulana Mohammad Ali in consultation with some other educationists of the country and is calculated to eschew the evil and take the good of English education. The Degree Course is of three years' duration. Before a student can join it, he has to undergo a preliminary training for one year. This is necessary only in the case of those outsiders who are not the students from the collegiate school and is meant to bring them up to the University standard. If any student is well up in those subjects which make up the preliminary training, he is admitted directly to the Degree Course on recommendation of the professors concerned. Though he is exempted from the preliminary training, yet he has to pass an entrance examination held twice a year in all the subjects of the preliminary training. Those students who have completed their secondary education in the collegiate school can at once join the Degree Course without any preliminary training. Besides literary subjects there are some technical subjects, one of which a student must take. The technical subjects which the University teaches are: Weaving, Electro-plating, Book-binding, Printing, Short-hand, and Type-writing. Theology is compulsory. The Muslim students receive their lessons in Theology from a Maulvi and the Hindus from a Pandit. There are affiliated to the University fourteen national schools located in different parts of India. The University produced 29 graduates in 1921.

I now turn to the life in the University. The academical institution is spread over three bungalows and one big building. At the end of this building there is the University Dispensary under an able medical officer. Adjacent to it is the Science Laboratory for practical demonstrations in physics and chemistry. In the front part of the big building is the University office. Besides, there is the University Library where the collection of books of different languages numbers some thousands. Innumerable manuscripts, which are rare, can be found in the library. The library subscribes for many Indian periodicals. Among the foreign papers which the library receives are: (Al-Hilal) Azad-Munshriq, and Muslim Standard. In one bungalow there are only lecture-rooms. In another bungalow is the University Reading-room and the Compilation Depot. The third bungalow is mosque-like. Daily prayer and

also general lectures are held here. The one common characteristic of all the rooms is that in none there is any furniture except carpets. At a distance from the academical institution are situated four buildings surrounded by natural scenery and grassy land. They form the Hostel for the students. One building is reserved for the Hindu students. Parallel to this is another building whose central hall is the Dining-room. In other rooms of this second building the Professors, the students, and the Superintendent of the hostel live. Opposite to these two buildings there are two more with a road intervening between them. In a word, the four buildings make up the four corners of a rectangle. The students carry on two activities: writing and speech. A body of students edit a weekly Urdu paper named 'Jauher' and thereby learn the art of journalism. It fulfils the functions of an ordinary weekly journal with the difference that it is issued in a manuscript form on a foolscap-size paper and is hand-written. Again there is the University union for debate and speech. On the other hand, the importance of the physical activities are never belittled; but they consist of Indian games only. There is also an arena near the hostel where the students practise wrestling. The management of the kitchen is in the hands of the students, though under the supervision of the University authorities. There is free intercourse between the staff and the students. The Muslims and the Hindus are treated alike, and unity between the students of the two communities is one of the prominent features of the University.

The above is a sketch of the National Muslim University, Aligarh, drawn from what I know personally of the University and from reliable and authentic sources including an Urdu weekly *Medina* which is issued from Bijnore, U. P. and wherein I read two articles on the University. It is not in my province to comment here on the present state of the University. National institutions are the crying need of the day. A scheme for national education is already under contemplation in consonance with a resolution passed at the last sitting of the Congress Working Committee. The record of the work done by the National Muslim University in about 2 years is before the country. It is not, therefore, too much to hope that the public at large will find in the University a true model of a national and residential institution and that the Congress support will not fall short of the due recognition of the importance of the University.

SEDITION IN INDIAN STATES II.

(BY MR. G. R. ABHAYANKAR.)

The Bombay notification gives much wider protection to the Indian Princes than they ever claimed or expected to get at the hands of Government. The only protection which existed before was in the Risleys Act known as the Press Act of 1910. But this applied only to newspapers, books or other documents containing seditious matter. It did not affect the dissemination of sedition by word of mouth, by

speeches delivered and through meetings held. There was no provision in any law existing on the statute-book which punished sedition against any Government established by law in any state. Sir John Wood, the Political Secretary to the Government of India, in his evidence before the Press Laws Committee had expressed his personal opinion that this protection can best be afforded by amendment of these two sections of the Indian Penal Code namely, sect. 124A and 153A so as to include Indian States in their scope. It appears that the views of the Political Secretary are embodied in this notification. The notification thus goes much further than the Press Act in introducing the modification in the substantive Act, namely, the Indian Penal Code and including in it not only the princes but their Governments. If we examine the history of seditious prosecution in British India we find that in almost all cases the acts complained of were not committed against His Majesty but against the Government established by law in British India or rather against the acts of the bureaucracy. Under the present notification to criticise even the administration of an Indian State irrespective of the Prince or chief, would be perilously near entangling oneself into the clutches of law. How ignorant, how arrogant, how mischievous and how intolerant the bureaucracy of any native state is, it is difficult to describe. Those only who have the misfortune to live under its influence and rule can correctly appreciate the epithets used above. What a powerful engine of oppression this modification would be in the hands of the State bureaucrats we leave it to be imagined, rather than stated!

The genesis of this notification can be traced to the Government of India. From the report of the Press Laws Committee we find the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent stating this very clearly to Dr. Mrs. Besant: "I want you to understand our difficulty. You get a small piece of territory like a town in the middle of a native state which has been ceded to us for particular purposes by a State. Our difficulty lies here. The state would say "you have a small bit of land, a civil cantonment or a Railway Station that is in the centre of my state; and it is allowed to be a centre for promoting sedition against me and against my authority. There is nothing in the Penal Code which protects me." That is our difficulty. Again Sir William put the same question to Mr. K. C. Ray of the Associated Press in the following manner: "Do you think that a small enclave in a Native State like Rajkot should be used as a centre for disseminating sedition in India." Sir William when he was asking these questions had undoubtedly the agency areas and especially that of Rajkot agency before his eyes.

The Press Laws Committee chiefly dealt with the question of giving protection to the Indian Princes against attacks made on them in the Press in British India. The question of giving them protection in agency areas was also before the mind of this Committee. The trend of questions put by Sir William Vincent unmistakably leads to this conclusion; but this point has nowhere been developed either by the President or by any other member. It appears that

they must have thought that it required no separate consideration from the one given to the situation in British India; and since the report of this Committee has made no reservation whatsoever about the Agency areas it can be safely presumed that they had no desire to make any special provision for protection of these Princes in these areas. The Hon'ble Home Member has signed the report and has agreed with the finding that no protection was needed in the present state of the country. In the face of this opinion of the Home Member we cannot account how the political department has been emboldened to take such a drastic step endangering the liberties of subjects living in the Agency areas. We put it to Government whether this conduct is consistent with its policy of whole-heartedly endorsing the considered views of the Press Laws Committee and in acting upon them by repealing the Press laws. Are these standards of rectitude and honour different so far as applied to the British Indian subjects and to subjects living under British protection?

The Press Laws Committee thoroughly investigated the whole question of giving protection to the Indian Princes both in British India and in Agency areas as stated above. The Princes were invited to assist this Committee with their views on this subject. They did not condescend to place their views before them and treated the invitation with contempt. Sir John Wood, the Political secretary to the Government of India, offered to give evidence on behalf of the Princes. It appears he collapsed under cross-examination and has not permitted the publication of this evidence before the Committee. The irresistible inference from this conduct is that Sir John Wood was unable to make out any case for the protection of the Indian Princes. The report of the Committee was before the Government of India in July 1921. The evidence and the report distinctly state that no protection was necessary. The Princes by their own conduct had forfeited their claim for protection. Anyone under the circumstances would have reasonably thought that the Government would hesitate to enter where the angels of the Press laws Committee had feared to tread after mature consideration. It is, therefore, most astounding to find that the political department of a provincial Government is offering to Indian princes protection more dangerous in its character than that provided by the repealed Press Act. If this action has been taken without consulting the Imperial Government and which is in direct conflict with the views of the Press laws Committee, the conduct of the Provincial Government cannot but be characterised as audacious and high-handed. And if this action of the Bombay Government is inspired by the Political Department of the Government of India which had the full knowledge of the proceedings of the Press laws Committee, of the views of this Committee and the egregious manner in which its own responsible Political Secretary had fared before this Committee, it is exasperating in the extreme. And this action coming upon the heels of the repealed Press Act cannot be too strongly condemned.

MALABAR RECONSTRUCTION.

(By MR. M. NARAYANAN, B.A.)

The Mopla rebels have indeed sounded the big bell in Malabar. While the most heinous acts have been committed on innocent women and children and helpless men, Providence has through the rebels brought home to us a great and deep message. The respectable Malayali has through recent centuries lived a life of death-like stillness in his coastal seclusion, rather complacent over his fair land of waving palms and the green expanse of paddy fields, his wooden system of inheritance and the cast-iron rigidity of caste. He was perhaps neat in person and clothing, he kept his garden and home clean, he scoured his utensils regularly and walked magnanimously with the dignity of a born aristocrat. But the crude heavy sword of the Mopla has showed him in a brief time and with briefer argument, the utter futility of a superficial calmness, while the life-giving spirit of love and service of brotherhood and sacrifice is dried up to nothingness. That caste-ridden Malabar should have been the theatre of a vast and bloody holocaust is no mere chance. That Hindus in whom a degenerate religion and the absurd caste have choked out all sense of common humanity and brotherhood, should suffer in such a large scale in this green garden of God, is significant.

The Malayali has been long free of any religious revival. To him a good-hearted Bhakta speaking a few words of love and compassion, pointing his finger at the ungodly and inhuman in life, is a mere grumbler, one of a lot that is born discontented and restless. Living amidst the sublimity of a rich nature he has, surprisingly enough, failed to catch its mystic suggestions. The tender morning, the silent awe-inspiring mid-day, the mystic evening have all evidently passed before him in regular but unmeaning routine. They seemed to offer no message to him. That a race placed amidst all the god-ward suggestions of a kind nature, lived an unprofitable and insignificant life so long, is sad indeed.

If reconstruction therefore is merely setting up once again the long-worshipped gods on their high seats, the Ernad Mopla is sure to reconstruct himself on his own tenets of life. What is needed is that the Hindu race should realise that the everlasting and eternal laws of humanity, the deep verities of religion alone, can give vitality and vigour to a community. Religious reconstruction ought therefore to be given the foremost thought. All those dead forms that inhibit religious aspirations, all those that kill the spirit and clog the godward flow of the human soul, should be dismissed. The unworthy remnants of custom and tradition long misused, must be thrown to the dust heap, and a religion which is deep and sincere in its demands, cementing man to his brother man and insisting upon healthy social and civic institutions must be worked for. Malabar has long remained the Island of cards pictured by the poet Rabindra, in his story book. Every card has its value fixed and all lie supine blankly staring at the sky. The time is come for the entry of the Queen of Hearts. Let us all, of whatever faith or creed we be, welcome her even now and help to what little measure we could in delivering her message of Love and Life.

VALIDITY OF HINDU INTER-CASTE MARRIAGES.

SIR LALUBHAI SHAH'S JUDGMENT.

(Concluded from the last issue.)

It is clear that where there is a marriage in fact, there is a presumption in favour of there being a marriage in law: *Inderus Valungypooly Taver v. Ramaswamy, Pandia Talaver*. The argument on behalf of the appellant has been that mixed caste marriages even of *anuloma* nature are not only obsolete but are prohibited by Hindu law. This is a point of great importance and it is desirable to deal with it in some detail. It is important to remember at the outset that what is out of practice or obsolete is not necessarily prohibited, and the argument is based upon the assumption that what is obsolete is prohibited by law. The importance of the difference between the two positions will be clear when I refer to the texts bearing on this point.

THE TEXTS: MANU.

In the first place, we have the texts of Manu (Chap. III, Verses 12 and 13) which point out that while for the first marriage of twice-born men (wives) of the same class are recommended, the *anuloma* marriages are permissible: see Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV, pp. 77 and 78. The following verses Nos. 14 and 19 express disapproval of marriages of higher classes with Sudra women. But where first there is a provision for such marriages and next any strong disapproval thereof is expressed, the fair meaning is that such marriages are disapproved but option is given and they are not prohibited. That is the meaning which a commentator like Medhatithi has put upon them; and Kulluka Bhatta has interpreted them to mean that the prohibition is to be understood as limited to *pratiloma* marriages and not to be extended to *anuloma* marriages. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar has referred to these views in *Bai Kashi's case* at pp. 551, 552 of the report, and it is clear so far as Manu is concerned no prohibition of *anuloma* marriages can be inferred.

YAJNAVALKYA AND VIJNANESHWARA.

I shall now refer to the verses in Yajnavalkya Smriti and Vijnaneshvara's commentary thereon bearing on the point, as the position is very clearly stated there. In the third chapter of Acharadhyaya which relates to 'marriages' Yajnavalkya first lays down rules as to the selection of the bride and of the bridegroom, some of which are mandatory and others clearly recommendatory only. It is not necessary to refer to them in detail. Thereafter he proceeds to lay down the rules as to inter-caste-marriages in Verses 56 and 57. It will be convenient to quote here the translation of these verses as well as of Vijnaneshvara's commentary thereon given in the Translation of Acharadhyaya by Srisachandra Vidyanava (published by the Panini Office, Bhuvaneshwari Ashrama, Allahabad, in 1918) at pp. 120, 121, 122, 128 and 129:—

Taking the verses of Yajnavalkya without the commentary it is clear that in the opinion of Yajnavalkya a twice-born person should not take a wife from a Sudra family but if at all a person is inclined to depart from the rule, he can do so on the lines indicated in Verse No. 57. Far from there being a prohibition there is a provision for what Yajnavalkya is not in favour of. Here Yajnavalkya has adopted a style of expression which, to my mind, is clearly indicative of disapproval on his part of such marriages but of readiness to recognise departures from approved lines within the limits indicated in the next verse. Vijnaneshvara makes this clear in his commentary. The word *nishedha* meaning prohibition used by him in the commentary in verse No. 56 must be

read subject to the limitation which he points out in that very sentence and also subject to what he clearly lays down in his commentary on Verse No. 57. This meaning is clear from the phraseology adopted by Yajñavalkya and Vijnaneshvara in Verse No. 92 in the next Chapter in the same Adhyaya. While speaking of *anulomajās* both Yajñavalkya and Vijnaneshvara use the word *śāśā* (married woman) which indicates the recognition by them of valid marriages among those classes in their order. No such word is used in Verses Nos. 93 and 94 relating to *pratilomajās*. Yajñavalkya expressly states in Verse No. 95 that all *pratilomajās* are bad (*asanta*) and *anulomajās* are good (*santa*).

Further, while speaking of the shares of sons belonging to different classes in Chapter I, Sec. 8 (in the Chapter on Dayavibhaga in the Mitakshara), there is provision made for sons born of *anuloma* marriages, but there is no provision for *pratilomajās* (see Stoke's Hindu Law Books, p. 402, Mitakshara, Chap. I, Sec. 1, paragraphs 4 to 6). That indicates the validity of and not prohibition against *anuloma* marriages. I refer to those provisions only for the purpose of the present point and not as necessarily governing the rights of such sons at present.

Lastly, in the Prayaschitta Adhyaya, Vijnaneshvara has made the meaning once more clear in his commentary on Verse No. 22 of that Adhyaya. I do not consider it necessary to quote the translation here; but the relevant passages may be found in the second paragraph of clause 109 and clause III at p. 49 of the Translation of the Prayaschitta Adhyaya published by the Panini Office, Bhuvaneshvari Asrama (Allahabad) in 1918. Thus, Yajñavalkya and Vijnaneshvara, whose opinions are binding upon us, do not lay down any prohibition as distinguished from disapproval of *anuloma* marriages.

NILAKANTHA.

The next authority that we have to consider is Nilakantha's opinion as expressed in his Mayukhas. In his Vyavahara Mayukha he refers to the division of property among sons of wives of different classes and has incidentally referred to *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages (see Maudlik's Hindu Law, pp. 46 and 47). No doubt there the author does not deal with the question of marriage. He deals with it in his Saunskara Mayukha in the Chapter relating to marriages under the heading of *vivaha krama* (order of marriages). The passage may be found at p. 98 of the edition published by the Gujarathi Press. The Verse No. 57 from Yajñavalkya is quoted and explained as referring to marriages other than a marriage with the woman of the same class; and the passage taken as a whole clearly shows that Nilakantha practically accepts the view as propounded in the Mitakshara that *anuloma* marriages are permissible. The passage concludes with a reference to Yajñavalkya's Verse No. 62 and a part of Manu's Verse (III, 44) which is also quoted by Vijnaneshvara in his commentary on Verse No. 62. The translation of this part of the Mitakshara is already quoted above.

Nilakantha's view appears to be further clear from his treatment of the subject of *anulomajās* and *pratilomajās* in the Saunskara Mayukha at pp. 120-121 of the same edition.

It would thus appear that Manu and Yajñavalkya, Vijnaneshvara and Nilakantha are agreed that the *anuloma* marriages are not prohibited. This reading of the Mitakshara and the Saunskara Mayukha conflicts with certain observations of Chandavarkar J. in *Bai Kashi's case*, in which he refers to Vijnaneshvara as prohibiting such marriages. It must be remembered that the learned Judge had to deal with a *pratiloma* marriage and his observations were mainly directed to such marriages. He has fully realised the difference between

the two kinds of marriages and has refrained from expressing any definite opinion as to *anuloma* marriages, as would appear from his observations at p. 558 of the report in *Bai Kashi's case*.

OBSCOLETUS IS NOT ILLEGAL.

Thus the argument for the appellant derives no support from the two principal Smritis nor from the Mitakshara and the Saunskara Mayukha. How is then the prohibition to be inferred contrary to these opinions? The only ground suggested is that such marriages are obsolete and must be taken to be prohibited by usage. I am unable to accept the view that because such marriages are obsolete they are illegal or prohibited by law. The prohibition must be found in the law-books or in the usage having the force of law. Such usage must be proved like any other fact. It may be that the fact of their being obsolete may render the proof of such usage easy. But in the present case not only is there no proof of such usage, but the evidence such as it is, goes to show that such marriages are not treated as illegal or void by the castes concerned. It seems to me that far too much weight is sought to be placed upon the circumstance that the *anuloma* marriages are more or less obsolete. The opinions of Manu and Yajñavalkya, and Vijnaneshvara and Nilakantha, if I may say so, are fairly reflected in the general attitude of the castes in these matters. They approve of marriages within their respective circles, and generally speaking disapprove of marriages outside their circles. They do not, however, necessarily refuse to recognise the marriages outside their circles but extend the same toleration socially to those who depart from the usual rule as the Smriti writers and the commentators have extended legally to *anuloma* marriages. The readiness on their part to recognise socially what is legally not prohibited depends necessarily upon the circumstances of each case as it arises, including the nature of the departure from the usual rule and the attitude of the parties concerned. But the attitude of the castes, which is stated in different modern books as prohibiting inter-caste marriages altogether, is generally indicative of nothing more than the disapproval of such marriages according to the rules of practice of each different caste. It does not afford a sufficient justification for treating as illegal what has not been prohibited but in terms contemplated and allowed by law.

I have discussed the question specially with reference to the principal authorities of Hindu law accepted in this Presidency and to the decision of this Court. I have considered the decisions of other High Courts; but as a matter of law I have not been able to find any basis therein for inferring any legal prohibition of such marriages, and, so far as they are based on usage, I do not think that they could be applied in their entirety to this Presidency. I have not therefore referred to them specifically. I may add that I do not see anything in these judgments which necessarily conflicts with my view. No other legal objection to the marriage is suggested. I am, therefore, of opinion that the marriage in question is valid.

I would affirm the decree appealed from and dismiss the appeal with costs. The costs to be payable by the next friend.
Macleod, C. J. I agree.

A CALCUTTA DECISION

Another decision on inter-marriage under Hindu Law, is reported in 48. Calcutta p. 826., says Lawyer in *Justices* (Madras) of the 6th June. The question is its simplest form is this: 'Is a marriage contracted by two parties who belong to two different sub-castes among Sudras valid?' Jogendra who was a Kayastha married Srimati Chhara Pale Dasi, a Tantri

(weaver class) and had son Biswanath Das Ghose and a daughter by her. The Court held that it was a valid marriage. In the course of the judgment the views of ancient text book writers were commandeered for the position that such marriages are invalid. Richardson says at P. 958: The unsupported dicta of modern commentators, however eminent, do not make the law. Mitter J, refers to the Vyavastha Darpana. The first edition (18, 59 Vol. 2. p. 1172) cites no authority. Nor does Mr. J. C. Ghose (1917, Principles of Hindu Law, Vol. 1 p. 792). Sir Gooroo Das Banerjee, whose opinion is always entitled to the greatest respect, in his Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhan, adopted the view of Mitter J, but it is still the duty of the courts to consider and give effect to the divisions as a whole."

ANULOMA MARRIAGES.

Praja Bandu, Ahmedabad.

Sir Lalubhai A. Shah has rendered a distinct service to the cause of social reform and national progress by his recent judgment in the case of Bai Gulab vs. Jivanlal Harilal reported in the first number of Volume XXIV of the Bombay Law Reporter. His Lordship has held—the Chief Justice Sir Norman Macleod concurring—the marriage of a man of a higher Hindu caste with a woman of a lower Hindu caste—an *anuloma* marriage—valid according to the Hindu law. Thus the stigma against the British Courts that they fail to probe into the spirit of our ancient *shastras* and administer justice accordingly has been removed by a Hindu judge, and if a similar attempt is made by another Hindu judge to hold *pratiloma* marriages also valid, Hindu society will be relieved of the long-standing fetters with which it has been tied by a series of meaningless usages. No reasonable person would advise the perpetual restriction of marriages within a narrow circle. Time is always busy with its levelling processes. A Shudra will become the holiest and the greatest man in the world, and a Brahmin will become a peon in a club. Under these circumstances not to move with the times and to uphold old distinctions with a rigidity is to court social unrest and national disaster.

The Hindu Missionary, Bombay Weekly.

In the two cases of anuloma marriages performed by us we had to register them according to the Civil Marriage Act. The parties had to say that they did not belong to the Hindu religion. After the marriage rites in the court were over, the parties came to our ashram and were initiated into Hinduism. Then they were married according to the Hindu Vaidic marriage rites. Now there will be no necessity to register such marriages. Only they should be anuloma marriages. Suppose a Hindu young man wants to marry a girl of another but lower caste. This, being an anuloma marriage, will be held valid by the Bombay High Court. Up to now such a marriage was not possible if he had already got a wife belonging to his own caste. It could not be registered as the bridegroom had already got another wife. If the marriage took place according to the Hindu Vaidic marriage rites it would be held invalid by the Court. But now on account of the judgment of Sir Lalubhai Shah such marriages will be celebrated according to the Hindu Vaidic rites and will be held valid.

This judgment of his Lordship is very useful to the Hindu Missionary Society. Persons of different castes come to the Hindu Missionary Society to get their marriages celebrated. We always told such parties to get their marriages registered according to the Civil Marriage Act. Now there is no necessity for such registration. Now we think there will be many

such anuloma marriages according to the revised ritual of the Hindu Missionary Society. When a girl is educated and does not find a suitable match in her own community she seeks her partner outside the community. In future many inter-caste marriages will take place. And we hope they will be celebrated under the auspices of the Hindu Missionary Society.

VIRESALINGAM PANTULU'S ANNIVERSARY.

(From A Correspondent.)

The Third Anniversary of the death of Rao Bahadur K. Viresalingam Pantulu was celebrated on the 24th of May under the auspices of the Rajahmundry Hitha Karini Samaj. Invitations were sent to all sympathisers of the Social Reform movement in the Andhradesa and to local gentry, and many have responded to the invitation. In the morning the memorial service was conducted by Mr. V. P. Raju, B. A., Superintendent of the Pittapur Rajah's Orphanage at Cocanada. Letters expressing inability to attend anniversary and wishing success to the Anniversary were received from several, including Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintarani, Minister, United Provinces, and Dewan Bahadur R. Venka's Ratnam Naidu, M. L. C., President of the Hitakarini Samaj. The evening function consisted of a public meeting in the local Town Hall (a gift of Mr. Viresalingam Pantulu to the townsmen of Rajahmundry). Mr. V. Ramkrishna Rao, M. A., Principal, Pittapur Rajah's College, Cocanada, presided on the occasion. Several speakers including Mr. P. Ramaswamy, Lecturer, Cocanada College, addressed the meeting on the Life and Work of Mr. Viresalingam. Noted Andhra poets, Messrs. Vaddadi Subbarayulu and K. Narayana Rao composed verses in praise of the virtues of Mr. Pantulu and they were read on the occasion. The function came to a close with a survey of the history of the Widow remarriage movement in the Andhradesa by Mr. B. Dandapani of Khargpur. On the same day, a widow remarriage was performed in the Ananda Gardens under the auspices of the Samaj. The bridegroom Mr. I. Venkataramayya, a Niyogi Brahmin, is employed in Hyderabad, and the bride Sreemati V. Lalitamma comes from an orthodox Vaidiki family and is an inmate of the local Victoria Widows' Home. On the 25th, 26th May the Anniversary of the local Prarthana Samaj was celebrated. After morning service there was a public meeting in the Samaj building on the 25th evening. Mr. P. Narasimham, a Brahmo Missionary, presided and Mr. R. Venkatasivudu, M. A., Principal, Venkatagiri Rajah's College, Nellore, spoke on the progress and present condition of the Samaj. The next day was spent in an excursion to the Sarangadhara Hill, where sermons were delivered and prayers offered. The occasion of these functions was taken advantage of by Mr. R. Papayya, an old student of Mr. Viresalingam and fellow-worker, to invite the widow marriage families in the Andhradesa. At his own expense he made boarding and lodging arrangements for these guests who come from far and wide. He renders his grateful thanks to all those families which have responded to the invitation at no little inconvenience in this hot season.

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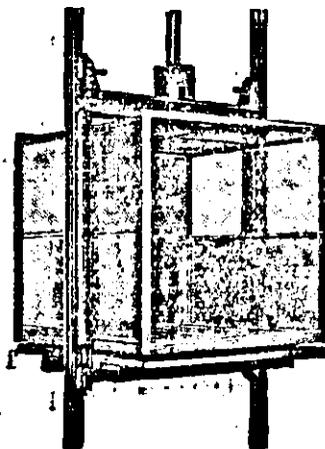
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No. 42

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

101

Mr. M. K. Reddi's Bill: Mr. M. K. Reddi proposes to introduce into the Legislative Assembly a draft Bill to amend the Hindu law of succession so far as it applies to illegitimate sons of Sudras, which we reprint to-day. The main section runs thus:

The illegitimate son of a Hindu of any caste shall not be entitled to inherit or claim any share in the property belonging to the putative father at his death either solely or jointly along with other co-parceners, nor shall he be entitled to take the property of the legitimate sons or other descendants of his putative father, either by inheritance or survivorship.

In plain language, the provision comes to this, namely, that illegitimate children should not have a share in their father's property, as they have at present among Sudras or the fourth Hindu caste. The section as it is drafted is misleading, as it implies that the principle of it is altogether a new one unknown to Hindu law; while, as a fact, the principle is well recognised in Hindu law, and it is the exception to it made in the case of Sudras that is sought to be omitted. There is a little too much of such want of clear-thinking in the short draft Bill. Considered on its merits, the proposal seems to be the outcome of a sentimental prejudice against Sudradom rather than of a considered view of social improvement. The Hindu lawgiver, with his passion for symmetry, would not have tolerated this exception in the case of Sudras but for the insuperable difficulty in the way of applying the ordinary rule, presented by the wide variety of customary marriages among the vast indeterminate masses known as Sudras. Without first raising these customary marriages to some common standard, it is rash to set up a rule of succession such as that proposed by Mr. Reddi. A marriage law must precede and provide the basis for a law of succession. This is what has been done with regard to Malabar customary marriages in British India, Travancore and Cochin. Then, again, the Bill although called "Illegitimate Sons' Rights Act," proposes to deprive such sons of the rights which they enjoy to a share of their fathers' property. Is this done in the interests of property

or morality? So far as morality is concerned, the fact that a man's illegitimate sons will have a claim to his property, must act as a deterrent on his forming loose connections. The Bill is likely to operate in exactly the contrary way by assuring the man that whatever he does, his property will remain safe in his family. In other countries, the social conscience is being gradually awakened to the cruelty of the stigma and the injustice attaching to illegitimate children who are themselves innocent of any complicity in the proceedings leading to their origin. Mr. Reddi wants to go back upon a part of Hindu law which, whatever its original motive, is in advance, both from the moral and humanitarian points of view, of the corresponding law in respect of the higher castes. The greatest mistake that the Sudras have made in recent times has been to adopt some of the worst customs of the higher castes such as infant marriage and enforced widowhood in place of their own more rational practices. Mr. Reddi's Bill is but another effort in the same direction.

Mr. Sastry's Deputation. The statement in a Ceylon paper that an English valet is attending Mr. Sastry in his tour to Australia, New Zealand and Canada, has moved the *Bombay Chronicle* to exhaust all its resources of ridicule in prose and verse on Mr. Sastry personally, on the Servants of India Society of which he is President, and on his mission to the Dominions. While it is doubtful how far it has succeeded in its object, there is not much doubt that our contemporary has made itself not a little ridiculous by its mis-spent energies. We should not be surprised if it turns out that the valet—if he is a valet—has been foisted upon Mr. Sastry much to his annoyance from the anxiety that the good impression produced by his speeches and conversations with Dominion statesmen, may not be marred by any lack of attention to the intricate European etiquette of dress with which, of course, Mr. Sastry is but imperfectly acquainted. We remember Mr. Gokhale once describing how he horrified his host's family by appearing at breakfast one morning without a tie or with one tied the wrong way. The Dominions which Mr. Sastry visits, have a lively prejudice against a man of colour, and it might have been feared that this might be accentuated by any gross neglect of sartorial minutiae on the part of the Indian ambassador. We have no doubt ourselves that Mr. Sastry would have been happier without the valet and that his mission would not have suffered in any way for lack of this appendage. The point is after all a petty one, and we do not remember to have seen it raised with reference to any other Indian who went abroad on a similar mission. Mr. Sastry's mission must be judged by its results. We can not base any comment on the scrappy telegraphic summaries of his speeches in Australia, but he seems to have been not quite explicit in one particular as regards the rights of Indians. He is right when he says that there is no question of demanding free and

unrestricted Indian immigration into Australia, but when he limits his demand—as he seems to have done—to equal citizenship for Indians already domiciled in that Dominion, his claim falls short of the full implication of the principle of reciprocity which has been accepted by the Imperial Conference. In July last year, at the Imperial War Cabinet, Mr. Sastry said "Indians should be permitted to settle in any British Dominion." He was severely criticised by the *Times of India* which declared him unworthy of the confidence either of the Imperial Conference or the Indian public for saying so. In replying to the *Times*, we pointed out that the claim was in no way inconsistent with the right of the Dominions and India to regulate the admission of immigrants into their territories. Our position was then and is to-day:

A Dominion would lay down what the conditions are on which it would admit immigrants, and if any Indian satisfying those conditions seeks admission, he should surely not be refused permission to do so. If the reciprocity compromise means that the Dominions can absolutely bar Indians, there is no compromise and little reciprocity about it. Mr. Sastry would have grievously failed in his duty to his countrymen and misled, besides, the Imperial Conference, if he had not clearly stated his position as he seems to have done. It is for India to decide whether it is desirable in her own interests that there should be unrestricted emigration to the colonies, and we have given in previous articles reasons for our opinion that it is most undesirable at present to thrust persons belonging to our working classes into surroundings in which they must necessarily be at a great disadvantage owing to their want of education and organisation.

Even if, as seems probable, the franchise is extended to domiciled Indians, as the result of Mr. Sastry's mission, his mission will, if no provision is made for the admission of any Indians whatsoever hereafter, fail of its important objects.

Hydro-electric Schemes and Land Acquisition. In the last issue we referred to a statement made by Mr. Arnall, in the paper which he read before the London East India Association, to the effect that, in the agreement between Government and the Andhra Valley Power Supply Company, not only were the ryots whose land was submerged paid the price of it according to the Land Acquisition Act, but an equivalent sum was also paid to Government to cover the cost of resettling these ryots on other lands. In other words, the Company had to pay the price of the land twice over. The underlying idea seems to have been that the ryot's loss was not made good by merely paying him the price of his land, but that he was entitled in addition to be placed on some other land as nearly as possible similar to that which he had been obliged to part with in the public interests. It would be interesting to know how many of the dispossessed ryots in the Andhra scheme were re-instated in this way. In the agreement made with the Tata Power Company two years later, the ryot's right to be settled on other land is provided for but as an alternative to payment of money compensation under the Land Acquisition Act. The ryot had to declare whether he would have the cash value of his land or desired to be put in possession of other land. If he chose the latter, he would not get the cash value, but the Company had to pay to the Government all the expenses incurred in acquiring new land and settling the ryot upon it. From the point of view of the dispossessed ryot, this agreement is distinctly less favourable than the Andhra agreement. The public should be informed why this should be so. The Government of Bombay in 1921 could not have been less considerate to the cultivators than in 1919, and there must be good reasons for this departure from the principle of compensating the ryot both in cash and in land. We do not remember to have seen the point explain-

ed in the press note issued by the Director of Information on the Mulshi Petha acquisition. A large section of the public is being alienated by the extravagances of the Mulshi Petha agitation, but it would like to know that the hardship to dispossessed ryots has been reduced to the lowest minimum possible. A non-controvenial statement of the actual position in this regard will, we think, materially help in a speedy settlement of the matter.

A word of Caution to the Hindu Missionary: The *Hindu Missionary* in its comments, which we reprinted last week, on the recent judgment of the Bombay High Court declaring *anuloma* marriages among Hindus to be valid, drew a curious inference. "Suppose" it observed, "a Hindu young man wants to marry a girl of another but lower caste. This, being an *anuloma* marriage will be held valid by the Bombay High Court. Up to now such a marriage was not possible if he had already got a wife belonging to his own caste. It could not be registered as the bridegroom had already got another wife. If the marriage took place according to the Hindu Vaidik marriage rites it would be held invalid by the Court. But now on account of the judgment of Sir Lallubhai Shah such marriages will be celebrated according to the Hindu Vaidik rites and will be held valid." This, though of course the *Hindu Missionary* does not intend it to do so, may operate on matrimonial adventurers as an invitation to take additional wives. We think, therefore, that it is necessary to point out that the marriage which the Bombay High Court held to be valid was the customary marriage rite surrounded by the circumstances prescribed by usage to ensure adequate solemnity and publicity to the sacrament. It would be advisable to take authoritative legal opinion as to how far the special rite of the Hindu Missionary Society will be recognised in the same way, especially in cases of marriages between parties outside the limit of ordinary custom. In a case of the kind contemplated by the Society's journal, the marriage will have against it the equities which in the case recently decided were all on its side.

The Y. M. C. A. Student Work in London: Our attention has been called to an article in *Hind*, a weekly newspaper published in London, of the 31st March an attack on the Y. M. C. A. Hostel for Indian students in London by Mr. B. G. Horniman. We have heard the most excellent accounts of the work of that Association of our students in London from diverse sources and from all shades of politics, and we should be sorry if Mr. Horniman's diatribes have the effect of preventing any who would otherwise do so from resorting to the Y. M. C. A. Hostel.

Buddha Society, Bombay: At the desire of some of the citizens of Bombay a Buddha Society has been formed in Bombay whose head office is for the present kept in Nair's Building, Lamington Road. The object of the Society, as briefly laid down, is to promote the study and comprehension of the life and teachings of Lord Buddha and to form a meeting ground of all who love and revere Him. Intending members are requested to send in their names to the Provisional Secretary at the above place before the 26th instant, the day of the General meeting.

Starving Russia: We printed recently advertisements on behalf of the Society of Friends who are doing valuable relief work in Russia among the people. A special appeal on behalf of the intellectuals who are reduced to the severest form of destitution, by Professor Vinogradoff of the Oxford University, is sent to us by the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore. The appeal speaks for itself and we trust that it will meet with a generous response in this country.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 18, 1922.

THOUGHTS FOR CONGRESSMEN.

The Congress, in spite of its profession of Non-Co-operation, has paid Government the tribute of closely imitating it—that sincerest form of flattery. Mr. G. B. Trivedi in his article giving his impressions of the Anand Gujarat Conference made a passing reference to the tendency of Congress officials to adopt bureaucratic methods. One of these methods they seem to have learnt to perfection, namely, that of appointing a Committee when they are at a loss to know what they should do next. The All-India Congress Committee which met recently at Lucknow, has appointed a Committee to investigate how far the several provinces have progressed with the Bardoli programme in order to enable the All-India Committee at its next meeting about the middle of August to decide whether or not the ground is ready for mass civil disobedience. We say "mass civil disobedience" because, notwithstanding the express direction of Mahatma Gandhi, individual civil disobedience has been and is being resorted to in several places at the will or whim of individuals. The object of this Committee is to find out what everyone knows, namely, that the Bardoli programme has suffered a serious set-back by the Mahatma's arrest and imprisonment. The All-India Committee itself has recognised this in the case of the removal of "untouchability", and has appointed a special sub-Committee to push on with this part of the Bardoli programme. Temperance propaganda, as required by the Bardoli-Delhi programme, has made little headway. The Andhra khaddar, so much advertised, is alleged to be largely woven of mill, if not foreign, yarn. The Congress party itself is divided keenly as regards the wisdom and efficacy of persisting in Non-Co-operation which has been rendered practically obsolete by the march of events. Instead of deciding firmly that mass civil disobedience is not at present a practical issue, the All-India Committee has weakly yielded to what the *Janmabhumi* of Masulipatam, the able and zealous Non-Co-operation weekly journal edited by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, calls "a few restless spirits in the country that clamour for the revival, of not merely individual Civil Disobedience, but of Mass Civil Disobedience." If the All-India Congress Committee had acted with decision, the provincial organizations would have settled down to work the constructive programme which the roving Commission cannot but throw into suspense. If the enquiry Committee does its duty faithfully, as we have no doubt it will, there can be no doubt as to what its conclusion will be. Meanwhile valuable time is lost, which ought to have seen the Congress party consolidated by a common purpose after its recent deprivations.

The *Janmabhumi* in the same article reviews the stages by which Non-Co-operation came to be adopted by the majority of the Congress at Mahatma Gandhi's

instance with much hesitation and foreboding. But though our contemporary recognizes that "the fire-works of Non-Co-operation have been laid aside," it nevertheless seems to be opposed to Congressmen entering the Councils. Non-Co-operation was never anything but "fire-works" and when these were laid aside, Non-Co-operation itself was laid aside. The dead ghost of Non-Co-operation should not be allowed to hamper or obscure the work before the Congress. That work is comprised in the Bardoli programme, though for ourselves we do not agree that that programme and nothing but it should engage the energies of Congressmen. The *Janmabhumi* reduces the Bardoli programme to the single item of promoting the manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, leaving aside the much more important parts of it such as the removal of "untouchability," and the promotion of brotherly relations among the various sections of the Indian people. The injunction to spread khaddar has, perhaps, a national significance such as the injunction of the dying father in the fable to his sons to dig and delve for a hidden treasure in their fields had to the consequent wealth of their crops.) The *Janmabhumi* sees "growing evidence of the organization of khaddar since Gandhi's arrest," while statements evidently based on careful enquiry have been made that in our contemporary's own Andhra much that has been passed for khaddar was not khaddar. That is by the way. What we want to urge here is that "since the fireworks of Non-Co-operation have been laid aside," what objection is there to lay aside the most blazing of them—the abstention from entering the Legislative Councils? We are not speaking of entering them with the set purpose of obstruction. The Councils can find means of dealing with deliberate and unprincipled obstruction at the cost of the country's time and resources. More than that, every act of ours has a subjective result generally far more serious than any objective one that it may or may not have. The subjective reaction of obstruction is detrimental to the capacity for high endeavour at all times. The morale of the obstructor for obstruction's sake is sure to be ruined whether or no his obstruction leads to any other result. Nor do we speak of entering the Councils in order, by refusing to take the oath of allegiance, to be kept out of it, keeping out others from entering it. On what ground can a Congressman refuse to take the oath of allegiance, when Mahatma Gandhi pointedly remarked with approval that he was not charged with disaffection to the Sovereign? These are all poor devices to cope with great national problems. We say that Congressmen should go into the Councils and work there as well as outside to advance the Bardoli programme which is the only programme before them. The *Janmabhumi* well observes:

The Bardoli resolution really did not direct National energies into constructive channels. When it was passed on the 12th of February and confirmed in a way on the 24th in Delhi by the All India Congress Committee the Nation simply looked dazed and stupefied. It did not know where it was marching or whither its forced halt was destined to

drive it ultimately. Only after the arrest of Gandhi two weeks later did the Nation realize that Gandhi was only preparing it for the coming crucifixion and was setting work unto it during his absence.

It may be added that Mahatma Gandhi himself had enjoined Non-Co-operationists to put Liberals and Englishmen at ease, which can be most readily done by working in the Councils. When Non-Co-operation was planned, the objects in view were the redress of certain grievances by Government. There was no constructive programme for the people to work upon. Bardoli furnished them with one, and simultaneously quenched the fireworks of Non-Co-operation. The only question before the Congress now is whether it would speed up the Bardoli programme by every means available, or whether it will be content to carry out only so little of it as can be carried out by sticking to the dead carcass of Non-Co-operation. Is Congress going to immolate itself on the funeral pile of Non-Co-operation?

LETTERS ON EAST AFRICA.

(By MR. C. F. ANDREWS)

I

Shantinetan, June 8th 1922.

My Dear—,

Things are coming very rapidly to a head in East Africa and I doubt if we have much chance now of immediately saving the situation. It is extraordinarily difficult for you at your end, without any personal experiences of the East African situation, to judge what it all means and to what it is all leading.

I certainly could never have understood it merely from my first visit,—though that opened my eyes very wide. Things are now developing at such a rapid pace, that even a few months' absence makes a difference. But, as you know, I spent a great deal of time last October and November in Kenya and Uganda, and I had unique opportunities of seeing things from every side. It was possible to gain, at first hand, the European as well as the Indian point of view.

You will remember, also, that, realising even then (when I was out there) the extreme irritability of the European community at the time,—owing to the trade crisis and the bankruptcy that was staring the country in the face,—I was almost over-cautious in my substantive suggestions, and advised 'delay', so long as none of the main issues were closed against India by a premature colonial office decision. I was especially anxious about the Highlands question because in the secret document which was shown me (it is now made public) this one question was proposed for immediate and final settlement against the Indians, on the specious plea,—a false one,—that a 'pledge' had been given by Lord Elgin.

Let me explain exactly all about that 'pledge'; for it ought to be known by heart by every Indian who studies these questions. Lord Elgin *did* give a pledge in 1908, but it was a pledge to the Indians. The pledge was, that His Majesty's Government would be

no party to legislation affecting the ownership of land, which would differentiate against Indians, in favour of Europeans. In the very same Despatch that this pledge was given, it was added that for 'administrative convenience' the Colonial Secretary decided to reserve grants of crown lands in the Highlands to Europeans. But the clearest possible distinction was made between administrative convenience and legislative enactment. *Nothing was said in this Despatch concerning second sales or 'transfers'*; and I have it on the authority of a European planter who was actually present on the scene, that when Mr. Winston Churchill visited the East African protectorate, he, as Under Secretary for the Colonies, declared before the Governor (when the question was put to him) that this administrative clause did *not* refer to second sales or transfers, but that these still remained open. This was told me personally by the European planter who was present and who heard this important statement.

Let me further explain two other points. (1) These Highlands being directly upon the Equator, the sun's direct rays have a very deleterious action upon the skin and nervous constitution of the white man. They seriously affect the whole nervous system, and very few Englishmen can stand the strain. The children of settlers seem to get more affected even than the parents. The Government still rightly insists on every official taking a furlough every two and a half years, whether he is in these Highlands or in the Lowlands. If it is 'a white man's country' why are these frequent furloughs needed?

One of the oldest inhabitants told me, that he had not the heart to sell his land in plots to the ex-soldier settlers, because he knew for certain, that neither they, nor their children, could be really healthy there. This was in the heart of what is called the 'White Highlands.' Matters frequently became far worse for many Englishmen because of the temptation to drink strong alcoholic liquors whenever this nervous depression comes. The loneliness of the life is also very great, because the spaces and distances are vast; and this loneliness with the Englishmen adds to the drink temptation. Once when I spoke to a kindly European planter about the frequent floggings of African natives and brutal punishments inflicted, he replied: "I don't want to excuse it for a moment but a man has to live out here with his nerves all awry in order to understand it. The pity is that these floggings are often done by kindly men. It's this cursed climate that does it."

One of the chief reasons why the whole European community are against the working class Englishman coming out is, because he seems to find it impossible to keep away from the drink. One of the sights which filled me with misery and shame was to see two Englishmen of a British regiment, helplessly drunk and incapable, surrounded by a great throng of very nearly naked African Kavironda people, who were laughing at every drunken gesture. One suggestion, in East Africa, which was sometimes brought forward by Englishmen as a popular proposal, was the substitution of English for Indians as Stationmasters on

the Uganda Railway, at all the Railway Stations. One of the English Railway officials said to me with a gesture of ridicule:—

“Good heavens, no! Why, the wayside stations out here are so lonely, that an Englishman could either drink himself to death, or commit suicide. Only an Indian could stand a strain of loneliness like that.”

It was a great compliment to the character of the Indian, and a true one,—although he said it with a laugh of contempt and did not mean it for a compliment at all.

Another experience of the same kind I heard on boardship, while I was coasting up Africa from Lorenzo Marques to Mombasa. A high railway official of the Beira Railway who was on board the steamer told me that the trouble and the difficulty, owing to the intemperance and extravagance of the European subordinate staff, had become so great, that, if they could, the Railway Company would employ Indians who remained sober, rather than Europeans who constantly gave way to drink because of the climate and the unnatural life they led.

But I have wandered,—(ii) The second point to be noticed concerning the Highlands is, that if the sales of land were in the open market and unrestricted, quite a large proportion of Europeans would sell to Indians. I saw with my own eyes letter after letter from Europeans privately urging the leaders of the Indian community not to accept the forfeiture of their right of purchase in an open market. Indeed, if an actual vote were taken, with a secret ballot, it is quite possible that the majority of Europeans in the Highlands might wish to have the sales open and to recover their right to sell their lands to whomsoever they liked.

I will explain the situation further in my next letter.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, May 25th, 1922.

THE DRUG MANIA.

The Press continues its anti-drug propaganda, articles on the evils of drug-taking appearing daily, while lectures depicting the awful horrors of the drug-taker's fate are being delivered enough to frighten all but the most hardened or unimaginative of such a course. The police are taking strong action, busily raiding suspected houses where the drug traffic is carried on, and shadowing suspected persons. Prosecutions take place and heavy sentences are given, but all that is not enough to destroy the drug traffic. Unfortunately it is so extraordinarily remunerative, and the ease with which the drugs can be procured on the Continent, concealed on the person, and so smuggled from one country to another, make it a most difficult problem for one country alone to contend with. The biggest factories for producing dangerous drugs are apparently to be found in Germany and Holland. The leaf being largely obtained from S.

America and Holland. Already there is enough of the *coca* plant under cultivation to supply the medical and dental necessities of the world. Yet there is a new Dutch proposal to use Java for its further cultivation. If more is grown and manufactured today than the world needs, what can happen when much larger quantities of these destroying drugs are turned out? A market must be found for them, and so all the world must be made to suffer. The only way to prevent morphinism and cocainism is to get it controlled at the source by dealing with it internationally. America is taking vigorous action to stamp out the evil in the United States, for she has had a long experience of cocaine, where it has almost reached the stage of an epidemic, colleges and girls' schools not even escaping the danger, the trap set by the vendors of these drugs being a tremendous temptation to the youth or girl when examination time draws near, when the nerves are excited and a suggestion that a pinch of some powder will steady them or heighten the intellectual faculties.

THE OPIUM CONVENTION.

Sir William Collins, who was so closely connected with the drafting of the International Opium Convention, and which he signed on behalf of Great Britain in 1912, says the pressing problem at the present time is to get the opium convention into general operation. There are, he points out, or were, until quite recently, ten States including Persia, which, though they signed the Convention, have not yet ratified it, and there are, or were until recently, eighteen States, including Turkey, who neither signed the Convention nor bound themselves by treaty to give effect to it. One of the speakers at the Annual Meeting of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association held on Monday, said that the evils of opium in India were widespread. He had spent twenty years in the Central Provinces and although total prohibition was not a far off goal, the belief in the efficacy of opium for all manner of ills was a more serious problem to deal with.

THE PREMIER'S RETURN.

The Genoa Conference has come to an end. The British Premier in his closing speech said that he had started the work of European pacification, and that later conferences would carry on the work of Genoa. He made an earnest appeal to Russia, and reminded them that they could only get credit if they bound themselves by the fundamental principle of commercial integrity that debts must be repaid. The closing day offered the 34 nations an opportunity for a solemn act of adhesion to the cause of peace. On Lloyd George's arrival at Waterloo he received a wonderful welcome. Probably no Prime Minister has ever had so wonderful a reception as he received. Two hundred members of both Houses of Parliament were on the platform waiting for the train, long ere it was due to arrive, many of these gentlemen were accompanied by their wives and daughters. The Duke of Atholl drove up in a royal carriage conveying a message from the King. Crowds waited outside the barriers, and tremendous cheers were raised as the train steamed into the station. Soon the Pre-

mier was seen to alight from his carriage. The Duke then presented the King's message, much apparently to the surprise of the Premier, who seemed almost overcome by such a mark of consideration. The whole proceeding was most informal and the feeling of the crowd most spontaneous. The speech on Genoa in the House is not expected to be given immediately, although there is a great impatience to hear what Lloyd George has to say.

THE TYPHUS GERM.

An announcement which will, if true, affect the whole of Europe is that made by Dr. Walter P. Davenport of the American Relief Administration in Russia, to the effect that the germ of typhus fever has been discovered. The discovery, it is reported, has been made by a Russian woman doctor in Moscow. One can best realise the importance of such an announcement by a look at the figures of typhus in Russia alone in the years 1919-1920. According to the special commission of the Health Committee of the League of Nations twenty million cases occurred in the two years just mentioned. If the new germ proves to be in fact the cause of the disease, then a weapon will soon be found to destroy it with. But as every medical authority knows the surest prevention of so dread a disease is the destruction of the louse, for that is the carrier, and if there were no lice the disease could not spread.

THE GOVERNMENT DEFEAT.

A crisis arose in the House of Commons last week when the Government was defeated on a motion for the adjournment of the debate upon the Teachers' Superannuation Bill. At first it was suggested the Government must resign, and rumours soon went round that this was to happen, but the day following the defeat the Cabinet decided to meet the situation created by leaving the matter under discussion to a Select Committee. The Committee will be asked to consider whether, in fixing the present scale of salaries any undertaking was given or implied that the provisions of the Teachers' Superannuation Act, 1918, should not be altered while these salaries remain in force. This Teachers' Superannuation Bill is the first essay in economy, and it happens to be unfortunate that though the cries of economy continue, and a wasteful government is condemned, its first efforts at economy received so poor a support. The whole contention of the party bringing in the Bill was that the salaries received by teachers today were much higher than those received at the time of the Burnham Report three years ago, and, therefore, it would not be an unjust hardship upon the teachers if five per cent. was deducted for pensions. The opposing party replied that at the time the Burnham Report was made and accepted by both sides, there was no question of wage reduction for pensions, and such could not be made until the year 1925, when the question was to come up for review. To bring it forward now, they argued, was a breach of faith. The holding up of the Bill, however, according to Mr. Chamberlain means the necessity of immediately introducing a vote for £600,000 for the next three months.

INDIAN PAINTING.

At the British Museum, in the exhibition gallery of the Department of Prints and Drawing, there is a wonderful collection of Indian and Persian paintings and illuminated manuscripts. There are about two hundred of these altogether and range from the fourteenth century to the present Calcutta School, which latter includes two of Tagore's paintings. An introduction to the catalogue gives an outline of the history of the different schools of painting there represented, and the individual artists. The exhibition ought to help in the work of educating the West on the art of India.

JESUS CHRIST, ENGLAND AND INDIA.

(BY MR. MANILAL C. PAREKH.)

The Anglican Bishops have rendered a distinct service to themselves and to their flock by issuing their pastoral letters at this most critical time in the history of the connection between India and England. It is a service to themselves in as much as it is a duty which they owe to their Master to whom they shall have to give an account of their stewardship in India. On the great Day of Judgment when the whole of Humanity will be judged, the British Government too will have to give an account of themselves, and with the long roll of Bishops whose chief duty it was to see that that Government was as far Christian as possible. Hence, though late, this attempt of the present-day Bishops to perform their duty, however imperfect it may be, is very welcome. That this letter should have been addressed chiefly to the British as we learn from such words as these, "The British who form a large part of those whom we are now addressing," and "Many of those whom we address are British officials," is its most commendable feature. Moreover, the diagnosis of the disease that is eating up the goodwill between the two peoples, the Indians and the English, made by the Bishops is quite correct. The Bishops are quite right when they say "We would ask British Christians to consider whether they do not often feel, and sometimes show, contempt for the Indians. Contempt is a powerful provocative of hatred." They are right again when they commend the virtues of "gentleness and reasonableness of Christ" to their flock and particularly to the British in India, so that the Indians might be reconciled through them to their master Jesus Christ and to God.

If this were all, the present writer would have no criticism to offer in connection with this letter, and he would have taken it with all thankfulness to the Almighty father. What he would object to in it is this that the Bishops have failed to understand the true significance of Mr. Gandhi's movement and thus to read aright the signs of the times. The present writer has not gone all the length with Mr. Gandhi in the purely political aspect of his movement, but he has tried to study carefully the moral and spiritual aspects of it and that leads him to say that the Bishops' reading of it lacks in charity, which

is the greatest of all Christian virtues and which alone can give a true insight into things. It is because of this that while trying to show how "the work of a prophet or reformer and the work of Government are necessary to human progress," they forget that Mr. Gandhi's movement supplies just that prophetic element in the shape of non-violent soul-force which not only the British Government but the whole of the West, which is war-weary, stands sadly in need of. Moreover the spheres of Government and of a Reformer are not so sharply divided to-day as the Bishops seem to think. To keep up a permanent barrier between these two spheres of life is hardly right from the highest Christian point of view. Hence a prophet might very well lead a revolution against a government, and try to make it conform to God's will. This might be much more right in the case of a man who preaches non-violence, at the same time and this is Mr. Gandhi's special contribution to the work of spiritualizing politics all over the world. Besides it is very doubtful if the words of Jesus Christ, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's" are permanently binding upon even Christians at all times and in all places. And when a nation that calls itself Christian conquers and rules over another nation that is not Christian with physical force, and when this conquered non-Christian nation threatens not to pay taxes owing to what it rightly considers grave acts of injustice on the part of its Christian conquerors who are ready to enforce law and order at all costs and with armed force, at such a time to flourish in the face of this nation the precept, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's", one wonders what to call this sort of quoting of the Scripture. That Christians should be conquerors and rulers and enforcers of law and order with armed force is not against the spirit of the teachings of Christ, but that Indians who are not Christians should even think of refusing to pay taxes is a violation of the teachings of Christ, which they are not permitted by Government, is the anarchy of the Bishops' teaching.

But this kind of argument on the part of the Bishops or any one else becomes still more ridiculous when one remembers that Mr. Gandhi's great object, at least at first, was to insist on what may be called Christian co-operation on the part of the Government, and it was for this purpose that he had held out the threat of the refusal to pay taxes. That this reading of Mr. Gandhi's mind is not imaginary is clear from not only the whole of the past life of Mr. Gandhi but from the whole course of the Indian national movement during the last century. The greatest men of India, men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Mahadev Govind Ranade and Mr. Gandhi, who is so far the last of these men, want Christian Co-operation from a Government that calls itself Christian. This is what they have been hungry and thirsty for, and it must be said sorrowfully that it is what is denied to them all along. The present non-co-operation movement is only an immediate insistent demand for Christian co-operation, and it is because of this very thing that to-day one hears so much of Christ all over the land. Thus while the leaders and the people have been asking for bread, they have been given stone instead. Will not our English people and the English Bishops hear now this cry of India for Christian co-operation?

This demand for Christian co-operation has been thus formulated by Keshub Chunder Sen, one of the very greatest sons of India, in words which the

British Bishops and people would do well to ponder over again and again. He says while addressing Europe in his great "Asia's message to Europe":—

"Christian Europe, Asia will have no other atonement with thee except in Christ. Any secular reconciliation or political treaty she would altogether repudiate. We Asiatics invite the nations of the West to a spiritual alliance and an international federation upon no other ground than that of Christ's atonement. In His name let us forgive and forget the hostilities of centuries, and in His name shake hands with each other with true brotherly love."

It is such co-operation which India wants and now insists upon having. In this great work of Christian atonement between India and England, the East and the West, even Self-Government is a small thing which the British can easily give and which would go a great way in producing harmony and unity between these two great and typical peoples. In this the Bishops can render a good service, not to India so much as to Christianity itself, if they carry this work of reconciliation to the British people in England who, after all, have the real reins of the Indian Government in hand. They confidently say in this letter of theirs that the Indians "should have no fear for their prospects of attaining self-Government....The cause of Indian Self-Government is safe in the hands of the British people, because their hearts are for it." These are most assuring words and we are glad to hear them. But what is most important to bear in mind in this connection is that with the last war, when within a short period of four years was crowded the work and experience of four centuries, India cannot brook delay any longer. If the Bishops only realized how with the advance of peace and order in the country, peace and order which the Bishops extol in this letter of theirs as having been conferred by the British, India became more and more open to foreign exploitation and thus got gradually but none the less surely drained of all its wealth, so that to-day what was once the fairest and the wealthiest country in the world is the poorest and there is more consumption in this fair land than in any other part of the world, they would understand that the present movement of Non-Co-operation is only the breaking out on the surface of the disease that has been fostering within. The present writer knows a discharged soldier who is working in one of the Missions in India. This man has come to know much more intimately the actual conditions of the masses than the Bishops living far away from the Indian people can ever come to know. Only a year back, while talking of the Military prospects of the spread of Christianity in India, he said to the present writer words such as these. "When I see the people round about me almost starving and in the last stages of penury, and when I see the military expense of a Government calling itself Christian mounting up in its present fashion, I feel that the people of this country *will not be human if they became Christians.*" There is something in this for the Bishops and all the missionaries in the land to ponder over. Perhaps, the words italicised above are a greater condemnation of the British Government than even that made by Mr. Gandhi. Let the Bishops and all the missionaries and all true Christians among the Europeans read the signs of the times correctly and report accordingly to their people in England.

Treatment for Rabies at Parel: The Director of Information, Bombay, notifies that treatment for rabies can be obtained daily at the Bombay Bacteriological Laboratory, Old Government House, Parel, between 9 a. m. and 11 a. m.

AN APPEAL FOR RUSSIAN INTELLECTUALS WHO ARE STARVING.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Will you very kindly give me permission to place before the public of India in your columns a touching appeal which I have just received from Professor Vinogradoff of Oxford University on behalf of the intellectuals of Russia who are suffering from the severest form of destitution. A world-wide attempt is being made to provide a fund which will be very carefully administered by accredited persons for the relief of these sufferers.

Professor Vinogradoff has asked me to lead this undertaking in India and although I am painfully conscious of my incapacity I cannot refuse the call which he has made upon my sympathy and help. I am hoping very soon to have the support of a committee to carry on the work, but meanwhile I will gladly and gratefully acknowledge personally and forward to the central committee any donations which are sent to me at Santiniketan P. O. Bolpur, Bengal.

Yours faithfully,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE,

I give below the substance of Prof. Vinogradoff's appeal.

Oxford,

12th May, 1922.

Dear Dr. Rabindranath Tagore,

When I met you in Calcutta 8 years ago, I little thought that I should have to appeal to you on behalf my unfortunate countrymen in Russia.

The impression I carried away after our interview was that I had met one who was fitted to represent the great Indian nation that has struggled for centuries with all kinds of hardships—physical and moral. It is to such humanitarians and idealists that I appeal in order to bring to their notice a particularly grievous and pressing need—the need of the intellectual leaders, the brain-workers of Russia, who are threatened with destruction in these terrible times of famine and oppression. The multitudes of starving peasants cry out for help and kind men from all parts of the world do what they can to come to their assistance. But the leaders, the doctors, the educated workers of all kind are worthy of special attention on the part of their colleagues in the East and in the West.

They were never very numerous in Russia, but they have been slowly gathering strength and learning to serve the people and to carry enlightenment into the darkness of the helpless masses.

The savage terrorism of the civil war has thinned their numbers and now the famine is mercilessly decimating them. We appeal for help to the enlightened Indians through you in the hope of finding understanding and sympathy.

I subjoin a few examples of the hard plight of some of these men.

However pitiful their situation may have been while they were employed in the various Soviet Departments, receiving famine rations, it has, quite lately, become absolutely desperate. Since the Soviet Government started on their new economic policy of restoring private trade and industry, they have begun to curtail the extremely numerous staff of the State employees, and a very great number of brain-workers have been thrown into the street and left with no means of subsistence. Most of their home effects they have sold previously to supplement the scanty salaries they received from the State. And now thousands of brain-workers in Petrograd, Moscow, Odessa, Kharkeff, Kieff, etc., are with-

out any employment or anything to sell and are literally being decimated by hunger and disease.

Here are a few short quotations from letters received from various towns of Russia.

From a letter from a large University Town, January 7th, 1922: "I was employed until lately in the Town Council together with X, Y, Z and . . ." (all prominent architects, constructors of the finest buildings in the town). "We passed our days in efforts somehow to procure a pound of mouldy oats for our children, or a little piece of soap, our salary having been paid by half-a-pound of bread a day. Now we have lost even that. It is awful to look at A. B. with his terribly swollen dark-blue hands" (A. B. being one of the most prominent public men of the town and an engineer by profession). "But the lawyers fare worst of all. I saw N . . ." (a prominent barrister), "last time when he came to the Town Council to ask me for a loan of 50 roubles (the price of an ounce of bread at that time). He was clad literally in rags and his hands were frozen and swollen and he placed them on the red hot little stove without feeling the heat."

From another letter from another University town: "Professor A. and his wife have sold even their bed and bedstead for food. They sleep on the bare floor awaiting death from starvation. B. is in the same condition. C. has become thin and transparent like a ghost. He lives by selling his last home effects. Kostandi died of starvation, etc." (Kostandi was a well-known Russian artist; so are A., B., and C.)

If you and your friends see your way towards supporting some of these unfortunate men the best means of giving assistance will be to communicate with the newly founded society for saving intellectual Russia, which has its centre in Paris (118, rue de la Faisanderie). The following public men have formed an organising committee: P. Milukoff, chairman; J. Tchaikovsky, D. Merejkovsky, J. Bunin, P. Vinogradoff; L. Rosenthal, Treasurer; M. Zetlin, Secretary.

We should consider it a great honour if you consented to join this Committee and we hope that you may undertake the formation of an affiliated committee in India.

Contributions should be addressed to Monsieur L. Rosenthal, 6 Avenue Ruysdal, Paris.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/ P. Vinogradoff.

THE SHADOW FOR SUBSTANCE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Knowingly or unknowingly an ingenious trick is being played to put the question of untouchability on a side-track. The question of re-admission of the forcibly converted Hindus is brought into rivalry with it and is being given its prominent place. When some Brahmin Shastris and Pandits of Poona say that according to old Shastras re-admission of the forcibly converted Hindus is allowed, they are praised so loudly in the Vernacular press by their friends that the public is led to believe that the cause of Social Reform is triumphing.

One cannot but ask "Are these Shastris and Pandits of Poona going to dine with the forcibly converted Thiyyas of Malabar." Certainly not. Then it is not these big pandits but the Thiyyas, who deserve praise if they re-admit their unfortunate brethren into their community. The pandits of Poona if they have at heart the cause of Humanity, Country and Hinduism should better exert themselves in shaking off the superstition of untouchability under the influence of

which they themselves have trodden down their own country-men. The population of the untouchables in the Deccan is as large as anywhere else. So is it not their duty to solve this question first before quoting Shastras to Malayalis for re-admission of the unfortunate converts into Hinduism?

Those charitable Hindus, who have imposed upon themselves the task of re-admitting the forcibly converted Hindus many of whom certainly belong to the class of the untouchables owe a duty to Humanity, if they are not slaves to Hinduism, to see that these unfortunate men, when re-admitted into Hinduism get all the rights of human beings, which they will certainly enjoy in case they remain Moplahs. Thus the question of untouchability precedes the question of the re-admission of the forcibly converted Hindus. The former affects sixty millions of men and the latter a few thousands.

In the Lecture-Series of May at Poona Mr. Raghvendrarao of Hyderabad remarked that if the movement of re-admitting the forcibly converted Hindus had been long amongst us, there would not have been Moplas to-day in Malabar. As according to him Moplas of to-day were once the Hindu inhabitants of Malabar. Dr. Munje who presided over the day's meeting corroborated his point of view. It stands to reason to say that the Moplas are the original Hindu inhabitants of Malabar as such a large number of Arabs might not have come to Malabar. But in my opinion both the learned lecturer and the learned president attach too much importance to the question of re-admission of Hindu-Converts. The root-cause of mischief is with us. It is untouchability. Thousands of Hindus are leaving Hinduism in Guzarat, Khandesh and other parts of India, not because of force but because they improve their status in life and get all the rights of men which under Hinduism are denied to the untouchables, this point can be proved by observing that many of the converts who change their religion belong to the class of the untouchables.

Yours etc.

K. G. KARKARE.

HINDU LAW OF SUCCESSION.

AN AMENDING BILL.

The following is the text—Mr. M. K. Reddi, M. L. A. :—
Whereas there is difference of opinion as regards the right of illegitimate sons to succeed and their shares in the case of Sudras, and whereas the term Sudra is indiscriminately applied to various communities, who do not come within that category and attempts to determine the case in certain cases, will lead to harmful and acrimonious disputes, which are not desirable in the public interests, and whereas it is desirable that in the Hindu Law of Succession there ought not to be any distinction based on caste, it is hereby enacted as follows :—

1. This Act may be called the Illegitimate Sons' Rights Act.
2. The illegitimate son of a Hindu of any caste shall not be entitled to inherit or claim any share in the property belonging to the putative father at his death either solely or jointly along with other co-parceners, nor shall he be entitled to take the property of the legitimate sons or either descendants of his putative father, either by inheritance or survivorship.
3. This Act applies to all illegitimate sons whose right had not either been admitted or made the subject of a claim in a Civil Court having jurisdiction to entertain the suit.
4. The right of illegitimate sons to maintenance is not in any way affected by this Act.—Justice, Madras.

THE BRITISH GUIANA DEPUTATION.

MEMBERS INTERVIEWED.

CHARMED WITH THE COLONY.

On April 7, a representative of the "Daily Argosy" sends his journal a report of the interview he had with each of the delegates, which we give below :—

After a stay of nearly two months in the colony investigating local conditions in connection with the B. G. Colonisation Scheme, the members of the Deputation, from the Government of India, Diwan Bahadur P. K. Pillai, Mr. V. N. Tivary, Secretary, and Mr. C. F. Keatinge, C.I.E., I.C.S., left the colony on April 7th by the R.M.S.P. Chignecto for Trinidad 'en route' for India.

THE CHAIRMAN'S VIEWS.

"We are charmed with British Guiana," said Mr. Pillai, the Chairman of the deputation, "and with the unaffected hospitality of His Excellency the Governor and the affection and cordial reception we have had at the hands of our own people wherever we went. We may add we have been struck very much with the kindly feeling we experienced from the gentlemen belonging to the Black and Coloured races. We have been busy touring and met our people labouring on the various estates. We were always courteously received and treated by the managers of the estates, and we have had no difficulty in understanding the state of things as they prevail on various estates, as we were able to converse with the labourers who have come from the Madras Presidency in Telugu and Tamil, and Mr. Tivary in Hindustani. We have been able to understand the labourers' grievances and sentiments and are convinced that the East Indians in this colony depending on labour for livelihood either on or out of the estates are having a hard time of it on account of the depression in the sugar and rice industry. Those who read in the newspapers the proceedings of our public inquiry will be able to find out if we had or had not a grip of the details of the situation. If it is not a very difficult task for English and American tourists to travel around vast countries with immense populations like India and China and the ancient lands of Egypt and write books, we could claim to have an intimate knowledge of our people in this colony who number not more than 125,000 scattered over the coastlands and by the river banks. When we were not able to reach some of the far places the East Indian residents made it a point to come and see us and made representations in writing, mostly in their own vernaculars. We were given addresses at public meetings in George Town, New Amsterdam, Rose Hall, Bush Lot, Mahaicony, Mahaica, Suddie, Lima and three or four other places. There were many men and women in different parts of the country who met us and freely expressed their sad plights, the circumstances under which they had become recruited and their present helpless condition in the colony.

THE GENERAL COMPLAINT.

"The general complaint has been that they had been under the impression that they would be sent back to India with money earned, but they were not able to do so on account of the lowness of the wages and the high passenger rates. People unconnected with the estates such as rice-growers and others, also approached us with a view that we might be able to place their difficulties about drainage and irrigation before the Colonial Government.

"Another point that has been impressed upon us is that there should be some regular and frequent communication between India and the colony. It would not only enable East Indians to keep the connections between India and the

other places in the West Indies, where East Indians live but it would also minimise the labour difficulties and make for proper conditions, as the labourers who may venture to come would feel that they could go back within a reasonable time. Now it is that when once they have come they are almost cut off from the Motherland and they also believe that conditions are made hard for them to return to their own land. This sort of feeling must operate against people coming here as free labourers.

"We have a mass of papers to go through and a lot of evidence to weigh in the light of the past history of the labour conditions here and apply new principles to free labourers before we write our report to the Government of India. We enjoyed this trip to British Guiana and our stay in George Town. So far our health has not suffered; on the other hand it has improved after the tedious voyage in the Atlantic ocean. Our countrymen and women have been very solicitous about our comforts and liberal in their hospitality. This has enabled us to get over the feeling of home sickness. Our colleague, Mr. Keatinge, who is an expert in agriculture, has inspected Morawhanna and taken much trouble to examine the localities and has great faith in the potentialities of the land there. He will present a very interesting scheme for the development of that territory. We may assure you we members of this Deputation have worked in perfect harmony, supplementing one another's labours, and I have no doubt as the President that we should be able to submit a unanimous report. We heartily wish that this colony would pass through the present crisis and emerge in prosperity and happiness to all, including the labourers of all classes that are already in the colony."

MR. TIVARY'S REGRETS.

Mr. Tivary said:—Our stay in this colony has been at any rate so far as I am concerned, quite a liberal education in the widest sense of the term, and it is not without feelings of regret that I am bidding good-bye to innumerable friends who have been so kind to us during the few weeks of our visit. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing our deep debt of gratitude to His Excellency the Governor for the gracious hospitality, and to his officers, especially of the Immigration Department, for all the help ungrudgingly given to us in carrying on our investigations. I shall always cherish the pleasantest recollections of our visit to your magnificent colony and though humbly speaking it is not likely that I will ever return to British Guiana, it shall always continue to occupy my thoughts. I wish good luck to the colony and say with regret good-bye to all friends."

Mr. Keatinge said: "Your alluvial clay soils on the coasts are very rich soils and have been turned to excellent advantage by the various sugar estates which can command adequate capital, but the difficulties of drainage and general organisation make the low-lying alluvial soils on the coast a very difficult proposition for the small holders even if they have a few hundred dollars at their command. Therefore, however, places in the colony which have all the advantages of the alluvial clay and pebbles, and at the same time present conditions which are peculiarly favourable to small holders. Even in such localities, however, some organisation is necessary to guide and to assist settlers and to make them the necessary advances if settlement is to be effected in an orderly and satisfactory manner and not in a piecemeal fashion unsatisfactory to the colony and attended by pain and grief to the settlers themselves. How this can best be done is a matter for consideration. In the meantime any immigration scheme which purports to import labourers and subsequently to settle them on the land contains this great weakness that at present no

satisfactory means exist of settling small holders on the land. There are at present numbers of East Indians who desire to make up suitable small holdings but such small holdings are not available for them in localities and under conditions in which an average small man can make good."

TEMPLE ENTRY AGITATION OF TRAVANCORE EZHAVAS.

A few days ago we ventured to advise the Ezhavas of Travancore that they would only be forfeiting the sympathy of the enlightened public and making matters needlessly complicated for themselves if they assumed defiant attitude and resorted to passive resistance for solving the question of entry into Hindu temples. We are glad to note that this is exactly the view taken on the question by the Travancore correspondent of the *Indian Social Reformer*. The fact of his being the correspondent of the *Reformer* is in itself, we trust, a sufficient guarantee that he is not reactionary averse to the social uplift of the Ezhavas. Writing on the recent Ezhava conference held at Eraxalloor, the correspondent refers to the question of temple entry, and observes:—"The temple entry question cannot be solved by Mahatma Gandhi himself (in whose advice much stress is placed). It is essentially an inter-communal question and the Ezhavas can never hope to solve this problem to their advantage by doing anything, which will bring about the hatred or discord of other communities. Nor can Government do much in the way of removing this real and grievous disability of the Ezhavas. The crust of ages cannot be removed in a day. The social conscience of the higher castes to the wrongs inflicted on their brethren has been rudely awakened and that is a great victory for the Ezhavas in their agitation. As wise men, it will be better for them to dissuade themselves from setting the Travancore backwaters in fire. Patience has its own virtue of reward, unequalled by other fruits of labour." We commend this passage to the earnest notice of the Ezhava leaders of Travancore, and we sincerely trust that they will not, in any case allow their reason and judgment to be perverted and overpowered by the interested machinations of non-co-operation propagandists.—*Justice, Madras.*

SOCIAL REFORM.

Leader, Allahabad daily.

The Bombay High Court has declared that marriages of men of higher Hindu castes with women of lower ones are valid according to Hindu law. Social reformers cannot but welcome this decision. Justice Sir Lalubhai Shah in his judgment observes:—

"The attitude of the castes, which is stated in different modern books as prohibiting inter-caste marriages altogether, is generally indicative of nothing more than the disapproval of such marriages according to the rules of practice of each different caste. It does not afford a sufficient justification for treating as illegal what has not been prohibited, but in terms contemplated and allowed by law."

The judiciary by such liberal and common-sense interpretation of the Hindu law can promote the cause of social reform almost as effectively as the legislature.

THE VIDHVA VIVAH SAHAIK SABHA.

Under the auspices of the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha Lahore (Punjab) 39 widow marriages took place in the month of May 22. The total number of the marriages arranged during the current year viz from 1st January to end of May 1922 reaches to 140 as detailed below:—Brahman 17, Khashtries 43, Arora 41, Aggarwal 10, Kaith 8, Rajput 6, Sikhs 6, Miscellaneous 9; Total 140.

PROHIBITION.

A PROTESTANT VIEW.

At a recent Conference in Mahableshwar where there were missionaries from thirteen different missions, the subject of the excise policy for Bombay Presidency was considered, Dr. B. A. Hume presided. The report of the conference contains these most important statements as follows:

We are in favor of total prohibition as a goal for the following reasons: (a) We believe India's awakened conscience demands it, in accordance with every religion in the land: (b) We believe the satisfaction of these demands by constitutional methods will do much to allay unconstitutional agitation: (c) We believe facts demonstrate that prohibition increases economic prosperity, that it diminishes disease, poverty, vice and crime, and that it is the most effective method of preventing the spread of the drink habit.

The conference expressed its belief that the cost and the difficulty of prohibiting the liquor traffic will be no greater than regulating it as at present and that any increase in expense will be more than counter-balanced by the reduction of crime and consequent expense; that prohibition can be enforced in India as well as any other law, that those who resort to drink are in the minority and their possible discontent should not rob the majority of the benefits of prohibition. That the principle of Local Option should be introduced immediately, first, because of its democratic and educative value, its training of the people in public spirit, and its helping to guide India's political aspirations into worthy and constitutional channels; second, we would draw special attention to the fact that Local Option in Ceylon is reported to have been practicable, popular and effective; and that polls have been taken also in India *e. g.*, Nagpur where the people's vote against liquor was most emphatic. The people concerned should have the power to decide the number and location of shops and all matters concerning the traffic.

As a matter of fact, the people as a whole would prefer a direct tax for the purpose of education, rather than suffer the corrupting influences of the liquor shop near their schools which are largely financed by Government out of liquor revenue. But beyond this we would urge on Government the importance of accepting as a settled fact that the best minds of India have apparently decided both against the liquor traffic and against the use of revenue obtained from liquor, a conclusion which we believe gains support from the latest excise figures, which we understand as showing that whereas the Bombay Government expected 424 lakhs of excise revenue this last year, they were able to obtain only 321 lakhs, the Finance Minister himself observing that 'the public exchequer should be independent of such precarious assistance.' For these and other reasons we would therefore suggest that to penalise districts which decide to close liquor shops will not conduce to the harmony of the body politic.

The suggestion to reduce the excise revenue at a definite rate of 10 per cent per annum is approved and suggestions also made for securing the required funds. The English Church in India has announced that it is looking toward disestablishment and disendowment which will set free some public funds and Hindu leaders might voluntarily forego government subsidies for Hindu temples; increasing income tax on large income and on luxuries such as tobacco, opium, and jewels; also increased taxes on unearned increments and on high dividends of companies. Western India Liberals are

quoted: "Since the excise revenue really comes from the pockets of the masses taxation to that extent would be no additional burden if prohibition were undertaken—while the material and moral gain resulting from abolishing drink would be enormous." In closing, the report states the conviction that opium and hemp drugs are dangerous and should be restricted to medical purposes.

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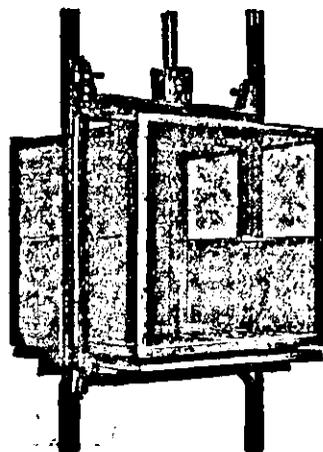
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Vol. XXXII.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JUNE 25, 1922.

No. 43

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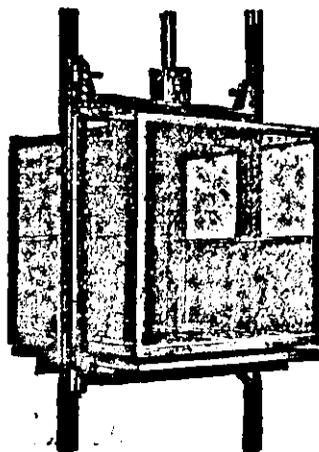
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has gone abroad on a national mission, it is the duty of every one in the country to support him with their encouragement, irrespective of differences of opinion in home politics. On the other hand, it is the duty of every such delegate to leave party politics out of his mind, and to speak and act in the lands which he visits as the mouth-piece and representative of the whole Indian people. We noticed with regret that Mr. Sastry did not adhere to this honourable convention in his speeches at Washington. He did not choose to notice our criticism in any of his speeches on his return home from Washington, which would not have mattered had he not repeated the same breach of propriety in an aggravated form in his first speech in Australia. The gist of the remarks at the Perth luncheon was that some misguided pessimists were utilising the unequal treatment of Indians in the British Colonies to dislodge the faith of the Indian people in the British Empire, that the Non-Co-operationists were mischievously fostering this folly of the pessimists, and that if there was any little thing in the treatment of Indians that may give colour to the grievance-mongering of the pessimist, the Australians for their part would do well to help Mr. Sastry in his campaign against pessimists and Non-Co-operators. We do not wish to say anything unkind about one who, we are convinced, is honestly doing his best according to his lights in a difficult task in a distant land, but we feel that this manner presenting the Indian case is entirely inconsonant with actual facts. It is not the pessimist nor the Non-Co-operationists, but the Liberal and the Moderate that, finding the ground cut under their feet by the happenings in Africa and Fiji and to a less extent in other parts of the Empire, are most embittered by the wrongs of Indians overseas. Mr. Sastry's speech, implying as it does, that there are large sections of Indians whose faith in the British Empire is proof against any "little" mal-treatment of Indians—such as preventing them from labouring for their livelihood—cannot but be viewed as a wrong to the country. Mr. Sastry's latest speech at Melbourne leaves us wondering whether he was speaking for himself or from a brief from the Sydenham group of politicians in England. So far as we know, there is no such thing as a movement for breaking off from the British Empire in India. A motion to amend the creed at the Ahmedabad Congress last December was opposed by Mahatma Gandhi and rejected by an overwhelming majority. We are sorry to say that Mr. Sastry must be dreaming, if he is not to be adjudged guilty of deliberate and cold-blooded exaggeration to suit the exigencies of his argument in speaking of the existence of a separatist movement which he has been fighting in this country.

Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings: Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras are to be congratulated on a bit of professional enterprise which is creditable also as a piece of public service. Thinking men and women all over the world are eager to study the utterances of Mahatma Gandhi and they are now provided with the means of doing so. Messrs. Natesan have just brought out an exhaustive, comprehensive and thoroughly up-to-date edition of Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and writings (published by them some years ago) revised and considerably amplified, with the addition of a large number of articles from *Young India* and *Navajivan* (rendered into English). The inclusion of these papers have almost doubled the size of the old edition and the present collection runs to about 1,000 pages of well-arranged matter ranging over the whole period of Mr. Gandhi's public life. It opens with a succinct biographical sketch of Mr. Gandhi bringing the account of his life down to the recent historic trial and sentence. The

Volume begins with the Indian South African Question and covers his views on Indentured Labour and Indians in the Colonies, his jail experiences in South Africa, his pronouncements on the Khaira and Champaran affairs, his discourses on Rowlatt Bills and Satyagraha, and finally his *Young India* and *Navajivan* articles on the Non-Co-operation movement, including select papers on the Khilafat and Punjab Wrongs, the Congress, Swadeshi, Boycott, *Charaka* National Education and Swaraj. The additional chapters are arranged under suitable headings and include Mr. Gandhi's messages on the eve of and after the arrest, his statement before the court, the trial and judgment. Then follows a symposium of appreciations from such diverse men as Tolstoy and Tagore, Prof. Gilbert Murray and Dr. Holmes of New York besides excerpts from the British and American press. The book which is bound in cloth and indexed contains portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi and three characteristic pictures of Mr. Gandhi taken at different periods of the life. An important feature of the book is the Introduction by Mr. G. F. Andrews who explains Mr. Gandhi's intellectual position on the subject of the "British Constitution" and the "British Empire." The book is priced Rs. three only. We may add that Mr. Natesan, the head of this well-known firm of Indian publishers, is the Secretary of the Madras Liberal Party and we are sure that he has been actuated by a deeper interest in Mahatma Gandhi than that of making a gain out of a political opponent's popularity, in bringing out this timely publication.

Civil Disobedience Questionnaire: The Committee appointed by the All-India Congress Committee to enquire into how far the several parts of the country are prepared for offering Civil Disobedience at the present time, has published a questionnaire. This document is more interesting for what it reveals of the mind of the gentlemen who drafted the questions than for what it is likely to get in answer to it from the witnesses to whom the questions are addressed. There is first the important admission that the Bardoli programme has nothing to do with Non-Co-operation and that it can be more effectively worked by Non-Co-operators entering the Councils. The assumption of the Committee that the constructive programme has for object the preparation of the country for civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes, has no significance except that it is somehow felt necessary to show that these two means have not been totally abandoned. From our point of view, the prosecution of the Bardoli programme will make for more intelligent and informed and, therefore, readier and more willing civil obedience where obedience is dictated by the general interests, and also for prompter and more cheerful payment of taxes levied on what the public mind recognizes as sound principles and for economic use on national objects. The Bardoli programme, as we have often stated, has a much greater national significance than the narrow political tactics which the Committee would represent it to be. Most of the other questions dealing with facts relating to that programme, do not require any investigation. The files of the several provincial Congress newspapers furnish sufficient answer. For the rest, if the witnesses' opinions are formed on the facts amply available, the report of the Enquiry Committee may be anticipated in six words: "Shelve civil disobedience and go to the Councils." The Committee was appointed in pursuance of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's motion, but he is not one of its original members. A vacancy rose recently, but it has been filled by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in preference to the Veteran Pandit! The Congress Bureaucracy should cultivate the sense of proportion!

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 25, 1922.

CASTE AND COLONIALISM.

The Right Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry is reported to have told an Australian audience that the Brahmans have been able to maintain the purity of their blood in India notwithstanding that there were numerous races, creeds and castes inhabiting this country. The analogy was probably cited as a practical illustration of the possibility of allowing Indians to settle in Australia and at the same time of preserving the purity of blood of white races in that continent. That incidentally suggests that the severe criticisms that have been passed in some journals on Mr. Sastry for his supposed acceptance without qualification of the policy of a White Australia, might require to be largely modified in the light of fuller information when it becomes available. By the statement quoted above, Mr. Sastry would seem to have suggested to Australia that she should follow the Indian example of allowing free ingress to all who chose to enter and settle in their country; and for the preservation of purity of blood, they should erect a caste system such as that of the Brahmans in this country. That such a policy should have been suggested for deliberate adoption by one who in his own part of India has seen the most vivid illustration of the incompatibility between caste and political progress, looks like a defiant challenge hurled at those who have pursued him because of his Brahman caste with a virulence that has appreciably lowered the tone of our public life. Mr. Sastry, however, is most unlikely to give way to any such personal feeling. We cannot help thinking that his study and observation of the ways which the white races have adopted to keep themselves untainted by contact with the coloured races, might have really induced in him the feeling that the Indian caste, with all its defects, stood on a higher plane of morality and humanity than, for example, the American attitude to Negroes, and the South and East African White attitude to Indians. In fact, President Harding anticipated Mr. Sastry a few months ago in pleading for a settlement of the American Negro problem on lines which, as we pointed out at the time, were virtually those of the Indian caste. In East and South Africa, the measures adopted against Indians, refusal of trade licenses and of the right to own land and so on, are such as the caste system never contemplated. What Mr. Sastry probably intended was to tell his Australian audience that there was a way of preserving the purity of the white races without denying the coloured races the right to live in the same territory with themselves, as exemplified by the case of the Brahmans in India.

In the face of well-established facts, of the acknowledged validity of *anuloma* marriages, and of the startling similarity of facial features between the several castes, it is difficult to agree with Mr. Sastry that the Brahmans or other Hindu castes always attached the same im-

portance to "purity of blood" as they profess to do at the present day. As for the testimony of features, one has merely to visit the schools and hostels for the depressed classes in several parts of the country, to note how a little schooling and attention to personal cleanliness and the adoption of the ordinary Hindu clothes, make the children of the "untouchables" indistinguishable from boys and girls of the higher castes. In Mysore a young man who went round the City with this writer a whole day, put him at parting the question, "What caste do you take me to be?" "Why, of course," was the answer on the instant, "You are a Brahmin". "I am, Sir, an untouchable," came the astounding reply "and am a product of the School you just visited." It may be said in passing that the provision for the education of children of the depressed classes, seemed to us to be most thorough and best thought-out in Mysore than in any other place that we have seen. It is not merely the outward appearance that is transformed by a little attention and education. In Baroda, where the Depressed Classes School is conducted by Arya Samajists, girls of the "untouchable" castes chanted the sacred Gayatri with a clearness and purity that no Brahman children could have bettered. Ten years ago, by the way, the chanting of the Gayatri by outcastes would have led to a disturbance of the public peace. The prevention or non-occurrence of inter-marriages is not enough to ensure "purity of blood" in the strict sense of the term. The *Baptist Missionary Review* the other day pertinently remarked with reference to President Harding's ideas of Negro evolution that "the fact that out of ten and two-third millions Negroes in the United States about one-third are mulattoes, goes to show that there is not in actual practice that racial cleavage which the President has stated to be a desideratum." The Hindu system has castes but no half-castes. A recognised position is accorded to the mixed castes of equal respectability with others. The Western method is to leave a trail of half-castes along the roadside mostly devoid of the reverence for its mother, from which springs the strength and sap of every people. But neither the Hindu nor the Western method is compatible with the claim that it aims at preserving "the purity of blood." What is popularly understood by preserving "purity of blood" is precisely indicated by the prohibition of *pratiloma* marriages, of women of a higher with men of a lower caste. This is a very ancient and primitive instinct which every race that has built up a culture and civilisation of its own feels in its inmost being, from the strong sentiment, no doubt, that in the women of the community are enshrined the noblest of its ideals. The Hindu caste paid much attention to this principle, and if the Western races did no more, then there will be no serious cause of grievance against them. But they do more: they deny the Indian the right to trade and own land, in other words, to live and labour in proximity to themselves.

Keenly as we feel the evils of caste in India, we must say that if the Whites in the several Dominions agreed to treat Indians on the footing of a distinct

caste and not that of an outcaste in India, their attitude will be a considerable improvement upon what it now is. It might be that Australia will ultimately have to adopt some such policy, because it is inconceivable that the few millions of whites will be able permanently to exclude all other races from peopling the vast surplus area of the Southern Continent. But we trust that Australian statesmanship will be able to devise a better alternative. We do not wish for any other country the political plight to which caste has brought ours. The time is opportune for setting about devising a better alternative. In India, at any rate, while there is keen resentment at the declared policy of exclusion of Indians as such from any part of the British Empire, the opinion is practically unanimous against organised emigration on any considerable scale of cultivators, labourers, skilled and unskilled, small tradesmen and others whose services are likely to be exploited while their rights are ignored by the countries to which they emigrate. At present these classes are sure to be so exploited because of their lack of education, their total absence of any kind of organization outside caste, and the absence of a strong Government of India sustained and supported by a pervading zeal for the status and interests of the Indian people. Present and recent Governments of India have shown themselves to be far more sensible than their predecessors of their duties to Indians overseas, but as "a subordinate branch of the British Government six thousand miles away" there are obviously limitations to their resources of protest. For the sake of Indians overseas, for the sake of the people in the Indian States, no less than for our own, it behoves the people of British India to do their best to expedite the attainment of full responsible Government especially at Delhi and Simla. When we have got that, it will be possible for us more than at present to negotiate with the Colonies with real effect in regard to the free immigration of Indians to them. The Reciprocity resolution of the Imperial Conference, rightly interpreted, not only represents the immediate urgent need of the situation, but it also offers the most favourable conditions for evolving future policy on a proved basis of collaboration between the best-educated men of both countries. It should not be difficult for the best minds of India and Australia to devise a working compromise other than caste or the present policy total exclusion.

LETTERS ON EAST AFRICA.

(BY MR. C. F. ANDREWS)

II

Shantinetan, June 8th 1922.

My Dear—

You will remember how I tried in my last letter to explain to you how vitally important the Highlands Question was. Let me carry the subject a little further. The declared intention of the Imperial Government is to make these Highlands the centre of the whole East African Federation, which may at

last include the provinces of Tanganyika, Nyassaland and Uganda and be linked on its southern border with the South African Union itself. In that Southern Self-governing Dominion the most rigid prohibition of Indian immigration already exists; and it was urged, I believe, by Mr. Winston Churchill himself at the Imperial Conference last summer, that the whole of British territory in Africa should be omitted from the Resolution concerning equal Indian status, and that the African Indian problem should be solved as a whole in accordance with South African ideas. It is now an open secret that, though Mr. Winston Churchill was Chairman of the Special Committee dealing with Indian equal status, he was its chief opponent. We have absolutely nothing to expect or hope from him. Yet all the same at the Imperial Conference itself a favourable Resolution was passed, and East Africa was not excluded. He ought therefore to have been loyal to the decision of the Conference.

But what of that? It is easy when you have the reins of power in your hands to circumvent a Resolution. The truth is that Mr. Winston Churchill, by his *deeds*, has been doing his best to circumvent it ever since, and in East Africa at least he has powerfully succeeded.

The moment that Mr. Winston Churchill's secret document was placed in my hands at Mombasa, I could see that he was determined to settle the Highlands Question, once and for all, in favour of the Europeans. He very cleverly drew the Highlands outside the range of the Imperial Conference Resolution by saying that a pledge had already been given and must be kept, etc., etc. This he knew personally was all nonsense; because he had been Under-Secretary for the Colonies at the time Lord Elgin was Secretary and very possibly had himself framed Lord Elgin's famous Despatch of 1908, on which everything now turns. I also have the word of one whom I can absolutely trust that Mr. Winston Churchill explained before the Governor in Nairobi itself that the clause about 'administrative convenience' applied only to original grants, not to second sales or transfers. But what do little incidents like that matter, compared with the grandiose idea of a great European Plateau,—the white Highlands,—from which the whole of the East African Federation can be governed by white men? This is now at the back of Mr. Winston Churchill's mind, and this idea dominates the whole situation.

I think you will now understand, how I was ready if possible to *delay* the Highlands issue, but on no account whatever to *barter* the Highlands for something else. That would have been altogether fatal. I can imagine no step more injurious to Indian interests than to acquiesce in a 'White Highlands' as an accomplished fact.

On all the other questions that were at issue, I urged as strongly as I could the importance of the utmost patience and forbearance in awaiting developments, and the determination at the same time never to give way, if principles were attacked. The attack was almost certain to come,—therefore let it come

from the other side, not from the Indian side. I pointed out that this was, to my mind, a part of the doctrine of Ahimsa. Events have proved that what I expected was a true anticipation. For while there has been a quite remarkable obedience on the part of the Indian community to the Governor's expressed wish that a 'Truce' should be kept, there has been a palpable breach of that 'Truce' on the part of the Europeans. Personally, looking back over the last six months, it appears to me certain that the moral advantage has been with the Indians. But I now see far more clearly than before, that they are fighting against almost overwhelming odds, because the whole force of the Colonial Office is now ranged on the side of the Europeans.

What became, at a later time in my visit, painfully clear to me was the fact that the Europeans in the Highlands were ready to go to any length whatever—using physical force if necessary,—in order to attain their end of Indian exclusion. During my stay itself I had a personal experience, which brought home to me in a vivid manner how far things had already gone in this direction. For, on a night's journey in a railway carriage through what are called by Europeans the 'White Highlands' I was assaulted shortly after midnight in such a manner as to cause a slight illness. I learnt afterwards that more elaborate plans had been prepared and that I had only escaped a still worse encounter because the plans of my railway journey through these 'White Highlands' had been altered at the last moment.

All this, and much else, revealed again to me the temper of the European population, their extreme irritation against the Indian community, and against any one who sided with the Indians. Everything I have heard about East Africa since that time has shown me that this truculent attitude is becoming more and more pronounced every day. I have been astonished to find how very quickly the contagion has spread, and as far as I am able to judge, there has been nothing done from the side of the Indians to provoke it. The spirit of Ahimsa has been kept.

III.

I am trying in these letters to give you that most suitable thing of all—the *atmosphere* at the present time in East Africa. I want you to realise the conditions under which Indian people carry on their daily work.

A significant thing has just happened. The European dislike of the Indians has grown so intense that they cannot bear to see any European taking their side. Resolutions are now being passed very widely advocating the black-listing of any European who takes the Indian side. A reference was made recently at one meeting advocating even lynching in such cases. The Dagoretti Settlers Association passed unanimously a resolution to black-list any one who was "believed to be inimical to the general feeling of the country on the Indian Question." This resolution and the speeches advocating it were published in the daily newspapers and it received considerable approval. It has been even proposed that the resolution to 'black-

list' should come before the European Convention of Associations for acceptance.

Only a single protest by some one who did not wish to give his name appeared in the newspapers. I must quote a few sentences from it as follows:—

"The matter will doubtless come before the convention of Associations and no action will be taken on it for some time. It is a question that requires very careful consideration and one is not disposed to ignore the difficulties and objections to which it is obviously open, though at the same time one may recognise and should be prepared to defend its advantages. . . . One has to fear, not the actual scheme, but the mental and moral attitude it would encourage. It is a policy of unwisdom, not yet demanded by circumstances, to suggest, to encourage or to advertise any inconsiderable discord there may be in the European ranks to-day. . . . In any event, may we ask for delay in the application of the black-list?"

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To explain this atmosphere of dislike a little more I must tell an amusing story. When I was on board the S. S. Clement Hill, crossing the Lake Victoria Nyanza from Jinja to Kisumu, I took a little Indian baby in my arms and walked up and down the deck with it. The mother, who was a Sikh lady, looked on and I gave the baby back to her. A little while later, when I had sat down in a deck chair, a European whom I did not know came up to me and said with a ring of contempt for me in his voice,—“Didn't you notice the looks of the white men and white women on board when you took that little black baby in your arms? Didn't you see how they scowled at you? I tell you, we just felt like pitching you over board or committing murder or doing something desperate. *Are you a white man?* Look here, let me give you the tip. Don't do that sort of thing again in this country. The white men won't stand it!”

I will give one more story which is in keeping with the last one and will give the whole picture. While I was in East Africa I happened to read one day the editorial of one of the leading English newspapers. Its title was 'Missions and Natives.' I remember the shock it gave me at the time. The whole point of the editorial was the weighing in the balance of European public opinion in East Africa, the different missionary societies which carried on work among the 'natives.' Now would you believe it? The only test applied was the degree of familiarity that was allowed in each mission between the missionaries and the natives!

According to this Editor, certain missions were decent and respectable and worthy of support from the European public of East Africa. The missionaries in these commanded respect from the 'natives' and would not allow the 'natives' to become too familiar. These were worthy of support and Europeans should subscribe them. But one mission, according to this Editor,—the Methodist Mission,—was altogether objectionable to 'white' public opinion and was seriously

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demoralising for the native. It tended to make the 'natives' lose all respect for the white man. For in that Methodist Society, the English or American ladies who were missionaries had actually nursed in their arms the negro children, and (horror of horrors!) they had even been known to kiss them! Therefore they should be warned and if they were unrepentant, subscriptions should be withdrawn. I have greatly regretted that I did not keep that leading article, which to me was so incredible when I read it that I burst out laughing and treated the matter as a huge joke. But I have found out since that the Editor was in deadly earnest and was representing general public opinion.

You will understand quite well that there is a small minority who are all the while fighting against this evil spirit. But it is sad to think how small and almost insignificant outwardly it is, in face of the mass of European public opinion. Two very remarkable meetings were arranged for me in Nairobi and I received the most earnest attention while I tried to explain the Indian position and to clear up misunderstandings. I was startled to find how far back one had to go and what fundamental differences had to be met.

The last mail has brought the worst news of all. A certain Major Macdonald has been holding crowded meetings at every centre in the Highlands, pouring forth racial venom of the most poisonous kind. He has been taken up by the European Convention of Associations as their special speaker and he is obviously being allowed to shape their programme. I can see no hope at the present time for a fair hearing of the Indian point of view in East Africa. In Uganda a good hearing might be possible, but not in Kenya Colony.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S EASTERN UNIVERSITY.

VISVA-BHARATI.

(By MR. H. P. MORRIS).

Many readers of this journal may still remember the inspiring address which the poet Rabindranath Tagore delivered in the University Hall during his last visit to Bombay (April 1920). The poet developed therein his theme on *Vishva-Bharati* or Centre of Culture, the first beginnings of which had already been essayed at his school of Shanti-niketan. How Shanti-niketan or Abode of Peace, founded originally by his father to be a retreat for meditation, gradually evolved into a residential school may be stated in his own words: "The voice came to me in the Vedic tongue from the Ashrams, the forest sanctuaries of the past, with the call . . . 'Come to me as the rivers to the sea, as the days and the nights to the completion of their annual cycle.' My heart responded to that call and I determined to do what I could to bring to the surface, for our daily use and purification, the stream of ideals that originated in the summit of our past, flowing underground in the depth of India's soil." The twenty years' history of this institution would form a unique chapter in the

annals of education, were it possible to record in writing the poet's silent sacrifice and unsurpassed personal devotion during this period. The school had gained a world-wide renown, and in 1918-1919 he conceived the project of enlarging its activities, so that—to quote from his Bombay University address —'We may generate somewhere a centripetal force, which will attract and group together from different parts of our land and different ages all our own materials of learning and thus create a complete and moving orb of Indian culture.' It may be noted *en passant* that this ideal of education in India was once again expounded in London, where the poet had gone after his short stay in Western India, before a large and cultured meeting which was presided over by the Education Minister, Mr. Fisher. In response to many invitations from the Continent, he next paid a brief visit to France, Belgium and Holland, promising to return from his American tour, early in spring of the following year. Here is neither time nor space to digress on the amazing, spontaneous welcome he received on his return journey (March to June, 1921): it was like a long-drawn triumphal procession through France, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Germany and Austria. The lasting outcome of his memorable visit was the formulation of a plan to found 'an International University' in favour of which, after consultation with several leaders of thought and action, was issued the following appeal:—

"..... We must find some meeting-ground, where there can be no question of conflicting interests. One of such places is the University, where we can work together in a common pursuit of truth, share together our common heritage and realise that artists in all parts of the world have created forms of beauty, scientists discovered secrets of the universe, philosophers solved the problems of existence, saints made the truth of the spiritual world organic in their own lives, not merely for some particular race to which they belonged, but for all mankind..... Being strongly impressed with the need and the responsibility, which every individual to-day must realise according to his power, I have formed the nucleus of an International University in India, as one of the best means of promoting mutual understanding between the East and the West. This Institution, according to the plan I have in mind, will invite students from the West to study the different systems of Indian philosophy, literature, art and music in their proper environment, encouraging them to carry on research work in collaboration with the scholars already engaged in this task.... Mankind must realise a unity, wider in range, deeper in sentiment, stronger in power than ever before. Now that the problem is large, we have to solve it on a bigger scale, to realise the God in Man by a larger faith and to build the temple of our faith on a sure and world-wide basis."

Rabindranath Tagore returned to India in July last year, and in the beginning of November arrived the celebrated French Savant, Prof. Sylvain Levi, who had, it is understood, cancelled a Harvard invitation to lend his assistance to the nascent University. Dr. Levi, to enjoy whose friendship is a pleasure and a

privilege, has since then worked in conjunction with Shantiniketan scholars, besides delivering a series of lectures on 'Greater India' and Northern Buddhism, and holding special classes in Tibetan and Chinese. Thus arrangements have been now completed for teaching over fifteen languages, ancient and modern, Eastern and Western, some of which classes have the rare good fortune of benefitting by the poet's personal teaching. A word may also be mentioned of two other departments--The Art School and the Sural Farm. The Art School, under the many years' fostering care of three well-known masters (Nandalal Bose, Asit Haldar and Suren Carr), has now grown into a stage of maturity, and the productions of its twelve students have already been commended in public exhibitions. The Farm at Sural (about two miles from Shantiniketan) is directed by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst, an Englishman of noble idealism, who finished his literary education at Cambridge by a practical training at Cornell. His twenty young agriculturists are half-students and half-farmers, in as much as they pay their lecture and boarding fees from earnings derived by tilling the soil. A Co-operative system of credit links the neighbouring villages to the farm-house, so that the Institution 'may impart life-breath to the complete man, who is intellectual as well as economic, bound by social bonds, but aspiring towards spiritual freedom and final perfection.'

These developments necessitated a change in the constitution of the Institution, which was finally registered as a Society named Visva-Bharati on the 16th of May 1922, the foundation ceremony of the University having already taken place on 22nd December 1921. The latter is the biggest day of festival at Shanti-niketan, for the Asrama anniversary is celebrated on the same date. The net assets bequeathed to the Society are a little over seven lakhs which include the Nobel Prize fund in bank and copyright of the poet's Bengali works. Members of the Visva-Bharati Society may be Ordinary, Life or Honorary, the minimum payment to be made by a life-member being Rs. 250 once for all. Gratitude is due to the kind support hitherto accorded in Bombay by Sir Narayan Chandavakar, Sir Hormuji Wadia, Sir Stanley Reed, and Messrs. Lalubhai Samaldas, R. D. Tata, J. B. Petit, M. M. Cama and others.

Burma and India. The scheme of reforms adopted for Burma is a diarchy similar to that of Indian provinces. That it should have been drafted with the gloomy experience of India before the authorities, is unfortunate. But any other system would not fit in with the rest of the provincial systems, and may lead to a demand for the modification of the latter. The main point of interest in regard to the matter is whether Burma is to continue as a part of India or whether it should form a separate Dominion. The only thing that should count in arriving at a decision on it, is the real, considered judgment of thinking Burmese. That judgment will be largely influenced by their experience of the Indian community resident

in their midst and their appreciation of the movements of religious, social and industrial progress in India. So far as we are able to form an estimate, thoughtful Burmese are not at present inclined to think that they stand to gain much by being a part and parcel of the Indian Empire. Their patriotism, too, is to some extent prejudiced by the fact that Indian troops and Indian money were the means by which their country was deprived of its independence. If the consensus of Burmese opinion favours separation, the sooner it is given effect the better would it be for both countries. If at any future date Burma of her own free choice desires to take her place in a federation of India, she would of course be welcome. To force her to remain in India when she desires to find self-expression in a separate existence, can but result in a permanent loss of goodwill between the sister countries.

A Monstrous Libel: Some days ago Reuter cabled to this country that a Russian Revolutionary leader had stated that he had spent 7 million gold roubles to support Gandhi's adherents in India. The real version of the incident is disclosed in a subsequent telegram from the same Agency. It runs; "The Executive of the Russian Communist Party, when revising the accounts of the Propaganda Fund of the Third Bolshevik International, found that no accounts were kept for thirty million gold roubles, equivalent to £3 million. M. Zinovoff who is in charge of the funds at first refused details, but, under hard pressure, said that three million gold roubles were used to prepare for the Genoa Conference, seven million to support the Indian Nationalists in England, and the remainder as subsidies for revolutionaries in the border States of Germany and Italy. M. Zinovoff's story was received with distrust by the members of the Executive, who suspect that the money has been spent for quite different purpose." The Russian Communist party does not believe that M. Zinovoff has told the truth even when he spoke of bearing subsidised the Indian nationalists in England. How Reuter came to cable a perversion of this untruth so as to discredit the National Congress in this country, requires explanation. Without intending it, however, the Agency has done a service to the Congress, and our indignation at its facility of belief is mixed with a little gratitude on that account.

"Building with India": In recent years there has been a noticeable change in the attitude of Christian Missionaries in India towards Indian religious and culture. Among the pioneers in this healthy reaction against the older missionaries who regarded all other religions except their own as Satan's handiwork, such as Dr. Farquhar, Dr. Macnicol, and others, should now be placed the Rev. D. J. Fleming, late of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, whose book "Building with India" is a very illuminating contribution to an intricate problem. The publishers are the Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada.

"GANDHI'S GOSPEL."

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir

I have read with interest your comments in your issue of the 11th inst. on my article "Gandhi's Gospel" that appeared in the *Indian Witness* of May 31st.

I take the earliest opportunity to send you a few lines regarding this, for I am not content to have you or your wide and valued constituency draw certain inferences regarding my views on Mr. Gandhi that your editorial might justify.

First, I sincerely regret the statement, "Mr. Badley seems to imply at one place that few intelligent Indians believe in the Mahatma's sincerity." In my article on Mr. Gandhi's political programme, I made the following statements regarding him as a man: (1) "Gandhi was (is) a man in personal life above reproach, himself spiritually minded and living a life of self-sacrifice." (2) "There is general regret that so saintly a man should be behind the bars." (3) I also used the words, "The profound respect his personal life has inspired throughout India." In these statements I not only intended to make perfectly clear the high estimate I have of Mr. Gandhi as a man, but also to show my readers that in this respect Mr. Gandhi has had the almost universal support of people in this, and I am sure other, lands. I do, therefore, reiterate my statements, and wish to assure you and all readers of your highly esteemed journal that nothing I wrote in the *Indian Witness* touching Mr. Gandhi's political plans or methods should be interpreted to imply that I myself hold any doubt as to his sincerity or nobility of personal character. This, of course, does not prevent my holding, as I do, that Mr. Gandhi has made a mistake in the methods he sought to introduce in achieving the ideals he had in mind, and that he was wrong in thinking that India could become a self-governing nation, independent of the British Empire in the short space of a few months that he publicly announced would be sufficient to bring about that end. This mistake I think virtually all parties will admit as time goes on, and we are in a position to get a better perspective.

In the next place, I feel that I should say something in reply to your remark,—“We are astonished at Mr. Badley making light of high personal character as a qualification for leadership.” No missionary, surely, would belittle the importance of character as an essential quality required in any leader, but commonsense must hold that any amount of nobility of character, divorced from practical wisdom, balanced judgment and sufficient experience, in political matters could not fit a man to be a leader in national political affairs. My point was that this has been conspicuously demonstrated in the case of Mr. Gandhi. My article said, after referring to the violence and lawlessness that inevitably followed Mr. Gandhi's teachings,—“How could it better the situation that Gandhi was a man in personal life above reproach?”—etc. I do not think it did better the situation, indeed, it might well have the opposite effect of strengthening the hands of lawless and anarchistic men who would fall back upon the high personal character of their acknowledged leader as sufficient reason. This was a situation that, under the circumstances, Mr. Gandhi lamented but could not control, unless he had been willing to abandon some of his political methods.

May I encroach on your space to mention just one more point? You have quoted my statement that many intelligent Indians who differed from Mr. Gandhi in political views,

did not come out openly against him, some from fear of the consequences, most of them because of the profound respect his personal life has inspired throughout India.” Your comment on this is,—“This is to convict these multitudes of intelligent Indians of cowardice of one kind or another.” Inasmuch as I said that “some” did not come out from fear of consequences, I must admit that your interpretation, viz. that in that case they were cowardly, correct. Surely, Sir, we must all admit that some men are cowardly; America and Britain are not free of political cowards, and I suppose India must put up with a charge that she too is acquainted with the type; But my statement was “most of them because of the profound respect his personal life has inspired throughout India.” That need not necessarily imply cowardice on their part. We all think and feel many things that veneration for some great personality may keep us from saying. In India there is an inherent respect for people or things that often stops a man's mouth, a characteristic far more marked in this land of ancient and intuitive courtesy than in our western world. It is not a bad quality of mind, and I did not feel that I was attributing any base motive to the Indians who I feel sure did not speak out their mind just because they revered Mr. Gandhi and refrained from opposing him. My point in the statement was that one could not quite measure the thinking of many intelligent Indians because of this, to my mind, well-known characteristic of Indian courtesy and respect for men in high position or great authority. If you feel that your readers interpreted that statement of mine as a slur on Indians as to essential qualities of courage I hasten to apologise and trust that my explanation now given will make the point clear.

Had I had more space, I should have been glad in my original article to touch on other points the omission of some of which you note. More especially should I have wished to make reference to the remarkable manner in which Mr. Gandhi succeeded in stirring India, arousing her from a lethargy of thought and action that no true friend of this land has ever looked upon as good for her. This had to come before any real progress could be achieved on a wide scale, and Mr. Gandhi's service to India in this respect is without a parallel. Had Mr. Gandhi had the political wisdom and experience of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastry, he might have been India's true leader into the new age.

I am, Sir, Yours ever sincerely,

BRENTON T. BADLEY.

[We are grateful to Mr. Badley for this letter which we gladly publish. Like him, we do not regard his remarks in a controversial spirit, but as intended to make clear what we had misunderstood in his original article. Mahatma Gandhi never stated that his object was to establish *Swaraj* without the British Empire. That mistake he did not make, though he made many others as nobody has more eagerly acknowledged than himself. Surely Mr. Badley will not say that infallibility is an indispensable qualification for a leader. How many of leaders past and present would stand that test? Not infallibility, but the honesty to acknowledge and rectify mistakes which are inevitable in all human affairs, is essential in a leader. When we referred to high personal character, we alluded to its importance to right judgment on great issues. We are all starting every moment of our lives forces that we cannot hope to control. “If a man's reach does not exceed his grasp, what is he man for?” A man who does a great work must necessarily commit many mistakes. The more we widen our range, the more are the uncharted currents with which we have to reckon. In the net, Mr. Badley acknowledges that Gandhi's work in stirring India has been without a parallel, and has been good. By that, posterity will judge him.

—Ed. I. S. R.]

INDIAN CHEMICAL JOURNAL.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

SIR,

At the last meeting of the Indian Science Congress the need for an Indian Chemical Journal was stated to be generally felt and a Committee decided unanimously in favour of the formation of an Indian Chemical Society the chief function of which would be the publication of a Journal. As President of a Sub-committee appointed to consider the financial and other aspects of the formation of the Society I should be much obliged if you would kindly announce in your paper that I should like to get into touch with all chemists in India and I should be much obliged if they would send me their addresses.

Principal, Technological Institute,
U. P., Cawnpore,
13th June 1922.

Yours faithfully,
E. R. WATSON,
M. A., D. SC.,

PRESIDENT HARDING AND THE RACE QUESTION.

The United Church Herald, monthly Pasumalai.

Reports of President Harding's address on the Race Question have come to India in various forms and have caused considerable concern and questionings among various classes. *The Indian Social Reformer*, than which we know no fairer and more sincere a paper in India, naturally cannot accept the position taken by the American President. We entirely agree with it. Though as a practical problem it may neither be possible nor desirable that Caucasians should marry Negroes, it cannot be denied that the only principle on which the race question can ultimately be settled is one of perfect and complete equality. In the international and cosmopolitan world of the future neither national or racial fences can be kept standing. What the ultimate working out of such a principle may be we cannot now conceive but it seems to us that the principle on which we must stand is that all men are equal in the sight of God and that therefore they are equal in the sight of each other also. No race question, or any other, will be settled until it is settled right. And no other right can be found but that of fundamental equality. There are practical problems that are not so easily settled as it is to state a theoretical principle but nevertheless we cannot ignore or deny the principle because of that. Looking forward into the world of the future we must see a time when the conditions of the various countries of the world shall have approximated each other to a far greater degree than they have so far. If in our large cities to-day you can find representatives of a hundred or more races and languages who live together in more or less of social and economic equality, is it not possible to conceive that in the world of the future, when education and industrial development and improved agriculture and better means of communication have become universal, all nations shall have virtually the same scale of income and the same standard of life? Then certainly there will be no possibility, or real reason, for the existence of the racial distinctions we feel so keenly to-day.

HIGH SCHOOL FOR INDIAN GIRLS, POONA.

(From a Correspondent)

The High School for Indian Girls, Huzur Paga, Poona City, has beaten all previous records by its success at the recent. Matri-Culation Examination. The school sent up 28

pupils for the examination and all of whom were successful and one Miss Irayati Karmarker gained the Yamunabai Dalvi Scholarship for Sanskrit. Miss Shakuntala Paranjpye (daughter of the Honble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye) stands second in the list of successful candidates at the Poona Centre and first among the lady candidates. The management deserve the sincere congratulations of all lovers of the progress of female education in this Presidency for the efficient way in which the school is conducted. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarker is the Vice President, and Sir M. B. Chabhal, Divan Bahadur K. R. Godbole and other prominent gentlemen of Poona are members of the Council of management of the Council of management of the Society, and Miss Fielding is at present Lady Superintendent of the Institution. An appeal for funds for the school is soon going to be issued to the public and we hope it will receive a liberal response.

MR. SASTRY AT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. Harold W. V. Temperley in his book "The Second year of the League" writes:—

In sheer oratorical distinction the palm was borne away by the second delegate from India. Everything about Mr. Sastri was remarkable. On all occasions he stoutly upheld the use of the British language as against French, yet he was a Brahmin of the Brahmins. He claimed a descent of five thousand years, but he conjured the Council "not to wrap itself up in oligarchic mystery." Though possessed of great natural eloquence, he often sat silent in Committees, only speaking to urge practical conclusions or to demand the taking of a vote. On September 12 he stood up in the Assembly, a figure in a plain black collarless cassock and white turban, and spoke. There were no gestures—though the expression of his face changed continually, and the sustained melody of his voice held everyone entranced. "Brother and Sister Delegates," (his very opening words was original), "hard and cold indeed must be the heart that fails to be touched, and touched to noble issues, by such a spectacle as this." He spoke of the critics and pessimists with scorn, but he reminded the league that it was wiser to limit its scope and not to attempt the impossible. Then he brought a thrill of shame to everyone by reminding the nations how India, "almost alone amongst the Great Powers," had not only ratified the International Labour Conventions of Washington, but had passed laws to give effect to them. Yet there was but one Indian on the League Secretariat, while there were 138 British, 73 French, and 13 Americans. As regards Mandates, he reminded us that in German West Africa "the Germans did not make a colour-bar or introduce invidious distinctions." If the Mandates did introduce them, then one day a delegate from India might have to "come on this platform and tell the Assembly that we are worse off under the trustees of the League than we were under the Germans. Either rectify these matters or put us back where we were. It should be a matter of profoundest regret for any of us to come and speak in that fashion in the Assembly." And after a solemn pause he slowly quitted the tribunal. There were few present whom his oration did not cause to rate India higher because she could produce such a man.

EXECUTIVE COUNCILLORS AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS.

West Coast Spectator, Calicut weekly.

The question of officials participating in Politics has been brought to the front in India through the incidents of the

late Liberal Conference at Bombay. The Indian Members of the Executive Council and the Ministers actively shared in the proceedings so much so that a political conference looked less like itself and more like a regular session of the Indian legislature. We doubt if there was an attempt at such a thing in India before this, and in so undisguised a manner. Sir Chimanlal Setalwad, at any rate, appeared to be speaking as from Government Benches particularly during the discussion of the resolution on Gandhi's arrest. He was quite as assertive as, and perhaps even more uncompromising than when resolutions are opposed in the council hall. The evils of the new departure are very serious and they have been lucidly explained in an article in the *Indian Social Reformer* we had published the other day. The official patronage extended to one party never fails to create a sense of unfairness outside that party and we think it only too probable that the official presence might work as a deadweight upon the spirit of independence even of the party in favour for the time being. It is worth while to remember in this connection how promptly and effectively Lord Carson's attempt at party politics was snubbed by the Lord Chancellor of England. The subject is one of unrelieved evil and we trust that any attempt at repetition of such a feat would be seriously disapproved in the interests, at least, of the purity of Indian public life.

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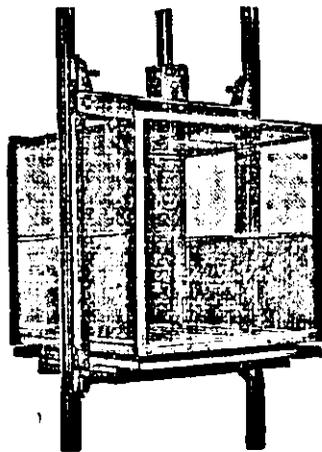
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No. 44

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

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India and Ireland: The student of current politics cannot but be struck by the contrast between the attitudes of the British Government towards the nationalist movements in India and in Ireland. In India there is no separatist movement. When Mr. Andrews last saw him at Sabarmati, a short time before Mahatma Gandhi's arrest, "he blamed me severely indeed", writes Mr. Andrews in his introduction to Mr. Natesan's volume noticed last week, "for my lack of faith in the British connexion and for my publicly putting forward a demand for complete independence. He said to me openly that I had done a great deal of mischief by such advocacy of independence." The Mahatma is pledged to absolute non-violence, which he places even above *swaraj*. Mr. De Valera is the antithesis of the Mahatma in both these matters. And the Mahatma is in jail, while Mr. De Valera is negotiating on equal terms with the Provisional Government and through it with the British. When the Chauri Chaura outrage occurred, the Mahatma called off mass civil disobedience on the eve of its inauguration, and displeased a large number of his followers. On the morrow of the assassination of Field Marshal Wilson in the streets of London, Mr. De Valera issued a remarkable manifesto, laying the blame of the outrage on the repressive policy of Government. He said:

The killing of any human being is an awful act, but it is as awful when the victim is an humble worker or an unknown peasant as when placed in the steps of the mighty and known in every corner of the earth. He did not know who the shooters of Sir H. Wilson were or why they shot him but he knew the attitude of the mind which a campaign of outrage and aggression begets. He knew life had been made a hell for the nationalist minority in Belfast and its neighbourhood during the past couple of years when women were outraged, men and women were murdered, and whole families wiped out. He shared the belief that cynical imperialism was responsible for the outrages and could imagine the relatives taking the law into their own hands. He did not approve, but he did not pretend to misunderstand. It was idle to look for

peace except on the foundation of justice, a regard for which would set Ireland and England heading in a parallel course of friendliness and co-operation. But the so-called political expediency and threats of war had resulted in the present position. Disputes could be settled within a week and it was only necessary that statesmen should have a will to be fearlessly just to secure peace and end all these horrors.

Mahatma Gandhi would not allow that any amount of repression justified violence. When a leader holding that view is in jail and another leader holding the other view, is at large, one is at a loss to understand the principles by which British statesmen guide their policies.

Mr. Reddi's Bill: In noticing in the *Reformer* of the 18th June the "Illegitimate Sons' Rights Bill" which Mr. M. K. Reddi proposes to introduce in the Legislative Assembly, we pointed out that the Bill was badly drafted, that it should follow not precede legislation to regulate marriages among Sudras, and that it went against the tendency of the social conscience in other countries to recognise illegitimate children's rights. *Justice*, the organ of the Madras non-Brahman party, publishes in its issue of the 24th June a two column article from a contributor who sees in the *Reformer's* criticism nothing but the deep-rooted malice towards non-Brahmans from which no man of Brahmanical descent, in his opinion, can be exempt. No reply is obviously possible to this line of criticism, but as it would be really retrograde if Mr. Reddy's Bill as it stands goes upon the statute-book, we trust that some more serious writer will deal with the Bill in the columns of our contemporary. Mr. Reddy's Bill is in no sense a party measure, though the writer in *Justice* identifies it with the non-Brahman movement. The number of conjugal customs among the indeterminate residuum of Hindu society called Sudras, is legion, and they include practices, rapidly disappearing, which cannot but make a hard-and-fast rule of legitimacy something of a snare, till they are finally abolished by law or custom. Every Census Report gives examples. We have at hand Sir Edward Gait's Report of the 1911 Census. The chapter on Marriage, especially paragraphs 296 and 297, brings out the contrast between the Hindu religious sacrament and the several customs prevalent among Sudra castes especially in the South of India. Here is a glaring instance. "Where cousin marriage is in vogue," says the Report, "grown-up women are often married to very young boys. In such cases, so long as her husband is a minor, the woman, is allowed to cohabit with his father, or her paternal aunt's son, or some other near relative, or even in some cases, with any member of the caste she may select". In a footnote, the names of several Sudra castes which follow this practice are given. Customs such as these are, as we said, fast dying out, but it is impossible to graft the rule of legitimacy on them. The matter is one of much sociological interest and importance, and it is quite possible to discuss it on its merits whatever caste one might have been born in.

Dr. Sapru's Resignation : It is officially announced that Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Law Member of the Government of India, is resigning and that his resignation will take effect before that Government moves to Simla next year. The communique, which is printed in another column, labours hard to explain that Dr. Sapru's impending resignation is wholly due to his incompatibility with the Simla climate. This is true perhaps in a larger sense than the communique intends. Dr. Sapru's resignation was the topic of confident anticipation at Delhi four months ago, and it was expected to come off next October. The necessity for adopting the unusual course of announcing a resignation nearly twelve months before it is to take effect, is not apparent, and unless the announcement of a successor is made without delay, it cannot but be a cause of demoralization among a number of expectant public men. It is also unsatisfactory in the interests of public service to have a member in the Government with one foot out of it and a gentleman outside with one foot in it. Dr. Sapru's successor will, of course, be one who will find "the Simla climate" less unsuitable to his temperament than Dr. Sapru. The Punjab and Madras are already represented in the Indian half of the Governor-General's Council. Bengal and Behar have had their men, and the United Provinces will have done the same when Dr. Sapru resigns next year. Bombay will probably be the next field of choice and, indeed, we have been told of a Bombay pair of feet anxious to step into Dr. Sapru's shoes. The announcement of the Indian Law Member's forthcoming resignation, coinciding as it does with the publication of some "interviews" with members of the Legislative Assembly on Lord Winterton's budget speech, can not but confirm the apprehensions expressed of a change of policy in Indian affairs. Some of those "interviewed" were inclined to be hysterical over that speech. These good souls would seem to have thought that Mr. Montagu will always be at the India Office to cover up the gaping defects of his reform scheme. They have misled themselves and tried to mislead the country as to the market value of the reforms, and now when they are told frankly what it precisely is, they tear their hair and rend their clothes, and cry 'anathema' on the candid Under-Secretary.

The Chanda Ramji Girls' School : The sixth report of the Chanda Ramji Hindu Girls' High School, it is pleasing to note, is a decided improvement on the previous ones both as regards its get-up and the detailed information it gives of the Institution. It contains a review of work covering a period of three years 1918-1921—a period of exceptional financial stress and strain during which the school experienced some difficulty in making headway. This restricted to some extent the activities of the school but did not affect materially its working which is one of all round progress. Though the school is essentially Hindu in character and Hindu girls form a majority on its rolls, it numbers among its pupils Parsees and Jews—ample testimony to the catholic lines on which it is conducted. Besides the vernaculars, Marathi and Gujarati, instruction is imparted in such subjects as enable students to offer themselves for the Joint Board Examination. Music and allied subjects also find a place in the school curriculum. The results at the public examinations are fairly good and the reports of the Inspectress satisfactory. The Lady Superintendent, Miss N. D. Contractor B.A., has been at the head of the Institution for the last 12 years. To her long experience as Superintendent she has added the advantages of a study of the different systems of education obtaining in Europe and other parts during her recent tour. That the knowledge thus gained has already been turned to account, is seen from the

new activities—a reading room, a debating Society and facilities for sports—that have been recently introduced in the school. The Lady Superintendent and the Secretaries are to be congratulated on the admirable management of the School with the united resources at their command. To make good the deficit in the finances of the School and to renew the School building which is very old, an appeal is made to the public for funds. In the words of the report "we appeal to the generous-minded ladies and gentlemen to give our School the first place in their thoughts when they think of any donations. No better object can be found towards which charity can flow than the provision of a suitable seminary for Hindu girls, where they could learn and appreciate all that is good in their own culture combined with the wisdom which other races have contributed to the world." We earnestly associate ourselves with the appeal and are confident that it will meet with a liberal response, especially from men like Sir Vitthaladas Thackersey, Sir Dorab Tata, Shett Narottam Morarji Gokuldas, Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas and others of our merchant princes, to whose encouragement and help women's education in the Presidency already owes so much.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: We had not intended to notice the resumption of Mr. Jayakar's practice at the Bombay High Court as we had not noticed his suspension of it some eighteen months ago. But there have been comments in some of our contemporaries which ignore some essential facts and it is due to the public that these should be made known. Mr. Jayakar was, by common consent, one of the men with the biggest practice at the Bombay Bar when he suspended practice. Before that, he had given several months to the Punjab Congress Enquiry at Lahore. He gave Rupees twenty-five thousand to the Congress Fund. His sacrifices in time and money on behalf of the Congress have thus been great, and if he resumes his practice now, it is because he is convinced that the old Non-Co-operation is as dead as the Bombay Liberal party after the recent Conference and that the work of further political agitation has to be carried on on different lines. It required courage of no mean order to take this decision, as nobody knows better than Mr. Jayakar that his action will expose him to misrepresentations of every kind. We may say that he had planned to go back to the Bar in January last and it was the heavy work that devolved on him on behalf of the Representative Conference that delayed his doing so. So far from receding from politics, Mr. Jayakar is, we understand, contemplating more intensive activities in that direction and it is, in fact, the utter lack of work for men of his calibre in the Congress that has been the main reason for his resolve to take the course he has taken. We note that Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, who has not given up his practice so far as we know, has been proposed by Bengal as a candidate for the Presidency of the next Congress.

Excise Policy in Bhavnagar: It is not generally known that the policy of total prohibition of liquor, is in force to-day in Bhavnagar and one or two other Kathiawad States. The steps whereby this policy was adopted at the wise and patriotic instance of the late Maharaja, is lucidly described in the article which we print to-day. The policy cannot be said to be complete till foreign liquor is brought under the same rule as country liquor. We understand that the people of Bhavnagar are quite satisfied with the policy of prohibition, the difficulties, such as they are, coming from outside. What has been possible in Bhavnagar is possible in Bombay and in India.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 2, 1922.

HINDU-MAHOMEDAN INTER-ACTION.

The general impression conveyed by the text-books on Indian history read in our schools, is that the Hindus and Mahomedans have always been antagonistic communities ready to fly at each other's throats on the least provocation. Three generations of English-educated Indians have grown up in this belief and it is with an effort that they, Hindus and Mahomedans, are able to think of an India where the two communities lived and will and can live on a normal footing of peace and goodwill. Some Indian thinkers have endeavoured to stem the tide of this misconception, but it has become so deep-rooted that their attempts have had but an ephemeral influence. The late Mr. Justice Ranade took for his text in his address to a National Social Conference at Lucknow Guru Nanak's saying "I am neither a Hindu nor a Mahomedan," and elaborated in some detail the view that the mutual influence of the two religious communities has been largely of a beneficent character. Before him Raja Ram Mohun Roy, himself a product of Hindu-Mahomedan culture, had started the Theistic movement as a synthesis of Hinduism, Mahomedanism and Christianity. Still earlier Saints, like Kabir and Nanak, had laboured to break down the barriers between the two religions. This movement towards a common Hindu-Mahomedan culture and civilization dates from within a century of the Mahomed Ghazni's invasions, and even earlier in the Deccan where the Mahomedan kingdoms became very early imbued with the spirit of Indian nationalism. It was for the first time sought to be broken up by the establishment of the Aligarh school of politics under official auspices, and the Partition of Bengal and the grant of communal representation were designed to separate Mahomedan India from the national movement. But due to circumstances which can only be described as providential, this policy has brought upon itself its own deserved retribution. Mahatma Gandhi in taking up the task of Hindu-Mahomedan unity was but taking up the thread of a centuries-old evolution where it had been snapped by alien influence.

It must be regarded as a distinct service to the cause of Indian nationalism that Sir Thomas Arnold utilised the opportunity, offered by his choice to deliver the Sir George Birdwood lecture before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts, to throw fresh light upon this aspect of the history of Mahomedanism in India. The source from which he derived this fresh light was chiefly pictures and other works of art. Starting upon the high level of religion, Sir Thomas called attention to the evolution of the contemplative phase of Islam by Muslim ascetics who, like Hindu sannyasis, retired into the jungle and dwelt apart from the madding crowd's ignoble strife. The *Yogic* samadhi and the *bhakta's* ecstasy were also referred to as features of Indian Mahomedanism

to be noted in this context. Very early in the relations between Hindus and Mahomedans, the latter fell in with the age-long Indian tradition of religious tolerance, and Sir Thomas dwelt at some length with Dara Shikoe's attempt, in line with that of his illustrious grandfather, to find a common formula for the two religions. As an example of the friendly intercourse between devotees of the two religions, he cited the beautiful story of the first meeting of the Hindu saint, Dial Bhavan, and the Mahomedan saint, Jamali Sultan whose tombs stand close together at Girot in the Punjab. Dial Bhavan was already settled with his disciples in Girot at the time when Jamali Sultan arrived there. Dial Bhavan sent to the new-comer a vessel of milk filled to the brim, as a delicate hint that the town was already full enough of ascetics, and that he would be well advised to settle elsewhere. Jamali Sultan understood the message perfectly well but won for himself a welcome by sending back the brimming vessel with a rose-petal floating on the surface of the milk. We wish Sir Thomas Arnold had dwelt in somewhat more detail on the close approximation between Mahomedan and Hindu society that shows itself clearly, during the generations which succeeded Akbar, in manners pre-eminently and to a considerable degree also in habits of mind and intellectual interests. He summed up the nature of the inter-action between the two communities in a pregnant sentence. "It is in literature," he said, "that the most striking evidence of the Hindu contribution toward this approximation can be found. The Mahomedan influence expressed itself largely in externals, and here art may come to the assistance of the historian."

And yet, we do not think that it would be right to say that Mahomedanism influenced Hindus only as regards externals, and that Hindu influence on Mahomedanism was purely subjective. The strong monotheistic tendency of Hindu medieval religious movements, undoubtedly owed something to Islam. Mahomedan influence in the matter of dress made for refinement, but not so in the matter of women's seclusion which Hindus adopted wherever that influence was predominant. We think also that polygamy, which was only tolerated in Hinduism, was made respectable by Mahomedan example. It was inevitable that Hindu influence on Islam in India should be deeper and broader, because ninety-five per cent of Indian Mahomedans are descendants of converts from Hinduism. The sub-conscious is a much larger factor of our mentality than the conscious, and the inheritance of generations is not to be wiped off by conversion, especially when persistently re-enforced, as in India, by environment. Caste, infant-marriage, prohibition of widow remarriage, and even the idea of untouchability, have permeated Indian Mahomedanism and made it a thing distinct from Mahomedanism outside India. Karma, re-incarnation, and even Vedantism in some form or other, are inwoven in the everyday working consciousness of the Indian Mussalman. Ranade indicated in his Lucknow address how even in their defects Hindus and Indian Mahomedans showed a remarkable agreement. In

her second article is Asia entitled "the Raw Materials for an Indian Nation," Miss Gertrude Emerson after dwelling on the divisions of race and religion, language and caste among us, goes to the root of the matter when she says that, in spite of it all, there is something that makes one inhabitant of India closer to another than he is to a Chinese or a Filipino or an Englishman or, we may add, to an Arab, Persian or Turk. The Indian Mahomedan is an Indian first and fundamentally, whatever pan-Islamists may say. He is, and will always be, more at home with his Hindu brother than with his Afghan or Egyptian co-religionist. After all, is the essence of nationalism anything more than the subconscious something which makes one inhabitant of a country nearer to another than to an inhabitant of a different land?

THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

[BY MR. RAMAGYAN DWIVEDI, B.A. (HONS.).]

Readers of the *Reformer* have had, in a recent issue of the paper, a very interesting account of the Aligarh National Muslim University. I now propose to offer them a brief sketch of a sister institution in Upper India. The Hindu University has been in existence for the last six years; it has practically grown out of the old Central Hindu College, and most of the credit for this great development is due to Pandit Malaviya who is now the Vice-Chancellor of the University and is, so to say, the very soul of the institution. In the days when Dr. Annie Besant was at the helm of its affairs, the college was under the principalship of the famous enthusiastic worker, Mr. G. S. Arundale. For some time after the University was inaugurated, Dr. Ganesh Prasad, M.A., D. Sc., worked as Principal. At present the Principal is Prof. A. B. Dhruva, M.A., LL. B., I. E. S., who is the University Professor of Sanskrit and the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University. The staff is very able and efficient. Among the professors are Dr. Ganesh Prasad, M.A., D. Sc., Dr. N. K. Sethi, M.A., D. Sc., and Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, M.A., D. Sc. (London). Except Principal C. A. King of the Engineering College and two other professors, all the members of the staff are Indians; several of them are graduates or M. A.'s of Cambridge or Oxford.

The University includes the C. H. College, the Engineering College, the Teachers' Training College and the College of Oriental Learning and Theology. The number of students all together is above 1500. Equivalent to the S.L.C. and Matriculation, the University holds its own "Admission" examination. Vernaculars are compulsory up to the B.A. and from the next year will be one of the optional subjects. Hindi will be, perhaps, one of the subjects for the M.A. from July next. Religious instruction is also given to all classes at the rate of about three periods a week. Till now the University has produced several hundred graduates, the number of those of this year alone being about 150. Besides the Vernaculars, Hindu Logic and Hindu Philosophy are also taught and every Arts student who has not passed his

School Final class with Sanskrit, has to appear at a preliminary examination in Sanskrit. In the school swimming and singing are also taught besides gardening and manual training. Riding classes in the C. H. College are also to be started soon.

It was last year that the new site at Nagwa, away from the city, was occupied. The Teachers' Training College is as yet in the old buildings and the Ayurvedic and Law Colleges have not been started as yet. There are over half a dozen hostels attached to the University and more are in course of erection. All the rooms in the new hostels are single-seated and for every 52 students there is a separate Common Room for reading newspapers and indoor games. There is a big library containing several thousand books of different languages and the College Common Room receives many Indian and foreign papers, besides those subscribed for by the University Library. There are big Chemical and Physical Laboratories for the science classes and the *Saraswati* temple situated in the middle affords a distant view of the natural scenery all round. There are several literary and other societies, e. g., the Sanskrit Society, the Historical and Economic Societies. The Mathematical Association is doing valuable research work under the guidance of Dr. Ganesh Prasad who is also carrying on research with his D. Sc. students. A Co-operative Store will soon be opened which will sell various commodities at cheap rates.

The building work is in full swing and every day groups of visitors come to see the University hostels and other buildings. The roaring of the chimneys and the clatter of trolleys show as if a very Rome is being built! All over the University grounds roads have been laid out with rows of young trees on either side and far away from these is the foundation stone on the very banks of the Ganges. Verily, do these abodes of Saraswati more than rival the royal mansions of the Maharaja of Benares on the other side of the Ganges in Ramnagar! There are behind the hostels separate quarters for the professors, while in the front is the University Dairy Farm and ground for the Agricultural College. The Dairy supplies the students good pure milk freshly milked from the University cows in the morning and evening. The Engineering College supplies electric light to the hostels; it proposes to supply light to the whole city of Benares and thus make a big income for the University.

In the hostels students edit several weekly and monthly papers and carry on debates and lectures on important topics. Besides this and many indoor games, frequent matches are played and there is an arena before the hostels where students practise wrestling under a guide paid by the University. Recently a group of South African Indians had come to play a match with the University and were entertained at a dinner by the hostel students. On *Ekadasi* days the University religious teacher holds *kathas* in the hostels in the evening. There is a big dispensary under an efficient Civil Surgeon, that supplies medicine to the students free of all charge. The management of the kitchens is entirely in the

hands of the students, though under the supervision of the assistant wardens whose number is six in every hostel of 312 students. There is free intercourse between the teachers and the taught and the hostel superintendents and the hostellers. Though there are naturally very few Mohammedan students, no distinction is observed with them and in every respect they are treated like the Hindu students.

The above account of the University is drawn from the writer's personal knowledge of the life and activities thereof. It will be seen that except for the annual aid from the Government the various features of the University are mostly nationalistic. It is hoped the country will appreciate the work hitherto done by the institution during its short life and will offer it her sincere co-operation and sympathy. The University is as yet in her infancy and must be congratulated on whatever she has achieved till now. Her future career depends upon the support and sympathy of our countrymen and their earnest desire to make her an ideal institution. It is hoped they will never fail her in any way at the hours of her need and will extend to her their due recognition of her importance as a fountain-head of national life and education.

TOTAL PROHIBITION IN THE BHAVNAGAR STATE.

(Contributed.)

It appears from the past records of the State that its people were not much addicted to the drink habit. The consumption was confined to big towns like Bhavnagar and Mahuva and there also mainly to lower classes like Khavas and Kolies who had something to do with sea voyages. This result was mainly due to lack of Mahuva flowers from which liquor is generally manufactured in the Province. Very little of this material was imported from outside in the days of unrestricted trade and those, who had the habit, manufactured their own consumption so to say. However, when the trade came under restriction on introduction of the liquor Laws, licenses to sell the article were issued to selected persons of each Mahal. It appears, however, from the meagre revenue derived that the trade existed in name only. His Highness the late Maharaja Sir Bhavsinhji was, however, not unaware of the evil of the spread of unlimited consumption of liquor which was noticed in the neighbouring Gujarat districts, and in 1902 A.D., the sale of liquor for the whole State was concentrated into the hands of one respectable Parsi gentleman (Mr. Umrigar) so that the Durbar might be in a position to know exactly the amount of liquor consumed from year to year and check its spread in future if the consumption was found to be increasing. It should not, however, be forgotten that the monopoly in a district not given to drink sometimes results in higher consumption as the monopolist is a specialist in his trade and knows how to spread it by surreptitious means unless the quantity of liquor for sale is fixed. This has been the experience of the Bhavnagar Durbar and may be taken for what it is worth.

In doing this the Durbar rejected bids almost three times the value of the one accepted for Rs. 18,000,

from Mr. Edulji Umrigar, who was asked to report to the Durbar from time to time. It may be mentioned in passing that, even then, the number of liquor shops permitted to this contractor was only 42 though the area of the State is 2860 Square miles. From this it will be seen that the Bhavnagar State never looked upon the liquor question from the point of view of revenue only. With the outbreak of the war the question of total prohibition came into prominence and at the special desire of His late Highness Sir Bhavsinhji the question was discussed by all the State vakils of Kathiawar States in 1916. They, through the Karbharis, recommended to the Rulers of the States joint action in the matter of total prohibition of manufacture and sale of country liquor and heavy taxation on the import of foreign liquors. Unfortunately nothing definite came out of this reference. So in 1918 His Highness Sir Bhavsinhji wrote letters to Junagadh, Baroda, Palitana Lathi, Vala, & Jasdan States, as also to the Songadh Prant (for Talukas) and the Collector of Ahmedabad (for Ghogho Zillah) requesting joint action to introduce total prohibition in Gohilwad Prant. Unfortunately this movement also fell through though sympathetic replies were received to two or three references.

Consequently in 1919 His Highness Sir Bhavsinhji decided to take the bull by the horns and issued orders to the Dewan to submit a scheme before his birthday for total prohibition in Bhavnagar hoping that other States would follow his noble example. Such a scheme was submitted and orders were passed by which total prohibition was to be given effect to by the end of the Samvat year 1977 (1920 A.D.). In the meantime gradual reduction in the manufacture and sale of liquor was ordered. The Durbar suitably compensated the contractor for loss of income. As a result in 1919, the number of shops was reduced from 42 to 8 and for the remaining six months of the year the sale of 1500 maunds of liquor only was permitted. In 1920 the sale was brought down to 2000 maunds for the whole year and in 1921 it was reduced to 1000 maunds. The Durbar charged a royalty of 2/8 per maund of sale in 1919, 2/- per maund of sale in 1920 and 1/8 per maund of sale in 1921 in place of the license fees. Since Samvat year 1978 (1922 A.D.) total prohibition of manufacture and sale of country liquor has been ordered. The Council has thus given effect to the wishes and orders of the late Maharaja. It may be said in passing that foreign liquor is heavily taxed since 1919. A strict supervision was kept during the transition period and suitable penalties have been imposed for any breach of the law passed in this behalf. The people are contented and happy and a noticeable reduction in crimes due to this habit has already been observed during the past year. A certain amount of smuggling however does take place but this is inevitable till the neighbouring States, the Ghogha zilla and the Songadh Agency, see their way to follow the example of Bhavnagar. In this connection it may be mentioned that Palitana State has already introduced prohibition and it is hoped in time the other States will also look at this question from a broad point of view.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, June 8, 1922.

JUVENILE CRIMES.

A series of crimes of violence committed by youths and young people has focussed public attention in this country on what appears to be a new phase of life. So cunningly and cleverly have some of the crimes committed been conceived and carried out, that the question has arisen, are there children born, and doomed to be permanently lacking in a moral sense or are they mentally unbalanced; or again, in some subtle form, can the cruelty of war be held responsible for these horribly juvenile crimes? The growth of this evil is all the more remarkable to-day when so much is done for youth. When in fact it has been called the "children's age," for never in any period in history has childhood and youth been so specially catered for as it is to-day. The growth of clubs, guilds, socials, boy scouts and girl guides have been almost phenomenal and each society or organization has as its ideal the responsibility of the individual towards the community, yet not a month passes but some cruel, almost fiendish individual act of a quite young person horrifies the country. It is quite true that the former petty acts of evil doing have tremendously decreased of late, but these individual acts of great cruelty have increased. It is suggested that the sensational kinema film is responsible for a good deal of cunningly contrived juvenile crime. The sight of crime cleverly done on a picture impresses itself in a subtle way on the unstable mind of a boy or girl. Such a mind subconsciously dwells upon the acts it sees, and at a given moment, excited by some outside force seeks to reproduce that which it has seen done. Another probable source of danger to youth is the mass of sensational literature that is thrown upon the market, so that it acts as a sort of suggestion to go and do likewise to a mind not well balanced. But whatever the cause, psychologists must turn their attention to this problem, and if it be proved that there are morbid states in the developing mind of the youth that calls for special care, just like there is a period in the body of the same, when special attention must be paid to it, and special provision made for it, or if there are children who cannot be trained into responsible members of a community, but must always be a danger to it, they must be specially protected, so that the community itself is protected against them. The trouble is to diagnose such cases ere a tragedy has occurred, and so prevent it.

IRELAND.

The present days are very critical ones in Ireland. The invasion of Ulster by armed Sinn-Feiners and the commandeering of farms on the border for military tactics led to a miniature battle in which the Sinn-Feiners stood no chance at all of success, and had to flee for safety wherever refuge offered itself. So after days of anxiety and a week-end of horror comparative peace reigns once again on the Ulster border. The Conference which took place at West-

minster last week between Mr. Collins, Mr. De Valera, Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Churchill has not yet closed its deliberations, and though once or twice it looked as though negotiations might be broken off entirely, they still continue, and hopes are yet entertained that the Treaty as it was drafted and accepted last December stands firm, and that the forthcoming elections in Ireland should make the future path in "Dominion Home Rule" secure. The draft constitution submitted by the Irish delegates to the Cabinet here last week was found to be not in conformity with the Treaty and a trying and difficult moment arose. But Mr. Griffiths returned to Ireland to consult his party, and is expected back here again in the course of a day or two.

CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS.

At one of the best known English watering places, about 2,000 delegates are discussing matters relating to the acquiring of happiness in life. It is the fifty-fourth annual Co-operative Congress. This Congress is unique in the history of the Co-operative movement, for the reason that it has a woman for its president. Deputations from co-operative movements in Belgium, France, Finland, Russia, Germany and Sweden were present. The presidential address contained a strong appeal for coalition between the co-operative movement and Labour movements. This appeal was warmly received and it is possible something along that line will be accomplished ere very long, for it is true the co-operative movement is really constructive, there is in that a whole new system being built up. As the President said, the Co-operative is far more than a reformist movement, it does not work for reconciliation between Capital and Labour, it is laying the foundations for a new industrial civilization. The magnificent growth of co-operation in countries throughout the world provides the machinery which can make international co-operative trade a practical proposition. International commerce could thus become not a fight between nations to overreach each other, but a harmony in which national gifts would be used in the interests of all.

AN INDIAN PLAY ON AN ENGLISH STAGE.

At one of the big London theatres a dramatic play was produced on Tuesday afternoon that should cause a fair amount of thought and talk. For the first time upon the legitimate English stage a play was put that was written by an Indian, the whole setting and subject was Indian—not political—and the players were Indian. The play itself, written by Mr. Niranjan Pal, was admirably conceived and well worked up. Its claim upon the attention of a Western audience was that it depicted the influence of an unscrupulous Brahmin priest upon the credulity and simplicity of his devotees in the village in which his temple was placed. The fight for truth on the part of a young priest, and the influence of a pure high-minded young girl upon the whole of the temple was well thought out. The acting was good, but more could have been made of the final tragedy, when the girl, to restore the people's faith in the Goddess Kal

impersonates her, speaks to the people, and takes poison herself to expiate her sin. Much of the dialogue could not be considered original but there were fine dramatic moments, and a young dramatist who could produce these surely has a future before him, and may be the forerunner of a whole school of Indian dramatic art.

END OF THE ENGINEERING DISPUTE.

The end of the prolonged engineering dispute is at last in sight. The trouble has dragged on for months, the Union funds are entirely depleted, the employers have lost much trade, and after all this, nothing vital has been gained on either side. Yesterday, work was resumed in the shops on Clydeside by the members of those trade unions which had concluded agreements with the engineering employers. Large numbers of men, however, will have now to remain idle, for trade having departed from the engineering world, during the dispute, the immediate return of the men to the workshops will not necessarily bring orders in. It is expected that it will be some months before work is in full swing again. The real lesson to be learned from this dispute is, that the men must trust their adopted leaders more, and the employers must learn that it is to their advantage to have industrial peace, this latter to be secured by cooperation rather by dictation.

TEACHERS' PENSIONS.

The report of the Select Committee on Teachers' Pensions states that they arrived by a majority at the following conclusion: "We find that no undertaking either express or implied was given by the Government or Parliament to the effect that the provisions of the Teachers' Superannuation Act 1918 should not be altered while the present state of salaries remains in force." Lord Burnham, however, is sticking to his previous point, that the salaries of the teachers cannot be touched for their annuities at the present moment. Of course, in the long run so far as the public is concerned it will come to the same thing, either the teachers pay for their pensions out of their present fairly good salaries, or salaries are reduced to a level allowing the pensions to come off them. But the public has this question to deal with, that disputes and discontent in the teaching world make a bad atmosphere for the growing child, and in the interests of the child, all that is just and fair must be granted without quibbling over words, to the teachers if we would have efficiency in the schools, not only in cramming items of information into the juvenile mind, but in character-building that shall make for the good of the state.

HAGUE CONFERENCE.

At the recent Conference of the Executive Committee of the International Council of Women that took place at the Hague it was noteworthy in that it is the first time since the war that the German Council of Women has sent a delegation to an International Council meeting, and also because there has been quite a definite change in point of view. During and since the war the position of women has changed in most countries. In Great Britain women have acquired the Political Franchise and the frontiers hitherto determining women's outside activities have been completely broken down. Probably we live too near to these things to-day to recognise how vast is the diffe-

rence between now and ten years ago. Few women realise themselves how great is the responsibility now put upon them by this greater freedom. In the past women deplored actions in the world that did not harmonise with their conception of right living, but the responsibility for such acts rested directly upon the shoulders of men and not upon theirs, all that women could do was to cajole, coax, weep, or threaten men to act in accordance with their desires. Now in the affairs of national and international life she takes her own place, and is directly responsible for directing the same. The future world cannot be as the past, a new force is externalising itself and must make corresponding changes in the material around it.

Treatment of Political Prisoners: A well-informed correspondent stated in these columns how the suggestion of the Deccan Sabha that the question of the treatment of political prisoners should be taken up at the recent Bombay Liberal Conference, fared at the hands of the conveners of the latter body. (Mr. Cowasji Jehangir had the temerity to convey to an up-country audience that the members of the Bombay Executive Council attended the Conference to ascertain—not to strangle?—public opinion on the burning questions of the day!) The Deccan Sabha has, however, taken the matter into its own hands and addressed a cogent and slightly caustic representation to the Government of Bombay on the justice, necessity and expediency of treating persons punished for expressing political opinions on a footing different from persons who have been sentenced for offences involving moral turpitude. The memorial tracks down every sophistry that has been advanced in support of not discriminating between the two, points out that in some provinces the principle has been already recognised, and dares to suggest that the Bombay Government should level up its prison treatment on a line with these provinces. It further points out that Bombay Presidency has not had to deal with the class of men hired to go to prison, which is said to have been a difficulty in liberalising the treatment of political prisoners in some provinces. This allegation was made chiefly as regards the United Provinces, but even there political prisoners have not been treated with the same want of discrimination as in Bombay.

The Malabar Relief Committee: When the Malabar Relief Committee began its operations, it was sharply criticised for confining its relief to Hindus, completely ignoring the claims of Mohamedan sufferers. It is now attacked somewhat unscrupulously, we are sorry to say, for giving most of its relief to Moplas and too little of it to Hindus. The fact, of course, is that the Committee from the very first set before itself the principle of strict impartiality and it has, on the whole, adhered to it. Any little apparent deviation is largely due to circumstances such as the greater accessibility of the interior of the affected districts since the rebellion was put down, the greater confidence shown by Mopla sufferers in seeking relief, the return, simultaneously, of Hindus to their homes, and the need by the latter of a kind of relief which is not within the province of the Fund and which can only be given by Government.

The Benares Hindu University: We publish to-day an interesting account of the activities of the Benares Hindu University from a valued contributor writing with first-hand knowledge. He has omitted, however, to notice one important feature of the University. It provides, we believe, the best, and only, course in Electrical Engineering in all India, its equipment for it being highly spoken of by competent authorities.

BUDHA SOCIETY IN BOMBAY.

A meeting of the Buddha Society was held at the Cama Oriental Institute on Monday last when Mr. V. P. Vaidya, Bar-at-law presided. The Constitution and Rules with the following object was adopted and approved. To promote the Study and Comprehension of the Life and Teaching of Lord Buddha and to form a meeting ground of all who love and revere Him.

Thereafter the following office-bearers were elected for the current year :

President — Dr. A. L. Nair.

Vice Presidents :— Mr. V. P. Vaidya, Bar-at-Law, and Mr. K. Natarajan.

Hony. Secretary :—Mr. S. H. Jhabwala.

Hony. Treasurer :—Prof. N. K. Bhagwat.

Members of the Managing Committee :—Mr. Mavji C. Sheth, Mr. B. N. Motivala, Mr. G. K. Nariman, Mr. M. B. Kelaskar, Bar-at-law, Rao Bahadur A. K. Pai, Mr. L. Begdanev, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Bar-at-law, Mr. K. Kelaskar, Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas Metha, Mr. Narottam Morarji Gokuldas.

A hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

A MISREPRESENTATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I do not know if many people have noticed the following significant statement contained in the June number of the "Round Table" concerning Mahatma Gandhi.

"Appalled by the brutalities of a mob led by the Congress Volunteers at Chauri Chaura in the United Provinces, where twenty-two police-men were beaten to death, and yielding to the pressure of the more sober of his friends, he (Mr. Gandhi) postponed mass civil disobedience and privately declared his failure as a politician and his determination to devote himself to social work."

Knowing as I do the identity of the writer for the *Round Table* in India, I attach the greatest importance to any assertion of fact by him. In fairness to Mahatma Gandhi and the movement that has been led by him I do trust that those public men who participated in the Bardoli deliberations of Mahatma Gandhi early in February last and particularly Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya will make a clear and complete statement on these allegations.

More than this I cannot and must not state for the present.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,
A. B. G.

Bilaspur C. P. }
24th June 1922. }

ANIMAL-SACRIFICE AND THE UNTOUCHABLES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

To sacrifice poor animals that men may enjoy the favour of a diety or a god is a gross superstition. It is generally indulged in by the ignorant masses, the hill-tribes, the untouchables who are neither encouraged nor allowed to cross the threshold of a Hindu Temple and are kept in utter darkness as to the higher forms of worship. The best way to induce them to give up these rude forms of worship is to make them acquainted with higher forms of worship by allowing them to enter Hindu-Temples. Those orthodox,

who are opposed to the untouchables' entry into Hindu Temples are partly responsible for this sin. I appeal to those noble-minded Gujaratis who are responsible for the Humanitarian League to back up the question of the untouchables' entry into Hindu Temples on this ground. Will not the untouchables give up their animal sacrifices after their entry into Hindu Temples, when only by his advice Mr. Manilal Gandhi could induce the Bhils to give it up?

Devlali,

22-6-22.

Yours etc.

KARKARR, K. G.

THE BRITISH GUIANA DEPUTATION.

Farewell to Indian Delegates.

ADDRESS AT DEMERARA.

The following report appears in the "Daily Chronicle" of Demerara for Sunday April 9th.

On Friday evening a large number of persons assembled at the sailing of the "Ohignecto" to bid adieu to the Indian Delegates who were sailing on their homeward journey, by that steamer. On gathering to say goodbye the Honourable Mr. J. A. Luckhoo, Barrister, read the following address:

BRITISH GUIANA EAST INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

(With which is incorporated the Indian National Congress.)

To Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, M. L. C., Pandit Venkatesh Narayan Tivary M. A., Gerald F. Keatings, Esq. I. C. S., C. I. E.

Sirs,—We the undersigned, members of the British Guiana East Indian Association (with which is incorporated the Indian National Congress) on the eve of your departure from the colony, wish you bon voyage.

We desire to express our hearty appreciation of the kindly interest you have manifested in our welfare since your advent to these shores and the spirit of love and brotherliness which informed our actions and determined your relationships towards each and every member of our community, regardless of creed or caste.

This, we take it, is a true indication of the new spirit that is now pervading the outlook and animating the hearts of our countrymen in the dear old Motherland to which we are bound by many ties of affection.

Your coming amongst us has stirred into activity the smouldering embers of national pride, national feeling and national sentiment, and we now feel that an indissoluble link has been forged to bind the heart of the Mother Country to her children overseas.

We fervently hope that, though separated from us by many miles of ocean, this relationship which you have established amongst us, will not be broken, but will continue to grow in intensity with the progress of time until it shall have attained to its fullest maturity.

We venture to suggest that nothing can conduce so much to this relationship as the establishment of lines of communication by means of a subsidized steamer service between the Mother Country and these colonies where Indians are domiciled. The establishment of such a line might also have the effect of enlisting the interest and support of our Local Government so that, if no scheme of colonization is determined on, it would suggest a valuable means of inducing settlers to come to the colony.

Were this idea to find favour with our wealthy, patriotic and influential brethren in the Mother Country, a great step will have been taken to promote our mutual welfare and keep the National spirit alive in our midst.

We are also persuaded that if a deputation of our distinguished brethren from the Mother Country were to visit us

periodically, say once in every three years, it will considerably help towards the realisation of our ideals.

As true, loyal-hearted Indians, we sincerely regret that your visit has come to an end, for during your short stay with us you have inspired in us the feelings of love and trustfulness.

We pray that your lives may be spared for many years yet to come so that you may be enabled to accomplish all that is possible for you to accomplish in relation to our brethren, and wellbeing. To our brethren at home we desire you to convey our heartiest greetings.

We beg to remain,
gentlemen,

Very respectfully yours,
(Here follow signatures.)

Mr. Kerry at the conclusion of the reading of the address, decorated the departing guests with garlands, while Ramnarain Pandit addressed them in Hindi and strewed them with flowers.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA MAY SUBSIDISE SHIPS.

Mr. Pillai in returning thanks to all those who had gathered to say good-bye, said he was more than pleased to receive the address from the British Guiana East Indian Association, with which was incorporated the Indian National Congress, for it showed that the two associations were now working together for the common good rather than along separate lines and he would regard it as one of the highest achievements of the mission that they had succeeded in bringing the two Associations together. He was also glad to say that they in turn had been treated by all with confidence and they had received many proofs of kindly regard and affection. Members of other communities had shown them considerable courtesy, though perhaps it was not always possible for colonists to agree with the Delegates' viewpoint or even to look with favour upon inquiries which frequently had to assume a delicate, if not unpleasant aspect. He desired to say that though they could not exactly be regarded as formally representing the people of India, they nevertheless commanded the confidence of the people of India and they hoped to take back to their countrymen a true statement of the state of affairs in British Guiana and he hoped that with patience correct solutions would be found for the local problems. It might be said that in the short time at their disposal, they could not possibly understand local conditions; but if globe trotters could turn out books on China and other vast territories in a month, he thought they may venture to express opinions on conditions affecting 135,000 of their countrymen, a number which did not equal the population of some of the provincial towns in India.

With respect to a subsidised steamship service from India, it was a grand idea and should not be difficult of realisation with help from the colonies and even the Indian Government. A line of steamers would solve many of the problems now affecting the country: it would enable labour to move freely when labour was plentiful in India it would overflow into British Guiana and when conditions here became congested the tide could flow homewards again. The worst thing possible was to let labour think it was caged, because then all manner of allegations were made, which would never be entertained if there was free movement. He had been told by a gathering of 1000 people at Suddie to reject any terms offered because they would not be respected, since many were brought here under promises of return which were not kept. That was always the danger when there was not free movement. A steamer service would prevent all this and those who came and went would spread the glad news of great

opportunities which existed in this colony. But there must be good drinking water and houses to live in. Mr. Pillai at this stage said he wanted to congratulate the colony in having a man like Mr. Webber among them, a man who fights for the under dog and was not afraid to do so. It was a great pleasure to meet him. He and his colleagues were particularly indebted to Mr. Webber, who enabled them to meet certain leaders of public opinion among other races whom they would not have met otherwise, and the meeting was instructive and entertaining. He again thanked all those present and said he would take love from the colony to those in the Motherland.

PROBLEMS OF GREATER INDIA.

Mr. Tivary in bidding adieu said that it was remarkable that these most important proposals by the Association should have been made at the very last moment. However, they were not alone in their crime, since no less a person than Mr. Webber had signed similarly in a document which he had only handed them that day. The proposals of steamships, he was glad to note, found favour with the Association. It was part of the Colonisation Committee's report and he was sure any proposals in that direction would receive the most sympathetic attention. In fact, they should have been taken up long ago. He was glad of the opportunity the visit had afforded him of studying the problems of Greater India on the spot, and he was particularly impressed by the many sided aspects of the local situation. He could not conclude without some reference to Mr. Webber, who was among them now and whose blushes he would endeavour to spare but as having the most frequent associations with him he would take the opportunity of endorsing Mr. Pillai's remarks. In Mr. Webber the cause of righteousness had a fearless champion and one who was not afraid to express his views on the side of fairplay, irrespective of influence or power, and that was a great asset in any community. He would say a good deal more, but as he said before he would spare the Editor's blushes but it was not possible for any one to be long associated with Mr. Webber without being impressed by his earnestness in the cause of all progress.

Mr. Webber, we may add, is the Editor of the "Daily Chronicle", Demerara.]

TRANSFORMING DELINQUENT BOYS.

AN AMERICAN EXPERIMENT.

Mr. W. W. Pearson, writes in the *Challenge* of June:—
"We may either smother the divine fire of youth, or we may feed it. We may either stand stupidly staring as it sinks into a murky fire of crime and flares into the intermittent blaze of folly, or we may tend it into a lambent flame with power to make clean and bright our dingy city streets."
—JANE ADDAMS.

"Those longest experienced in Boys' work are unanimously of opinion that the normal boy is fundamentally good, and experience has proved beyond all doubt that the under-privileged boy will respond whole heartedly to the effort to help him."—L. E. MERRIS, of Chicago Boys' Club.

It is a perfect summer day of June. Under the trees cows are grazing in charge of boy cowherds and another lad is leading some horses down to the lake to drink. The lake is still and reflects the beauty of the surrounding landscape like a mirror. Two or three boats are lazily drifting across its surface and from the bank groups of happy youngsters are bathing in its cool waters. One boy is busy attending to his bees, six colonies of which are collecting nectar from the white clover blossoms which shed their fragrance on all sides.

When the sun sinks, as though exhausted at the end of its laborious day, some boys are seen watering the plants in the fields and garden, while others go to the cottages, which can be seen on the hill overlooking the lake, to make ready for the evening meal. A bell sounds and the boys come from their various tasks to the cottages where "cottage mothers" have already prepared a plentiful supply of wholesome nourishment for the hungry youngsters.

After the evening meal is over and the dishes are washed up, all the boys go across to a large building which is more imposing than the cottages. It is the School Building, and in it there is a large and beautifully furnished room. On its walls are several large oil paintings by distinguished artists, and at one end is a grand piano with an electric player attached. The boys come into this room and quietly settle down to listen to a recital of piano music illustrating the works of the great musicians of the world, Beethoven, Chopin, Brahms and Schubert. Sometimes, instead of a musical recital, an evening is devoted to a moving picture show, or a lantern lecture. On one occasion the boys had the pleasure of a visit from the distinguished Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, and heard him read his own child poems and his little play, "The Post Office," while on another occasion Sir Horace Plunkett visited them and they learnt about the problems of Ireland.

A BIG BROTHER'S THOUGHT.

Who are these boys who seem to be living such an idyllic life and in what spot on the globe is this attractive school situated?

The boys are most of them designated by the state "juvenile delinquents," and the school is the Starr Commonwealth for Boys, situated at Albion, in the State of Michigan. It was started some eight years ago by Mr. Floyd Starr, who felt the need for providing for the unprivileged boys of his State a "home" in which they would have a chance to make good, instead of a reformatory where every instinct of freedom is repressed, and where, usually, an atmosphere of vindictive punishment is found, instead of a constructive and recreative life.

He started with only the one cottage in which he himself lived with his father and mother. He took eight or ten boys into his home, nearly all of whom were Court cases. But from the very commencement of his work he took up towards the boys the definite attitude of complete and absolute trust. He did not believe that there was such a thing as a naturally bad boy, and he had the faith, which many workers amongst boys have acquired by experience, that the boys themselves are often the greatest helpers in every effort made to improve their characters. Goodness was not in his eyes a mere negation, an emphasis on the "Thou shalt not" of the old commandments, but was a full expression of the best instincts in boyhood's nature. He therefore, was determined to provide for the boys who came under his charge an environment, in which their natural growth into goodness might find full scope. With this end in view, he chose a location in which Nature herself provided all those beauties which woods, fields and a lake can produce through all the varying seasons of the year. Without any definite set of exercises or regular games the boys who live at the Starr Commonwealth find themselves at all seasons of the year attracted out of doors. In the winter there is the frozen surface of the lake which provides for them months of the exercise of skating. When there is a fall of snow, out come their sledges and the hills provide an excellent playground. In the summer there is the lake for swimming and for boating, and all the year round there are the "hikes" through the surrounding country. The healthy glow on the cheeks of these boys speaks of the obvious benefits of this outdoor life, and sickness is a rare occurrence at the Starr Commonwealth. But it is not exercise alone which is responsible for the good health of the lads at the Commonwealth, for Mr. Starr believes in providing for the boys an atmosphere of trust and affection. There are no locks or bolts at the Starr Commonwealth and there is no uniform for the boys, whose individuality is expressed in dress as in every other way.

YOUNG COMMONWEALTHERS.

Those who have stayed for any length of time at this Commonwealth soon come to realise that the "common weal" of the community as a whole is considered as the foundation of the complete structure while the rapid development in character of the individual boy is the inevitable outcome of the attitude which Mr. Starr takes towards the members of the community. The boys all call him "Uncle Floyd," and anyone who has heard them call across the Campus as they see Mr. Starr, "Hullo! Uncle Floyd," will realise that he has made for his boys a real home in which they feel that they are understood in their efforts to improve and are sure of sympathetic help in their failures. The results of the work in these eight short years have fully justified Mr. Starr in his methods. The boys respond almost instantaneously to the trust with which they are treated, and many who have known the boys' previous records of deceit and theft say that the results are miraculous. Sir Horace Plunkett wrote of the "amazing success" of Mr. Starr's work, and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore wrote to him personally in the following terms: "It was a real joy to me to see the creative work you are doing for your boys, for you are showing, what I myself have always so strongly believed, that every boy responds to sympathy and trust by developing the best qualities that are in him. No work is more fruitful than just such work as you are carrying on. And no work is more satisfying for you are able to see with your own eyes, as I have seen in the happy lives of your Commonwealth boys, the fruits of your labour."

WHAT SYMPATHY CAN DO.

There is no doubt that Mr. Starr has been able to achieve such remarkable results by the rare combination of several advantageous conditions. In the first place, by his own attitude of trust in the boys, he provides for them an atmosphere in which moral growth of the healthiest kind is made possible. Secondly he has chosen an ideal spot for natural beauty of surroundings in which the boys can grow up to young manhood in an environment of beauty and in a healthy open air atmosphere. And lastly, by the combination of these two elements in the life of his community he has created a public opinion amongst his boys which instantaneously influences any fresh "delinquent." He has proved by the success of his experiment that the evil is in the environment in which so many of the boys have been brought up and not in the nature of the boys themselves.

INTER-CASTE MARRIAGES LAW.

The *Vedic Magazine*, Lahore Monthly, Arya Samaj.

Sir Lalubhai Shah has just decided a matrimonial case and has delivered an important judgment declaring Anuloma marriage—that is the marriage of a high caste bridegroom with a bride belonging to a lower caste—valid according to Hindu Law. There is no doubt that the Arya shastras permit such marriages and the permission is based upon physiological grounds. In Ancient India caste was determined not by birth but by merit, and, therefore, superiority in regard to caste signified intellectual superiority and superiority in regard to emotional self-control. The father's influence in shaping and moulding the intellectual make up of the son is far greater than that of the mother. Francis Galton in his "Hereditary Genius" has calculated that the ratio between eminent fathers and illustrious mothers of distinguished judges, statesmen, commanders, literary men and scientists is 70 to 30. The Shastric injunction, then simply amounts to this that in order to ensure the superiority of the progeny, initial heredity is vastly more important than pre-natal influences asserted through the mother's mentality and nervous organisation. Justice Shah sums up the evidence of the Smritis on this point.

The prohibition in regard to Pratiloma marriages has, also, a scientific basis. In Shastric phraseology a low caste man is a man with a lower intellectual outfit and the marriage of an intellectually superior woman to a man who is inferior to her, is scientifically unsound. But in these days caste is determined not by merit of birth and, therefore, it is quite possible that a man belonging to a so-called lower caste may be intellectually superior to a woman belonging to a so-called higher caste. Adherence to this injunction in these days therefore, when caste is a meaningless and

obnoxious distinction only tends to the contraction of ill-assorted marriages and consequent domestic unhappiness. We welcome this judgment in as much as it will facilitate marriages by choice and inclination.

We would welcome a similar judgment declaring Pratiloma marriages also valid on the ground that caste having ceased to be a symbol of natural and acquired superiority is unshastric and must go. Our only fear is lest this judgment should help voluptuaries in legalising their illicit connection with their keeps and in thus torturing their wives. In regard to this matter we fully associate ourselves with the observations of the *Indian Social Reformer*.

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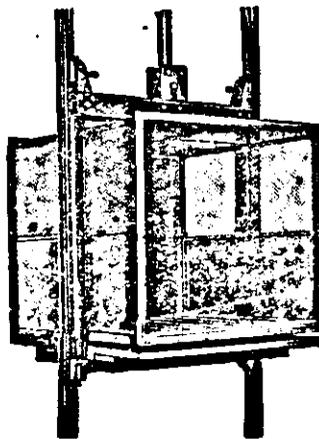
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BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JULY 9, 1922.

No. 45

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excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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Members of the Executive Council and Political Movements: The Council of the Bombay Presidency Association, at its last meeting, passed a resolution that it "strongly condemns as a matter of principle the practice of members of Executive Council and other high officials of Government delivering public speeches on controversial politics and otherwise taking active sides in political questions." We are glad that the Association has re-asserted this elementary constitutional principle because specious pleas have been put forward to justify the dangerous departure initiated at the last Bombay Liberal Conference. It incidentally came out in the discussion that Dr. Sapru, who was at Allahabad at the last Liberal Federation meeting, declined, although pressed to do so, to take part in that meeting on the ground of his official position as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. It would be a public calamity if any successor of Dr. Sapru's should be devoid of constitutional scruples of this rudimentary kind. A member of the Executive Council stands nearly on the same footing as the Permanent, as distinguished from the Parliamentary, Secretary in a Department of the British Government. His business is administration of his Department. An Indian public man who wants to retain his freedom of political opinion should not accept the post, and if he accepts it he cannot affect to have freedom of political opinion. He cannot both eat his cake and have it. It was laid down by the late Lord Salisbury when Secretary of State for India, in connection with the repeal of the cotton duties, that official members of the Legislative Council who did not support Government by their votes on a division, will be held by that fact to have vacated their offices. A member of the Executive Council can have freedom of political opinion only so far as that freedom is used to support Government policy. A practical illustration is afforded by what happened at the Subjects Committee of the last Bombay Liberal Conference. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, who is a member of the Executive Council of the Govern-

ment of Bombay and who, contrary to all precedent, was allowed to take part in that Committee, informed it that Mahatma Gandhi was allowed newspapers in Yerrowda Jail. This statement was received with satisfaction and, according to the *Servant of India*, it led to the Committee rejecting a motion relating to the Mahatma's imprisonment. Mrs. Gandhi and others visited the Mahatma in Jail a few days ago, and it transpires that he is not allowed any newspapers! The only inference that we can draw is that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad was of opinion that newspapers should be allowed, that he was pressing for such allowance and that he was so confident of success that he felt he could tell the Conference that the Mahatma was allowed newspapers. Evidently, he had miscalculated his influence with his colleagues and has been over-ruled. He with the best of intentions misled the Conference which might have otherwise adopted a different attitude on the question. While on this point, we must call attention to the statement of the Mahatma's recent visitors that not only no newspapers, but also no lamp, is allowed him. Do the authorities think that darkness, mental and physical, is a cure for sedition? This total deprivation, in the case of Mahatma Gandhi, of the means of seeing in the dark of the night, is not essentially different, to our mind, from the medieval punishment of plucking out the eyes of political offenders. It is morally and spiritually a twentieth century refinement of the same cruelty. Are the British Christian people, willing to shoulder the responsibility for it?

Dr. Sapru's Resignation: That there are deeper causes for the resignation of the Indian Law Member of the Government of India, though his health may be the immediate one, seems to be plainly inferred from the comments of the *Leader* of Allahabad which is in a special position to make a correct guess of Dr. Sapru's intentions. Our contemporary observed:

Speculations will as usual be rife whether his decision to resign is due solely to the unsuitability of the Simla climate. It may be argued that if that were the only reason he would not have waited for the next Simla season and continued to endanger his health for the remaining three months of the present season. Does he feel that continuing in office he can no more render useful service to the country? For to every genuine Liberal office is only of value in so far as it offers opportunity of rendering service to the country, whatever else his detractors may say. Perhaps he has not given up all hopes of being able to do some good in the next few months. It would be a meaningless sacrifice of health and wealth—he has been a heavy loser financially by accepting the office of Law Member—to continue in office after feeling that his utility is at an end. We do hope that dissatisfaction or despair has had nothing to do with the decision to which the hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru has arrived and that the prospects are brighter than they appear.

If Dr. Sapru saw some chances of doing some good during the next few months, he has not improved them by having his impending resignation announced beforehand. As a matter of fact, the lengthy explanatory message published later, is evidently intended to prepare the public for Dr. Sapru's retirement before the Simla session of the Indian Legislature, that is, in about two months' time. The uncertainty about the date from which the resignation is to take effect can only be explained as arising out of a similar uncertainty surrounding another and even more important office. Mr. Montagu, like blind Samson in his dying agony, brought down with him a good deal more than himself. Lord Curzon has since then been a political invalid, and his resignation has also formed the subject of speculation. It has always seemed to us highly improbable that the position of Lord Reading, the other high functionary concerned in the episode, should not have become involved in Mr. Montagu's downfall. No sudden change in the climate of Simla is known to have taken place during the last twelve months. It is the strain upon Dr. Sapru as an Indian member during these months that has evidently rendered his health susceptible to harm in the altitude of Simla.

The Punjab Congress Situation: We have received a communique issued by the Punjab Congress Publicity Bureau—this time, we are glad to say, in a fairly legible form. It is a review of the situation from the Congress point of view of the province during the week ending 30th June. The number of members of the Congress has again come up to 70,000. The campaign against drink has been vigorously pressed forward. The sale of liquor in the whole province, we are told, has decreased considerably and habitual drinkers of intoxicants have become sober and temperate. This is, indeed, good news, though it is attributed to "successful picketing." We are inclined to agree with the view expressed by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel as to the unsuitableness of picketing in several parts of the country, but in the Punjab where the Arya Samaj the Sikh reform and other movements have prepared the way, the case may be different. We should have much liked some statistical data other than the number of picketers imprisoned, as to the fall in the sale of liquor and drunkenness. We are glad to see an attempt in this direction made as regards Khaddar propaganda. As an instance of steady growth of production of charka-made yarn and manufacture of *Khaddar* in Punjab villages, it is noted that "at Akalgarh, a village in Gujranwala, there are 617 charkhas in use daily and the outturn per day is one maund. There is a stock of 51 maunds yarn in the village at present and during the last two months 18,725 yards of khaddar have been made in 60 handlooms worked by 70 weavers." At the rate of a maund a day, 60 maunds of yarn would have been produced in two months, out of which 51 maunds remains in stock. Eighteen thousand yards of *khaddar* will, we fancy, require much more than 9 maunds of yarn, and where the weavers get the balance from is left to conjecture. Panchayats are said to be working satisfactorily in all districts, but the best part of this communique is that referring to the abolition of untouchability. A grand dinner at which all castes and untouchables participated was attended by 1500 persons, including 100 ladies. The communique does not refer to the other important item of the Bardoli programme, namely, the promotion of brotherly feelings between all communities. Pandit Motilal Nehru speaking at Lahore last week stated that the Punjab witnesses before the Congress Enquiry Committee, which had just finished sitting at Lahore, deposed that Hindu-Mahomedan relations in that province were not of

the most harmonious kind, and he emphasized that Hindu-Mahomedan unity was a *sine qua non* of Swaraj. That definitely rules out the Punjab as regards fitness for civil disobedience.

Construction but Not Co-operation: In *Young India* of June 29, the respected Editor, Mr. C. Raja Gopalacharya, writes with reference to our contention that the Bardoli programme can be greatly accelerated by working from within the Councils: "It may be true that the Bardoli programme is the only programme before Non-Co-operators, but a programme should not be confounded with, or be carried out, at the sacrifice of the principle which is of far more importance." The Bardoli programme, as the Congress Enquiry Committee recognises in its questionnaire, has nothing to do with Non-Co-operation, and it can not be said to be the programme only for Non-Co-operators. It is a programme for all Congressmen whether Non-Co-operators or not, and our contention is that Bardoli over-rides all previous programmes. Mr. Raja Gopala certainly can not mean that friendliness between the communities, the extinction of the liquor traffic, non-violence and khaddar, are of less importance than not entering into the Councils. Non-Co-operation now has no other meaning than not entering the Legislative Councils. We can think of a score of ways in which the main items of the Bardoli programme can be far more rapidly and effectively advanced through the Councils than through Non-Co-operation. It is well-known that the boycott of these Councils was urged by Mahatma Gandhi under the impression that the Mahomedans were going to keep out of them altogether and that it would be a breach of faith with them for others to seek election. Now, there is not a single Mahomedan seat which is not filled in any of the Councils, and we seriously think that there is now a grave danger threatening Hindu-Mahomedan unity which can not be averted except by making full use of the constitutional machinery, such as it is, available to the people of India. We are not surprised that the *Servant of India* should warmly uphold Mr. Raja Gopala's *non possumus* for obvious reasons.

Under which Flag? The question of the future of India, whether it should be within or without the British Empire, was prominently associated by Mr. Srinivasa Sastry in one of his later Australian speeches with the right solution of the problem of British Indians in the self-governing Dominions. Speaking at Brisbane, he is reported by Reuter to have said:

India to-day was endeavouring to ascertain the status of her Nationals within the British Empire with a view to determining her future policy whether she should ask her children and children's children to throw in their lot with the British Commonwealth, or seriously consider why they should seek a continued place within the Empire.

In other words, the matter has become an open question as in the new Congress Creed. This is rather a departure from Mr. Sastry's earlier position that the separatist movement is a product of revolutionaries fostered by Non-Co-operationists. Almost simultaneously, Messrs. Polak and Andrews in a joint manifesto relating to Indians in South and East Africa, observe that the time appears to them to have come for the Indian Government to declare that there is no possibility of the people of India being willing to remain permanently within the British Commonwealth of Nations except upon terms of actual, and not merely, theoretical equality. They add that such a declaration would clear the air. Will the Government make it? Can it?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 9, 1922.

INDIA IN "THE ROUND TABLE."

I.

We published last week a letter from a correspondent in the Central Provinces calling attention to a statement in the section on India, in the June number of the *Round Table*, to the effect that after the outrage at Chauri Chaura in February last, Mr. Gandhi "privately declared his failure as a politician and his determination to devote himself to social work." Our correspondent observed that, knowing as he did the identity of the writer of the *Round Table* in India, he (the correspondent) attached the greatest importance to any assertion of fact by him. He added: "In fairness to Mahatma Gandhi and the movement that has been led by him, I do trust that those public men who participated in the Bardoli deliberations of Mahatma Gandhi early in February last, and particularly Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, will make a clear and complete statement on these allegations. More than this I cannot and must not state for the present." We are unable to see how a statement by any of those who participated in the Bardoli deliberations, can meet an allegation by an anonymous publicist that a declaration was privately made to him, or to some other person known to him, by Mahatma Gandhi. The only person who can authoritatively confirm or contradict such an allegation is the Mahatma himself who is said to have made the declaration. But he does not see any newspapers or magazines—not even the *Round Table*, we suppose—in his seclusion in the Yerrowda jail, and his letters are said to have been censored personally by His Excellency the Governor so strictly that the Mahatma has apparently given up writing any. In such circumstances, it is open to any irresponsible scribe to attribute any statement he fancies to the Mahatma, as having been made under the seal of secrecy. None but those who are on the look-out for things to believe derogatory to the leadership of the Mahatma, would attach "the slightest judicial value"—to apply the phrase which the Round Tabulator applies to the Congress Sub-Committee's Report on the Martial Law regime in the Punjab—to his allegation which our correspondent has taken so seriously. Since, however, he specially calls upon those who participated in the Bardoli Conference to say what they can calculated to throw light upon the point, this writer, as one who was in it, may say that the nearest approximation to the *Round Table* allegation, which the Mahatma made at Bardoli, was that if the Congress Working Committee and the Congress decided to carry on with Mass Civil Disobedience after the lesson of Chauri Chaura, he would stand aside and somebody else should take up the leadership. The Working Committee and later, the All-India Congress Committee, as everybody knows, endorsed his suspension of Mass Civil Disobedience.

The *Round Table* article on India would have presented a creditable effort to get at the truth of

the Indian situation but for the writer's set purpose and conscious endeavour to admit no interpretation of any fact that might seem to be favourable to Mahatma Gandhi and the Non-Co-operation movement. Indeed, he goes out of his way on the most flimsy pretences to discredit facts which may tell against his preconceived views of Indian events. A flagrant instance is his dismissal of the Congress Sub-Committee's Punjab report as not "having the slightest judicial value". "Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues wanted evidence of oppression," he adds, "and they got it; any wandering tribunal which wants evidence of a particular shade in India can obtain as much as it requires". In other words, the Congress Report was a tissue of exaggerations which Government foolishly allowed to get a start over the decorous euphemisms of the Hunter Committee. His article appears in the June number of the *Round Table*. It is dated India, April 14, 1922. About the third week of March, Sir Sankaran Nair's "Gandhi and Anarchy" was published in this country. We can hardly imagine an Anglo-Indian writer on Indian affairs not having read that book as soon as it appeared. In that book denouncing Gandhi root and branch, occurs the following passage which the writer of the *Round Table* should have seen when he penned his sentence on the Punjab occurrences. Sir Sankaran said:

I doubt whether anybody was in a position to know more of it (the Punjab during the O'Dwyer-Dyer regime) than I was. Even now, with all the enquiries made by the Hunter Commission and by the Congress Sub-Committee, many deplorable incidents as bad as any, worse perhaps than any, reported, have not been disclosed.

Three or at least two weeks before he dated his article, the *Round Table* writer must have seen this passage. If he had not, he was culpably remiss in the duty he had taken upon himself. Sankaran Nair says that worse things than what the Congress Sub-Committee reported, had occurred, to his knowledge, in the Punjab, and he was in a better position to know than any one else. If the *Round Table* writer did not believe Sir Sankaran, he should have given his reasons, but he had, we maintain, no right to ignore, as he has done, the very strong testimony borne by the man, who was a member of the Government of India at the time of the Martial law regime in the Punjab, to the substantial accuracy and even understatement of the Congress Sub-Committee's report. That report has been accepted by all public men in India, including opponents of Non-Co-operation, as a monument of patient and painstaking enquiry into the Punjab affair. The *Round Table* writer has yet the audacity to imply that the Report is a worthless fabrication of clever and unscrupulous politicians. Here is a test, a measure, of his competence as an authentic and reliable commentator on Indian affairs. If the British public has, as we fear, an appetite for this sort of enlightenment on matters Indian, it will get it, and nothing that we can say will stop the flow. Our only resource is to cultivate an imperturbable indifference to what such publicists may allege, while taking care to see that our side of the case does not suffer

from neglect to give the widest publicity to facts relating to India.

The *Round Table* writer seeks to make out that Mahatma Gandhi represents "the re-action of Orthodox Hinduism against these shattering and revolutionary changes"—the outcome of the equality of the British law and the attacks of Christian Missionaries on Hindu institutions. Would it be believed that this chronicler studiously avoids, in the sub-section expounding his views on this point, any reference or allusion to the fact that the abolition of "untouchability" and the elevation of the depressed classes to equal citizenship with the higher castes, is the first item on the Mahatma's programme! Yet, in another part of his article, this clever writer so far forgets his theory of the Mahatma being the tool of an alarmed and outraged Hindu Orthodoxy—with a big O—that he adduces it as part of the Mahatma's political tactics "that Mr. Gandhi denounced the treatment of the 'Untouchables' by Orthodox Hinduism and the 'Untouchables' cried *Gandhi-ki-Jai*." And the same writer in yet another passage represents the Orthodox Hindu seeing, among other portents, "the reform sects anxious to bring the 'Untouchables' within their fold," as reacting "to the man who promised them the re-establishment of their old faith and their old ideals." The simple explanation of these glaring contradictions, is that the writer in the *Round Table*, in dealing with the social ferment in Hinduism, does not know which is which. He confounds the Non-Brahmin-movement in Madras with the Depressed Classes movement as the following sentences show: "It needed but the touch of a democratic franchise under the Reforms Scheme for the 'Depressed Classes' to come by their own. In Madras they secured such success at the polls that they control the provincial administration." The Nairs and Chetties and Reddies of the Non-Brahmin party, members of the "Depressed classes"! Why, the representative, nominated by Government to represent the Depressed Classes in the Madras Legislative Council, publicly declared not long ago that his people will no longer support the Non-Brahmin party in power because of its attitude at the last Labour Strike in Madras! The cue of the *Round Table* writer is to make out that the Brahmin, who is making a tool of Gandhi, is alone responsible for the condition of the "untouchables" whom he represents to be on an equal social level with Non-Brahmins. Ask the "Depressed Classes" man in Malabar whether the Nair (non-Brahmin) or the Nambudri (Brahmin) is his severest social superior! We are not sure that the writer is not under the impression that non-Brahmins are all Christians. "To the despised Sudra," he writes, "he (the Christian Missionary) brought the liberty-loving and democratic faith of the ruling race, admitting all who believed to the equal brotherhood of Christ." We are tempted to linger a little over "the equal brotherhood of Christ" as exhibited in Africa, East and South, and in India too, but we must pass on. When we mention that the *Round Table* writer holds that Lord Reading's telegram regarding the Turkish Treaty has indicated the path to peace, the Indian public will have no difficulty in guessing at the source of his inspiration and of his errors.

A CHRISTIAN VIEW OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

(BY A SYRIAN CHRISTIAN.)

The teaching of Christ regarding Citizenship and its duties, though expressed in few words, is not obscure. The text that is always quoted in this connection, though variously interpreted, enjoined the rendering unto Cæsar what is Cæsar's, and unto God, what is God's. When this text is quoted in support of the Divine Right of Kings, its second clause is ignored, and the first clause receives the gloss that, in cases of doubt, Cæsar is the authority to say what is properly Cæsar's. The text is made to read 'Give unto Cæsar whatever Cæsar says belongs to him.' Though this travesty of Christ's teaching was exploded with the doctrine of the Divine right, it is thought in some quarters that, if patched and exported, it might be consumed by subject nations. That Christ taught such a doctrine, cannot be suggested without blasphemy. If Cæsar should decree that his image should be worshipped in all the provinces, are Christians to fall down and worship it?

A PERNICIOUS ERROR.

Those who rejected this preposterous interpretation of Scripture were apt to make another mistake. When the Divine Right fell into disrepute, its place was taken by the doctrine, 'Government to the King, and Religion to the Priest! Let not the King dictate the religion of his subjects, or the priests attempt to govern them.' A sound doctrine within limits, but, as a little reflection will show, based on an unscientific classification. If the rights of the King be in a water-tight compartment by themselves, separate from duty to God, then similarly are the rights of the Neighbour, of the family, of the clan, also in water-tight compartments, separate from each other and from man's duty to God. This elimination would ultimately leave God with no domain except 'His temple and its ritual. In an age when Superstition is dead, and Ritualism is dying, the throne of God will be divested of authority. To interpret our text as if that which is Cæsar's had nothing to do with that which is God's, is a pernicious error. The relation of that which is Cæsar's to that which is God's, is the relation of the part to the whole. When a statesman says, 'Let Colonial autotomy have what is its, but give to the Empire what is the Empire's,' he means that the autonomy of the Colonies should be interpreted consistently with the interests of the Empire. What is put in another mould of words when you say 'An Indian is an Indian first, and a Hindu or a Mahomedan next,' may be expressed by its equivalent 'Give to your sect what is its and to India what is hers'. The decorator arranges each corner of a room with due regard to the scheme of the whole, giving to the corner what is its, and not forgetting what belongs to the room. The architect finds the necessary accommodation in a building without loss of symmetry, for he has to give to the entire edifice what is its. The particular difficulty of which our text is the solution, was whether it was right to pay taxes to a pagan Government. The answer of the Lord shows that there was noth

necessarily wrong in it. Of course, the pagan character of the State was not even relevant to the issue. The question whether it is right to pay taxes to any Government depends on whether it is consistent with duty to God, and in the particular instance, there was no inconsistency. As in all other cases, Christ laid down a general principle which cannot be applied to particular cases without the spiritual discernment which the circumstances of each case demand. Duty to the State cannot stand by itself, but only in relation to the divine scheme of life as a whole. An ordered form of temporal Government is, at any rate as a temporary expedient, in accordance with the divine will. For until all men have the mind of Christ, the arm of the law is helpful to the maintenance of an atmosphere in which the things of God, righteousness, temperance, meekness, gentleness etc. may flourish, and grow. And in order that the State may be kept up until such time as it may be dispensed with, taxes have got to be paid. Therefore, pay taxes and maintain the State.

DID CHRIST COMPROMISE?

But it may be asked, "What, if the Government be an evil Government, should it be maintained?" It is evident from the time and circumstances in which Christ spoke, that it is not perfect Governments alone, but imperfect Governments also that have a right to collect taxes. Christ could have had no illusions about the Roman Imperial Government. He certainly could not have regarded it as perfect, and as such, worthy of allegiance. Can it then be that Christ made a slight compromise of principle here in order to secure immunity from the penalties of disobedience to the Roman power? Did he purchase Peace by sacrificing Right? The idea is abhorrent not only to Christians but to all who reverence Christ. There are two kinds of Compromise, only one of which is really a compromise of principle, and therefore odious. It is odious to compromise the higher good for the sake of the lower; but it is entirely right to sacrifice the lower good for the sake of the higher. It was a noble compromise when God decided to endow man with free will, for Omniscience knew that free will would be abused. If Christ had attempted to establish a perfect kingdom on earth by means of a revolution, the things of God would have suffered so grievously in the process that the gain from the spiritual point of view would have been less than the loss. The things of God suffer by Revolutions. "While ye gather up the tares, ye root up the wheat also". Callos cruelty, and wanton destruction of life and property, which are so inevitable in armed struggles, make havoc of whatsoever things are pure and lovely and of good report. Therefore the principle of giving to God what is God's, makes it incumbent on godly men to make a reverent compromise, and abstain from resisting evil. Their duty is to leaven the political lump with the Christian leaven. In due course, "The meek shall inherit the Earth" in spite of the armaments of the violent. Look at History:—

Insignificant in its beginnings, founded by a supposed criminal in an obscure province, directed by twelve Galileans of little wealth or education, the Christian movement rapidly

expanded into a world-wide church, so powerful as a bond of union that the Roman Empire itself sought to strengthen itself by its alliance, so strong to succour the oppressed that the poor and lowly took refuge under its protection, so majestic in its ordered stability that the rude barbarians who conquered Rome submitted to its sway. Its growth in modern times has been still more striking. From the year 1700 to 1800 it is estimated that the Christian population of the globe advanced from 155 millions to 200 millions. From 1800 to 1900 the progress has been from 200 millions to more than 500 millions, so that the disciples of Christ now equal, if they do not exceed, a third of the human race—Dummelow.

The most superficial reader of the Gospels cannot fail to perceive that no craven fear oppressed the Lord, "The Prince of the world cometh and he hath nothing in me" "Be not afraid of them that kill the body," he said. "Ye are of more value than many sparrows". "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" The idea that he gave a 'sop to Cerberus' is entirely ruled out.

NON-VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATION, THE TRULY CHRISTIAN METHOD.

So far, probably the Orthodox will bear with us. But now we must raise the question, is it right for a Christian to overthrow an evil Government under any circumstances? For instance, if he can do it without sacrificing "the things of God," as I have called the higher interests of life. There can be only one answer. The Christian is the sworn enemy of evil in every form. The only thing that distinguishes him is his method. The method of other people is to "take up arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing, end them." His method is, not to resist, but simply not to co-operate with evil. Therefore, if by non-violent non-co-operation, he can displace the government that he considers evil and replace it by a better, he is not only entitled but bound to do it. A great deal of leavening has no doubt to be accomplished before the stage can be reached when a government can be displaced by non-violent non-co-operation. It is a thing to be done only in the fullness of time. And when is the time fulfilled? First, the blade, then the ear; then the full corn in the ear, and thus the fullness of time, say some. The operations of nature shew, they say, that the fullness of time is when the next step is without effort. But is this the test in human affairs? The human child is born in the fullness of time, but it is not born without pain and suffering, like the full corn in the ear. Human advancement is always attended with effort. God has not endowed man, as unwise parents endow their children, with ready-made wealth. He has only given them talents and laid down the rule that to him that hath more will be given. It is therefore necessary for them to traffic with the talents given them. It will not do to go and hide them in the Earth on the analogy of the blade, and the ear, and the full corn in the ear, hoping that the earth would give its increase. Talents are not vegetable seeds. Things do not turn up in human society "unless some one turns them up". Nothing can be achieved by man, or for man, without effort and suffering.

THE LAZY GOD, EVOLUTION.

But some people will say "Do not unnecessarily increase the effort and suffering by anticipating the time for action. Wait, God is in His heaven, and all will be right with the world." Let us judge this matter again by the test of the example of Christ. Christ came into the world in the fullness of time. But if that be so, why was he crucified? If he had waited a little longer and allowed the forces of evolution to do their full work, might he not have come into an expectant world, ready to receive him with outstretched arms? No, it is not such a tardy consummation, as the lazy god, Evolution, brings forth, that Love regards as the fullness of time. For Love, the time is fulfilled when its own suffering and sacrifice have a reasonable chance of achieving some good. The harvest is to it already ripe; only, the labourers are few. There is an enemy sowing tares in the world, and the mere process of the suns will therefore never bring about the millenium. But even granting that it would, no lover of humanity will wait indefinitely. If the present evil is great, no mere suffering or fear of misunderstanding can by itself deter the true patriot from acting. Only one thing can deter him—the fear of violence. Not the violence of his enemies, but the violence of his friends and followers. He will be shipwrecked if in the course of his great enterprise, his ship should spring a leak. What is the use of my battling with the waves, if the drowning man whom I seek to rescue give up the ghost before I am able to reach him?

Our position, then is, that the Christian patriot satisfied that the Government of his country is not what it should be, will not be deterred by suffering from seeking to set it right, provided there will be no sacrifice of the 'things of God' in the process of the change. One caution to the reader. Whether the Government of this country needs to be altered, and how and when, are questions which we have not examined. We have only attempted to correct certain misapprehensions regarding Christian doctrine.

MALABAR TO-DAY. I.*

(BY A RECENT VISITOR.)

The present situation in Malabar is of a two-fold significance: first, exoteric and second, esoteric. The former is for the governmental authorities and other agencies in power to deal with, the latter is a conscious process of rejuvenation and regeneration on the part of the people. And both are vital: the first for the immediate restoration of their normal life and peaceful activities, and the second, for a guarantee of their future security and the salvation of the soul of the land which is now in travail.

MATERIAL RELIEF.

The immediate need is, of course, material relief to the homeless and the destitute to enable them to rebuild their destroyed houses and keep themselves from starvation, as also to help them in starting life afresh. Even on a modest calculation the number of houses

* This article was written about the end of May when the writer visited Malabar.

thus destroyed, including those which were burnt by the military for strategic purposes, is well over five thousands, and the large majority of them are those owned by people who live from hand to mouth by carrying on petty trades or having small agricultural holdings. This is by no means the simple problem that it appears to be, for, it is a matter of great urgency as the proverbially heavy Malabar monsoons are impending, if they have not already set in in some places, and once they begin, the poor people will not only lose the protection of a roof and consequently expose themselves to all the illnesses and diseases peculiar to the wet weather, but will have also to endure the further calamity of the whole of their houses, walls and all, being washed away, a circumstance which will make the situation much more intricate than it is at present as it will then involve an enormously greater expense than now. Besides in some Amsoms in the interior, such as Kallikavu for instance, —I was told that in Melattur also the conditions were similar—which are mainly made up of Mappillas, there were only large crowds of women and children to be seen as almost all the men-folk in the village had disappeared either in the course of the rebellion or as an aftermath to it, leaving just a scattering of males, all too few to push on the work of reconstruction. Nor is the available supply of foodstuff as plentiful as it is officially made out to be. The common Hindu conviction that the Moplahs in the interior are still in possession of large quantities of looted property which forms an inexhaustible source of supplies to them, is a superstition of the magnitude of the Oriental Pagoda Tree, and the official picture of the present-day Malabar as a plentiful land unknown to want and misery is also a Himalayan white-wash. To the casual visitor from the plains of the arid North accustomed to dire famine conditions, it may appear strange to associate starvation with such a flourishing and green-looking country. But there is no need to judge Malabar by extraneous standards, and the hard conditions in the country of which the Malabar Central Relief Committee give such a telling description from time to time, are by no means an exaggeration. At Ariakkode, Kallikavu, Karivarakannu, Perinthelmannu, Mannarkot, Melattur, and Triranga di—to mention only a few places—there were visible signs of great distress, the unmistakable evidence being the "famine physiology", protruding stomachs, thin hands, and deadly pallor of the children. In Perinthelmannu, for instance, there was a small group of Pathan women, usually given to strict purdah and unapproachable to masculine creation, who came out in spite of their avowed habits to see our party of visitors and directly represent their lot to them. A very touching incident in this scene was the sight of a Pathan girl of tender years with her first-born in her arms, narrating the story of her destitution giving out how her youth stood in the way of her going out to work to earn a wage in the peculiar conditions now prevalent in the country. The people now depend for their existence upon the jack and mango, the plentiful products of the season, and feed upon it entirely. While it is something to be thankful for,

that there is some kind of palliative for the fierce hunger of these famine-stricken folk, it could by no means be said that this wild diet is a suitable food. For such a diet is fraught with the utmost peril for health, especially in the coming season, and the death and disease among the children, particularly, is bound to be enormous. Besides a time is fast approaching when even these bountiful forest-products would have ceased to be, and then the plight of the people will be indeed pitiful.

THE RELIEF AGENCIES.

The existing distress, it is calculated, will generally prevail until the next harvest, that is until about September or October, this year. In this connection it is really a great boon that the Servants of India Society and the Y. M. C. A. have decided to prolong their beneficent work of relief in the suffering country until that time. Here I wish to put on record that it is a matter of glad rejoicing and legitimate pride that at a time of such acute distress and widespread helplessness in Malabar, the situation was met entirely with the resources and initiative of the country, unaided by Government grants. There is more in it than he who runs may read, for it is a symbol of this great fact that, in spite of our numerous misfortunes, owed and bestowed, we are coming to our own—all honour to the selfless patriotism of Mr. Devadhar, the golden-hearted man whose whole life has been a soft and silent hymn of offering in the service of the poor and the down-trodden, and his faithful associates, Messrs. Madhav Row and Suryanarayana Row, the twin hands of his execution who tirelessly gave themselves up to the work. Thanks also to the great white Lady, Mrs. Besant, who gave to the cause her wonted devotion and so persistently held it up before slack Madras, and to the Brothers of Mercy, the band of Christian workers of the Y.M.C. A., Messrs. Hindle and Popley and the devoted Jacobil. Their names have been wrought into the texture of the lives of the poor sufferers and blossom out again and again, each time there is a smile of joy on their face. The Congress workers also have borne their share of the work but as they must accept the larger part of the responsibility in the creation of the forces that caused the rebellion, their good work is naturally overshadowed by that dark circumstance, nor could they play any direct part in the work that lies ahead, because their discretion—it is generally believed among the people at present at any rate—is at a discount.

METHODS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

The Malabar Central Relief Committee have, in accordance with the aims and scope of their organisation, strictly confined themselves to the work of relief. The present advance on their activities after they had closed down the camp-relief in Calicut are outdoor relief and the distribution of valedictory doles on the one hand, and the opening of cheap rice-depots and promotion of such other facilities in the interior, on the other. The work of Reconstruction, both on account of the nature as well as the vast magnitude of the task, is the function of the Government, and it rests with them to restore not only peace and order

but also peace and prosperity to a disturbed country. The official note which the Special Commissioner of Malabar recently issued, forms an interesting record in this connection of—I was going to say, worthy achievement—but unhappily it shares along with the other official documents of a similar nature only the virtues of interesting reading, literary craftsmanship, profound suggestiveness, and happy speculation. The inwardness and intricacies of the situation, anyway, make it no light task, and it will therefore be hazardous to indulge in any severe criticism. The work of Reconstruction falls naturally into two main heads, first, immediate, which will be more properly called Rehabilitation, and secondly, the farther and larger process of the fuller harmonisation of the ruptured elements of social and communal life. The first is entirely the responsibility of the Government, but the latter, to be done with any degree of success, must be the joint endeavour of the Government and the people. Considering first the former, the main divisions of work in this direction are (1) to restore confidence in the pauc-stricken people by the establishment of sufficient military force in suitable places and what is yet more important, training the people in self-defence; (2) to facilitate the efforts of the agriculturists to proceed with the cultivation of the land by enabling them to secure the necessary seed, agricultural implements, and cattle, and (3) to restore the civic life in the country by giving easy loans to people so that they may have the wherewithal to start life afresh and may begin anew. The first part of this work, namely the military guard is well ahead and the Special Auxiliary Police which is now everywhere evident in Malabar is an excellent step, admitting only of this further improvement that it should be attached to the regular military instead of being tacked on to the disreputable Police, a reform which, however, I am glad to be informed, is in contemplation and already in progress. Regarding the second and the third, namely, giving easy loans to facilitate cultivation and to take back to their normal life and occupations, it is impossible to extol the generous gift of Rupees ten thousand from our wealthy Governor, H. E. Lord Willingdon, which has been specially set apart for purposes of securing seed and which is an admirable demonstration of his personal solicitude for the poor and the afflicted. The Special Commissioner's note also will be remembered in this connection and how he says in it that his Reconstruction Officers have taken up this task well in hand, and how they are proceeding with it vigorously aided by the liberal allotment of the Government for this purpose. But while the happy reader, after a perusal of this note as well as the pleasant letters of the optimistic correspondent of the *Madras Mail*, may abide in the cheerful belief that the present conditions in Malabar are delightful and assuring, the facts are far from the case. For, the sad truth remains that a handsome allotment of money in the budget does not always reach the really needy among the distressed population, however honest and well-intentioned the agency that administers it may be. I have just returned after an ex-

tensive tour in the interior of Malabar and I have a lot to say about the nature of this mediumship, but it is neither safe nor right to talk of it when it is not possible to get people to vouch publicly for the instances they speak of. I will, however, here content myself by saying that in the course of my tour I had opportunities of coming into personal contact both with the people as well as some of the Government officers and I was much struck by the difference in their angles of vision. I was surprised to see how, while the people were complaining of distress and destitution and proved it by ample evidence, the officers remained undisturbed in their indomitable faith that "God was in His Heaven and all was right with the world" and asserted that if some people smelt a rat, it was because something was the matter with their noses. It was also delightful to see yet one more instance of the proof of the loyalty of the *Mail* to the Special Commissioner of Malabar. When I came across accidentally one of its issues the other day, I saw among its proud head lines—"No woman in rags": this, in connection with Malabar and in answer to Mr. Andrews' indictment that there was a large amount of distress prevalent among the Moplahs in several of the Amsoms in the interior, the fact being that even so late as the first week of this month (May) I did come across several women in rags.

FERMENT IN MAHARASHTRA STATES.

It was on the eve of the Sangli Conference that an attempt was made in these columns to survey the political situation in the Southern Maratha States. The Sangli Conference, as anticipated, proved an unqualified success, in spite of the restriction that *only bona fide subjects* of the State, were allowed to take part in the discussions. Another happy feature of the gathering was the close co-operation between the moderates and extremists. Looking to the speeches that were delivered and the resolutions that were passed, there was moderation in the criticism which exhibited a keen desire to see the administration reformed. The Conference made it clear to all that the subjects of the States were striving for monarchy in the light of modern political thought and that they had no grudge against the Chief of the State. The people have done their duty and they will do it, year in and year out, but it lies with the Chief Sahib as well to give a proper turn to the current of political thought, by lending a sympathetic ear to the grievances detailed in the Conferences.

The Sangli Conference awakened the sense of responsibility in the subjects of the neighbouring States, and Miraj, which is contiguous to Sangli, took up the idea and held its first session on the 11th May 1922, under the presidentship of Mr. C. V. Vaidya. The Conference was largely attended by political leaders from British India, and the tone of the speeches and resolutions was in keeping with the lines laid down by the Sangli Conference. Special local grievances apart, an earnest appeal was made to take the subjects into confidence in carrying on the work of administration. The Annual Report of the State

contains a review of the moral and material progress of the State, during the year; but such Conferences give another occasion for taking stock of events, from the non-official point of view. It is rightly said that people ought to deserve rights before they fight for it, and a Conference bespeaks political consciousness and a readiness to share the responsibility of carrying on the affairs of the State.

The Dakshini Samsthan Hitawardhak Samatha also had its Annual Meeting, under the presidentship of Mr. Gupte, of the Bombay Council. The institution supplies the want of an influential central body. It may well take up the work of ventilating the most urgent grievances of the States, by legitimate and constitutional means, a work which cannot be effectively done by the States individually. Only those who live in the States know how delicate is the situation in the States of political activities, and it is an influential body alone that can bring pressure to bear on the administration, by means of deputation and memorandums. Perhaps, the Samatha is in its infancy, but individual Conferences in the States strengthen the movement. All States may not be equally reasonable to allow their subjects to ventilate their grievances, but it lies with the central body to narrow down the gulf and make a Conference possible. If the subjects of the States were to fight their battle single-handed, it is doubtful whether much progress can be achieved before long. The central body deserves to be congratulated on its scheme of holding an All-India States Mandal. Let Maharashtra take the lead in awakening the subjects of the States all over India and be true to its historical position.

L. G. G.

A NEW HOME FOR CHILDREN.

(From a Correspondent).

Quite an interesting function took place at Coimbatore on Friday last when Her Excellency Lady Willingdon laid the foundation stone of the new home for children presented to the local branch of the Madras Presidency Maternity and Child Welfare Association by Mr. V. S. Sengottaiyah, a prominent and public-spirited merchant of the place. Coimbatore has thus taken "the lead in the matter of having a habitation of her own for maternity and child-welfare work and the proposed building is the first of its kind owned by any similar association in the presidency." In requesting Her Excellency to lay the foundation stone, the Hon'ble Rajah Ramarayaningar (Minister for Local Self-Government) referred to the appallingly high rate of infant mortality in India and regretted that the rendering of medical and maternity aid has been much handicapped by the financial stringency caused by the unreasonable attitude of the Government of India. He observed that the donor of the Home has not allowed his charity to flow along the old channels and congratulated him for his magnificent gift.

Her Excellency, in thanking Mr. V. S. Sengottaiyah for his munificent gift, said that the welfare of the children and mothers of this presidency had always been a matter of the deepest interest to her and hoped to see similar homes spread far and wide throughout Madras before she left the Presidency.

HAVE EDUCATED INDIANS REJECTED JESUS CHRIST ?

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The Rt. Reverend Dr. V. S. Azariah, Bishop of Dornakal, writing in the June number of the *Madras Diocesan Magazine* on the retiring Bishop of Madras—Dr. Henry Whitehead—an appreciation of his work as Bishop, quotes—it seems with approval—the following words of Bishop Whitehead, which he uttered twenty long years ago.

“The Brahmans and the upper castes have had their chance. For more than fifty years the gospel has been preached constantly and earnestly by able and devoted missionaries throughout all the large cities of India to the more cultured classes. *The fatal obstacle to the acceptance of Christianity at all times is pride; and if pride forbids men to enter the Kingdom of Heaven with the outcasts and the poor, it is impossible for them to enter into it at all.* (The italics are mine.)

The learned Bishop here makes two mistakes. (1) He confounds the *Kingdom of God* with the *Church*—shall I say with the *Established Church of England*? When the good Bishop will one day be in heaven, he will then realise, if not now, that many a Hindu who would not join the Christian Church was already a member of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Many an educated Hindu who refuses to seek admission into the Christian Church does so, not because he is too proud to be a fellow-member with the “outcasts and the poor” but *because he cannot honestly believe in the Jesus of the Nicene Dogma*, while he is too spiritual to reject the Jesus of History. I believe that I can claim to know the minds of the educated Hindus better than Bishop Whitehead and at least as well as Bishop Azariah. Modern India since the days of Raja Ram Mohan Ray has had but one attitude towards Jesus of Nazareth viz. veneration for his selfless and God-like character. “The Principles of Jesus” have been the rule of life of many a Hindu from Ram Mohan to M. K. Gandhi. Who can tell what India would have been before to-day if from the beginning the missionaries from the West had presented nothing but the historic Jesus and his genuine utterances? But that was not to be. The Missionaries sincerely believed that they were offering “the Gospel truth” when they offered nothing but the Nicene Dogma, and thought that Ram Mohan Ray and those that came after him were *neither philosophers nor theologians* (See Frazer’s *Modern Religious Movements in India* p. 86, last para.) or they have thought that the cultured classes among Hindus were too proud to join a Christian Church with the outcasts and the poor.

Perhaps it would have been correcter to say that many a mild Hindu has been kept away from the Church in which the Sabib has been so long the visible God. If there has been ever a time when the educated Indian *consciously* has paid homage to Jesus Christ, it is in the year 1922 A. D., when Mahatma Gandhi was arrested, tried and sentenced to imprisonment. Mother India, you are too spiritual to shut your heart, against Jesus, the Son of God, *because he is the Son of Man*.

My purpose in writing this is not to defend the attitude of the educated Indian towards Jesus for it needs no defence, nor to blame the Missionaries who in their days of ignorance of Biblical Theology and Comparative Religion could not have done better but to urge Bishop Azariah and all other Christian workers to advance Modernism in thought and Democracy in spirit *within* the Christian Church and then they need not be afraid of results.

Bahdad.

FRANCIS KINGSBURY.

TEMPLE-ENTRY AGITATION OF THE UNTOUCHABLES.

THE EDITOR, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR.

My heartiest sympathies go to the Ezhavas of Travancore, the Namebdras of Gauhati and the Mahar Members of the U. P. Council who are fighting so manfully against degradation. Their agitation is a right sort of answer to those narrow-minded Hindus, who taunt the reformers that it is the untouchables who must fight for their own rights. In the absence of the puissant personality of Mahatma Gandhi, it is the untouchables themselves who must supply the driving force in the movement against untouchability. They have a great responsibility on their shoulders. The Temple entry is not a new question. They should better follow the example of their great brother, the devotee of Vithoba of Pandharpur, who entered the temple of Pandharpur, meekly submitting himself to all the insults and punishments. They should allow the heroes and champions of orthodoxy to beat them, to punish them without raising a finger. Due to the passive resistance of Chokha, the great Mahar devotee, the untouchables have won I am told the right of ‘Dharshan’ in the temple of Pandharpur. The orthodox, if they have at heart real love for Hinduism and country, should follow the advice of Mr. N. C. Kelkar the great leader of Maharashtra, who advised his Brahmin brethren, in his speech in Bombay, to keep open public temples and wells to the untouchables. He suggested that up to a certain limit, all people should be allowed to have ‘Darshan’ just as it is done at Nanded at the tomb of Gura Govind of the Sikhs. If the lesson of the Moplas is not lost upon them, the orthodox should consent to settle this question amicably and allow the national energies to be used for higher achievements.

Devlali,
23-6-22.

Yours etc.
K. G. KARKARE.

CONGRESS SITUATION IN GUJARAT.

Praja Bandhu, Ahmedabad weekly.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel has been again appointed President of the Daskroi Taluka Samiti. At the last annual general meeting of the Daskroi Taluka Samiti held in the Premabhai Hall last Sunday he earnestly pressed for the appointment of some one else, but as none showed readiness to accept the post, he was unanimously asked to continue holding it. This is a significant answer to those who were perpetually hounding him for the last three months. A local contemporary had opened its columns for his vilification, and till the last moment it had continued suggesting the appointment of better persons. But better persons were conspicuous by their absence, and the choice of the voters again fell on Mr. Vallabhbhai.

In fact there is no person abler and better fitted at present to lead Gujarat than Mr. Vallabhbhai. He is fearless in word and deed, but his fearlessness does not end in bravado. He takes a calmer view of the situation, and shapes his conduct accordingly. He realises that for the present the path of duty lies in silent, peaceful work among the masses. We are not yet prepared for offering civil disobedience. The inauguration of civil disobedience will bring in its train, as it has done in other Provinces, an awful reign of repression. The people will either resort to violence or will be cowed down. In either case the hands of our progress will be set back, and the forces of reaction will triumph.

Mahatma Gandhi saw all this from the outbreak at Chauri Chaura. He shuffled off his campaign of mass civil disobedience in Bardoli, and advised concentration on constructive

work. Even at the time of his conviction and sentence to a long term of six years the one word that was on his lips was *khaddar*. *Khaddar* will vitalize and unify India into a strong and united nation which no power on earth will keep under subjection. Mr. Vallabhbhai is but following the instructions of Mahatma Gandhi, and he has thereby incurred the wrath of some of his followers. He is organizing the production and distribution of *khaddar* without any speeches or demonstrations, and the people conclude that he is doing nothing.

Picketing is a kind of force to which Indians are not yet amenable. They see in it the violation of their natural rights, and they hesitate not to stoop to the lowest means for opposing it. Wherever it has been used, it has aroused the bitterest feelings and has resulted in the worst forms of retaliatory measures. Mr. Vallabhbhai is not, therefore, wrong when he advises the giving up picketing and the reliance on personal example. The shining torch of personal example is more eloquent than picketing or preaching. If we improve ourselves the world cannot but be improved.

THE AGE OF CONSENT.

Prabuddha Bharata, monthly, Ramkrishna Mission, Mayavati.

The Hindu Society has at present lost its power of initiative and original thinking. Its members are content to "tread the path their forefathers trod," and follow the rules and injunctions whether sanctioned by Society or Scriptures, like mere automata, without taking the trouble of enquiring into their meaning. Any departure from the old rut, however beneficial it may be, is looked upon with dread and suspicion, and is met with great opposition. A bill has been introduced in the Indian Legislative Assembly, with a view to increase the age of consent of a married girl from the 12th to the 14th year. Meetings are being held and correspondences are pouring in into the Press, protesting against the proposed bill. If the opposition be due to the interference of the Legislative Assembly in a purely social matter, there may be some meaning in the protests. But instead of that we are told that Hinduism and Hindu Society would perish if the new amendment be passed into law. As if religious and social welfare can be insured by making a girl a mother at the age of twelve? Those who seem to be most solicitous about the morals of Society would do well to consider whether or not social morality can be better maintained and even improved by making our boys and girls live a life of self-control and self-discipline until they attain full majority, and are able to take up the responsibilities of the family life. Such a course would be in full conformity with the true spirit of the Hindu Scriptures, and will certainly improve both the health and morals of the would-be parents as well as those of the generations to come. Practice of Brahmacharya, which implies self-control, imparting of true education and Indian culture, will make our boys and girls more useful members of society, and will help them to bear the burdens of life more efficiently than at present. Emphasis on Brahmacharya and abolition of child-marriage will stop premature child-bearing which is greatly responsible for the physical degeneration of the Indian people and will check the high mortality of young mothers and their weak and undeveloped children. These will also check child-widowhood which is one of the greatest curses prevalent in the Hindu Society, and will conduce to increased social purity and greater well-being of Society in general.

The country at present needs strong men and women who are prepared to work for the re-establishment of the grand institution of Brahmacharya for boys as well as for girls, modified according to the needs and conditions of modern life. In this connection we commend the following words of Swami

Vivekananda spoken to a disciple in the year 1897, to those of our countrymen who are opposing the bill proposing to raise the age of consent, and are trying to organize meetings in different parts of the country to prevent it from being passed into law:—"Such educated men are not yet born in this country, who can keep their girls unmarried without fear of social punishment. Just see how before the girls exceed the age of twelve or thirteen, people hasten to give them away in marriage out of this fear of their social equals. Only the other day, when the Age of Consent Bill was being passed the leaders of society massed together millions of men to send up the cry. "We don't want the Bill." Had this been in any other country, far from getting up meetings to send forth a cry like that, people would have hidden their heads under their roofs in shame, that such a calumny could yet stain their society."

A CRUEL STIGMA.

Indian Witness, Lucknow weekly, Christian Missionary.

The draft Bill proposed by Mr. M. K. Reddi to amend the Hindu law of succession, for submission to the Bombay (sic) Legislative Assembly, contains a section so offensive to a sense of justice towards an already oppressed class of people, that it deserves a prompt and vigorous protest. This section reads as follows:

The illegitimate son of a Hindu of any caste shall not be entitled to inherit or claim any share in the property belonging to the putative father at his death, either solely or jointly along with other co-parceners, nor shall he be entitled to take the property of the legitimate sons or other descendants of his putative father, either by inheritance or survivorship.

To put the matter plainly, whether to Mr. Reddi or to any reader of these lines, let us ask: What if you discovered that you were born not only of Sudra parents, but born out of wedlock? And though you suffered and resented the double reproach heaped on you by society, you were even told that a law was being framed to prevent you from any claim upon your father for an inheritance such as belongs to children born in wedlock? How would you feel toward society that so brands you, and towards a Bill that would disinherit you of a son's or daughter's natural right? Would you not decide that the reproach and penalty should fall upon your parents instead of their innocent offspring?

Frances Willard spoke the truth when she declared that there are illegitimate parents, but there are no illegitimate children! Let us have done with placing a ban on such as these, but on those who brought them into the world. Whatever legislatures may ordain, eternal justice is on the side of those, so handicapped, and against those who condemn or harm them. Some day, the laws of all civilized nations will safeguard the rights of such children.

RIGHTS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN.

In connection with Mr. Reddi's "Illegitimate Sons' Rights Bill", a reader sends us the following extract from "Taboo and Genetics" by Knight, Peters and Blanchard: "If we free ourselves from a manner of thinking induced by inhibitions developed through ages of taboo control, and look at the problem rationally, we must admit that the chief interest of society would be in the eugenic value of the children born into it. At the present time, however, the emphasis seems to be chiefly upon the manner of birth, that is, the principal concern is to have the parents married in the customary orthodox fashion. Only in view of the necessities of the recent war have the European nations been forced to wipe

out the stain of illegitimacy, and in America we are still blind to this necessity. Only Scandinavia, under the leadership of such minds as Ellen Key's, was roused to this inconsistency in the mores (?) without external pressure, and enacted legislation concerning illegitimacy which may well serve as a model to the whole world. The main points of the Norwegian Castberg Bill are as follow: The child whose parents are unmarried has a right to the surname of the father, and the right of inheritance from a propertied father; the court has full power to clear up the paternity of the children, the man is held responsible for the child's support even if other men are known to have had intercourse with the mother. In order to discourage immorality in women for the propose of blackmailing wealthy men, the mother is also compelled to contribute to the child's support."

ALL INDIA STATES' CONFERENCE.

It is proposed to hold an All-India States' Conference in Bombay in August or September next, for the purpose of considering questions affecting the subjects of Indian States throughout India. It is earnestly desired that it should be attended by as many representatives as possible, of every State in India, and therefore it is hereby requested that all those who take interest in the cause of the States' subjects, should communicate on the address given below, with the Secretaries of the Provisional Committee of the Conference to make the Conference a success. The Secretaries wish particularly to be favoured with (1) the names of the prominent people in all the different States, who may be requested to join the Reception Committee, (2) the names of men who are likely to attend the Conference as delegates, (3) suggestions in regard to the subjects to be brought for discussion in the Conference, &c. More particularly they would like to receive papers, to be read at the Conference, on the public grievances of the subjects of various States, so that the Conference will be able to take conjoint action on behalf of all the States. All communications should be addressed to the Secretaries, Provisional Committee, All India States' Conference, Kibe Wada, Budhvar Peth, Poona City.

D. B. SHUKLA, Bar-at Law, Rajkot, N. O. KELKAR (Poona),
Chairman. S. S. METHA (Bombay),
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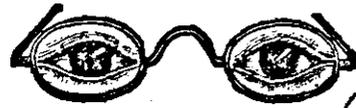
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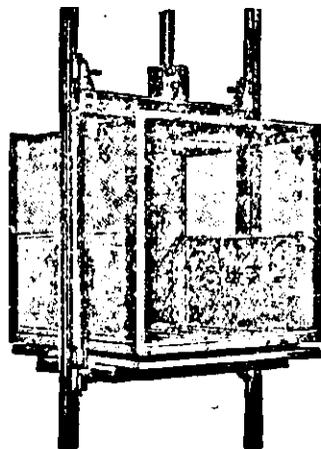
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BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JULY 16, 1922.

No. 46

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

A Human Document: It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good. The large number of political prisoners imprisoned at the present day—our readers must make their own choice between the latest official estimate of their number, under 4000, and the non-official estimate of about four or five times that figure—and the publication by them of their experiences of life within jails, cannot but be the means of bringing about some much-needed reforms in the administration of these institutions. We welcome, therefore, the "Jail Diary" containing the notes made from day to day by Mr. C. Raja Gopalacharya in Vellore Jail (Swarajya Press, Madras) in which he underwent his three months' simple imprisonment, from December 1921 to March 1922. In a brief preface, Mr. Raja Gopala says that when the book was being printed, he was tempted to remove or rewrite many passages. But, he adds, he did not yield to the weakness as the purpose of the publication was to warn people against errors and weaknesses such as he passed through. This is one of the most sincere books written by an Indian and, as such, it belongs to the realm of literature. It deserves a more lengthy and detailed notice than this brief note which is intended merely to effect an introduction of it to our readers without delay. We must notice, however, at once that Mr. Raja Gopala was allowed to write letters and receive visitors once a month and that he seems to have been allowed to have a supply of candles, of course, at his own expense. Is there any reason why the Bombay Government should be less liberal to Mahatma Gandhi than the Madras Government to Mr. Raja Gopala? No newspapers were allowed to him in the Vellore Jail, though he seems to have had a fairly good general idea of what was going on outside. As regards newspapers, the Bengal Government stated the other day in the Legislative Council that political prisoners could get non-nationalist newspapers at their own expense. Why should not Bombay have the same rule?

Mr. Hasrat Mohani's War Case: The Bombay High Court has, agreeing with the verdict of the Ah-

medabad Jury, acquitted Moulana Hasrat Mohani of the charge of waging war against the King, which was the second charge on which he was tried before the Ahmedabad Sessions Judge. The judgment of the acting Chief Justice, Sir Lallubhai Shah, is a lucid and timely pronouncement on behalf of interpreting and applying the law relating to this—and may we say, other political offences?—in the spirit of commonsense. The legislator has necessarily to frame the law on broad lines to cover any possible contingency, but the Executive Government which sets the law in motion and the Courts which apply the law, are expected to see that it is interpreted so as to impress the public mind and conscience as a just and proper intervention of the law to protect the community from the danger which the legislator had in mind to provide against, having regard to time and circumstances. The two facts, namely, that the Moulana's views were not accepted by the meeting to which they were addressed and that, though several months had elapsed since they were propounded, nothing in the remotest degree resembling war had eventuated in consequence of it at the time the prosecution was launched, seem to us to be conclusive arguments against creating in the public mind an agitation such as is inevitable when a charge of this kind is brought against one of the King's subjects by a responsible Government. In this case, the Moulana's defence protesting that he did not intend any hostile operations against the Sovereign, has convinced the Ahmedabad Jury and the Bombay High Court of his innocence. We congratulate the Moulana Sahib on the independence which inspired him to state his case for himself, in the face of the orthodox doctrine that it is the duty of a non-co-operationist to go to gaol as sheep to slaughter. The High Court would have done its duty in any case, and the insuperable legal difficulty, pointed out by Sir Lallubhai in something like a postscript to his judgment, in the way of punishing a man on two charges for the same speech—which does not seem to have occurred to the Sessions Judge—would have ensured the Moulana's acquittal. But it was well that the Moulana did not shirk his part. The next thought that this judgment brings up to our mind, is: "Is it impossible that the jurors who came to the right conclusion on this matter, might have also been right when, as assessors, they declared the Moulana "not guilty" of the charge of sedition in the same speech?" If it is not too late, the Moulana owes it to himself and the country to have the point tested in the highest Appellate Court in the Presidency.

Lord Lytton and the Permanent Settlement: The landholders of Bengal are a paradoxical people. They presented an address of welcome to the new Governor, Lord Lytton, in which they pointed out that various grave problems, such as education and sanitation, awaited His Excellency's attention and assured him that he "will get ready assistance from us, the landholding class." Immediately, however, they added that they also hoped "that nothing will be done to interfere with the Permanent Settlement of Bengal,

as any interference will be considered a breach of faith with those who helped to establish British rule in Bengal." In other words, the Bengal zemindars warned the Governor not to interpret their offer of ready assistance to mean the only useful form of assistance that it was in their power to give. His Excellency's reply to this part of the address was to the effect that if the landholders wished to see their Permanent Settlement safe, they would do well to resist the endeavour to get all subjects, including land revenue, transferred to responsible Ministers in the Provinces. Lord Lytton's words should be quoted: "I am glad," said His Excellency, "to take this opportunity of stating publicly that so long as Land Revenue remains a reserved subject and I have any direct responsibility in the matter, the question of the abolition of the Permanent Settlement will not be raised." Lord Lytton reminded the zemindars that while, owing to financial embarrassments of the last year, the Government of Bengal had had to explore all available means of raising fresh revenue, they had not touched the Permanent Settlement. This is all very well but, in view of the incontrovertible fact that the Permanent Settlement in Bengal involves extortionate burdens on other provinces in order to meet the demands of the Central Government, it is impossible to treat the revenue policy of Bengal as a purely provincial question. The question of the continuance or modification of the Permanent Settlement does not, we think, depend upon land revenue remaining a "reserved" or becoming a "transferred" subject—Lord Lytton was unwise in making it seem that it did—but upon the Zemindars helping Bengal to cease to be a burden on the rest of the country because of it. The pledge in regard to the Permanent Settlement virtually means a pledge to fleece the other provinces for the benefit of the Zemindars. And surely, the other provinces have a right to say whether or not they are willing to acquiesce in it any longer.

The "Bengalee's" Mare's-Nest: The *Bengalee*, referring to Mrs. Gandhi's remark, at a ladies' meeting in Bombay after her visit to Mahatma Gandhi in Yerrowda Jail, that "they had to tell the British that they did not want them to go out of India, and Indians wanted them in this country as equals and not as masters," observes that "there appears to have happened a remarkable change in the political mentality of Mr. Gandhi since he has been allowed the opportunity to think for himself within the guarded solitude of the Yeravda Jail at Bombay." To our contemporary "this appears to be a white flag unfurled by Mrs. Gandhi for peace and truce," and it reminds her that this is precisely what Liberals and Moderates have always stood for. All this is perfectly gratuitous as the Mahatma has said this months before he went to jail, and there was no need for Mrs. Gandhi to have spoken this on any special instruction from him at the last interview. When Mrs. C. R. Das let fall a remark about entering the Legislative Councils at the Bengal Provincial Conference, it was at once suggested that she was speaking from instruction from Mr. Das who is in jail. Liberals of the *Bengalee* type can not evidently believe that a married woman can have ideas of her own, and that what she says need not necessarily be the echo of her husband's. Is this a reflection on marriage or on womanhood?

Mysore Finance: It must have gone against his grain very much, we are sure, for Sir M. Visvesvaraya to have been obliged, by persistent misrepresentation, to issue the note entitled "Mysore State Finance" in which with great restraint, moderation and dignity, he conclusively shows that the legend of his extravagant measures having brought about the dislocation of Mysore Finance, is the invention

of interested publicists. There was a surplus varying from 42 to 80 lakhs during every year that Sir Mokshagundam was Dewan. The Dewan who succeeded him and the Financial Secretary, spoke of the state of the finances as they found it as prosperous and sound in the Legislative Council. The increase in the cost of administration during the six years of his Dewanship was 41 lakhs, or an average of 7 lakhs per annum, whereas during the next three years, it went up by 82 lakhs or an average of about 28 lakhs a year. As regards capital outlay, Sir M. Visvesvaraya points out that the total outlay on productive works during his term of office, 289 lakhs, was entirely covered by the total surplus in the same period of 341 lakhs. It may be urged that, though this is true, he had committed the State to future expenditure which it could not meet without a severe strain upon its resources. On this point, Sir M. Visvesvaraya's explanation is less conclusive than on the other two points, but it is so because he himself has not risen above the fallacy of financing public works whose benefits extend to future generations from current revenue surpluses. The bulk of the total surplus of 341 lakhs upon which he rather prides himself during his six years, was an unjustifiable exaction from our point of view. The whole amount of capital on productive public works should have been obtained by loans. This would have better enabled the people to meet the extra demands on account of the cost of the administration. To say this, is not to say that the critics of Sir Visvesvaraya's regime are right. It is only to say that but for the wrong policy which he inherited and was not able to discard, his policy would have appeared in its right perspective beyond the power of the most prejudiced critic to misunderstand or misrepresent it.

New Zealand Immigration Act: There are only about 200 Indians in New Zealand and they all enjoy the franchise and have no disabilities. This has been acknowledged by Mr. Sastry and others, and is a matter to be thankful for. But we are unable to agree with the Government of India's special pleading in a Press Note issued by the Director of Information, that the recent substitution of a "suitability" in place of an "education" test in the New Zealand Immigration Act, does not concern Indians in any way. The argument would have carried more conviction had not persons of British birth and parentage been exempted from any test whatever. We do not know how "persons of British birth and parentage" are defined—whether they include persons born in the Dominions. Apart from that, an "education" test implies some sort of principle regulating immigration, whereas the "suitability" test is the arbitrary decision of the authorities in each case. With an education test, Indians had some chance, however remote, of being admitted as permanent settlers, but under the new "suitability" test, we are afraid, none.

O'Dwyer Versus Sankaran Nair: It is stated that Sir Michael O'Dwyer has served Sir Sankaran Nair with notice of an intended suit for damages for alleged defamatory statements made about him in Sir Sankaran's booklet, "Gandhi and Anarchy," and that Sir Sankaran Nair intends fighting out the suit if it is filed and may cite as witnesses important public men in jail and out of it. The points at issue are understood to involve the nature of Sir Michael's administration in the Punjab. Sir Sankaran has stated in his book that he knows many things that happened in the Punjab which were not brought out either in the Congress Sub-Committee's or Hunter Committee's reports, and the contemplated suit, if it comes off, will provide him with the opportunity to make good his statement.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 16, 1922.

SHELLEY CENTENARY IN BOMBAY.

Some contemporary writers in India have described Parsis as a people lacking in appreciation of any except material values. Mr. Otto Rothfield, for instance, in his "Women of India," observes that though a few among them have done good work, they have no real liking for learning or art. Jews with an equal ardour for business success, he says, recognize their inferiority to thinkers and artists, but the Parsis have no ripe sense for emotional and spiritual values. This is an extremely superficial view. As a fact, Parsis cherish and respect intellectual and spiritual qualities so much that even mediocre talents among them often receive the homage due to great genius. It is significant that the only public body in Bombay, which thought of celebrating the centenary of Shelley on Saturday before last, was the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha, perhaps not the most popular Parsi Association, but undoubtedly typical of that community in its most expansive mood. The Sabha's energetic Secretary, Mr. Burjorji Framji Bharucha, rather apologetically explained at the public meeting that he had convened it principally as one means of giving effect to Mahatma Gandhi's injunction to multiply the occasions when persons of all communities could meet on a common platform. But beneath this modesty, and inspiring it, was certainly the deep admiration and reverence which Parsis feel for the idealist who, in his search for his ideal, misses much of what they know how to value most and best—the good things of the world. The measure of their appreciation of these things is, in fact, the measure of their appreciation of those who forego these things in the pursuit of an intangible goal. Search high and low in the literary annals of the past century, and it is difficult to come across a life, except it be Francis Thompson's, in which such transcendent powers as Shelley's were associated with so much of gloomy failure from the point of view of worldly success. Even the apostle of "sweetness and light," the stern censor of Philistinism in all its aspects, Mathew Arnold, could see in Shelley only "a beautiful and ineffectual angel, beating in the void his luminous wings in vain." If the Parsis can appreciate only worldly success, Shelley was the last poet whose centenary the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha would have set itself alone to celebrate in Bombay.

Mathew Arnold was himself a poet, but he was also a Government Inspector of Schools, than which there is no job more capable of making a man utterly out of sympathy with the enthusiasms of youth. The red-tape and sealing-wax spirit of his office invaded his poetry as, we hope, his poetry sometimes infected his official occupation of apportioning grants to obsequious school-managers at the rate of so much per archin whom they had lured into their institutions. Browning was a far greater poet than Mathew Arnold and he had no bureaucratic associations to hamper

the free movement of his spirit. The open-hearted admiration of Shelley into which he bursts now and again in his poems, is a truer measure of Shelley both as man and poet than the grudging half-praise of Mathew Arnold. And Browning was no puny sentimentalist prone to praise where pity would be the more appropriate emotion. He was the uncompromising enemy of "the slothful, the mawkish, the unmanly" who drivel and drift aimlessly, helplessly, hopelessly through life. In the Browning dispensation, "the sin I impute to each frustrate ghost, is the unlit lamp and the unguilted loin." "Strive and thrive" is the resounding lesson of every poem, great or small, that he wrote. And it is this Browning who salutes Shelley with "Sun-treader, hail!" He it is that consoles himself, for the defection of Wordsworth on the French Revolution, by reflecting that Shakespeare, Milton, Burns and Shelley were with the liberators and watching from their graves. It is, perhaps, in his "Memorabilia," however, that he best expresses his ardent personal feeling of adoration for Shelley:

Ah, did you once see Shelley plain,
And did he stop and speak to you
And did you speak to him again?
How strange it seems and new!

Browning could discriminate between "apparent" and real failure. Failure here, to him, was "a triumph's evidence for the fulness of the days." Shelley was, to him, one of the few whom "God whispers in the ear." The greatness of Shelley's poetry as well as the poorness in much of his life sprang from the same cause. His message to mankind is that it should look for its emancipation in the key-ideas of Love and Liberty. To these same ideas he sought to give effect in his life. But the society in which he was born was not ripe for them. Love and Liberty had acquired in social and political convention meanings which were far other than what he understood by them. Keenly conscious of his own absolute purity and disinterestedness, Shelley did not stop to understand the social medium through which he had to express his ideas in life. Had he but understood and mastered it as well as his literary medium, he could have made of social reform as exquisite a thing as his poetry. He failed because he did not, but he paid the penalty without a pang.

The question was raised in some of the speeches of what Shelley's place would have been, had his lot been cast in India. We think he would have understood and have been understood better here than he was in England. The doctrine of renunciation has never found congenial soil in England. Even to-day it is easier for most Englishmen to believe that a man is a hypocrite than that he may really care little for the things for which they care much. Sacrifice, especially sacrifice for an idea, is ridiculous to them. And Shelley who, though in dire straits, refused an allowance of £ 2,000 a year because he could not accept the condition of "entail" which he regarded as immoral, no doubt seemed a mad man to them. In India, however, men have been accustomed from immemorial time to the ex-

perience of renunciation, and Shelley's renunciation would have led to the extension to him of the franchise which India extends to all great renouncers. On the other hand, Shelley himself would have come under the influence of the great tradition of Indian renunciation handed down from Buddha, with its corrective of his own excessive and even exclusive reliance on objective Nature as the truest guide to the meaning and method of Love and Liberty. India does not recognise any one except those who have acquired the necessary strength and detachment of introspection as having a right to renounce the world. Love and Liberty as interpreted by the disciplined mind, must not hurt any one, must benefit all. *Ahimsa*, not harming any one, is the supreme test of true Love and true Liberty. That Shelley was moved in a vague, intuitional way towards the great Hindu system of ideas summarily described as the Vedanta, is evident from many passages in his works. The most striking of them is, of course, the oft-quoted lines from *Adonais* :

The One remains, the many change and pass ;
Heaven's light for ever shines, Earth's shadows fly ;
Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of Eternity,
Until Death tramples it into fragments.

It is idle to pursue this speculation. Mankind will be grateful to the Poet of Hope in ever-increasing measure, as they realise with each succeeding sun that when Winter comes, Spring cannot be far behind.

INDIA IN "THE ROUND TABLE," II.

The fatal facility with which the writer of the article on India in the June *Round Table*, mistakes phrases for facts, is nowhere more palpable than in his attempt to explain "the baffling personality," "the enigmatic character," of Gandhi to English readers. The "baffling" factors in the Mahatma's personality which most prominently strike him, are that he (Gandhi) is "short in stature, with large ears and a gap in his front teeth," with "none of the outward attributes of leadership." No one would, if this writer is to be believed, be accepted in England as a leader unless he was tall, had inconspicuous ears, and had a full set of teeth, natural or artificial. The next "baffling" factor is "a Gujarat Bania by caste, he (the Mahatma) makes no appeal to Hinduism by pride of birth or privilege of caste." And yet, we are told that Orthodox Hinduism has accepted him as its champion against the reforming sects and Christian Missionaries. The third "baffling" factor is that "his (Gandhi's) intellectual equipment is considerable but not in the least profound." He has not written a commentary on the *Gita* like Tilak who, being dead, may be vouchsafed a grain of appreciation, for the purpose of pulling down Gandhi, without imperilling the safety of the British Empire. Follows much padding as to the Mahatma's views on marriage, food, machinery and so on, which are absolutely irrelevant in a consideration of the political movement of which he is the leader. We use the present tense notwithstanding that the writer in the *Round*

Table treats the Mahatma as politically extinct. "For his brief period," he says, "Mr. Gandhi was the greatest figure India has thrown up in the last century." Evidently the writer wishes his readers to believe that the sentence of six years' imprisonment has put an end to the Mahatma's leadership. Tilak, on the analogy, of whose case the Ahmedabad Judge avowed that he sentenced Gandhi to six years' imprisonment, was not extinguished by his imprisonment. If he knew the "secret" of Gandhi's leadership, the writer in the *Round Table* would not have made this mistake. To say that the Mahatma's "first great appeal to India was the rigid simplicity and uprightness of his life and character" has no value except as a reflection on "most of the earlier Indian politicians who loved the good things of this world, and were rather Bahadurs in their attitude towards the rank and file." There are hundreds and thousands of Indians who are as rigidly simple and upright in their life and character as Mahatma Gandhi, though their simplicity and uprightness are not manifested in the same way as the Mahatma's. The real secret of the Mahatma's unequalled popularity, if it is a secret, may be best expressed in Lowell's verses on Garrison :

Men of a thousand shifts and wiles, look here !
See one straightforward conscience put in pawn
To win a world ; see the obedient sphere
By bravery's simple gravitation drawn !

It is not that there have been no men of courage in India before the Mahatma. The annals of the religious and social reform movements in this country provide examples of indomitable courage in the face of persecution to which imprisonment is mere child's play, and that without any support from public applause. The Mahatma is the first Indian who has brought the martyr spirit of the great religious and social reformers of India to the political field. It goes against the grain of all except the best Englishmen to acknowledge bravery in a man of a subject race, because it is a quality on the absence of which in that race they rely for their continued supremacy. Gandhi has infected his people by his political courage—and that is why they are grateful to him.

In the last section of his article, headed "the Surge towards Self-Government," the writer points out, that though Non-Co-operation as a political movement is on the decline, the financial position threatens a worse deadlock than any which Mr. Gandhi might have brought about, but did not, owing to the Congress boycott of the last Council elections. Non-Co-operation, in his opinion, persists now only as the expression of "other discontents" rather than as a general political creed. It was, so far as we know, never a general political creed but always a temporary method to compel attention to and redress of the Punjab and Khilafat grievances. The agrarian grievances in the United Provinces and "the development of a militant nationalism amongst the Sikhs," have nothing to do with it. The Liberals in the United Provinces are more active in seeking redress for the agrarian grievances than Non-Co-operationists, and as for "a militant nationalism among Sikhs," it is a misnomer to apply to the present movement which seeks

to work with the Hindus and not apart from them, like the old Tat Khalsa which enjoyed official countenance and favour. The writer in the *Round Table* echoes a widely-held opinion when he observes that the great error which the Non-Co-operators committed was the decision to boycott the Councils.

If he (Gandhi) and his followers had sought election in 1920, they would have obtained commanding majorities and they could have used the power either to dominate the political machine or to bring it to a stand-still. Their abstention filled the Councils with men anxious to work the constitution and (sic) whose whole political existence is bound up with the maintenance of the constitution.

According to the *Round Table* writer, the decision to boycott the Councils established Mr. Gandhi's lack of political instinct. We think ourselves that the Mahatma was misled by his belief that the Mahomedans would wholly abstain from the elections and that Hindu-Mahomedan unity, which he is so keen about, would be jeopardised if the other communities sought election. As a matter of fact neither the Mahomedan nor any other seats have remained unfilled for want of candidates. The British Government would not have scrapped the reforms as soon as they were introduced, and the result of capturing the Councils in 1920 by Congressmen would have been to change the course of events altogether. As to the reforms themselves the writer in the *Round Table* falls into a glaring contradiction. He says that "the working of the constitution has shown that it confers even greater powers on the Legislature than some of the framers anticipated". Only two sentences further, he writes: "At the same time it has shown that the Legislatures have so little control over finance that the Governments were marching headlong to bankruptcy." What is the use of all other powers, if the Legislature is helpless in the one thing that is most important—finance? The writer, perceives this, though he shrinks from proposing the only course that will prove the true remedy. For he says: "The alternatives to the existing constitution are a return to bureaucratic despotism, or the establishment of full responsible institutions, either of which is unthinkable; but the present constitution cannot continue to function with perpetually increased taxation at a time of severe economic depression, and perpetually recurring deficits." He seems to think that if an appreciable diminution is brought about in the cost of administration, there will be no need to make any further advance at present in constitutional reform. In the first place, with every day bringing fresh concessions to the several services, the prospect of an appreciable diminution in the cost of administration is more distant than it ever was. In the next place, does he think that the Legislatures, whether composed of "advanced politicians" who are said "already to be marshalling their forces to capture the Council at the next elections," or the present incumbents "whose political existence is bound up with the maintenance of the (present) constitution," would be content to have "so little control over finance" as at present? And, lastly, can there be any appreciable decrease in the cost of administration without an appreciable change in the personnel and policy of the administration?

MALABAR TO-DAY, II.*

(By A RECENT VISITOR.)

The truth is that the gap between the Government and the people is so big and the officers of the Government are not only so much out-of-touch but, are also incapable of an intimate attitude of coming into touch with the general populace that it is very difficult to establish a vital connection between them. In such a dreadful calamity necessitating the most careful enquiries and delicate considerations, it is doubly essential that the executive agency administering assistance should be near to the heart of the people and alive to their real needs. Instead, what we have to-day is the same old governmental machinery clothed with the time-long tradition of prestige and terror-striking distance, easy to cheat and difficult to avail oneself of in case of real need. At Mannarkot, for instance, the complaint of the people was that the movements of the Reconstruction Officers were unknown and unannounced. And in a place like Malabar especially where a series of indigenous institutions, social and otherwise, have continually kept the people far away from the men in the higher ranks of power, and the military have in the course of their work of quelling the rebellion indirectly and inevitably struck terror also into the general people, it was indispensable that this work should have been entrusted to some non-official agency. It cannot be pretended that the present course of entrusting this work to Government Officers was the only practicable one to be adopted in the exigencies of the situation, for there was the Central Relief Committee who had worked in close co-operation with the Government, possessing its confidence, all through the rebellion, and who would have gladly undertaken this work in addition to their benevolent activities, or a special committee with independent non-officials of standing and position and possessing the confidence of the people might have been appointed for this purpose and vested with authority. I have carefully searched the Special Commissioner's statement for an explanation why this was not done or what difficulties stood in his way of doing it, but nowhere does it seem even to have occurred to him that there was the happy possibility of such a course. Indeed, it is this unfriendly and officious attitudes of the Special Commissioner which strikes one as rather very strange all through his note. In another place for instance, he says that he has had to adopt this system of governmental loans in preference to the organisation of co-operative and agricultural banks in connection with his scheme of Reconstruction but without stating any reasons. Did he make any serious attempts of organising cooperation in Malabar? Mr. Devdhar, for instance, had stated in one of his reports issued from Bombay that he had an elaborate scheme for Co-operative Banks in view in this connection. Did the Special Commissioner seriously seek Mr. Devdhar's assistance or make any attempts to help popular endeavour or popular uplift, otherwise?

* This article was written about the end of May when the writer visited Malabar.

THE NEW DISPENSATION.

Prominent among the questions of Reconstruction comes of course the problem of the Moplahs, how they should be dealt with and treated. The numberless atrocities and savageries that the rebel Moplahs have committed are unmentionably disgraceful and unpardonable and there is no doubt that the desperadoes and ring-leaders among them must be made to pay the fullest penalties that Law would decree, but justice being blind cannot be compromised by mixed motives. While it is essential that the real culprits must not be spared to any the least extent, we cannot be too careful in seeing that only the really guilty come in for punishment, as otherwise the bad blood that would be created on this account and the baneful effects ensuing therefrom will have very far-reaching results. Of course, while dealing with a rebellion of such a magnitude, a certain amount of miscarriage of justice through the rigidity of law is bound to be, but the knowledge that a wide scope exists for such a mistake should make us doubly wary of that danger. Unhappily, however, the whole system of dealing with the Moplahs, at present practised in Malabar, is of such a fashion as to give the widest scope to such a fateful possibility. The situation has been almost entirely handed over to the police, and as Mr. Manjeri Ramier put it humorously but significantly in his recent letter to *New India*, the Police Raj finds the manufacture of evidence as easy and interesting, though novel an occupation, as the manufacture of 'charge-sheeting.' The Indian Police is already steeped in traditions of notoriety—add to this their exasperation at being over-powered by the rebels and rather severely dealt with in the first days of the rebellion, and the consequent spirit of reprisal,—and you get an idea of the plight of the haunted Moplah in Malabar to-day when he finds himself entirely at the mercy of the Policeman. Again, it is impossible to make with any degree of precision statements that can not be officially proved, but one has only to go to Malabar to-day to understand how miserable and discontented the people are at the advent of this new dispensation of the Police Raj, the third scourge of the land, first bled by the rebellion and then trodden by the military. There can not be a better description of it than the pithy sentence of Mr. Ramier: "The whole situation is a complex muddle in which all the power of prosecution and of pardon is concentrated into hands which are not always clean." Indeed, the impressions of a casual visitor at any rate would seem to be that the whole of the Moplah population in Malabar to-day with the rare exceptions of a few wealthy and influential men among them, is penalised and subjected to a system of dual imprisonment, outdoor and indoor, the former being the lot of women and the latter of the men. The total number of persons already arrested and yet to be arrested is, I am told, no less than 20,000. To these several inevitable complexities of the situation is added another innocent-looking factor, but fraught with fatal consequences. This is what Mr. Ramier describes as the new Police function of "recommending the metamorphosis of the victims"

imprisonment to small instalments of monthly fines spread out into the fluid future." I do not know who devised this process of commutation of jail-sentences into a resource of revenue, but I cannot persuade myself to believe that his intentions were by any means holy. Let us recount the following circumstances of the present situation to be clear and in order to fully understand the developments that it is bound to have:—(1) The rebellion was of such a magnitude as to involve a large number of culprits which even according to the present official estimates runs up to so much as 20,000. (2) The trials of these accused are a hurried process, carried on in the courts of the Ordinance whose temporary judicial character is coloured a great deal by their native Police complexion and loyalty to the Police Department and (3) The sentences of these courts except in the comparatively rare cases of high crime are commutable into fines and this commutability is based on Police recommendations. Add to this the very real fact that the Police who hold sovereignty over the entire situation are men, or if angels, with a lot of earthly gravitation pulling them down and very much liable to fall, and you cannot escape the wonderfully clear conclusions. They are, to put them in plain truth (1) the wealthy criminal has always a ready means of escape by bribing the Police, (2) the poor criminal has to sink deeper into crime so that he may find enough money first to bribe the Police into making his sentence commutable and to enable him to pay up the fines, and (3) the poor innocent who wrongly accused of crime and is not sufficiently elastic as to absorb that instinct has no other alternative but to suffer a long period of imprisonment and all the ignominy thereof which will be particularly bitter to his sensitive soul. So, at best it is a case of "rob the country and pay the State" as Mr. Ramier puts it, and at its worst, making hay while the sun shines. Nor do the sinister effects of such a system stop here. The Special Commissioner has in the course of his announcements likely with a merry twinkle of the eye given reason for the Hindus—whose bitterness against the Moplahs, though natural, is now at its most lamentable extreme—to expect that the fines thus realised will be given as compensations to them, and thus provoked their greed. Here it is that I see unmistakable trace of an adept-hand well-versed in the old-world traditions of bureaucratic diplomacy and its practical administrative ethic "divide and rule." We must clearly realise that to fall within its meshes is to make our fight harder, and our way longer.

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, June 22, 1922.

REPRIEVE OF TRUE.

The storm of protest which has followed the reprieve, on a plea of insanity, of Ronald True who was convicted of murder and sentenced to be hanged, has led to questions being asked in the House, and compelled Mr. Short, the Home Secretary, to give a lengthy account of the reasons for his action. Probably,

the case would not have caused anything like the commotion it has done, had it not been for the fact that a few days before True was reprieved, a youth convicted of murder was hanged, notwithstanding the fact that a big petition for the suspension of the death sentence was put before the Home Secretary. Rightly or wrongly, Mr. Short was accused of favouring one and despatching the other. But not only was the Home Secretary up against public opinion but against the law, and in truth the crux of the whole question which has assumed the proportions of a big scandal, is whether the medical psychologist is to rule over law or not, and is the criminal law to be so amended as to bring it in line with the newer knowledge, psychologists are giving to us? That the medical psychologist is a definite factor in the study of criminology is now an accepted fact, that he will steadily become a greater power as his theories develop also seems certain. But this will mean new definitions to old terms. Insanity itself will not cover all the phases of lack of responsibility for actions prejudicial to the public good. Much of the present lack of nerve control can certainly be traced to war nerves but some line of demarcation has to be drawn between legal responsibility for an act and overwhelming impulse. The matter will certainly not end where it is now, and it is very possible that before long we shall once again have a bill brought, before the House for the abolition of the death sentence, and that, slowly but very surely, the idea of retribution in punishment will die out and prisons will become mental institutions.

FOLK DANCE SOCIETY.

The English Folk Dance Society has commenced its season in Hyde Park. The work is done under the auspices of the League of Arts, and if judged by the crowds that enthusiastically watched it, was well received and appreciated. The dances are given to revive and spread the knowledge of a phase of life that was an integral part of our forefathers' days. The aim of the League of Arts itself is to bring beauty into the everyday life of the people and something of an understanding of the continuity of culture.

A PROTEST RESOLUTION.

The first act of the Conference of the Second International (Labour and Socialist Parties) which opened at the headquarters of the Workers' Union last week, was to pass the following resolution of protest against the methods adopted by the Russian Government in connexion with the trials of the Social Revolutionary political prisoners at Moscow. "That this Conference of the second International has heard with amazement that the Moscow Government has decided, before their trial was ended, that certain of the Social Revolutionary prisoners may be executed. It regrets that the outrageous manner in which the trials have been conducted, the villianous attacks made through Government journals by Communistic leaders on the lawyers who had gone to Moscow to defend the prisoners, the fiery appeals made by men who were to be Government representatives at the trials to the people, in order to intimidate the court, lest it should show any hesitation in decreasing the capital penalty, and the worthless

character of much of the evidence and of the witnesses. This Conference therefore solemnly records that it will be an insult to the sense of justice of the proletariat of the whole world, an invitation to every reactionary Government to pursue a like policy for its own purposes. This Conference calls upon all the working class organisations to protest against a sentence which will be nothing short of murder coldly planned, and thus dissociate itself from a tragedy which will never be remembered except with detestation, and from a body of men who will have added one more black act of vengeance to those which already besmirch the pages of history." All the delegates, representing Great Britain, France, Belgium, Sweden, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Georgia and Czechoslovakia, signified their approval of the resolution by rising.

AFFAIRS IN RUSSIA.

A few days ago it was decided that France would send her representatives to the Hague Conference. This decision only came after long, and, it is suggested, sharply worded, notes from London to Paris. Now, however, it is an accepted fact that Lenin is no longer capable of taking any active part in the political affairs of Russia, and that his retirement will necessitate many important changes there. France seems again doubtful about the wisdom of sending her experts to the Hague, it is even suggested in Paris that the whole situation will be so changed by Lenin's withdrawal from public life that the Hague Conference itself should be abandoned. It is believed the disappearance of Lenin may lead to such a state of rivalry among his colleagues that absolute anarchy may result. How far Krassin will be able to control affairs remains to be seen. It is possible that he may be able to persuade Moscow that moderation is vitally necessary, and if so, the situation may be saved there. In the meantime, while things are developing in Moscow the only thing is to carry on here as though all were going well.

ELECTION IN IRELAND.

The elections in Ireland have begun. In Dublin, and in fact in most other places, it is said all was quiet and uneventful. No great excitement was displayed and the votes were recorded without the expected noise and fuss that was foreshadowed a little while ago. One important feature of the polling day was the large number of women voters who arrived quite early in the day to record their votes. Probably about two thirds of the aggregate poll will be made by the women's votes, as they so largely outnumbered the man. It is suggested that when the minority, which is not peace-loving, learns that the results are going against them, there may be trouble. Precautions are taken everywhere to protect the booths from being raided and destroyed. On the whole it is the Treaty itself that has been voted on, the publication of the constitution was really too late for Ireland to read and digest. We shall now have to wait and see how the constitution works out.

M. POINCARÉ IN ENGLAND.

The welcome given to M. Poincaré when he arrived in London last week gave a denial to the stories of

the very strained relations existing between this country and France. Of course, there are difficulties and differences and misunderstandings; each country has its own problems that differ from the others, but differences of opinion do not seem to have brought about a change of heart. At the Verdun dinner on Saturday, M. Poincaré said he found the friendship which linked the French and British nations "as strong and as living as ever." There will be some serious discussions between M. Poincaré and the Premier, and if the question of Reparations can be threshed out and made a little clearer much of the misunderstanding at present existing can be wiped out. France is haunted by the spectre of national bankruptcy, she has to advance large sums upon what is strictly "reparation" and upon our outlook and help in this direction she must naturally judge us. But if we are convinced Germany cannot pay the sum demanded of her, and the Bankers' refusal of the loan to Germany puts this fact beyond dispute, then France will have to see it is not in anyone's interest to attempt to enforce the whole, but to arrive at some point of compromise all round.

A WOMEN'S DEPUTATION.

Mr. Fisher, the Minister of Education, received a deputation a few days ago of past and present students of the Women's Colleges at Cambridge and representatives of a large number of women's societies, who urge the claim of women to admission and full membership of Cambridge University. Mr. Fisher in reply said the Government hoped to be able to introduce legislation in the present Session but there was a great uncertainty in the present Parliamentary position, and in view of the congestion of Parliamentary business, he could not give a firm promise that the Bill would be carried. But women will agitate and agitate until the day is won. A number of Cambridge resident men teachers are now in favour of the reform, and among the opponents there may be many who would willingly acquiesce if they were overruled by Parliament.

INDIA IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The debate on India took place in the House on Thursday last. After referring to the financial position, the retrenchment committee, the sympathy of Indian Moslems for Turkey as a great independent Moslem Power under the Sultan, Earl Winterton came to the question of political rights of Indians overseas. Regarding Canada, Australia and New Zealand, he said these Dominions had accepted the Imperial Conference resolution, and it only remained to translate it into practice. At the invitation of the Governments of these Dominions Mr. Sastri had gone to consult with them as to the best means to adopt. With regard to South Africa acute difficulties still remained in the Union. The Government of India had recently with the full concurrence of the Secretary of State entered into direct negotiation with the Union on the question, and it was hoped a satisfactory solution would be reached. As to Kenya, the prospect of a solution of the differences between Indian and European settlers was hopeful, and he believed that a settlement satisfactory to the Indian nation might be reached in the future. In the debate that followed the Earl's speech, it was evident his critics considered him too optimistic, a request being put forward by Mr. Spoor for a complete revision of Indian questions and a hastening of further steps in self-government in India.

GANDHI.

Who is it walks across the world to-day?
A Christ or Buddha on the common way—
This man of peace through whom all India draws
Breathlessly near to the eternal will?
Hush, what if on our earth is born again
A leader who shall conquer by the sign
Of one who went strange ways in Nazareth?
Who is it sits within his prison cell
The while his spirit goes astride the world?
The age-filled one through whom speak out
The Vedas and Upanishads—who went
Naked and hungry forth to find the place
Where human woe is deepest and feel
The bitterest grief of India's tragic land?
Whose is the peace that challenges a world,
That calls divine resistance to a will
No man upholds? Whose is this voice,
Whose love is this that is an unsheathed sword
To pierce the body of hypocrisy?
Whose silence this that calls across the world?
In this strange leader are all races met;
In his heart East and West are one immortally
Through him love sounds her clarion endlessly
To millions prostrate who have lain age-long
Beneath the aggressors' sway—unwearied saint.
Who gives them back the ancient memory
Of a great dawn, a lost inheritance.

In his deep prison there in India
Somehow abreast with sun and sky he waits.
What if again a Christ is crucified
By some reluctant Pilate—if again
The blind enact their old Gethsemane?

Tread softly, world, perhaps a Christ leads on
To-day in India.

MARY SIEGRIST.

TRAVANCORE LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

EZHAVAS AND TEMPLE ENTRY.

"Assertion of right in matters religious is neither expedient nor desirable"—Raja of Ramnad.

A good deal of common sense and practical wisdom is embodied in this simple sentence of the leading nobleman of South India. One can appraise the true value and significance of this clear statement of opinion only when one realises the fact that it came from the mouth of the accepted leader of a community who, viewed from the standpoint of social status or level of literacy reached, cannot be considered as occupying a higher status than is accorded to the depressed classes of South India. Such an expression of opinion from so valued a gentleman as the Raja of Ramnad is bound to influence not only the Nadars and Maravars to whom it was addressed, but also other classes of people who have been agitating for admission into temples such as Ezhavas and Shanars of Travancore. It is indeed a sign of the times that the general sense of the community of Ezhavas in Travancore is veering round to extreme moderation. The militant agitation that was set up one year ago has been considered inexpedient and

inconsistent with the peaceful ways of attaining the object and has been considerably tempered by the magic touch of reasoned arguments. A large member of Ezhavas have begun to feel that their position would not in any way be strengthened by forcing down the throat of the general mass of the Hindu community the views of the radical and ultra-radical sections of the Ezhavas and that taking the masses with the advocates of such social reforms would be the most successful method in a mass-movement of this type. It is this view that is being steadily circulated. Another class of workers have become convinced that no rash or ill-considered action would contribute towards a desirable form of settlement. They would leave the question to the whirligig of time which in the short space of 20 or 25 years has wrought such a wonderful change in their favour. Several leaders from the higher caste, including Brahmins, have considered it desirable to bury the unmeaning and unreasonable prejudice of caste which, at the best, has only created in the so-called high caste a feeling of supercilious vanity and air of superiority that will rub itself down with the progress of liberal thought. The very mention of an Ezhava being allowed to a public temple was a horrible idea about 20 years ago which could never be entertained even. But now it has come to this that the plea itself is made by the Hindus of high caste and the cry is not very clamant or loud among Ezhavas. The sense of self-respect has grown so deep into the very marrow of Hindus of wider outlook. In the course of the representation of Ezhavas on the subject at the last session of the Sir Mulam Popular Assembly of Travancore, the Ezhava speakers themselves recognised that the question was not one for immediate solution and that, in view of sympathetic attitude of their Hindu brethren, the consideration of the matter should not be dropped but should be proceeded with consistently with the liberal view with which other communities from whom opposition was offered four years ago have begun to look at the subject. On the side of the Hindus it should be said to their credit that they have submitted a memorial to His Highness the Maharaja's Government requesting that admission might be given to Ezhavas to enter all Sirkar temples. The cosmopolitan spirit that suggested such a course of action cannot be sufficiently applauded. It only shows that the mentality of the people long used to the crust of ages of superstition and prejudice has changed so materially as to suit modern conditions of life and the liberalised canon of pan-Hinduism is so imperceptibly, yet so impressively, making itself felt on all susceptible of new ideas and new forces for good. The Dewan, Dewan Bahadur T. Raghavaiah, who has shown himself to be a democrat not only in politics but also in social reform and polity has to proceed in an attitude of suppressed sympathy, in view of the strong feelings of tottering orthodoxy now and then showing its head. What is most gratifying at this juncture is the most commendable attitude taken by the *Justice* of Madras, the accredited organ of the Non-Brahmin community. In its issue of Wednesday last (28 June) it deals with the question editorially. Its moderation of views, soundness in judgment, sense of impartiality and practical wisdom are admirably reflected in the leader referred to above. I am sure that it has done valuable service to the cause of Hinduism by boldly coming forward and expressing frankly its sane opinion instead of playing to the gallery as is the case with some public organs and workers. It is bound to tell, especially on those who in their white-heat are trying feverishly to gnaw at their bone with absolutely no chance of success. The leaders of the Ezhava movement will do well to ponder over and inwardly digest the remarks of that paper before launching themselves into any programme of action which will set back the hand of real progress, instead of going one step forward.

INDIAN POST OFFICE AND LIQUOR ADVERTISEMENTS.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I desire to call your attention to an evil upon which it seems to me you might with great profit comment in your editorial columns. The Post Office Department has recently issued books of stamps containing advertisements of liquors. I have before me now a book of half anna stamps in which I find five separate advertisements of intoxicating liquors. The Post Office serves the entire public and not merely the drinking public. The majority of the users of stamps undoubtedly regard intoxicating liquors as a menace to the country. Why then should they be urged through a publication of their Government to buy and use them?

The Postmaster General of Great Britain has recently excluded liquor advertisements from post offices and post office publications. If this action was deemed advisable in Great Britain in deference to the sentiment of an admitted minority of the people, it is surely much more advisable in this country where an overwhelming majority of the people would prefer that the sale of liquors be entirely discontinued.

A CITIZEN.

INDIA AND IRELAND.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your latest issue you write that you are at a loss to understand the principles by which a British statesman guide their policies, when we see Mahatma Gandhi who is pledged to non-violence and fully for British connection is in jail, while Mr. De Valera, who is the antithesis of the Mahatma in both these matters, is at large and is negotiating on equal terms with the Provisional Government and through it with the British. Not being a keen student of Politics I confess I am equally unable to fathom these principles. But when I think on Social and Political matters, two lines of La Fontaine keep tinkling in my ears, which I beg to quote:—

“Selon que vous serez puissant ou miserable
Les jugements de coeur vous rendront blanc ou noir.”
“(You will be declared innocent or guilty in
Society according as you are powerful or weak.)”

Perhaps the same principles which enable religious-minded Hindus of the spiritualistic East to deny the ordinary rights of Humanity to the untouchables; perhaps the same high principles which inspire Hindu-Priests to allow a moneyed high class Hindu sans teeth, sans eye, sans taste, sans everything to be Henry VIII (i. e. to marry as many-times as Henry VIII of England did) while pitilessly forcing a girl a child-widow to disfigure herself oh! for her sins of the past lives; perhaps the same principles, following which Ganu and Vithu sacrifice to their carnivorous gods, a lamb, a goat or a cock but never a lion or a tiger.

At the sight of a goat being butchered, Kabir exclaimed: “Oh this is the punishment to one who eats only grass, what will then be the punishment to the man, who eats the flesh of this poor goat?”

Poor Kabir! He never knew that the ratio is inverse.

Yours etc.,
K. G. KARKARE.

Deolali, 4th July 1922.

THE AGARKAR DAY.

(From a Correspondent).

Under the auspices of the New English school Old Boys' Union, Bombay a public meeting was held in Hira Bang Hall Girgaum to celebrate the Agarkar-Day on Sunday the 2th instant when Mr. A. B. Kolhatkar, Editor, Sandesh, graced the chair, Mr. D. G. Kale, Secretary of the Union briefly described the importance of celebrating such occasions and requested the audience to keep always before them the lives and teachings of great men like Agarkar and be guided by them. He then requested the president to take the chair. Mr. K. S. Thackeray, Editor, Prabodhan, then delivered a short speech on "Life and Teachings of Agarkar." The speaker dealt with various aspects of his life and teachings and also referred to the hardships he was required to undergo in achieving the object of his Mission. He then briefly described how and why we see the fire of enthusiasm and courage and a high spirit of self-confidence in the writings of Agarkar. He further requested the audience to cultivate the habits of minute observation, sound study from all stand-points, sense of justice in private and public life alike, and thus to celebrate the memory of the great man, Agarkar. Mr. A. S. A. Dange also placed before the audience the picture of circumstances and time in which Agarkar lived. Then the president in his instructive and thoughtful speech referred to the several incidents happened in Agarkar's life and to the questions raised then by the opposite camp. He said Agarkar preached from day to day and year to year sound doctrines which were true and as true were bound to succeed. We see to-day that his teachings regarding female education, widow remarriage, untouchability etc. are followed and appreciated even by the opponents; Recently Mr. N. O. Kelkar, lieutenant of Lokmanya Tilak, who was his great opponent in these days has expressed similar thoughts there in Bombay. In this way Agarkar has succeeded in laying the foundation of social reform on a firm basis and we witness the fruits of his teachings and sufferings at the present day.

A vote of thanks to the chair terminated the proceedings.

INDIANS IN AUSTRALIA.

The Director of Information, Bombay, has issued the following Press Note.

The Queensland Banana Industry Preservation Act, 1921, makes it unlawful for any person, who has not obtained a certificate of having passed a dictation test in such language as the Secretary of Agriculture may direct, to engage in or carry on the industry of the cultivation of bananas upon any land occupied by him, unless he is exempted from the test.

The Government of India represented to the Secretary of State for India that in accordance with the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921, all British subjects of Indian race lawfully domiciled in Queensland should be expressly exempted from the dictation test by the regulations formed under the Act similarly to residents of Australia of European parentage. The Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri was instructed to discuss the matter with the Queensland Government. Intimation has now been received from Mr. Sastri, that the Queensland Government had approved regulations exempting from the operation of the Act all British subjects of any native race of India who were lawfully domiciled in Queensland at its commencement and who have continuously remained so domiciled.

Information has also been received that the Government of Australia have decided to amend their Irrigation and reclaimed Lands Act of 1914 which disqualified all Asiatics from acquiring lands dealt with in the Act, so as to make it applicable to alien Asiatics only. This will remove the only disability to which Indians in South Australia are subject.

ALL INDIA AYURVEDIC CONFERENCE AND EXHIBITION, RAJAHMUNDRY.

ANDHRA DESA.

At a recent meeting of the Reception Committee it was resolved to hold the Conference and exhibition on the 5th, 6th & 7th August. Sjt Ayurveda Panthanama Krishna Sastry Kavade of Poona was elected president of the Conference and Exhibition, and he has given his consent to preside and guide the deliberations of the Conference. An influential Reception Committee with Sjt N. Subbarow Pantulu B. A. & B. L. Ex-Secretary, Indian National Congress and Dr. A. Lakshminpathy B. A. M. B. & O. M. founder and Managing Director of the Andhra Ayurvedic Pharmacy has been formed. Arrangements for the holding of the Conference and Exhibition are being briskly done and it is expected that delegates will muster from all parts of India and make this conference a grand Success. It has been decided to award prizes in the shape of gold, silver and bronze medals to gentlemen writing the best essays on important Subjects. Prizes will also be awarded to the best treatises on Toxicology (Agathathantram) (2) Ayurvedic Anatomy in the light of modern experience (3) Ojovivara, and (4) Infectious diseases. An Exhibition of the following articles will be held, Plants and drugs 2 Metals and Chemicals, 3 Medicines 4 Apparatus and Surgical instruments, 5 Physiological and anatomical charts 6 Ancient inscriptions 7 Ancient manuscripts and good collection of Valuable books on Ayurveda. The Subscription for a member of the Reception Committee is Rs. 10/ and the delegate fee is Rs. 5/ only. All letters, enquiries and other communications must be addressed to Dr. G. Srinivasarow L. M. P. General Secretary from whom all particulars and information can be obtained. All subscriptions delegate fees & donations must also be sent to the same person.

G. SRINIVASAROW L. M. P.

General Secretary,

18th All India Ayurvedic Conference and Exhibition,
Rajahmundry.

THE 29th ALL INDIA KAYASTHA CONFERENCE.

The above Conference will be held at Meerut in the month of December in Xmas week. Dates will be notified later on.

The Reception Committee in its general meeting held on the 11th June 1922 has appointed a working Committee of 25 members including the following eight office bearers.

1. B. Birkha Swaroop, Chairman Reception Committee.
2. B. Kunj Behari Lal Verma, L. M. P. General Secretary
3. B. Mukand Murari Lal Verma, Office Secretary.
4. B. Permeshwar Sahai, Financial Secretary.
5. B. Onkar Pershad Bisarya, Secretary in charge of Mess
6. Professor Nand Lal Bhatnagar, M. A. Secretary in charge of Lodging.
7. B. Govind Narain, Secretary in charge of the Pandal and Light.
8. B. Lochan Prasad, B. A., L. M. S. Secretary in charge of Volunteers.

All Kayastha Sabhas and Kayastha Clubs throughout India are requested to make the Conference a success and send their proposals to the General Secretary. Gentlemen wishing to join the Conference as members of the Reception Committee or as delegates should also communicate with the General Secretary.

Kunj Behari Lal Verma, L. M. P.,

General Secretary Reception Committee

The 29th All India Kayastha Conference

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PILGRIMAGE TO BADRI NATH.

A Punjab Government Press Communique, dated 1st July says.

Pilgrims for Badri Nath are warned that owing to the failure of rains in March the situation with regard to the shortage of food stocks in Garhwal has been aggravated. Intending pilgrims are therefore strongly advised to postpone their visit to a more favourable year. Those who disregard this warning will incur the risk of the starvation and it may become necessary to stop pilgrims definitely at Lachman Jhula.

PUNJAB VIDHVA VIVAHA SABHA.

Reports of 25 widow marriages have been received from the different branches and co-workers of the Vidhva Vivah Sabaik Sabha Lahore (Punjab) during the month of June 1922. The total number of widow marriages held in the current year *i.e.* from 1st January to the end of June 1922 reaches to 165 as detailed below:—

Brahmans, 20; Arora, 45; Khashtri, 47; Aggarwal, 14; Kaith, 10; Rajput, 7; Sikh, 11; Miscellaneous, 11; Total 165.

A GOVERNOR AS CENSOR.

Tribune, Lahore Daily.

We learn from the latest issue of *Young India* that the two letters of Mahatma Gandhi, (one to Mrs. Gandhi, the other to Hakim Ajmal Khan) to which reference was made in a recent Associated Press telegram were censored by his Excellency the Governor himself. This was doubtless intended as a compliment, but there is another side to the matter. His Excellency cannot possibly be in charge of the Jails portfolio, nor would the member in charge of that portfolio usually exercise the function of censoring a prisoner's letter. What would usually happen is that either the Superintendent or some other official would exercise this function, and the higher authorities would be expected, if and when necessary, to exercise due supervision and control over the manner in which the former did his duty. This is a valuable safeguard, as any one can see, and this safeguard is reduced to a nullity when the very highest authority in the Province acts as censor.

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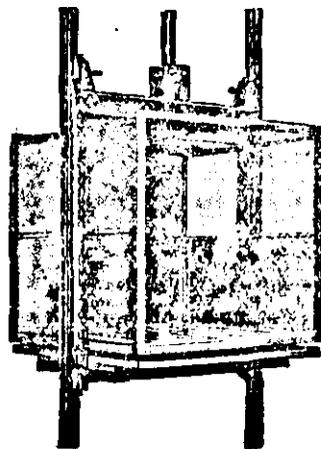
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BOMBAY—SUNDAY, JULY 23, 1922.

No. 47

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Congress Civil Disobedience Committee: The decision not to admit the Press to the proceedings of the Committee, not very happily or correctly styled the Congress Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, was strictly observed in Bombay, and as we think that it was a wise decision in the circumstances, we shall say nothing to detract from it. But it is permissible to call attention to one or two observations in the speeches made by members of the Committee, just after the close of the sittings each day, at public functions, and reported in the Press, as reflecting perhaps impressions left lingering on their minds by the enquiry from which they went fresh to the meetings. Speaking on Monday evening, the first day of the Committee in Bombay, at Marwadi Vidyalaya, its President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, who is perhaps possessed of most statesmanly gifts at present among Indians, made a remarkable statement referring to the Bardoli programme. "It was," he said, "a very far-sighted programme. He did not promise them Swaraj by carrying out that programme, but he did promise that Swarajya would knock at their doors and would fast approach them," to the extent that that programme was carried out. Never before has this profound truth been put with such preciseness and felicity, and not even by the Hakim Sahib himself. To the bulk of Non-Co-operationists the Bardoli programme is a programme, like the earlier Non-co-operation and various other programmes to be carried out more or perfunctorily, and nothing more. The Hakim Sahib's observation shows that he at any rate has thoroughly grasped that that programme in its four main items comprehends all the cardinal features of the social revolution without which *swaraj*, even if bestowed as a free gift, will be an embarrassment and, indeed, an illusion. Pandit Motilal Nehru, speaking at the same place the next day, emphasised the same truth with reference to the most important matter of unity among our several communities. His remarks have obviously not been accurately reported but one sentence is significant. "Unity", he said, "must be for its own sake, and not for the sake of any particular object" such as the Khilafat or the prevention of cow-killing and so on. Similarly, the removal of untouchability must be motivated purely

by the duty of removing a cruel social wrong and not, as is too often done, by the hope and for the purpose of obtaining *swarajya*. The Bardoli programme must be understood and worked in the spirit of utter disinterestedness. We are grateful to these two eminent leaders for these invaluable contributions to a right understanding of the Indian problem and of its right solution, and we have every hope that the Committee's labours will result in much real benefit to the national cause.

The Council Question: While we think that the Congress self-denying ordinance regarding, not entering the Legislative Councils should be withdrawn, it is not our opinion that the Congress should issue a mandate to seek elections, to nominate candidates for them, and otherwise constitute itself into an electioneering caucus incompatible with its character as a national forum. The inevitable result of its becoming a caucus will be immediate disruption. Besides that, there is the more practical consideration that many of the Congress provincial and district organizations, as at present constituted, are least competent to choose candidates for the Councils. The tests of good Congressmanship which appeal to them are not good tests for discriminating between aspirants to the Legislature. How much *Khaddar* a man wears, what is the distance, if he is a lawyer, that he puts between himself and the law courts, how many children and other minor relatives he has without receiving any education or receiving only such as the majority of "national" schools is in a position to impart, these are tests which any Congress Committee can apply, but these have no reference whatever to the qualifications needed in a member of the Legislative Council. The correspondence between the Secretary of the Girgaum Congress Committee and Mr. M. R. Jayakar, published in the *Bombay Chronicle* on Wednesday, is in point. Congressmen should seek election on their own merits and should go into the Councils not as delegates bound to vote according to orders from headquarters, but as independent representatives free to apply their minds and to order their conduct according to what seems to them the best interests of the country. We are glad to have the endorsement of Mr. Rajagopalacharya in *Young India* to our opinion that to adopt obstruction in the Councils as a policy, is morally wrong, even if it be practicable. Many of us still have our best work to do outside the Councils, but the Congress mandate keeps out several who are exceptionally well-fitted to serve in the Councils, and thus leaves the country's interests without the much-needed safe-guard which their presence should and would afford against extravagance and maladministration. More for the evil they should prevent than for the good that they can do, should independent Congress candidates enter the Legislative Councils.

Officials and the Depressed Classes: It is an old experience of social reformers that their exposure of social evils for the purpose of reform, was taken

advantage of by political and religious partisans to represent Indians to the outside world as a semi-barbarous people lacking in the rudimentary qualities necessary for self-government. In this way, the movement for removing the disabilities of the depressed classes has been utilised by persons who never hitherto felt the slightest interest in their condition, as a quarry from which to draw conclusions unfavourable to India's capacity to work a democratic constitution. These official apologists and political reactionaries will be surprised to be told that the system of administration has not been without its share of responsibility for keeping down the depressed classes. No better illustration of this can be given than what is happening today in the South of India where the castes that have for centuries made tapping palm trees for toddy their principal occupation are, under the impulse of several influences, giving it up. In British districts as well as in the adjoining Indian State of Travancore, officials have openly urged these people not to give up their ancestral vocation which is comparable only to that of a brewer in England. That this is the effect of the administrative system and not merely the officious zeal of some individual officials, is shown by the exactly similar tactics used in Bihar, at the other end of India, to bring about the collapse of the Tana Bhagat movement. The *Bihar Herald* contained an editorial in its issue of June 24, headed "A Suppressed Movement,"—the Tana Bhagat movement among the Oraons of Chota Nagpur started in 1915, one of whose aims, in which it remarkably succeeded, was the abolition of the drink habit among this tribe. The next issue of the *Bihar Herald* had the following with reference to its previous article on this movement :

Much has been written in these columns on the unfair methods adopted to put down the *Tana Bhagat* movement among the Oraons of Chotanagpur, but we had scarcely ever believed our comments would receive support from a Government report. A recent publication by the local Government, on the administration of Bihar and Orissa during 1921, contains a reference to this extraordinary movement of abstinence among the Oraons and to the remarkable fall in the consumption of liquor in Chotanagpur. It is blatantly proclaimed that the situation was saved by an ingenious Excise official, who fixed up a big placard on a tree, proclaiming that he had been told by their gods that the Tana Bhagats may resume the consumption of spirits. Was that official honoured?

An Orient Club in London: During the last twenty or thirty years, several clubs have been started in different places in India for the purpose of bridging the racial gulf between Indians and Europeans. The gulf remains as deep as ever, perhaps deeper. The fact is, it is a curious notion that the two races can together eat and drink and amuse themselves out of their prejudices. These clubs do not attract the kind of Indians and Europeans who really count in such a matter as the relation between the two races. Where the two come together, they flow past each other like two railway trains at the reversing Station on Bhowani Ghat. In most cases the club, started with a fanfare of trumpets as the last word in the bringing together of the two peoples, either soon subsides into a purely Indian club or simply ceases to exist. We have hitherto been under the impression that Indians, generally speaking, had no difficulty in meeting English people in social intercourse in England, and, in fact, it was the contrast between their treatment in England and in this country at the hands of Englishmen that irritated England-returned Indians most. Evidently, a change for the worse has happened or is expected to happen even in England and it has been resolved to establish a club in London to provide the opportunity, denied or likely to be denied elsewhere, of social amenities between Indians and Englishmen. We do not ex-

pect more from this club than from its Indian prototypes, and we regard its necessity itself as a sign of retrogression in the relations between England and India.

India and New Zealand: We commented last week on the Government of India's special pleading to the effect that the substitution of the "suitability" for an "education" test in the New Zealand Immigration Act was not directed against India and did not concern it. We are surprised to see *New India*, Madras, endorsing the Government's plea, in supporting Mr. Sastri's view that there was no serious Indian grievance as regards New Zealand. The real aim and effect of the amendment of the New Zealand Immigration Act, are described in the following sentence in Professor A. Berriedale Keith's "Dominion Home Rule and Practice," published by the Oxford University Press last year. He writes (p. 62):

New Zealand also in 1920 has found it necessary to increase the stringency of her legislation against Indian immigration, on the ground that Indians have succeeded in learning enough English during residence in Fiji to pass the language test which has hitherto been the mode adopted for purposes of exclusion, and the new method adopted is certain to wound Indian susceptibilities.

Yet, we are told by the Government of India, and Dr. Besant, that the new law is not aimed at India and should not touch Indian susceptibilities. And Mr. Sastri seems to have ignored this important matter! It is bad enough that we have got to suffer, but why throw dust into our eyes and pretend that darkness is light?

The Pan-Pacific Union: No nation is sufficient unto itself. This is being illustrated by the several attempts made to form combinations based on race, religion or geographical contiguity, such as the Pan-German movement, the Pan-Islamic movement, and now the aim of the Pan-Pacific Union is stated to be the developing of a better understanding among the peoples of the Pacific. Three Conferences convened by the Union have been already held—the first of scientists, the second of educators, and the third of journalists. Invitations for the fourth Conference, which is to be on commerce, have been transmitted through the State Department of the United States to the following Governments bordering on the Ocean: Guatemala, Salvador, Chile, Japan, China, Siam, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Federated Malay States, North Borneo and Dutch East Indies. It is emphasised that, in calling the Conference, the United States is acting simply as the agent of the Pan-Pacific Union and that the Conference is not to be considered under the auspices or patronage of the Governments of the United States. The Conference is to be held next October at Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands.

War on Malaria: Experiments by the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation have proved that it is cheaper to eradicate malaria than to harbour the disease. This is the report of George E. Vincent, President of the foundation, who says regarding malaria control: "For the past two years demonstrations have been carried on in conjunction with local authorities, State Boards of Health and the United States Public Health Service. During 1921 in nine southern States new demonstrations were undertaken in twenty-six localities, while supervision of work previously inaugurated was continued in thirty-five places in ten states. Reports indicate that substantial reductions in the prevalence of the disease were effected at an average per capita cost of \$1.01. Reductions secured by demonstrations made in 1920 were maintained at an average cost of twenty-five cents per capita."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 23, 1922.

A STRIKING DEMONSTRATION.

We trust that the Government of India will realise and take prompt steps to make the British Government, and more especially the Colonial Secretary, to realise the significance of the important public meeting of Bombay citizens held in the Excelsior Theatre on Wednesday. Heavy rain throughout the day and another public meeting held at the same time to hear addresses from the Congress leaders who were in Bombay for the Civil Disobedience Enquiry and who were leaving for Poona that night, prevented the attendance at the Excelsior Theatre from being as large as it would otherwise have been. Another reason was that a considerable section of the public either have lost or are losing faith in representations to the British Government. Even with these disadvantages, there was a good attendance as might be expected at a public meeting convened under such influential auspices. The Imperial Citizenship Association, the Bombay Presidency Association, the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, the British Indian Colonial Merchants' Association, and the Bombay Progressive Association, were jointly responsible for holding the meeting. The chair was taken by Sir Dinshaw Maneckjee Petit, Bart., one of the hardest-headed men in Bombay, who was proposed thereto by Sir Gokuldas Kabandas Parekh, Kt., the veteran publicist whose services extending over forty years in political, social and administrative reform place him in the first rank of Indian public men living. Among those who spoke to the resolutions were Mr. Faiz Tyebjee, lately a Judge of the Madras High Court, and one of the most careful and thoughtful men in Bombay public life; the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, C. I. E., member of the Council of State, a prominent figure in the Bombay financial and industrial world, one to whom conciliation and co-operation are as the breath of his nostrils; Mr. N. M. Joshi, of the Servants of India Society, member of the Legislative Assembly, the organising brain behind the Bombay Social Service League, who had been officially nominated to represent Indian labour interests at Washington and Genoa, a choice ratified by the Indian Trades' Union Conference last year; Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit at the other end of the pole on Labour questions, representative of the Mill-Owners in the Bombay Legislative Council, one of the most active and energetic public men in Bombay; and Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Member of the Legislative Assembly, Secretary of the National Party in it, and one of the warmest supporters of Government in their war on Non-Co-operation. It is difficult to name another half-a-dozen men in all India more well-disposed to British rule by interest, conviction and sentiment than these gentlemen.

The resolutions, which we print today, were the result of much careful consideration, and the studied

moderation of their wording should not be mistaken. Some hints of the suppressed emotion beneath them were given in the speeches. Sir Dinshaw Petit struck the key-notes of the meeting when he declared in solemn tones:

We have been protesting and protesting against it (treatment of Indians in South Africa) time after time, but without any effect. On several occasions we have received assurances and hopes that conditions will improve, but instead of there being any change for the better the situation is drifting from bad to worse. We will pursue this method of holding public meetings and lodging our protests, of sending telegrams and memorials to the Government in South Africa as well as the Imperial Government and no substantial response may be given to us; but it is more than evident that there is a considerable section in this country who have no faith any longer in such peaceful methods—(hear, hear)—and things may drift to such a pass that the Imperial Government may have to choose between India and South Africa. (Hear, Hear).

The chairman who is the second Indian Baronet of the United Kingdom, went on to say that in the face of the fact that notwithstanding its resolutions, Indians were not being treated as equals in the Empire, the Imperial Conference, so far as Indians were concerned, "is nothing short of a sham and a mockery." Mr. Faiz Tyebji speaking on the first resolution was no less emphatic. The Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas concluded his speech on the East African resolution with the significant remark that "unless a man like Mahatma Gandhi were to arise who awakened South Africa, the lot of East African Indians would remain miserable." Mr. Husseinbhai A. Lalji, an Indian merchant trading in East Africa, contrasted the treatment given to Indians in British territory with that accorded in the Italian and Portuguese territories adjoining it. Mr. N. M. Joshi urged educated Indians to go in numbers to the Crown Colonies to help their countrymen at the risk of being deported. "We shall see," he grimly added, "what happens." But go they must. But the most drastic suggestion came from Mr. Jehangir Petit. Speaking to the last principal resolution, he called upon some members of the Legislative Assembly to move a resolution at the next session to rescind the grant of 25 lakhs made in April last for the forthcoming Imperial Exhibition, "as India should have nothing to do with an Empire which did not give them equal rights." The part of the resolution relating to this matter ran as follows:

This meeting further declares that the adoption by the Governments of the Colonies and Dominions of the Empire of measures which contravene the principle of equal rights, is calculated to make it impossible for India to participate in intra-imperial movements consistently with her national self-respect, and calls upon the Indian legislature, whenever required, to take steps to give practical effect to this Resolution.

That a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs should have been sanctioned in a year of unprecedented deficit for advertising India's inferior status at an Empire Exhibition, reflects but little credit on the members of that body. The Provincial Councils are to be asked to contribute towards this sum, and we trust that they will give

a better account of themselves in a matter of so great national importance.

The Indian question in the British Dominions and Crown Colonies is much more than a question for the British Empire. It is a challenge to Western civilization which professes to have realised the dignity of labour and to respect women more than the East. Now, these Indians in Natal and Fiji were taken there by the White settlers because these latter would not or could not dig and delve for themselves. Indians, by all accounts, developed these countries. But for them they would have remained much as they were before they were added to the British Empire. By the sweat of Indian brows, have Natal, Fiji and large areas of East Africa been made habitable or even accessible to the White man. Indian immigration to Natal began in 1860 when, in the words of a member of the Natal Parliament, "the existence of the Colony hung in the balance." In the words of another eminent Natalian, Mr. Saunders, "Indian immigration brought prosperity, prices rose, people were no longer content to grow or sell produce for a song, they could do better." The enormous profits of the Sugar Refining Company of Fiji were made out of Indian blood and brawn. As for East Africa, the present Colonial Secretary has borne testimony in his book on East Africa published some fifteen years ago to the services of Indians in opening up the country. It is the descendants of these men that are sought to be crushed by the measures against which the meeting was called to protest. As for respect for women, Lord Hardinge and Lord Chelmsford have acknowledged the degrading effect of the system of indentured labour, devised for the benefit of the White settler, on them. This system happily has been put an end to after a strenuous struggle extending over eight years. The descendants of these labourers form the bulk of the Indian population in Natal and Fiji. They are entitled to claim that they should be treated with the consideration due to the services of their fathers and grandfathers to the land of their birth. Not only are they shown no consideration, but attempts are being made, and the Imperial Government acquiesces in them after a show of protest, to squeeze out these people by methods which are in nowise different from some of the most ignoble imputed to Bolsheviki in Russia. If these things are consonant with Western civilization, then that civilization, so far as those who suffer from them are concerned, is no better than the most disreputable form of Bolshevism. And if that be so, Asiatics and other coloured people will be forced in course of time to look upon the destruction of that civilization as a *sine qua non* of their own emancipation. Many of those who pass for statesmen now have no claim to that name. But we seriously ask thinking British people to bestow some serious attention to this aspect of the question. The West cannot claim to have a prescriptive right to prey upon the East. Parasitism cannot endure, and in all these Colonies, the White settler is but a parasite feeding fat on the toil of the coloured labourer.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION.

A STUDY AND A SUGGESTION.

(BY BHISHMA.)

I. THE PRESENT SITUATION.

It is admitted on all hands that India has real and substantial grievances in the matter of the Punjab, the Khilafat and Swaraj, to which the Indian National Congress has lately given such great prominence. Not finding the British Government sufficiently responsive to the singularly unanimous wishes of the people, Mr. Gandhi started his campaign of non-violent non-co-operation, which is frankly revolutionary in aim, though non-violent in character. The Government looked on for a while with an amused smile at 'this most foolish of all foolish schemes' and hoped it would die of inanition. The Liberals, after pronouncing their most emphatic disapproval of the movement, turned to win the country to more sober counsels by their achievements in the councils under the new Reforms. Mr. Gandhi took full advantage of the untrammelled freedom and opportunity thus afforded him; eclipsed the feeble Liberal propaganda; and inundated the country with his gospel of non-violent non-co-operation. Sustained by the captivating saintliness of his own personality, and his inexhaustible and concentrated energy, he captured the Congress, infused vigorous life into it, created a net work of Congress organisations all over the country, and installed himself in the hearts of a great majority of the people. With the result that he succeeded to a surprising degree, in disturbing 'the placid pathetic contentment of the masses,' in creating a sense of deep discontent against and contempt for the British Government, to such an extent indeed that so responsible and sober a person as the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri was obliged to repeat in all solemnity, in the face of the Viceroy himself, that there never had been observed such a total wreck of hope and faith in the Government, as it was to-day. Great as has been Mr. Gandhi's success in bringing down the moral prestige of the Government and in getting the people to accept non-co-operation, his success in getting non-violence accepted, was not equally great. Openly repudiated by a few, tolerated as a temporary expedient by many, the gospel of non-violence has obtained the willing allegiance of perhaps only a handful. If whole masses have not expressed themselves in violence, it is more because of the faith in the person of Mr. Gandhi than in the creed of non-violence. Bitter and repeated experience has forced Mr. Gandhi to recognise the growing volume of the spirit of violence and racial hatred, and he has suspended the political activities of non-co-operation.

Outraged by the insult offered to the Prince of Wales by the boycott of his visit organised by Mr. Gandhi, the Government finally changed its attitude towards non-co-operation, and embarked on wholesale repression, to vindicate law and order, and sustain its fast waning prestige. It has cast into prison over 20,000 non-co-operators, among them some of the tallest and most respected in the land. Finally, even

after Mr. Gandhi had cried a halt to political non-co-operators, he too was thrown into prison. Thereby perhaps the greatest single influence in the country for non-violence has been thrown out of action. Not all the innumerable lieutenants and volunteers of Mr. Gandhi possessed his faith or his sense of responsibility and restraint. The dilution and distortion of his lofty teachings at the hands of some of the lesser leaders have tended not a little to demoralise the masses,—an awful legacy for the Swaraj Government. The arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the suspension of civil disobedience have broken up the unity of the non-co-operators. Some desire to postpone civil disobedience indefinitely, and stick to the social and economic programme of non-co-operation. Others desire to embark on civil disobedience immediately, while others are desirous of carrying out non-co-operation in the Councils. The Liberals consistently held to the policy of co-operation with the Government and accepted responsibilities both in the Executive Governments and the Legislatures. They succeeded in repealing certain obnoxious laws and in passing certain beneficial laws for the permanent and lasting welfare of the people. But their achievements have not been so striking as they could have been or striking enough to capture the imagination of an inflamed people. Whatever be the limitations imposed by the Reform Act, there can be little doubt that the inadequacy of their work was not a little due to N. C. O. propaganda. The credit of such good work that the Liberals have been able to achieve, in spite of heavy odds, has been claimed by the non-co-operators who declare that, but for their activity, the Government would not have yielded to the Liberals to the extent to which it did. Outside the Councils the Liberals have lost hold in the country. They have not had the advantage of a personality comparable to the Mahatma to lead them. They have not exhibited much energy. Their papers, particularly the Vernacular ones, are few and far between. Their counter-propaganda has from the beginning been feeble compared to that of Mr. Gandhi. Thus beyond Government repression, there is no other force in the country strong enough to counteract N. C. O. except such restrictions as the non-co-operators choose to impose on themselves.

The repressive policy of the Government, the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, Lord Reading's cold shoulder to the Representative Conference in Bombay, Mr. Montagu's resignation, and Earl Winterton's speech on the India Office Estimates, have greatly embarrassed the Liberals; and there has been some defection from their ranks. Thus at the present moment we have the people restless and in mental revolt against the Government; the Government sustaining itself on repression, the non-co-operators tantalised between civil disobedience and the consequences thereof, and the Liberals comparatively helpless in the country and the Councils. The situation is not without tragic paradoxes. Mr. Gandhi abjures violence; but feels compelled to play with fire and preach N. C. O. The Government abhors repression but feels compelled to resort to it. To check violence and preserve peace, the Government

feels compelled to arrest Mr. Gandhi, its greatest ally in so doing. In pursuits of Swaraj by non-violent means, the people are drifting to violent anarchy. Sworn to make diarchy a success, the Liberals feel compelled to declare it a failure.

II. THE PROSPECT.

If such be the situation at present, what alternatives does the immediate future hold for us? It may be that non-violent non-co-operation may be dropped, either because the Congress finds it impracticable or because the Government's repression proves stronger or perhaps both. What would be the consequences? Will that restore healthy co-operation? Not likely. Whole masses have been stirred up and disaffected. Thousands who are in jail now, will sooner or later come out. And when they find that a supreme non-violent effort, led by a saint like Mr. Gandhi, involving magnificent sacrifices cheerfully borne by thousands among the foremost in the land and persisted in for nearly two years, to remedy grievances which are admitted on all hands and to win Swaraj, has utterly failed in its purpose, it will only embitter their minds the more and drive them to desperation. Such despair may drive the people, whose faith in non-violence is even now pretty shallow, to acts of violent non-co-operation, and subject the country to repeated and persistent storms of anarchism, before which the Bengal anarchism of the Partition days will pale into insignificance. Or it may lead to an unnerving of faith and hope in the people, a stupendous cynicism, a deep and profound gloom, apathy and despondency, which will destroy the work of generations in the past and sap the foundation for further work for decades to come. On the other hand, the Congress may persist in non-violent non-co-operation, perhaps goaded thereto by the repressive policy of the Government. What will be the consequences? Entertaining an almost religious faith in prestige in Eastern lands, the Government of India, backed by all the pride and power of Imperialistic Britain, will be in no hurry to go down on its knees before the soul force of Mr. Gandhi, particularly when it is sustained by the reflection, that in so doing, it has the hearty support of the Liberals, who form perhaps the aristocracy of wealth and intellect in the land. Consequently, the conflict must necessarily be prolonged and involve untold sufferings to some of the finest patriots in the country and a disturbed state of public tranquility. Nor is there much hope of non-violence being maintained right through until success crowns the effort of N. C. O. If violence was possible in Bombay right under the nose of Mr. Gandhi himself, the probabilities of people getting out of hand in other places and under lesser leaders are infinitely greater; particularly in the face of Government repression; which will in turn lead again to further violence or despondency and reaction. Thus either alternative exposes the country to disaster.

How do the situation and the prospects affect the Liberals? The Liberals had foreseen the consequences and warned Mr. Gandhi against starting his N. C. O. campaign. When it was actually started, the Liberals fought against it to the best of their ability.

Hence a failure of the movement will certainly mean a vindication of Liberal principles and methods of work. But will the Liberals have reason to exult in, or wish for, or even look with indifference on, the utter defeat of N. C. O. when such defeat involves the country in widespread anarchism or despondent demoralisation? When it is remembered how much labour and effort has been put in to build the present level of public spirit in India, the prospect of undoing it all together with black despair for sometime to come is appalling. The defeat of N. C. O. is not likely to leave the relations between the Liberals and the Government unaffected. It will greatly inflate the arrogant pride, prestige and power of our British rulers; and if they are not angels and if vested interests and racial prejudices will stand in the way of their parting with power unless it becomes worthwhile and inevitable, then the present conciliatory attitude towards the Liberals, which is inspired not a little by the policy of 'rallying the moderates,' will become superfluous and run the danger of being abandoned in favour of truculent die-hardism. The work of the Liberals not only in obtaining the next step towards Swaraj, but also in effecting beneficent legislation such as Indianisation of the Services, will be greatly handicapped. The change in the attitude of the Viceroy from solicitude for a Round Table Conference in December last, when the reception of the Prince of Wales had to be saved from a boycott, to the scant courtesy to and curt dismissal of the efforts of the Secretaries of the Representatives Conference in Bombay, may be taken as a foretaste of the fate that awaits the Liberals. The present European situation is not without its lesson to Liberals in India. America and England joined France with a view to stamp out militarism threatened by Germany and to uphold international peace and amity. The treaty of Versailles left Germany utterly beaten and France arrogant with success. America and England find that France now stands in the way of peace and amity. America has already retired from the field and the break-up of the *entente* between France and England threatens to be imminent every moment.

MALABAR TODAY, III. *

(BY A RECENT VISITOR.)

UNTOUCHED BY HAND.

Let us now, however, remember that if "the whole situation is a complex muddle" it is because it is intrinsically so, and not because the Government have rendered it as such. Before we criticise, we must fully realise the difficulties and delicacies that it involves for them, nor should the criticism be merely destructive. A rebellion of unprecedented magnitude which must, indeed, be called civil war, involving as it did definite and organised opposition to the ruling power, and a crisis where there is a whole population of uncertain and inflammable material capable of un-

* This article was written about the end of May when the writer visited Malabar.

told excesses in a fit of sudden frenzy on the one hand, and on the other, two classes of people, one utterly helpless and perpetually urging on the Government eyes for elementary protective measures, and the other obstinately blind to all forces and circumstances of social life and intent on a crusade of creating disaffection against all authority—is a delicate situation of peculiar difficulties where the right course can neither be so easily visible, nor practicable. But Malabar is in more than one sense an acid-test to the several problems in our country to-day. It is an acid-test to the revised attitude of the Government also in this new era of Reforms. The whole problem of the old bureaucratic regime was not so much its inhumanity as the lack of any human touch, the wooden rigidity of its system and its mechanical efficiency regardless of all human considerations. It will not be difficult for an intelligent reader who has closely followed the situation described in the above paragraphs to see what is now really needed in the administration of Malabar is a human heart that would feel and human hands that would convey the feeling to those who suffer and yearn for sympathy. Instead, we have again an efficient system in operation, strictly untouched by hand. I remember how one of the relief-workers in the interior told me in words full of feeling: "What they really want is sympathy. If only a few of the officers would come and talk to them in a friendly way and give them sympathy and cheerfulness!". This could have been achieved if instead of the Reconstruction Officers clad in their khaki uniform and khaki conscience and tight laced hearts, some sympathetic and capable non-officials untroubled by official prestige or uncontaminated by red-tapism, had been entrusted with the work of Rehabilitation. Or, take the Moplah problem. Even when the rebellion was rife there were a large number of respectable Moplahs who remained fully loyal and who have been of considerable assistance both to the Government as well as to the peaceful public. These Moplahs could easily ascertain and spot out the real rebels if it had been put to them to do it. There are ways and ways of doing things, and in a crisis of such a complex nature such an informal procedure based on the moral instincts of the people will be much nearer justice than any amount of elaborate official schemes and manoeuvres. A small committee of loyal and influential non-official Moplahs, made alive to the importance of their responsibility and working in full co-operation with the Government, going about in the interior and interviewing on familiar terms the people, can do much more, even by way of getting at the real culprits and the really dangerous men, than what the whole of the Police Department could ever achieve. But that would have meant a whole-hearted confidence in the people on the part of the Government and unreserved co-operation with them in their powers and responsibilities, amounting to no less than a new precedent. Unusual circumstances demand unusual measures and departure from old routine—which cannot be expected at any rate of a Knappian regime. It is a pity that an ineffective system should continue efficiently in Malabar to-day. Let us yet hope there will be a change.

A RETROSPECT.

A retrospective survey of the various causes which precipitated the present crisis in Malabar will well repay the pains bestowed on its study. Malabar has its message to the whole country. As Mr. C. R. Reddy said in a lecture at Calicut in the course of his recent tour in the country: "Malabar is the acid-test of Indian nationalism." A great melting-pot of various complex social forces and phenomena, it really represents the problem of India in miniature. To the politician of the present-day extremist school, Malabar has demonstrated in a strikingly convincing manner what will be the course and consequences of a political revolution or civic strife in the India of today. To the conservative "Nationalist" and the indifferent let-things-lie-sort-of-man with an easy conscience for atavistic economics and an old-world social philosophy, Malabar has pointed out with brutal conclusiveness that antediluvian conceptions of society and rigid social life and an unbounded loyalty to petrified customs, will naturally culminate in social chaos and complete wreckage of civilised existence, and that active and conscious social reform is not merely a novel sensation but a very vital, necessary and indispensable factor in the perpetuation of society and of civilisation. There are different, though not conflicting, versions about causes which culminated in the present crisis, and it is not yet possible to particularise them with exactitude, nor perhaps will it ever be possible to do so, because it has been more a social upheaval, a Nature's phenomenon than an artificial event kindled by the spontaneity of some sudden circumstance. Nevertheless, there was an immediate cause for such an happening which, adding momentum to the slumbering forces of discontent, gave them the fire and murderous ferocity of religious frenzy and the recklessness of despair and this is none other than the ill-advised Khilafat propaganda of the Congressmen consisting of highly-coloured presentation of untruth and half-truths and false and fanciful dupes as alluring hopes. After a three days' riot in Bombay the martyr-apostle of the Non-Cooperation movement said that the Swaraj that lay bare before him "stank in his nostrils"—though it never proceeded any farther than the nose—and the prolonged suffering and agonised martyrdom of Malabar has also entirely disillusioned it of the much-prized freedom of that aspired spiritual state of politics, and this must be a definite warning to all who play with fire that while they stipulate that dangerous element as a means of self-purification in material politics, they also run the risk of cremating the very soul whose salvation they seek.

THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THE TROUBLE.

To understand this, one has only to visit Malabar today where a thousand different hatreds and bitternesses like hell-fires cloud and darken the fine atmosphere of that fair and beautiful land. Among the other causes, the slumbering subsidiary but strong undercurrents that lay in the back-ground are (1) the utter ignorance of the Moplah which rendered him such a fitting prey to all inflammable influences, (2) the peculiar land-tenure which reduces the already irresponsible Moplah to an unsettled life of nomadic

adventurousness without any of its alluring romance except at such crises and (3) the amazing degradation amounting to atrophy, physical and moral, into which the Hindu society in Malabar has sunk at the present day. As to the first, the education and civilisation of the Moplah, it is by no means the problem that it appears to be, for as several of the incidents even in the present rebellion have shown and as all who have had anything to do with him by way of personal experience readily testify, the Moplah is not utterly devoid of all moral instincts and cannot be classed with the criminal tribes which we are familiar with in the Tinnevely District for instance, in Southern India. So it is not that he has to be given a soul but that he should be enlightened. Education of adults and infants alike—not the orthodox Arabic training only—is the one remedy for it, and this being both an expensive and elaborate process cannot perhaps be entirely undertaken by the governmental agency alone. Much useful work in this direction could be done by the adoption of an excellent suggestion of Mr. C. R. Reddy that some Muhamadan Mission from the liberal North ought to be persuaded to come forward and undertake this work. Already the benevolent and large-minded Moulana from Poona is doing his bit in this direction and it would be well if his efforts were supplemented and rendered permanent by the necessary reinforcement in men and money from other parts of the country. The institution of common schools where both the Hindu and the Moplah boys will be brought together in the pursuit of a common purpose, the opening up of the now difficultly-accessible interior by the materialisation of the long-contemplated Shoranur-Nilambur Railway, the establishment of some sort of small clubs all over the place where social amenities could be exchanged between the two communities through the agency of the widely-prevalent tea habit and such other things, the promotion of industries, and similar other measures are some of the many steps which may form a stimulus to communal conciliation and social concord in Malabar by the education of Moplah and Hindu alike into a conscious tolerance of each other. As to the land-tenure it is a technical question involving close acquaintance of its various aspects, and so any criticism worth the name must come from those who are capable of making it. But that the present agrarian conditions in Malabar are anything but satisfactory and need a deep revision even a lay-man can see, though it necessarily falls to one versed in these matters to mark pointedly the direction which such a reform must assume. Let us hope that the tour of the Law Member of His Excellency the Governor's Executive Council in Malabar has provoked him into a serious and severe consideration of this question, and let us watch the outcome of his observations. Also, it may be that one of the representatives of Malabar in the Legislative Council, a lawyer of distinction, Mr. Krishnan Nair will make up for his lack of real enthusiasm in the recent affairs of his constituency, so far—that seems to be the impression among the people of Malabar—by taking in hand this question and giving it all his attention and impressing on the legislature the need for a change in the law in this respect.

BOMBAY'S PROTEST AGAINST TREATMENT OF INDIANS OVERSEAS.

These Resolutions were passed at the public meeting of the Citizens of Bombay held under the joint auspices of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, the Bombay Presidency Association, the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, the British Indian Colonial Merchants' Association and the Bombay Progressive Association, at the Excelsior Theatre, at 5-15 p. m. (S. T.) on Wednesday the 19th of July 1922.

1. That Sir Dinshaw Maneckjee Petit, Bart, be requested to take the Chair.

Proposed by—Sir G. K. Parekh, Kt.

Seconded by—Mr. Gulabchand Devchand.

SOUTH AFRICA.

2. (a) That this meeting of the citizens of Bombay held under the joint auspice of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, the Bombay Presidency Association, the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, the British Indian Colonial Merchants' Association and the Bombay Progressive Association, whilst expressing relief at the dis-allowance by the South African Union Government of the Rural Traders' Licensing Ordinance and the Township Franchise Ordinance, emphatically protests against the conditional allowance of the Durban Land Alienation Ordinance passed by the Provincial Council of Natal as being beyond the jurisdiction of the Council, and as calculated to introduce for the first time in the history of Natal the principle of compulsory racial segregation, endanger the peaceful settlement of the Indian question in South Africa, infringe the spirit of the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921 and jeopardise harmonious relations between South Africa and the Indian Empire.

(b) This meeting deeply deplores the refusal of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to intervene diplomatically on behalf of His Majesty's Government with a view to prevent the acceptance of the foregoing measures by the Governor General-in-Council of South Africa, and records its opinion that it is as much the duty of His Majesty's Government, by diplomatic negotiation to secure just and equitable treatment for His Majesty's Indian subjects in the self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth as it would be in the case of any class of British subjects in foreign countries.

Proposed by—Mr. Faiz B. Tyebji.

Seconded by—Mr. A. I. Gabru.

Supported by—Mr. H. S. L. Polak.

EAST AFRICA.

3. (a) This meeting has heard with the deepest regret that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has sanctioned the Kampala Segregation Scheme while yet the whole question of compulsory racial segregation in East Africa is under the consideration of His Majesty's Government, and urges upon the Government of India the necessity of taking early measures to secure the suspension and ultimate revision of the Kampala Township Scheme.

(b) This meeting protests against the extraordinary delay in arriving at a satisfactory settlement of the Indian question in Kenya, and earnestly requests the Government of India to press for an early settlement of outstanding questions relating to the Highlands, Segregation, Immigration Policy and Political Franchise in conformity with Lord Chelmsford's East African despatch of October 1921.

(c) This meeting deeply deplores the breach of the pledge given to the Indian settlers of Kenya by His Majesty's Government in 1908, in respect of the acquisition of agricultural lands in the Highlands, implied in the statement in the House of Commons to the effect that the exclusive reservation

of that land for the white colonists is an accomplished fact, puts on record its deliberate opinion that it is a violation by the Secretary of State for the Colonies of the Resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921 both in principle and substance; and calls upon the Government of India to make a strong stand against the betrayal of Indian interests involved in this monopoly.

Proposed by—The Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, C. I. E.

Seconded by—Mr. H. S. L. Polak.

Supported by—Mr. Huseinbhai A. Lalji

Fiji.

4. This meeting regrets the continuance of anti-Indian feeling in Fiji, and earnestly urges that it is the duty of the Government of Fiji not only to see to the physical and moral well-being of Indians who have already gone there by invitation, but also to give them the status and full rights of citizenship in conformity with the Resolution of the Imperial Conference (1921), and trusts that the Government of India will make it clear to His Majesty's Government that nothing short of the early grant of full rights of citizenship to Indians in the Colony will satisfy Indian feeling on the question.

Proposed by—Mr. K. Natarajan.

Seconded by—Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A.

Supported by—Mr. Kanji Dwarakadas, M. L. C.

DEMAND FOR EQUAL RIGHTS.

5. (a) This meeting puts on record its deliberate opinion that the time has arrived for India to demand the immediate grant of full and equal citizenship rights for Indians domiciled in the Colonies and Dominions of the Empire (including South Africa), and the maintenance for His Majesty's Indian subjects of the freedom of access to, and settlement in all territories under the direct control of the Crown.

(b) This meeting further declares that the adoption by the Governments of the Colonies and Dominions of the Empire of measures which contravene the principle of equal rights is calculated to make it impossible for India to participate in intra-imperial movements consistently with her national self-respect and calls upon the Indian legislature, whenever required, to take steps give practical effect to this resolution.

Proposed by—Mr. J. B. Petit.

Seconded by—Mr. Jamnadas Dwarakadas, M. L. A.

Supported by—Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta.

6. That the President be authorised to communicate Resolutions, 2, 3, 4 and 5 to the Government of India.

Proposed by—Mr. H. P. Mody.

Seconded by—Mr. Hiralal D. Nanawati.

7. That the best thanks of the meeting be accorded to the President.

THE NUMBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The latest official figure puts the number of political prisoners at 4000. I wonder whether this has to be taken with a grain of salt or a ton. In the first place when statements, apparently based on the figures supplied under pressure of interpellations in the different Councils, to the effect that their number was over 20,000, were being made, Government maintained rigorous silence in spite of the multiplicity of Publicity Bureaus they had established. Secondly, the figures given by Sir Abdur Rahim for Bengal alone beats the Government of India statistics by a few thousands—Arrested over 8500: Sentenced over 5250 etc. If men are arrested and kept on for a while and then released without being brought

to trial, that is as good as imprisonment so far as the people are concerned. Moreover, the Government of India do not say with reference to what date these latest figures were compiled. I request, therefore, that they may publish a statement for each of the provinces, excluding Moplah prisoners, of persons arrested, those brought to trial and those sentenced, month by month up to May of this year. They may give a consolidated statement up to December 1st, 1921 and give only the fresh arrests etc. including re-arrests for the subsequent periods. Then only could we know the total number arrested, brought to trial and sentenced in connection with the Political Unrest. One word more: those arrested etc. on account of the Akali, Kisan, Aikya and other movements will also have to be included as Government had always smelt rank politics in and about them. As Professor Marshall used to say figures never lie—when under proper cross-examination! Their evidence in chief is not infrequently special pleading. When it is remembered how well and grandly the Governments of all countries conducted "propaganda" during the war 'tis too recent to be forgotten—they will excuse us if we are not too ready to accept their pragmatism as philosophy.

Chittoor, N. A.,
18-7-22.

C. R. REDDY,
M. L. C.

A NEW PROFESSION FOR WOMEN.

(From *The Women's Home Companion*)

AMERICAN WOMAN BOOK-SELLERS

New York—The impetus towards larger participation in the world of affairs, which the war and post-war conditions have done so much to accelerate in women, has driven them, in the United States, at least, to no occupation more generally attractive than that of book-selling. Women in "making room for their feet" have overrun the profession, according to a writer in the current *Woman's Home Companion*, who as founder of a distinctive and delightful bookshop in New York, speaks with authority on the matter.

They are at the head of all the book departments of the large department stores in New York, except one. These are the big 'merchandising women'—who can buy competently, turn over stock at the required rate, get space from the advertising manager, and handle a large sales force with judgment. The number of women at the National Booksellers' Convention increases markedly each year. One half the attendance at the convention last year was women.

The head of the book department at one of the largest department stores in New York, carried through a most remarkable book sale. Seeing the surplus libraries of the Navy advertised for sale—one of the echoes of Naval Disarmament—she secured forty thousand books through a closed bid. Her store cooperated with her enterprise by turning over to the book department the aisles of the whole first floor—Thirty-second to Thirty-third streets—and she sold the 'Block of Books' in a week. This is the biggest single sale of books ever made in the United States or any other country.

The small, expert shops, where there is something of that experienced professional relation to your material which we associate with a physician or lawyer, are in a marked degree the enterprises of women.

Eight such shops were opened in New York last winter—five by women. One was a children's bookshop and one of the two members of the firm was a pediatrician (children's physician), and it aimed to provide as expertly for children's reading as physicians do for their physical development and health. The Wayfarers, in Washington, which covets espe-

cially the contribution it may make on public questions to the public men of Washington, is conducted by two women. The Sunwise Turn, in New York, which was visited during the war by all the high commissions from abroad for material on education and labor, is the project of two women. It is hard to think that women sell books any differently from men, but it seems to be true that most of the experimental creative things in bookselling are being done just now by women.

One of the romantic subjects of conversation for years in the book trade has been the peddling of books from door to door. It remained for Miss Bertha Mahoney, of Boston, to convince sixteen publishers that a Book Caravan would be a practical advertising project which could be crossed off on their publicity budget, even if it did not entirely pay for itself. A special truck was built. It cost fifty-five hundred dollars. The ends let down to give as much space as possible when it stops for business. Every night accounts are cast, and a postal order and the orders for books not in stock returned to Boston. At certain points along the route the stock carried is renewed by packages sent from Miss Mahoney. During the first summer, the Caravan sold eight thousand dollars' worth of books. This venture is subsidized by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston.

A later venture was that of Appleton's publishing house, which sent out a truck to sell Appleton publications alone. This was a standard truck which cost twelve hundred and fifty dollars, and made no pretensions beyond carrying two tons. Instead of two women at salaries of fifty dollars week each, it was driven by a single salesman; and instead of making a long tour it has run close to New York and used the home office as a base for restocking. But the fundamental departure it has made is that it peddles from door to door instead of selling to those who come to an established stand. The Appleton truck has paid from the first week, although it tills an infinitely more restricted territory than the Book Caravan—the list of a single publisher.

Any woman whose husband or father would lend her a truck, and who could find a friend to go along for the ride, so that the overhead would not rise too seriously, could try out this experiment. A little ingenuity, and some steps to let down, would make any standard truck a place to stand around and talk of books.

It is startling to think what the effect on the next generation would be if fine books were carried to the intellectually starved communities. The Book Caravan sold forty dollars' worth of books in one hour on one farm in the New England state of Massachusetts.

It has been proved that it is the 'quality books,' as the publishers call them, that sell from caravans, and that, when people seldom have a chance to buy books, they buy the best. The last United States census shows that nearly one half of the population of the United States is on farms and probably not in the trading radius of a good bookstore; and such a book truck would bring, especially to youth, the world of the Gods.

The Hampshire Bookshop of Northampton, organized and financed by Smith College is an experiment in a different milieu. There is a place in every college community in the country for a shop such as this. Such a shop does not compete with the textbook bookstores. Let these stores keep the textbook trade, and all strength to their elbows. These college-town bookshops are shops with a feeling, and with a look of being lived in. Miss Dodd has proved that such centers are wanted. She has tripled her staff in four years and is doing now a business of seventy thousand dollars a year.

One of the most magnetic figures in the book trade is the head of the book department of Marshall Field's, in Chicago, who conducts at Marshall Field's an annual book fair of national importance, where all the publishers show exhibits."

The writer concludes by saying that the "important step in a bookshop is to get it started. A bookshop is so important to a community that it will not be allowed to die if it is once started."

COLD LIGHT.

(From the *World's Work*; New York.)

The success of Professor E. Newton Harvey of Princeton University, in producing a continuous cold light is a great step toward the realization of a dream of scientists of many years standing. All present means of illumination depend upon heat to produce the light, and all are extremely wasteful of energy. Actual combustion accompanies the process of securing light by means of Candles, Kerosene Lamps and Gas. In the use of Electricity, a metal filament is heated to a radiant temperature by the friction engendered by forcing a relatively heavy current through the small conducting medium. In every case, the energy consumed gives about 95 per cent of Heat to only about 5 per cent of Light. As the heat is put to no useful purpose it is sheer waste.

Scientists have long envied the firefly and the glow-worm, their power to produce light without heat. They have long studied the chemical process by which this feat is accomplished, and Professor Harvey's experiments seem to have produced the most practical discovery in this field. He uses the illuminating substance from the body of a small crustacean inhabiting the sea-waters about Japan. Apparently he has been able to extract this substance in practically its pure state, and then to demonstrate that it is inert when not exposed to Oxygen. By introducing a "catalytic agent"—a substance which has the property of altering the relation of two other substances with each other, without having its own integrity impaired—he has been able to promote a continuous process of uniting his "luciferin" with oxygen and then separating the two—the process of union being the cause of the generation of light rays.

The distinction of Professor Harvey's experiments lies in his discovery of the function of oxygen in the production of the light, and in his discovery of a catalytic agent to cause the process to operate continuously. Though his results have no immediate practical value, they may lead to revolutionary discoveries. If he can intensify the light as he hopes, practically industrialists can perfect processes for the recovery of luciferin and for the production of lamps for general use. The prodigious development of the telephone from the laboratory to an instrument of universal use is an indication of the possibilities that may lie ahead with luciferin. Conceivably synthetic chemistry might achieve an inorganic substitute for the prime element of cold light and reduce its cost to a trifle.

The imagination readily perceives striking possibilities with such a device. Houses lighted by small globes full of ever-luminous liquid, the light from which would be "turned off" by enclosing the globes in folding metal shells attached like petals to the fixture is one suggestion. Inexpensive pocket lamps that could be carried like pocket flasks is another. The possibilities are endless. But the economic value to society is the more important consideration. Lighting now consumes enormous stores of fuel whose energy would be saved for processes in which heat is its most valuable element—in the prime work

"BOTTLED SUNLIGHT."

An electric lamp which will burn for three years without current has been invented.

This new product, which is described by manufacturers as "bottled sunlight" is the work of an Italian engineer, J. Tomadelli. The secret of its mysterious property is guarded very carefully. Those responsible for its manufacture even state that armed detectives are on duty night and day around the experimenting factory.

The lamp is described by its inventor as a "self-sustaining, incandescent electric light, that will burn a long time without connection with any source of electric supply other than itself." "The light itself," he adds, "is radiated from a minute metallic candle of secret composition."

The lamp is said to produce its light without the generation of heat, the temperature of the bulb never rising above 10 degrees Fahrenheit, instead of 100 degrees, as in the case of an ordinary metal filament lamp.

It can be made in any size or power, from the household lamp to powerful lights suitable for cinema projection and street lighting. The cost of the lamp for household use is estimated at about twelve shillings, and it is expected to be on the market this summer.

BIRTH CONTROL IN ANCIENT INDIA.

(From *The Hindu*, Madras.)

The problem of population in our country is the bequest of two great causes; one the draining away of resources down the centuries, and the other the absence of checks on growth which while adding to the numbers reduced individual fitness to a progressively diminutive size. In Ancient India, there were rules of conduct which enjoined, as Mr. Havelock Ellis demands they should, "that only such children may be born as will be able to go through life with a reasonable prospect that they will not be handicapped by inborn defect or special liability to some incapacitating disease." Ancient India, if it had not a systematised science of eugenics, had brought the important principles of it into everyday life. In his new book, "Little Essays of Love and Virtue" Mr. Havelock Ellis pleads ardently that for the regeneration of the whole human race the principles of eugenics and birth-control should be "brought into the course of daily lives" and "embodied in our instinctive impulses." The feasibility of these in the modern world is yet to be decided, but it is worth noting that India was once accustomed to some of their principles which she respected without endangering the practice of precepts by abstracting them into a code of academic knowledge. There is reason to believe that India of the Rishi took care that no more individuals were brought into the world than could be properly cared for. By strict rules regarding marriage and married life, the ancients realised the fruits of what is called negative Eugenics—that is, the elimination of avoidable evil conditions that affect heredity. To give one instance, modern eugenicists like Ewart make a great point of longer intervals between successive childbirths. This, says Mr. Ellis, is "an important factor not only in preserving the health of the mother but in increasing the health and size of the child. The diminution in the number of children renders it possible to bestow a greater amount of care on each child. Moreover, the better economic position of the father, due to the smaller number of individuals he has to support, makes it possible for the family to live under improved conditions as regards nourishment, hygiene and comfort." That these and other points of the eugenics were not lost sight of by our ancients is clear from the rules of

marital life prescribed in the Sastras. The control of births in such a way that only such children are born as will not be a burden on society was among the commonplaces of ancient custom. The more acceptable tenets of eugenics were practised under cover of semi-religious mandates, of course without the reprehensible mechanical devices of modern invention. There was no squeamish outcries such as we hear among the moderns in the name of "high birth-rates" and "race-suicide."

ROMAN CATHOLICS AND PROHIBITION.

Catholic Leader, Madras weekly.

In a recent issue the *Indian Social Reformer* expressed "deep regret" that in the inquiry into the present excise policy of the Bombay Government and the prospects of prohibition, the Catholic opinion, as represented by His Grace the Archbishop of Bombay, should have ranged itself solidly against prohibition. Our contemporary concluded that, as in America, the Catholics in India had thrown their weight against the social reformers. Catholics do recognise that drink is a frequent source of unhappiness, poverty, misery, divorce, suicide, insanity, disease and death. But, because its abuse is the cause of many evils, its use cannot be proscribed. Teetotalism is a counsel of perfection and it cannot be enforced upon every individual as a duty. The most effective method of combating the drink evil is to control and regulate the manufacture and distribution of liquor. Draconic legislation will not reform society as a whole and a strict enforcement of prohibition is an impossibility and creates disrespect for law and order. And a law which cannot be enforced should never be formulated. The papers often allude to the example of America, but the statement of an important official, Associate Justice Clarke of the Supreme Court in the United States, clearly shows the impracticability of the cement of prohibition tenors.

Mr. Sastry's Visit to Australia: A friend sends us the following from an editorial in the *Australasian Inter-Collegian*, the influential weekly organ of the *Students' Christian Movement*: "Mr. Sastri informed our correspondent in Bombay that he will gladly meet groups of students who wish to understand India better, and we shall be more than glad to meet him. We have all too few Indians visiting us. How happy if the Indian Government had decided to deport Mr. Gandhi instead of imprisoning him, and had sent him over here, where, during his six years of exile, he might have explained to us his method of meeting violence with non-resistance and Non-Co-operation?" The writer concludes: "Whatever the true object of the visit, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri will find friends in this country. He is a recognised national leader of high intellectual eminence and we esteem it an honour to entertain him." From all accounts, Mr. Sastry has left behind him in Australia happy impressions of India and Indians.

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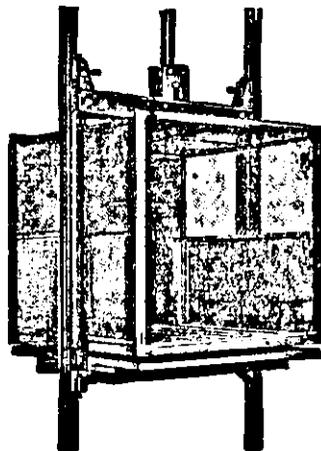
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No. 48

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The Present Political Situation.	

NOTES.

Mr. Sastry and the White Australia Policy: We had been led to hope, by some incidental observations reported from his later speeches in Australia, that the earlier telegraphic reports, representing Mr. Sastry as having formally accepted on behalf of India the policy of allowing none but White races to settle in that Dominion, might be shown by fuller reports to have been far too unqualified. We are sorry that this hope has not been realised. A friend has kindly sent us the issues of the *Sydney Morning Herald* containing appreciative reports of Mr. Sastry's visit and speeches, and we find that not once but repeatedly he stated that India had nothing to say to the policy of White Australia. Now, it is quite true that Mr. Sastry's mission concerned only the obtaining of equal civil rights for the Indian population—about 2000—domiciled in Australia and that India in the Imperial Conference had accepted the principle that each Dominion was entitled to regulate the admission of emigrants to its territories on the principle of reciprocity. But India never agreed that emigration might be regulated on the basis of colour, and there was no justification for Mr. Sastry to go out of his way to endorse the White Australia policy in terms as he did. This is the more regrettable as the Australians themselves seem to feel that the White Australia policy is not a happy way of describing what they want. Thus the *Sydney Morning Herald*:

The formula in which this ideal has been expressed is not the most happy one. It implies that our policy resolves itself into an arbitrary and capricious objection to "colour," whereas "colour" has actually little to do with it. It is, one might almost say, an accident that coloured races have fallen within its orbit. The policy of White Australia has been widely misunderstood, and for the misunderstanding we have in a great measure ourselves to thank. It has unfortunately often been enunciated in a needlessly provocative and offensive manner.

That Mr. Sastry should have endorsed a formula which Australians themselves feel is misleading as a designation of their policy, is unfortunate. We reprint a letter which Mr. W. P. Clifford, who describes himself as an Anglo-Indian, wrote in one of these issues of the *Herald*, caustically exposing the

essential unsoundness in Australia's own interests of the White Australia policy. If Mr. Sastry felt that his mission excluded that policy, he need not have said anything about it, merely confining himself to the claims of Domiciled Indians under the Imperial Conference resolution. It is only fair to add that, with this single exception, Mr. Sastry's tour in Australia seems, from all accounts, to have been a considerable success not only from his personal but from the Indian national point of view. One thing must be admitted—and that is a great thing; the Australian attitude to India is altogether different from that of the South or East African Whites. This would not have been so clear but for Mr. Sastry's visit, and this is no small result. The differences between Australia and India are not a few or as insignificant as Mr. Sastry has understood them, but they are capable of a friendly and honourable adjustment by discussion in the spirit of understanding.

Travancore Reforms: We publish to-day some particulars of the latest constitutional advance in the ancient state of Travancore. His Highness the Maharaja in his gracious message refers to the efforts of his predecessors in the same direction. These efforts were stimulated and supported by an able group of South Indian statesmen, Sir T. Madhav Rao and others, who from the first strove hard to place the administration outside palace influences. To these men, and to the unstinted support which the rulers wisely accorded to their Ministers, is due that the historic South Indian States are in a category by themselves as distinguished from most other Indian States. Mr. Raghaviab, the present Dewan of Travancore, is a worthy successor to the eminent statesmen who have preceded him. The constitutional advance in Travancore is specially interesting in view of the fact that that State contains a very large Christian population—the largest proportionately of any other state or province in India. The Christians of Travancore do not yield in loyalty to the Maharaja to His Highness's Hindu subjects, and several steps have been taken recently, as noted in these columns, to remove their disabilities as regards the Public Services. When we remember that Travancore is one of the oldest States in India and that it has a continuous history of centuries unbroken by foreign conquest, we cannot but rejoice that it is not backward in adjusting itself to new ideas. There is no scope so promising for national service as an Indian State where the ruler realises his responsibilities as a Prince and an Indian, and has the royal quality of choosing the right type of Ministers and giving them his implicit confidence. The Maharajas of Travancore, some of them eminent for their learning, and all of them, devoted to the duties of their exalted position, have had this gift. We wish Travancore God-speed on the road to responsible government.

Indian Lascars: The malicious statements that Indian lascars were mainly responsible for the heavy loss of life in the sinking of the *Egypt*, have been

effectively contradicted by some of the ship's officers who gave evidence at the London enquiry. Though they refrained from saying so, it is evident that some of them implied that the Indians gave a better account of themselves than the Europeans. The country is grateful to these gentlemen for their unbiased testimony. Apropos of the lascars, the *Prabuddha Bharata* for July opportunely reprints an appreciation by the late Swami Vivekananda of their work. Writing to a friend in June 1899, Swamiji noted that Bengalee lascars were employed in all ships that ply between Calcutta and Europe. After describing their work, he added: "Seeing these Bengali lascars, coalmen, servants and boys at work, the feeling of despair with regard to my countrymen which I had was much abated. How they are slowly developing their manhood, with a strong physique—how fearless yet docile! The cringing, sycophant attitude common to 'natives,' even the sweepers do not possess—what a transformation!" He concludes by referring to the prejudice against their employment even twenty years ago:

The Indian lascars do excellent work, without murmur, and go on a quarter of a European sailor's pay. This has dissatisfied many in England, especially as many Europeans are losing their living thereby. They sometimes set up an agitation. Having nothing else to say against them—for the lascars are smarter in work than Europeans—they only complain that in rough weather, when the ship is in danger they lose all courage. Good God! In actual circumstances, that infamy is found to be baseless. In times of danger, the European sailors sometimes drink freely through fear, and make themselves stupid and out of use. Indian sailors never take a drop of liquor in their life, and up to now, not one of them has ever shown cowardice in times of great danger.

This testimony from their own illustrious countryman, is sufficient recompense to Indian lascars for the calumny of interested and unscrupulous enemies of the Indian people.

The Vanguard: Thursday's *Times of India* published the following "special cable" dated London, July 24th with the heading "Pro-Bolshevik Indian Paper: Financed and Printed in Germany:"

Enquiries regarding the pro-Bolshevik paper "The Vanguard of Indian Independence" reported to have been introduced into India show that the paper is financed by an Indian, M. N. Roy, residing in Berlin, who has frequently visited Russia. He has issued a manifesto urging Indian labour and other organisations to attach themselves to the third International. The Editor is an ardent propagandist. It is understood that the paper is printed in Hamburg and despatched by individuals to India.

The *Vanguard*, "reported to have been introduced into India," had been regularly reaching us through the Post Office till some weeks past. It did occur to us strange that somebody had not intercepted the copies, but we supposed that the official view of the utility of interfering with the normal operations of the Post Office for the sake of some possible objectionable article, had undergone a change for the better. Moreover the *Vanguard's* articles have been bitterly denunciatory of the Non-Violent, Non-Co-operation programme, and might have been regarded as a useful auxiliary in the campaign against Gandhism. The Bardoli programme, the *Vanguard* denounced, as ordered by men "socially belonging to the enemy camp." It represents no organised opinion in this country, and we are not inclined to attach importance to leaders who want to produce "mass revolutions" from a distance of several thousands of miles. The *Times'* message says that the paper is printed in Hamburg. In the copy now before us of June, the imprint at the bottom is "Published by B. L. Singh, Liverpool, and printed by Cambden Press, London." On the front page, the *Vanguard* professes to have offices at Berlin, Paris, London, Zurich and Rome.

The Bombay Municipal Bill in Council: The Bill to amend the Bombay Municipal Act—the most important change being the extension of the franchise to occupiers paying a monthly rental of Rs. 10, the same as for the Legislative Council—has been impeded in its progress through the Legislative Council by an opposition which seems anxious to wreck the measure since it cannot have the franchise fixed at a higher rental. This was the first important measure which Mr. Hidayatulla, the Minister-in-charge of Local Self-Government or any other Minister, has had to pilot through the Council, and he was entitled to the consideration due to his inexperience, though we are sorry that unpreparedness also appears to have been in part responsible for his difficulties. How much a determined minority can do to protract the passage of a measure embodying in its main principles the general consensus of public opinion, is illustrated by the instance of this Bill. If owing to fractious opposition or official apathy, the Council should fail to pass this Bill this Session, it will be conclusive proof of its incompetence to carry out one of the main objects of its existence.

Non-Brahmins and the Depressed Classes: In noticing the article on India in the June number of the *Round Table*, we called attention to the writer's confusion of the Depressed Classes with the Non-Brahmins who secured a majority at the last election in the Madras Legislative Council. *Justice*, the non-Brahmin daily, endorsed the confusion for obvious reasons. But the exposure has not been long in coming. Mr. C. Raja, representative of the Depressed Classes in the Madras Legislative Council, presiding over the Adi-Dravida Conference at Koilpatti on the 21st instant, bitterly attacked the Non-Brahmin party in the Council for its reactionary attitude to the classes which he represented and contrasted it with the disinterested help and sympathy extended to them by Brahmin leaders like Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar. He said:

The Non-Brahmans caste Hindus, who form 80 per cent of the voters, were able to capture 50 seats without the help of reservation, whereas the Non-Brahmans who go by the name of Depressed Classes were not able to capture even one seat by election. Now the question is, to whom should the reservation go? It should go to the community which has no chance of being elected. At present the Non-Brahmans caste Hindus have got an undue preponderance in the Legislative Council, so much so that they are able to pass Resolutions which are against the interests of Depressed Classes without even a proper discussion. The Council as at present constituted is only a Non-Brahman Caste Hindu Oligarchy.

We hope that the writer in the *Round Table*, if this happen to catch his eye, will set himself right in his next contribution on Indian topics.

Mr. Reddi's Bill: We are glad that the attempt to foist Mr. M. K. Reddi's ill-conceived Bill, to deprive the rights of natural children of Sudras under Hindu law, on the non-Brahmin movement which claims to be one of democracy and social justice, is meeting with opposition. We reprint excerpts from the discussion on the Bill in the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association, when it was condemned by some non-Brahmin leaders, including the veteran social reformer, Mr. O. Kandaswami Chetti.

The Indian Clerk: We are glad to get the first number of the official organ of the Bombay Clerks' Union. The clerks are an indispensable class of hard-worked public servants, but their lot in life is often not as good as that of the skilled artisan. Mr. N. M. Joshi M. L. A. contributes a suggestive article on "Trades Unionism and Clerks," to the current number.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 30, 1922.

ENFORCED WIDOWHOOD.

The reform for doing away with the custom, among Brahmins and other Hindu castes which imitate them, preventing widows to remarry, though it was the first social reform, with the exception of the abolition of *Sati*, which enlisted the strong advocacy of courageous Indian reformers, has gone into the background. The reasons are various. In the first place, the reform was originally and chiefly intended to relieve child-widows of an irrational and cruel disability, and the tendency to decrease of child marriages, which is noticeable everywhere though not to the same extent in every part of the country, has to a slight extent reacted on this particular reform. Then, again, the increasing difficulty experienced in obtaining suitable husbands for unmarried girls, operates in some classes and in some parts of the country against the movement to encourage the remarriage of girls who, according to current ideas, have had their chance in matrimony. But the most important cause is that the more recent institutions established with the object of helping Hindu widows, have almost exclusively concentrated on education and social work as more suitable objectives than remarriage for Hindu widows whom custom obliged to remain celibate. A re-action against this tendency is perceptible, as it is coming to be recognized that all widows are not equally disposed to regard social service as a complete substitute for the married life. The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association maintains a Widows' Home solely for Hindu widows who seek remarriage. Several remarriages have taken place under the auspices of this institution, but not much publicity is given to them, as the feeling on this side is against doing anything calculated to mark out remarried couples as being in any way differentiated from other married people. The most intensive work in this reform, however, is carried on by the Punjab Vidhva Vivaha Sahaik Sabha whose monthly returns are regularly published in these columns. Under the munificent patronage of Lala Ganga Ram, C. I. E., and the energetic management of Lala Lajpat Rai Sahni, the Sabha has created a regular network of agencies all over the Punjab and in the adjoining districts of the United Provinces, and has been instrumental in popularising this reform among large sections of the community. It is prepared to extend similar help to workers in the cause of this reform in any other part of the country. We may correct an error into which the Punjab correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* has fallen in his last letter. The Sabha is not an Arya Samaj institution. It is conducted on the principles of the Sanatan Dharma, as a Hindu institution.

We received last week the seventh annual report of the Sabha, which is compiled and got-up in a manner which will do credit to a Parliamentary Return and which reflects the whole-hearted and systematic way

in which the Honorary Secretary, Lala Lajpat Rai Sahni, directs his plan of campaign against an ancient custom that has outlived its usefulness and has become a hindrance to social progress. The thoroughly business-like spirit which he brings to bear upon his work is evidenced by the matter-of-fact statement in the opening paragraph that "we spent in 1921 the sum of Rs. 10,534, for which we have secured under our auspices 317 widow marriages," exclusive of the "voluntary marriages" which have not been reported to the Sabha but which, Mr. Lajpat Rai rightly claims, is the result of the propaganda work of the Sabha. The number of marriages celebrated by the Sabha was only 12 in the first year, 13 in the second, and it did not rise to 100 even in 1919. In 1920, it suddenly jumped to 220, no doubt as the cumulative effect of the work of previous years, and last year's figure was a record. The average cost per marriage under the Sabha's auspices has progressively declined from Rs. 73-2 in the first year to Rs. 33-2 last year. The Sabha was financed in the first year by Lala Ganga Ram with Rs. 100 per month, which he has increased to Rs. 1000 per month since January 1921. He has given in all Rs. 30,600 and he is, we are told, anxious to increase the amount of it if the work is taken up by some zealous workers in other provinces. As the Lala Sahib takes no interest in politics or for the matter of that in any other social reform, workers in the cause of the remarriage of Hindu widows may be assured of his steady support to their work. It is rare to come across a munificent giver with such concentrated sympathy for one object, and the widow remarriage reform is fortunate in having in Lala Gangaram a patron whose heart is as large as his purse and both are devoted to its advancement. We should add, though Mr. Lajpat Rai dislikes nothing so much like publicity, that but for the co-operation of his energy, enthusiasm and driving-power with Lala Ganga Ram's munificence, the Sabha could not have achieved half as much as it has been able to do. The Sabha has opened recently a Vidhva Ashram in Lahore as a temporary home for widows awaiting remarriage. It publishes a monthly Urdu journal named *Vidhva Sahaik* in which detailed information regarding the progress of the Sabha is regularly given.

That the Sabha meets a felt want in the Punjab is evident from the fact that there are nearly 4000 men on its books desirous of marrying widows. The small number of widows, only 50, who have registered themselves as willing to remarry, is obviously due to fear of premature publicity. By being known as being willing to remarry, a Hindu widow incurs nearly all the odium incurred by actual remarriage, and it is not surprising that few widows care to risk it until it is certain that marriage will ensue. In the case of the men, there is no such motive to keep their candidature in the background until the moment comes for marriage. It is well-known that of all the Provinces of India, the Punjab has the fewest women proportionately to the male population. It is in consequence of this and not because, we think, widows from the

United Provinces have a special predilection in favour of men of the Punjab, that 50 of them married Punjabis last year while only 2 Punjabi widows cared to link their lives with men from the U. P. and other Provinces. The general rule, as may be expected, is that the widows of each province prefer men of their own province. Not only is this the case, but in most cases widows married men of their own caste, as the excellent statement, giving the names, castes and other particulars relating to the 317 persons who were married under the auspices of the Sabha last year, shows. There are among them some inter-caste marriages and some of these seem to be *pratiloma* marriages—Brahmin widows with Arora, Khatri and other men—and it would be interesting to know whether marriages of the Sabha are registered under Act III of 1872. We understood from Mr. Lajpat Rai when he was in Bombay recently that special care is taken not to get a widow married to a man who has a wife living. The value of the report would have been further enhanced if the ages and previous civil condition of the parties had been added in the statement of their names. The most encouraging feature of the year was, the Report says, that a great many widow marriages took place in respectable families. In some case, regular marriage parties were invited and entertained by the bride's party. We congratulate the Sabha on the excellent progress made and wish it increasing success in the future.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION.*

(BY BHISHMA).

Nor is this all. Will not the failure of the N. C. O. movement lower India as a whole, in the estimation of the world's public opinion? After all Mr. Gandhi is an Indian and an eminent one at that. In the words of Mr. Sastri, his movement has "evoked the patriotic sense of our young people and upheld to them the high duty of sacrifice on behalf of the motherland." Public opinion abroad is carefully watching the movement. Can the Liberals, as Indians first and Liberals afterwards, face the world's opinion with feelings of pride and happiness over the collapse of the efforts of brother Indians? Under these circumstances however much the failure of N. C. O. will mean the vindication of the Liberals, it is not a consummation to be wished for. The country's interests do not lie that way. Knowing this, few Liberals will yield willingly to that tragic tendency that has been dogging India these several centuries, of placing individual and sectional interests above those of the country as a whole, of indulging in fratricidal wars in the presence, and with the assistance, of a foreigner, only to be completely swallowed up by the foreigner in the end. Therefore, even from the Liberals' point of view, the country's interests demand neither the persistence in N. C. O. nor the defeat of it. It has to be rendered as unnecessary and superfluous means. The Liberals have repeatedly advised the non-co-operators to abandon the N. C. O. programmes, particularly the boycott of the Councils. It is, however,

open to doubt how far the entry into the Councils by non-co-operators will help the situation. Non-co-operation is a frame or outlook of mind characterised by the complete wreck of faith and hope in the British Government, to which any particular programme gives outward expression. N. C. O. contemplates the mending, failing which the paralysis and abolition, of a Government that has forfeited the confidence of the people; and the particular programme might vary with the external conditions, and entry into the Councils might itself be made an item of N. C. O. If the Maharastra party has its way, civil war may be an item if some other leaders had their way. As long as the distrust of Government lasts, as long as the people have neither the power to control the Government nor the faith to believe in it, so long mere changes of programme or the entry into the Councils are not likely to save the situation or lead to healthy co-operation. If a non-co-operator believes in paralysing the Government, he is not likely to make himself suddenly responsible for its safety, the moment he enters the Councils. Can the Council chamber work a miracle? Is it contended that all the eminent Indians of the past, who never sat in the Council or before they got into them, were a set of irresponsibles? There may be some difference between executive and Legislative responsibilities. But the mere translation of a person into a legislature is not likely to radically alter his conviction.

Further, not all non-co-operators can get into the Councils even if they want to, if only to co-operate. There will be enough left outside who can be trusted, if only out of their chargin, to keep a fusillade against those that have got into them, to discredit them and goad them to obstructionist tactics in the Councils. The non-co-operators want, not power merely to bring about compulsory education, temperance, swadeshi and so on, which is about all that is possible with the present Councils but a change in the present system of Government, to make it more responsive to the people, in short Swaraj; and with that view, wreck the present system and prove it unworkable. The present Councils are therefore not the place for non-co-operators. Is there no other way then? Perhaps the best remedy imaginable has been suggested by the Liberals themselves. It is the early attainment of Dominion Home Rule by constitutional means. If this consummation is attained, most of the troubles and anxieties that face the country are likely to disappear. Non-co-operation will be at an end, giving place to healthy co-operation. The Punjab and the Khilafat problems may be left to be dealt with by the Swaraj Government, if nothing can be done earlier. It is not likely that the non-co-operator will refuse to accept Swaraj because the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs have not been remedied by the British Government.

The practical plan of work for the early attainment of Swaraj has been given out by Mr. Sastri and the plan here suggested is primarily and mostly based on it. Before developing the plan, it may not be irrelevant to refer to a somewhat personal consideration that renders immediate Swaraj advantageous. It

* Continued from the last issue.

the release of Mr. Gandhi from jail. It makes him available to labour for the moral and social uplift of India and perhaps of the world. Few will fail to recognise that personality appeals. Nothing as far as it lies in others, should be placed in the way of his mission. The Liberals may regret that Mr. Gandhi thought that the political situation of India needed his first attention. But once that objective is rendered unnecessary by the early grant of Dominion Home Rule, Mr. Gandhi's matchless personality, influence and energy can be freely made available not only for moral and social work but also hold India in strong bonds of union with the British Commonwealth, of which she will be a proud and enthusiastic partner. It is not an economic utilisation of Mr. Gandhi to shut him up in prison, but as long as Home Rule is not granted, it is impossible to keep him at liberty and yet keep him away from politics and non-co-operation.

THE PLAN OF ACTION.

(1). The Liberal Press should keep up a strong and persistent agitation demanding immediate Dominion Home Rule, emphasising the demand primarily on grounds of fitness for advance and secondarily of the disasters that will follow if it is delayed. (2) The Imperial Legislatures, in their September Session, should appoint a convention of some of its ablest members, with power to co-opt other representative leaders and savants, from the Provincial Councils, the non-co-operation party, and other bodies, to frame a scheme of Dominion Home Rule for India. (3) a. The Imperial Legislatures should also recommend to the Government of India the release of political prisoners with a view to facilitate the co-operation of their leaders in the task of Convention. (3) b. The Imperial Legislatures should also send immediately a strong deputation, on behalf of the Legislatures at public expense to England, to urge on and obtain from the British Cabinet and Parliament a declaration to the effect that they would give sympathetic consideration to any scheme for further constitutional advance for India that may be sent up by the Legislatures in India. (4) When the Convention presents its scheme, it should be published for public criticism and when it is passed in the Imperial Legislatures, it should be sent up to England with another deputation to be presented to Parliament for approval and ratification. Any scheme of advance not acceptable to the leaders of N. O. O. party, has little chance of being accepted by the country with good will. If they are, therefore, to work on or assist the Convention, not only should the political prisoners be released from jail but the declaration also should be obtained from the British Government. The success of the scheme, therefore, depends on the Liberals obtaining the sympathy and co-operation of Mr. Gandhi, the Government of India and the British Cabinet. Have we any hopes of securing them?

MR. SASTRY'S PLAN.

In his presidential address at the Bombay Liberal Conference, Mr. Sastri, referring to a deputation from the Central Legislatures taking a scheme prepared by a Convention, said "Suppose they went with a scheme of that kind, I know of no statesman in England,

I know of no political body of any importance in England, who would treat their representation either lightly or contemptuously." Again he said "If I may judge at all the signs, I can give you hope that you will find a great deal of sympathy and support in your desire to hasten the attainment of this consummation" viz., further advance. If this be the case, there ought not to be insuperable difficulties in obtaining a public expression of this sympathetic attitude if representations are made on behalf of the Central Legislature. In his interview published in *New India*, Mr. Sastri remarked that we need fear no opposition from the Government of India to the appointment of a Convention. In which case, it ought not to be very difficult to get them to release the political prisoners, for which many precedents exist. If these two preliminary conditions are secured, have we any reasonable hopes that the non-co-operators will co-operate with the Convention? Are there unbridgeable chasms separating the Liberals and the Non-co-operators? Mr. Gandhi has declared that what they want is full control over the destinies of India and if that is compatible with the British Commonwealth, they would not think of breaking with it. They would be perfectly satisfied with the Dominion Home Rule immediately. Now what is the Liberal view? Mr. Montagu has declared—and it has since been repeated in spite of Lord Curzon—that India has been granted Dominion status in external affairs in anticipation of the grant of internal Dominion status. Mr. Sastri has said that he favoured one single step more to reach the goal and not a series of them. It follows, therefore, that the next step which Mr. Sastri desires is Dominion Home Rule, the same as the non-co-operators desire. As Mr. Sastri put it, the procedure by Convention will approximate to self-determination by India, as the scheme will be primarily what the ablest Indians have devised. Mr. Gandhi has urged a similar idea. Further Mr. Gandhi did attend the Representative Conference held in Bombay and though on principle, he would not be a party to the resolution of the Conference in a technical sense, he got the Congress Working Committee to accept and abide by them. Mr. Gandhi desires a change in the heart of the British Government and the declaration suggested, will be an expression of that change. Thus there are reasonable grounds to hope that Mr. Gandhi and the non-co-operators will agree to the Convention proposal.

MALABAR TODAY, IV.*

(BY A RECENT VISITOR.)

Coming to consider the degradation of the Hindu Society in Malabar at present, there is no better index of it than the utter lack of physical resistance and moral stamina which the Hindus displayed in the course of this rebellion, thus enabling the fanatic Moplahs to sweep through the land so thoroughly, freely dealing devastation and destruction with both their hands. I do not mean to insinuate

* This article was written about the end of May when the writer visited Malabar.

that there were no instances of individual tact or individual valour—the undisturbed security in the Kovilagam at Mankada in spite of all the surrounding whirl of seething elements, and the well-known cases of the willing martyrdom of the two Panchamas who preferred death to disloyalty to their step-motherly Hindu religion, are instances in point—but it cannot be denied that, speaking generally, if only there had been some sort of strong resistance displayed on the part of the Hindus, the Moplahs would never have been able to proceed so smoothly in their ruthless course. To cite but one instance, I was told that of the two hundred rifles in the palace at Nilambur, none were availed of by the local Hindu guards at the time of the rebel attack, though it must be admitted to their credit that fourteen of the Hindu guards fell fighting for the palace. But such factless bravado and panic-stricken confusion betrays a woeful want of inner strength and self-possession which is even more lamentable than the lack of rude muscle. For the matter of that, the anachronism of the antiquated and ancient Vedic survival of a Nambudri on the one hand and the wild savage animal of the untouchable and unapproachable Cheruma, condemned to a thousand distances by orthodox civilisation on the other, together present in a live and concrete manner the pathetic state of the present day Hindu society in Malabar and comprise within themselves the whole weight of its burdens. Here also circumstances point to a change in the law, for it is commonly felt that the unnatural system of the Marumkathayam succession, which makes the proper fulfilment of the natural desire on the part of the father to provide for his children possible only through shady means especially if he happens to be the head of a Tharavad, and the invincible solidity of the Tharavad has the double effect of crushing individual initiative and ambition as also encouraging irresponsible sloth by an insured ready means of livelihood, are both having very baneful effects on the morale of the Hindu in the present-day conditions. Indeed the various complex problems, social, political and economic, in Malabar today are so typical of the whole of India generally—differentiated from the rest of the country only by slight local variations—that there could scarcely be any greater patriotic endeavour than a full and serious study of these conditions and a wide publication thereof, for this will not only help the reincarnation of Malabar into a more flourishing land by the light that it is sure to throw upon the various problems of the present situation over these and thus help in the formulation of the remedial measures, but will also be a prelude to a scheme of national uplift in its more immediate and practical aspects. It is an happy augury therefore that persons of the stamp of Mr. C. R. Reddy are interesting themselves in this now truly benighted land and its poor fortunes, for their interest brings with it an assurance that a rosy and hopeful dawn of a better day for Malabar cannot be long in appearing.

SAVE YOURSELVES.

I began this article by saying that the present situation in Malabar was of a two-fold significance,

first exoteric and then esoteric. I have dealt with the exoteric aspect so far, and I have now lying before me on my table as I write these lines Mr. Ramier's article on "Malabar Affairs" where a tiny little paragraph attracts my eye with a tremendous importance. It opens with this ominous sentence "The hatreds that are afoot have well-nigh strangled our souls" and has this vocative heading: "Come and save our souls!" This is precisely what I had in my mind when I was thinking of the esoteric aspect of the present situation in Malabar. No recent visitor to the district who has seen the present state of the popular mind over these will make a sentimental response to this appeal, the answer must be "Save Yourselves." The soul of the land is in travail but it must be saved by the people of the land; no external assistance can be of any real avail in this matter. The salvation of the soul is a matter of self-determination, and the people of Malabar must clearly recognise that much as they have been suffering and have passed through painful ordeals, the injury to their soul could be undone by themselves only, and they will have to unburden themselves of the grief which now like a pall hangs over it. For after all, the two communities, Hindu and Moplah, will have to abide together in peace and the former must learn to forget the injury done to them, looking upon those whose hands inflicted the suffering as 'younger brothers lacking in knowledge and wisdom' and not increase the bitterness by harbouring petty revenge, and the latter taking good counsel, must learn to be ashamed of such brutal savagery and in true humility cultivate the spirit of amity and toleration. I remember, one of the workers at Calicut told me that thinking over these questions how he was impressed by the spirit of a lecture which Mr. Andrews delivered in Calicut during his stay there, the "Miracle of Love," and indeed the worship of love which consists of a constant thirst for gift without parleying and the miraculous grace of its divine healing power are, we must fully realise, not only the only possible but also the highest means of marching onward and forward in the face of such a situation into the dawn of another day in God's good world leaving the ugly past to bury its dead. True, here also much may be done by way of help from outsiders—the Servants of India Society, for instance, will I suppose be persuaded to continue its connections with Malabar, formed under such happy auspices by the establishment of some kind of permanent work in a land of such plentiful scope—but the true change in the soul must come from the people; it must come from within. The abandonment of low communal jealousies and petty spirit of reprisal and the birth of a higher social consciousness is no easy task, but it is a glorious one, and its grandeur ought to be a sufficient incentive for the people to adopt such an attitude of mind. Malabar must realise her heritage, and this, according to one of her proudest sons and patriotic citizens, is no less than to be the beacon-light of India as India is to be the beacon-light of the world. For, I still remember how presiding over Mr. C. R. Reddy's lecture at Calicut and com-

menting upon his characterization of Malabar as the "acid test of Indian Nationalism", Manjeri Ramier with a prophetic gaze in his eyes and in eloquent words of deep feeling, said that even as India was entrusted by her great task-master with the mission of evolving a harmony and establishing concord between the thousand different classes and creeds and religions and philosophies, all of which were equally flourishing on her ancient soil, and unifying them into a single stream of rich and living culture, it appeared to him to be the destiny of Malabar to unify the warring elements in her land into an all-embracing happy society and evolve beautiful culture, all her own and nourish it in the fascinating atmosphere of her beautiful land covered with palms and lulled by the seas. I have carried away with me that far-seeing vision of his, and along with him eagerly wait like a watcher of the skies to see this new planet swim into his ken.

(Concluded.)

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our own Correspondent.)

London, July 6th, 1922.

The political murder of Sir Henry Wilson, a great soldier and politician, on his own doorstep in London by Irishmen, caused such a storm of angry emotion to surge through the country that it seemed almost difficult to preserve sanity in Irish affairs. The Diehards immediately pressed for the strong hand to be shown and put the murder of Sir Henry upon the shoulders of the present Government by its weak and vacillatory regime. But to have declared war on Ireland just after the elections had shown such overwhelming majority in favour of the treaty, would have plunged us into bloodshed, played into the hands of the Republicans and made us lose the little we have gained. Nevertheless, a strong note was sent to the Irish Provisional Government embodying the text that it must show itself capable of governing by commencing to do so; that the previous attempt at governing was nothing but a farce as long as the Republican Party held by force the Four Courts in Dublin and sent out foraging parties to commandeer what it wished or required, terrorising the country and holding up the life of it without fear of punishment. Almost immediately after this note was sent an armed foraging party emerged from its stronghold and attempted to capture motor cars. From this developed a real battle between the two forces, and the week-end has seen tanks and guns in action. The fighting continues, but it is said the back of the rebellion is broken, and that a few days more will see peace conditions restored in Dublin. Ireland was wise for her sake and for ours in refusing English aid in her present trouble. The only offer of ours she accepted was that of kit, the fighting she has kept as a domestic quarrel and not for outside interference. Casualties during the week are estimated at 55 killed and 250 wounded, mostly civilians.

INDIAN ART IN ENGLAND.

Professor Rothenstein in a speech delivered before a big and sympathetic audience on Indian Art, said it was strange that England had not before realised the

importance of Eastern Art. Japanese and Chinese sculpture occupied the minds of our collectors, but Indian Art and sculpture was not understood. Yet it was the ingeniousness of Indian invention both of form and subject matter, which fertilised the whole of Chinese and Japanese religious art. He pleaded for a collection of casts, worthily housed, of the masterpieces of Indian art. "We thought", he said, "too often of India in political terms only, and had paid too little attention to her magnificent contribution to the culture of the world."

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR WALES.

Recently one of our so-called British seers said that the British Empire would not break up, but would change completely. He could see the day coming when our present Empire was a federation of republics. Perhaps he was a true seer, and the goal of our present development is not towards a federation of self-governing colonies, but towards a federation of republics, each aiming at self realisation. But whether it is to be one or the other, a step along the path of self realisation is again being taken by the Welsh people. At the annual Meeting of the Welsh Liberal Council, of which Mr. Lloyd George is the President, to be held on Friday, Mr. Herbert Lewis, M. P., is to move the following resolution: "That the Council re-affirms its support to the principle of self-government for Wales, believing that the genius of the Welsh people should be given the opportunity of directing itself in its own way, to the solution of problems and the conduct of affairs peculiar to the distinctive needs of her separate nationality. The Council is convinced that the urgency of this question is emphasised by the fact that the Imperial Parliament is over-weighted with responsibilities that concern the well-being of the Empire and can no longer deal adequately and effectively with matters that should properly be delegated to subordinate legislatures."

GERMANS IN IRELAND.

A peculiar situation arises out of the following: Under Article 3 of the Draft Constitution of the Irish Free State it is possible for a German subject who has been domiciled in the area of the Irish Free State for not less than seven years to become a citizen of that State. But if such German subject becomes a citizen of the Irish Free State in such circumstances he would not automatically be regarded as a British subject. Thus new complexities will arise.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

There was a lively discussion on "Unemployment: Its Causes and the Remedy", at recent session of the railwaymen's Conference. Mr. J. H. Thomas told the delegates in plain language that the substitution of a Labour Government for the present one would not automatically cure all the evils of unemployment, and that the Socialist remedy of the abolition of capitalism would aggravate the mischief in a country such as England, which is not self-supporting in food products. He said, "He had nothing but contempt for those people who shouted out the present cause of unemployment was the result of the war. No Government would either declare war, or carry on war, unless

they were supported by the people as a whole, and therefore instead of transferring their responsibility, they must of necessity accept their full share of it. So far as making Germany pay, there were three courses open. Germany paid either by gold, by kind, or by labour. As there was not enough gold in the world to pay the war debts, that was ruled out. With regard to labour, the British Labour Party were not willing to force reparation by enslaved labour, therefore that was ruled out. Of reparation in kind, in 1918 we were selling our export coal at fabulous prices abroad. One of the reparation clauses was that Germany has to contribute coal, and instead of France and Italy buying our coal at a big price, and enabling our pits to be fully worked and the colliers to have good wages, they discovered that coal from Germany was cheaper, and bought it. So that we had the first illustration not of Germany paying for the war, but of the French and British colliers paying in decreased wage and unemployment." The Congress sits again tomorrow and the Communists personal attack on Mr. Thomas is to be discussed in two motions in public session. This attack by the Communists was directed against Mr. Thomas as a Privy Councillor. The Communists feel that to have a leader who is at the same time a member of the present Government, was to cherish an enemy in their midst, as he could learn all their secrets, their weaknesses and woes, and take advantage of this knowledge in giving it to the Government, and thus forging a weapon for the Government to destroy them with. Mr. Clynes and Mr. Arthur Henderson said it was futile to demand that a Labour Member should not become a Privy Councillor. "If" said Mr. Clynes, "Labour leaders had been excluded from the Privy Council, the same people who are now agitating for our withdrawal, would have been the first to complain that this was another injustice inflicted by the capitalist class."

A NEW RULE OF THE ROAD.

This week a new rule has been inaugurated in the Metropolis. "Walk on the left" will be the order seen written everywhere to guide pedestrians, so as to avoid congested collision on the foot-path and accidents on the road. Analysis has proved the cause of many accidents to be that a pedestrian steps into the road to avoid another travelling in an opposite direction in a limited space. A vehicle comes up behind and overtaking the first pedestrian, a tragedy occurs. By observance of the new rule, the pedestrian would always be in the position of facing the traffic and thus avoiding an unseen danger. Of course, there can be no law to enforce the rule, and no policeman can interfere if a person chooses to make a nuisance of himself and walk on the wrong side. But notwithstanding the boasted independence of the Britisher it is astonishing how readily he yields to mass discipline in social convenience. No-one now thinks of pushing forward to get a ticket at a railway station, a theatre or a picture show, or struggles to mount a bus or enter a train. During the war people learnt to queue up and take their turn, and now without any bother this habit continues, and the old scramble in which the strongest got there first is eliminated.

COLOURED LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

From a South African correspondent to the "Telegraph" an important communication appears. That the native and coloured workers of South Africa have just raised an issue of first importance, namely, the right of African workers to be represented upon the International Labour Conferences at Geneva—an issue which receives additional importance from the fact that the Government seems apparently to be in sympathy with the view of the native and coloured workers. Briefly, the beginning of the story is this. General Smuts had received an invitation to send a delegate to Geneva "from the most representative organisation of the work people in South Africa". But to do this would have meant sending a coloured man, since the majority of workers there are coloured. Immediately the white labour unions raised the usual cry of "colour bar" with the result that Mr. Crawford a well-known European Labour man was sent, but he was sent as the white workers' choice. A deputation of coloured and native workers then interviewed Mr. Malan, Minister of Mines and Industries, who told them he had been overborne by racial considerations. The native workers are now organising themselves for an effort to secure representation for the future at Geneva, and the story is not yet ended.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN TRAVANCORE.

(From a Correspondent.)

The nineteenth of July will remain memorable in the annals of Travancore, for at 11-30 in the morning, the Reformed Legislative Council was opened and commenced its first Session. It was an impressive ceremony to behold, quick, quiet, but dignified and solemn withal and all who had the privilege to witness it must have felt its far-reaching importance. Half-past-eleven was the appointed hour for the opening, but long before that time the President and the members of the Assembly had come in, and the latter, one by one declared themselves as follows with the customary oath: "I, having been elected (or nominated) a member of this Council, do solemnly swear that I will be faithful and loyal to His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore and to His Majesty the King-Emperor of India and to their heirs and successors and that I will faithfully discharge the duty upon which I am about to enter," the dual bond of fidelity and attachment to the ruling house of His Highness the Maharajah on the one hand, and to the "Paramount Power" of the King Emperor on the other. The Town Hall which is now the temporary home of the Council—a new building is contemplated and will soon materialise—was decorated with a big gilded life-size portrait of the reigning Maharajah and bore the words—"The Travancore Legislative Council" with the royal initials "R. V." on either side in big plain print on the wall at the top end of the hall. Immediately below it on the raised wooden dais sat the Minister of the State and the Ex-Officio President of the Council, Dewan Bahadur Raghaviah with the British Resident, representative of His Majesty the Emperor on his right and the Chief Justice of the land on his left, and surrounded on the back by the officers of the Government and leading men of the State. The members of the House sat in horizontal rows in the body of the hall and the galleries at the tail-end were reserved for visitors of whom there was a good number.

Exactly at 11-30 the British Resident, Mr. H. H. Bickitt entered the hall and the Dewan also representative of the Sovereign of the State emerging from a side entrance at the same time both seated themselves in their respective seats. Then Dewan Bahadur Raghaviah declared the Council open and read the following message from His Highness the Maharajah (the whole House receiving it standing) which, while it conveys his characteristic solicitude for the people and bears them "faith, goodwill and hope" also contains the following epitome of the nature of advancement in the constitution of the New Council:—

"Thirty-four years ago, I commanded the creation of the first Legislative Council which was to consist of not more than eight nominated members, of whom six were to be officials. Their functions were mainly of an advisory nature with regard to the legislative measures placed before them. Ten years later, the strength of the Council was raised to a maximum of fifteen nominated members and the non-official proportion was also raised, but the official majority, though reduced, was retained. Though the law did not recognise elected members, a restricted power of election was, by executive action, given to the members of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly ten years later. The statutory right to elect members by the direct vote of the people was conferred only three years ago and occasion was then taken to issue a fresh Proclamation by which the maximum strength of the Council rose to 25 and the members were allowed to discuss the Budget and to interpellate Government on matters of public interest. But the official majority still remained. A couple of years afterwards, the present law was promulgated by me which has given you a decisive elective non-official majority. While continuing to you the same freedom of discussion on the Budget, it enables you also to vote on it subject to certain limitations. You have also now the privilege of moving resolutions, and placing before my Government, by that means, your considered views on matters of public interest. The electorate has been constituted on a very broad franchise." And it concludes with a happy anticipation. In His Highness's own words:—"In investing the Council with wider powers, fiscal and other, I feel that I am making a constitutional experiment of great magnitude. In taking such action, I was mainly guided by two circumstances, namely, that for more years than you and I can remember, this country has been receiving in continuously increasing measure facilities for education and that its loyalty to its Sovereign is its cherished tradition. I look up with confidence to you and to the officers of my Government to work in harmony, trying your best to understand each other, and in a spirit of confidence and sympathy, making the welfare of my beloved subjects your common concern."

The constitution of the new Council which is based on very liberal and democratic lines is composed of twenty-eight elected members and twenty-two nominated of whom seven are non-officials and the rest fifteen officials thus making an overwhelming majority of thirty-five non-officials out of the total of fifty which is the entire strength of the House. The new electorate which is very large is based upon a broad franchise, the qualification for an elector for an urban constituency being: (a) an assessment in the previous year to a building or land tax of not less than one rupee or assessment to professional tax, or, (b) a holding within the constituency one of the qualifications in respect to the holding of land prescribed for an elector of a rural constituency, or (c) being a graduate of a recognised University in the British Empire provided he is not undergoing a course of instruction in any recognised institution, or, (d) an assessment to income-tax in

the previous year, or a declaration to the effect that he is liable to pay income-tax during the current year, or, (e) being a discharged, retired, or pensioned military officer of the Nayar Brigade or of His Majesty's Army or Navy residing in Travancore.

The qualifications for the Rural Constituency are that the elector should be: (a) a registered holder or an Inamdar of land the annual value of which is Rupees five or more; or one who (2) is a tenant holding land the annual value of which is Rupees five or more; or, (3) is a Kudiyan (ryot) holding land the annual value of which is Rupees five or more; or, (4) was in previous years assessed in a Municipality included in his constituency to a building or land-tax of not less than Rupees three or was assessed to a professional tax, or, (5) (6) (7), the same as (c) (d) and (e) of above. It is a matter of pride to the Government and the people of Travancore both alike that women are granted not only the suffrage of franchise but also that of holding office.

Even a hasty perusal of the rules and regulations of the new Council will suffice to show that while its powers may appear at present to be under limitations, there is a vast scope for expansion and if only the members are strong, patient, persisting and far-visioned, the Government of Travancore could be easily moulded in no distant future to a Government "of the people, by the people and for the people" with the additional advantage of the chastening influence of a loving Sovereign who being above politics, is also above parties and could from his high pedestal always give not only a stabilising but also a formative power to the contending forces of democracy. The myriad-headed "demos" may be softened in course by the one feeling heart of a common devotion to the ruling house. For this increased opportunity in the responsibilities and powers of the State which as it should be it is the love and loyalty of the people, not a militant exhibition of their rights has won, Travancore owes much to its considerate Sovereign and dutiful and painstaking Dewan. And a grateful people will enshrine in their memory the names of Rama Varma and Raghaviah and pass them on to their posterity, for, when Time will record in its course these names in its back pages, their work and service will always push them forward and keep them evergreen.

HYDRO-SCHEMES AND LAND ACQUISITION.

We are indebted for the following note dated 25th July to the courtesy of the Director of Information, Bombay:

"May I refer you to an editorial note in your issue of 18th June headed "Hydro-Electric Schemes and Land Acquisition"? You refer there to a statement made that ryots whose land was submerged as the result of the Andhra Valley scheme were paid the price of the land plus an equivalent sum to cover the cost of resettlement. In other words, that the Company had to pay the price of the land twice over. The article goes on to enquire whether, in view of this, the Mulshi Peta ryots are being treated more unfavourably than those of the Andhra Valley. I have made enquiries on the subject and the facts are these:—

The payment of double compensation was originally suggested and agreed to in the Andhra Valley Scheme. But it was contemplated that the compensation would be fixed under the old system which provided for a rate of 25 times the land assessment plus 15 per cent for compulsory acquisition. When, however, the time came for the land to be acquired, it was apparent to Government that, having regard to the large increase in land values, the fixing of the compensation at 25 times the land assessment plus 15 per cent for

compulsory acquisition plus an equivalent sum for re-settlement i. e. double compensation, was not so advantageous to the ryot as the form of compensation which was subsequently agreed to. This was based upon the annual value of the produce and the rates fixed were :

Ambemohr	...	Ra. 400 per acre	} Plus 15 p. c. for compulsory acquisition.
Sal	...	" 225 "	
Jirayat	...	" 85 "	

together with a bonus of—

15 per cent.	on Ambemohr
20	" on Sal
and 25	" on Jirayat.

This works out, not at 25 times the land assessment but in the case of Ambemohr, for example, at something like 160 times.

The system of double compensation having been shown to be less favourable than the plan eventually adopted, the question of double compensation was not raised in the Nira Mula project. And the Mulshi Peta terms are even better than the Andhra Valley ones, namely :—

Ambemohr	Ra. 478	} Plus 15 p. c.
Sal	...	...	" 304 "
Jirayat	...	...	" 48 "

In addition to this, the Company offered as bonus to any one who agreed to part with his land voluntarily the following additional sums :—

Ambemohr	...	Ra. 72 per acre.
Sal	...	" 61 "
Jirayat	...	" 10 "

In addition, 1000 acres of rice land were found in the Nasik District and offered to the people, but no one so far has agreed to take land in compensation, although every effort has been made to persuade the people to take this land and Government has promised to take parties of patils to see it and to help the people to re-settle on them.

You will see, therefore, that although double compensation was originally provided for in the agreement with the Tata Company, it was not adopted because it was found that payment based on prices plus a bonus was very much more favourable to the people dispossessed than compensation on the hitherto accepted principle of 25 times the value of the land assessment plus 15 per cent. plus the payment of an equivalent sum to Government for purposes of resettlement if suitable land could be found. You will also see that the terms offered to the Mulshi Peta people were even better than those given under the Andhra Valley agreement.

WHITE AUSTRALIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

Sir,—As an Anglo-Indian, and as one who has lived in the Northern Territory for two consecutive years, I feel I ought to express my views upon this burning question—the White Australia policy.

If it were possible, White Australia would undoubtedly be a very good thing for us ; but I contend that it is not possible to develop the north without coloured labour. I say this, knowing the conditions first hand. The public have been grossly misled, perhaps not intentionally, but due to a shirking of facing the facts. For instance, with regard to the climate, from time to time politicians have been up north on tours of inspection, but, as far as I know, they have always chosen the coolest months of the year. A very different impression would be obtained if the trip were made in the hot weather, with the thermometer registering 120 degrees or more in the shade ; not that I wish to impose that unpleasant experience upon our worthy Prime Minister.

Then, again, data ought to be collected of every enterprise that has been undertaken in which constant outdoor manual labour is necessary. In almost every case " insolvent " would be written down. By the same token it is strange that we have heard no mention of the hundreds of tons of rusty old-machinery, boilers, and cranes and mining gear of every description. It is lying there, piled up for about a mile beside the railway line. It has been there exposed to the weather for scores of years, since company after company—financed by British capital—went bankrupt, a colossal monument to the fate of White Australia for the Northern Territory. It is a significant fact that while I resided there the only mine paying its way was a goldmine owned and worked by Chinese. If this data were collected the eyes of the public would be opened to the futility of continuing to waste money in future schemes for the north without coloured labour and thereby leaving undeveloped its wonderful wealth, of which some foreign Power would ultimately get the benefit.

It would be an interesting experiment to settle 100 farmers up there, thousands of miles from civilisation, give them every chance, and see the result. The result is a foregone conclusion—too doleful a picture to think about. You cannot realise what they would have to contend with, and what a living hell for people unsuited to the climate. But for natives of India it would be a veritable paradise—accustomed to the climate and to a handful of rice for daily sustenance, if need be. If allowed to settle in the Northern Territory in some subordinate capacity they would soon form a happy community, with a hundred and one castes and religious interests, that only those who have lived in India can understand. What to a white man would be a miserable pittance, to them would be wealth undreamed of. By this means the wonderful resources of the north could be developed to the advantage of Australia and of the Australian taxpayer, to the advantage of the loyal Indian, who, we should always remember, belongs to the same branch of the human race as ourselves—the Aryan stock—who, physically and mentally is of our type, who has a religion, literature, and written history far older than ours, and of whose country we have the freedom, and, finally, to the advantage of the British Empire, of which we are both fellow-members.

I am, etc.

June 16.

W. P. CLIFFORD.

SHOULD ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN BE DISINHERITED ?

Justice Non-Brahmin Daily, Madras.

Under the auspices of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association a meeting was held in Anderson Hall on the evening of July 20th with Mr. Subrahmanya Pillai M. A. M. L. in the chair. The meeting was not well attended, although the topic discussed was of great public importance.

Mr. K. Vaitunta Rao spoke on "should illegitimate children be disinherited." The lecturer, in the course of his speech, said :

Some of them had noticed that there was an attempt to introduce a bill in the Legislative Assembly by which certain class of illegitimate children who inherited property would be disinherited. The idea contained in disinheriting such illegitimate children was nothing but primitive and selfish. Referring to Mr. Reddi's Bill he said it was to disinherit illegitimate children—children born of illegitimate unions—unions formed out of illegal marriage. The speaker said that there was not much difference between legitimate children and illegitimate children, and added that there were many cases of marriage which were recognised by law as legitimate but

still illegitimate. What was the difference, then between legitimacy and illegitimacy as regards children? So certain things that law recognised were immoral. Law and morality were therefore not identical. Law constantly changed. Law and morality had no unanimity. What could be the motive for bringing into force such a bill?—He must say that he did not know. Elsewhere in Western countries, viz Germany and Hungary recognised illegitimacy of children. In Austria-Hungary illegitimate children had every right over their legitimate brethren. In Norway they were trying to efface the difference between legitimacy and illegitimacy, and there were as many legitimate children as illegitimate ones. This kind of Bill to improve morality was a punitive measure. If the illegitimate child was to suffer for the sin of his foolish father, it was really very cruel. From the point of view of morality, a greater penalty must be imposed on the parents and not upon the children. Therefore it seemed whichever way one worked at it, it was a step backwards. Whenever there was an attempt to bring law backwards we must take the opportunity to protest against it. So every one of us ought to stand in front against the Bills. Mr. Somasundaram Pillay said that Manu was in favour of treating illegitimate children on an equal footing with their legitimate brethren, and concluded that advocating disinheritance of illegitimate children was nothing but unreasonable and even the law as it stood was unjust.

A young gentleman said that from the point of view of prudence justice and economics such children must be saved.

Mr. O. Kaudaswami Chetty supported the view taken by the previous speakers.

The Chairman who, on rising was cheered, said that they could not disinherit such children and explained the various aspects of the question. With a vote of thanks to the lecturer and Chairman the meeting dispersed.

Illinois University Studies in Social Sciences: We have referred more than once before to the excellence of the publications of the University of Illinois, U. S. A., in its Department of Studies in the Social Sciences. The two latest which we have received relate to the "War Powers of the Executive in the United States" and "English Government Finance, 1485-1558." Each of these volumes is a careful and conscientious piece of work, well-printed and got-up, and must find a place in every library of the social and political sciences. Something of the kind is attempted by the Calcutta University, under the inspiring guidance of its scholarly Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asatosh Mukherji, but none at all in the other Indian Universities.

Congress Work in Sind: The *Sind Observer* of the 10th instant has a leading article in which it speaks dolefully of the progress made with the Bardoli programme in that province. "It must be sadly confessed that the patriotism of the Sindhi, which so easily inspired him to voluntary martyrdom, has not, in the same measure, roared like a fire of thorns when it came to the very dull and very unemotional work of the new programme. Nations do not live by poetry and pyrotechnics alone; prose and plain work are needed in a large degree to build and to renew their existence and vitality." Our contemporary examines the advance made in each item and shows that it is unsatisfactory. How are we going to put more life into the work without some radical change of programme?

Wasteful Publicity: "Why is the Director of Information, Bombay," asks *New India*, "circulating to the Press a copy of the speeches of the Prince and the Premier, delivered at the recent

dinner in England in honor of the Prince of Wales? The copy that we have received does not add to the information that Reuter had already given us by cable. If the Publicity Department has not enough work to do, it need not worry itself and worry others with needless work: it may, at least, cease to be a burden on the tax-payer, and such useful work as it is expected to do may well be transferred to a cheaper staff connected with the Government Office." Even more glaring examples of wasteful publicity are to be found among the Punjab communiques—often a small slip of printed paper, enclosed in a long cover. One of the latest conveyed the important information that the roof of a jail was damaged by a storm and was being repaired! It omitted to say, what was really relevant, whether prisoners were kept in the roofless jail pending repairs.

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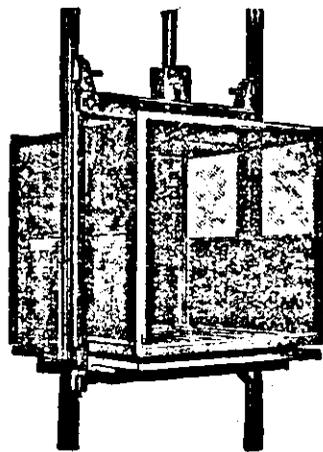
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Vol. XXXII.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, AUGUST 6, 1922.

No. 49

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

10:

Rallying the Services. There can be no better proof of the rawness of the men at the India Office helm in London than their practice of rattling the sabre of which we have had two instances last week. Lord Winterton, the Under Secretary for India, told the House of Commons, and the statements were duly cabled to India, that the Congress Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee had not been arrested, because the Government of India had not been able to find anything dangerous in its activities. Another equally supererogatory statement of his, was that the *Vanguard* having been prohibited by the Government of India, any newspaper reproducing any seditious article from it, would be prosecuted. We wonder if the India Office understands how such declarations impress the Indian mind. The excuse that Lords Winterton and Peel are new to their work, will not avail the Prime Minister whose speech on the Indian Civil Service Debate in the House of Commons, will be read with feelings of astonishment by those who have pinned their faith to the Montagu reforms. Mr. Lloyd George declared that the whole thing was an experiment which *a priori* was unsuited to Indian conditions. "India has never been governed on these principles before. The Native States are not governed on these principles now." But India was never governed from six thousand miles away before and a bad Government on the spot may be a less evil than the best of Governments at the Antipodes. From a larger point of view, British rule in India is itself an experiment. And if the experiment of Reforms fails, we for one do not see much chance of the success of the experiment of British rule. It seems that the Indian Civil Service is very uneasy about its pay and pensions, and the uneasiness is quite intelligible having regard to the depleted finances of the country. The dangerous financial situation is due not to the Reforms but to military expenditure and to increased remuneration to these very Services. The real difficulty, as that excellent friend of India, Sir William Joynson Hicks declared, was the Indianisation of the Services which, he said, was proceeding at such a rate that many were beginning to be apprehensive with regard to the maintenance of British responsibility in the Government of India. The *London Times* deprecates the debate but advises

India "to allay by generous treatment the bitter heart burnings now existing, more especially to all eliminated by the Indianization of the Service." In other words, India should purchase from these gentlemen her freedom to employ her own sons in her service. The *Times* feelingly remarks that "men who have faced the problems of meeting children's school bills, finding money to save their wives' health, and providing for the future are not to be soothed with rhetoric." The Indian has had to face all these problems *plus* that of finding the salaries and pensions of the English Services, and our contemporary will not expect him to be soothed with rhetoric either.

Treatment of Political Prisoners: Government for the first time met with a defeat in the Bombay Legislative Council, which is unmistakably in the nature of a severe censure. The actual majority against them was only one, but as there are about seventeen officials in the Council who, no doubt plumped against the resolution for the better treatment of political prisoners, the real voting should be taken to be 31 non-officials for the resolution against 13 opposed to it. Apart from the voting, it must be clear to every one, who does not keep his eyes and ears deliberately shut, that public opinion in Bombay is overwhelmingly against the attitude taken up by Government spokesmen on this question. On the morrow of the Government defeat in the Legislative Council, the *Times of India* warned Government that they were drifting dangerously away from the main current of public opinion and called upon His Excellency the Governor to take the matter in his own hands and bring Government policy in line with sober opinion. It is not altogether the fault of the Government that they have remained in ignorance of the real state of public opinion. The promoters of the recent Liberal Conference, held in Bombay, cannot but be held responsible for conveying a misimpression to Government by their attitude and efforts to bring up the question of the treatment of political prisoners before the Conference. Then the Indian members and Ministers of Government have a special responsibility for not apprising His Excellency of the acute public sentiment so ably voiced by Mr. Purshottamas Thakurdas, the Chairman of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, in the Legislative Council. Mr. Hayward, to put it mildly, proved utterly unequal to his task, and his defence of Government betrayed a lamentable incapacity to get beyond the routine of departmentalism. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the other Government Member who supported him, skimmed the surface of his subject as a swallow skims the lawn. We earnestly trust that His Excellency the Governor will act in the spirit of the *Times of India's* advice, but we can not overlook the fact that there is a very general impression that the Government attitude is largely the Governor's personal attitude in this question.

Mahatma Gandhi and Newspapers: There were a number of questions regarding the treatment of

Mahatma Gandhi in jail at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council. One of these related to the supply of newspapers, and the Home Member, Mr. Hayward, stated that he was not supplied with them. He was asked whether the General Member of Government, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, had publicly stated that Mr. Gandhi was being supplied with newspapers, and Mr. Hayward replied that there was no official statement at all on the subject, but that there was a statement by the Director of Information that newspapers had not been asked for, and it was possible that some members got the impression that they would be supplied if asked for, but no newspapers were asked for by Mr. Gandhi. The President intervened at this stage, with the remark that members, who appeared on political platforms, became free lances and it was for the Home or General Member to answer the question. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the General Member, then said:

It was not a fact that he had made any statement about newspapers being supplied or not, at the Conference referred to. No statement had been made to the open Conference but the matter was mentioned at a meeting not open to the public, being a committee of that Conference. All that he stated was when the question of supplying newspapers was mentioned he believed there would be no difficulty in the way of supplying newspapers if they were asked for. He had then in mind the communication issued by the Director of Information.

We take the report from the *Bombay Chronicle*. The *Times of India* does not report the supplementary questions and answers relating to the General Member's statement. Sir Chimanlal's statement evoked a letter to the *Bombay Chronicle* which we reprint. What we should like to ask here is, what precisely is the character of a statement by the Director of Information? Is it official or has it only a personal character? Does it represent the view of Government or of Mr. Gennings? Mr. Hayward's distinction between an official statement and the one by the Director, implies that the latter's communications must be regarded as embodying Mr. Gennings' own private knowledge or opinion. If so, we may say without the least reflection on Mr. Gennings, who is a straightforward English gentleman, that there are other people whose knowledge and opinion of things Indian are fuller and more weighty, and there is no reason why his should be specially designated and remunerated by Government as "Information." No, we can only regard Mr. Hayward's attempt at a distinction as a mannerism which the Hon. Home Member has of making distinctions where there are no differences. Did Mr. Hayward and Sir Chimanlal ask Mr. Gennings, before they made a scape-goat of him, what he himself intended when he said in his statement that Mr. Gandhi had not asked for newspapers. We happened to talk over this matter with the Director only three or four days before the questions in the Council, and he honestly thought that if Mr. Gandhi had asked for newspapers, he would have got them. But Mr. Hayward said that the Mahatma is not supplied with newspapers, in pursuance of the recommendation of the Jail Committee. If Mr. Gennings was misled, who misled him? There is one other question, before we leave this matter. If a member of the Government like Sir Chimanlal himself says that he was misled by the Director's statements, how can the general public be expected to attach excessive importance to them?

The Right of Interference with Indian States. The question of the right of interference of the British Indian Government in the affairs of Indian States, is discussed at length in a contributed article which we publish today. By a coincidence, we received last week a communique from the Bombay Director of Information, explaining the circumstances in

which the Thakor of Rupal is being detained during the pleasure of the Governor-in-Council for alleged complicity in the murder of one of his relatives. As the Thakor as a ruling Chief was not amenable to the jurisdiction of any Court in British India, Government appointed a special Commission to try him and in connection with this appointment, the communique refers to the right of interference with the affairs of Indian States in this Presidency which the Bombay Government exercised in constituting the Commission. The communique states: "This right is based upon the principle that the commission of crimes by a ruling chief in his State gives justifiable cause for discontent on the part of his subjects and is likely to lead to disturbances affecting the interests and responsibilities of the Paramount Power. These considerations requiring that a ruling Chief who instigates the murder of one of his subjects should be removed from his State and placed in confinement." The principle, if it is one, is all right, but why draw the line at murder? Are there no other crimes which equally give justifiable cause for discontent on the part of the subjects of a State, — arbitrary imprisonment, confiscation of property, deportation and so on? If any ruling Chief is guilty of any of these acts except by due process of law, he is sowing the seeds of discontent in his state and the Paramount Power should not wait till he commits a murder to crown his other atrocities. We are sure that every reputable Chief will subscribe to this simple proposition.

Mr. Sastry on White Australia: The *Hitavada* of Nagpur in vites our attention to a passage in a speech which Mr. Sastry made at Adelaide. He said:

India acquiesced in the arrangement, and would seek neither to mitigate its consequences nor to attempt to break it. He would dissent, however, from Mr. Gunn's statement that the policy was in the interests, not merely of Australia, but also of India. They did not think it was in the interests of Indians and he would go farther and say that perhaps on a far-sighted Imperialistic standpoint, it was not even in the interests of the Empire. However, they desired to keep those views to themselves. He only mentioned it so that it should not be thought that he acquiesced in the proposition.

This is quite correct except that we do not see, why we should keep these views to ourselves. But the very fact that Mr. Sastry had to make this explanation shows that he himself felt that his earlier utterances on this point had made him liable to be misunderstood. It is a pity that such a situation should have arisen.

The Ramakrishna Math Publications: We have to acknowledge with thanks the following recent publications of the Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. The Sanskrit text, paraphrase with word for word literal translation, English rendering and comments by Swami Sharvananda of the Isha, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Mundaka, Mandukya and Taittiriya Upanishads. These handy little books with their scholarly editing, translation and clear printing, should have a large circulation. The other six standard Upanishads are also to be published in this series. Two volumes entitled Sri Ramakrishna, the Great Master, also by the same author, contain an account of the Paramahansa's childhood and boyhood up to the age of sixteen and a narrative of the different *sadhana*s or devotional practices observed by him. The second volume which gives the latter, is a remarkable addition to the known varieties of religious experience. The same may be said of the English translation of the Bengalee life of the saint, Durgacharan Nag, a devoted follower of the Swami, now published for the first time. All these books are got-up with the care and accuracy characteristic of the Math's publications.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 6, 1922.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN STATES.

The contribution which we print to-day on the relation between Indian States and the British Government of India is from an Indian publicist who has written much on Indian States problems. We publish it as voicing an extreme view of what should, in the interests of the people of Indian States, be the relation of the Paramount Power to them. We dissent largely from this view, but before explaining in what way, it is well to clear away some of the minor issues raised by the article. To begin with, we think that the writer has read too much into Lord Willingdon's words—much more, we are sure, than the Chief to whom they were addressed understood by them. Lord Willingdon is a high Imperial official, but he is not in the least an 'Imperial bouncer' and if His Excellency's manner may seem a little too exuberant for the occasion, it is at any rate a much less serious defect than the opposite error. Our Chiefs, themselves adepts in complimentary hyperbole, are not in the least likely to have their heads turned by being on an occasion of rejoicing spoken of as friends and colleagues by the representative of the Suzerain Power. Moreover, although the things themselves persist, such terms as Empire, Suzerain, Paramount Power and their correlatives of Feudatories, Tributaries, Protected States and so on, have gone out of the political fashion everywhere except in Germany where a Republic insists upon continuing to be known as an Empire. Elsewhere, the correct thing, since the world was made safe for democracy and unsafe for all else by the Treaty of Versailles, is to camouflage actual autocracy in its various manifestations as Mandatories, Advisers, Trustees and other designations carefully designed to conceal the grim reality. In the next place, our contributor's reference to the smallness of the area and the revenues of Banganapelle, is not relevant. By international etiquette, all States are of equal status—the British Empire and Belgium, the United States of America and the Swiss Republic. The third point is of a somewhat different character, but as it is equally not strictly relevant to the main issue, we may dispose of it also here. Referring to the representation of the Indian States on the League of Nations, our contributor says that it is meaningless as the States have no international life. This is equally true of British India, and it is still a moot point how far the Self-governing Dominions have acquired an international existence independent of Great Britain. Professor Keith in his "Dominion Home Rule in Practice", referring to the membership not only of the British Empire, but also of the four Dominions and India, in the League of Nations, accounts for the position of India as "being motivated by the fact that she has been assured in due course self-government on the Dominion model." Some

such inference seems necessarily to proceed from the inclusion of a representative of the Indian States also.

Discussing in its historical aspect the relation of the British Power to the Indian States, our contributor points out that, while in the older Acts of Parliament the latter were treated as Allies, in an Act of 1889 the relation was changed into one of "suzerainty" on the part of the former, in conformity with the assumption of the Imperial title by the Queen in 1877. Our contributor condemns the assumption as an act of injustice to the Princes, though the whole trend of his article is that the implications of that measure have not been since carried out completely in the actual relations of the British Power to Indian States, and that the most recent policy, as he infers from Lord Willingdon's speech, seems to be to go back upon it altogether. That brings us to the heart of the question. What is the right policy of the British Government to Indian States? If the Dalhousian policy of painting all India red had been carried out, there would have been no problem of Indian States, as there would have been no Indian States. Since this was not done—and it was not done because it could not be done—what is the right policy—just to the States and their ruling Houses, and beneficial to the country as a whole—to follow in the relations of the British Power with Indian States? On the whole, we are inclined to think that the logic of events is working out the right policy in this important matter as in others, and that we can do most and best for the States and for India—the good of the part is the good of the whole—by working in line with it rather than by working against it. The idea of improving the condition of the people of the Indian States over the heads of their rulers, is impracticable and, what is more, does not find favour with the bulk of the people of these States. We know that there are a few sincere men in these States—rather of them—who favour this idea almost to the point of fanaticism. A little thought will convince them that the chances of reforming the States in spite of their rulers, must become increasingly chimerical with the increase of popular Government in British India. What an imperious Viceroy like Dalhousie could have done with a stroke of the pen in autocratic days, cannot be attempted by the most powerful Minister in a responsible Government. The more intellectual and enlightened Chiefs fully understand this, and their gratification at the introduction of responsible Government in British India—as illustrated by the recent complimentary banquet to Mr. Montagu in London—is, it is no injustice to them to say, not wholly unconnected with their shrewed realisation of the fact that responsible Government in British India is the best security for the ordered development of their own people. A few unenlightened Chiefs may seek to thwart the march of political progress in British India by intriguing with political factions under the guise of social amelioration. But the great Indian rulers thoroughly understand that their status must rise and full with the status of the Indian

people and that, among the nations of the world, they will be nowhere if their country and countrymen are not held in high esteem as worthy compeers of the best of them. There are patriotic men on Indian *soils* to-day, who are working as zealously for Hindu-Mahomedan unity, for the removal of untouchability, for Swadeshi and for the abolition of drink, as the most convinced believer in the Bardoli programme. They are a small minority at present but they are the type to which the whole order must in course of time approximate.

When India achieves full responsible Government, the political influence of the Government of India, of which the States are rightly jealous, will be converted into a national influence which they cannot but gladly welcome. This influence will be irresistible because it will operate not through Political Agencies but through deep social strata upon which the solidarity of India—British and Indian—securely rests. In fact, the character of the problem itself will be fundamentally changed—it will be no longer a political problem between units each anxious to maintain its individuality against the others—it will have become a national and domestic problem where each is proud to yield in order that the beauty, the symmetry and the harmony of the whole may be complete. It follows that just as it is necessary to make the minorities in British India feel that their interests are safe in the hands of the majorities, it is also necessary to make the Princes and peoples of the States feel that *their* rights and sentiments will never suffer at our hands. This does not mean that we can do nothing but look on till we get full responsible government, while our fellow-countrymen in the States suffer from the dual autocracy of the British Indian Executive and of their own Chiefs. We, in British India, must see to it that the British Indian Executive acts towards Indian States subjects in the Agency areas and elsewhere, in strict conformity with the law and principles which it is obliged to observe in British India. The people of the States have the right to say that we of British India cannot absolve ourselves of responsibility for the actions of our Executive Government in its relations to them. As regards the internal administration of the States, we think that the policy of withdrawing political control is a wise one, as it leaves the Chiefs the undivided responsibility for their administrations, good or bad. While, however, there can be no difficulty in giving effect to this policy in the large States with an organised administration functioning regularly in all departments, judicial, legislative and executive, we confess we are unable to suggest any simple means of bringing the small States under this rule. It will be found, in the long run, that the complete emancipation of the great States to sink or swim on their own merits, will do more to accelerate their progress than any spoon-feeding from outside. It is obvious that a Chief cannot give more political freedom to his subjects than he himself possesses, and though the idea of utterly emancipating them may seem dangerous to those who think like our contributor, we cannot ourselves see how otherwise it is possible for constitutional government to strike root in Indian States. For the rest, the mainstay of good government in Indian States as elsewhere must be the vigilance of public opinion guided by men of character, which, in the ultimate, means men who dare not lie.

INDIAN STATES AND THE PARAMOUNT POWER.

(Contributed.)

LORD WILLINGDON AT BANGANAPALLE.

We enter an emphatic protest against the indiscreet pronouncement made by His Excellency Lord Willingdon on the occasion of the installation of the Chief of Banganapalle. This is a small state in the district of Karnul in the Madras Presidency, with an area of 255 miles, a population of 40,000 souls and a revenue slightly over 2½ lakhs. The Chief does not enjoy hereditary or personal salutes and is not a member of the Chamber of Princes. His estate is as big and as important as that of an ordinary jaindar or Talukdar or a Saranjaindar or Inamdar existing in British India. We are, therefore, extremely surprised to find a responsible officer of the Crown treating this small chief as a potentate of full sovereign power in Europe. His Excellency stated: "I do not come here as the representative in this Presidency of the paramount power to lay down rules and regulations for your guidance but as an ambassador from His Majesty the King Emperor to wish you godspeed on assuming the full control of the administration of your State." The language used marks a distinct departure from that adopted on such occasions up to the present time. We do not know what conception Lord Willingdon had of the constitutional position of an Indian State. Does he treat such a State as a foreign State enjoying full rights of sovereignty having an international position and entitled to the privilege of receiving ambassadors at its Courts? If so, we humbly take the liberty of stating to His Excellency that he is entirely mistaken in this view. If His Excellency had only cared to read the definition of India contained in the Government of India Act, he would have easily perceived that Princes and Chiefs of India are under the suzerainty of His Majesty the King Emperor of India. The Indian States were described in Acts of Parliament as "the dominions of Princes and States of India in alliance with His Majesty." But by the Interpretation Act 52 and 53 Vict. of 1889 the word 'suzerainty' had been substituted for the word 'alliance' contained in the previous definition of Indian States. The King of Great Britain and Ireland assumed the title of Emperor of India in defiance of all treaty rights and without the consent of all the Princes and Chiefs or the people of Indian States. The discussion in Parliament on the Royal Titles Bill abundantly discloses the pretensions on which this title is based. But this was assumed to denote the *de facto* relations of the Crown towards the Indian States. Rightly or wrongly this position has been assumed. It has been recognised by Parliament and has been acquiesced in by all the Princes and Chiefs in India. Mr. Tupper has briefly stated that "the States are subordinate to the Government of India and that Government is subordinate to Parliament. The States are therefore subordinate to Parliament though it does not legislate for them. The States may also be subordinate to the intermediate

authorities, officers of the Government of India or of the Provincial Governments or more directly to the Provincial Governments themselves."

INDIAN STATES AND BRITISH RULE.

It is, therefore, highly impolitic and extremely ridiculous that an experienced officer of His Majesty's Government like the Provincial Governor of Madras should declare that he is an ambassador at the Court of a petty Chief, divesting himself of all the authority and position of the representative of the paramount power. If the point had been only one of using the language of hyperbole befitting oriental phraseology adopted by one Prince towards another, nobody would have cared for the use of this expression. But as it portends a distinct change in the angle of vision perceptible in the treatment of Indian Princes, it is necessary to expose the fallacy of this position. We know that it has been the fashion of some Princes to advocate in season and out of season the policy that the British Government should not interfere in their internal affairs and that they should not meddle in the affairs of British India. This appears superficially plausible but if we review the history of the relations of the paramount power towards the Indian States such a theory is entirely untenable. The Indian States and the Government of India are not so detached in their constitutional relations as to treat one another as if they were independent States of equal footing. The Indian States are subordinate to the Crown. They owe the duty which a feudal State owes to the suzerain power. They are accountable to the suzerain power for the good government of the territories entrusted to their charge. "From the point of view of the duty of good government, native rulers may be regarded as the agents or great hereditary officers of the British Empire at large for the administration of part of its varied possessions." This doctrine of mutual non-interference has been interestedly put forward by those Princes who are extremely chary of any interference in their administrations by the Political Department of the Government of India. But they conveniently forget the fact that they are responsible for the maintenance of good government not only to their subjects but to their Paramount Power. If this were not so, the position of the subjects of Indian States would be simply intolerable. Owing to the despotic character of their rule and the absolute sway which they enjoy over their subjects, they do not seem to possess the consciousness that they have to render account of their administration to their subjects. If under these circumstances these Princes labour under the misapprehension that the paramount power has no right to call them to account for good government in their States they would be hopelessly arrogant and the condition of the subjects would become appalling in the extreme. Such are the woeful consequences which would follow from the use of hyperboles in diplomatic relations with Feudatory States.

THE SWING THE PENDULUM.

There has been a decided change in the treatment of Indian States since the beginning of the war. The old let-alone policy has been abandoned. The distrust and want of confidence entertained about them

is not betrayed nowadays. They are complimented with high sounding phrases of friends and allies by responsible British statesmen in their speeches and writings. So far as it was necessary to cajole these Princes and Chiefs into the belief that they were the pillars of the Empire with a view to exploit all their resources in the interest of defence, everything was justified by the exigences of the occasion. After the cessation of the war, Government lavishly bestowed honours and salutes among the Indian aristocracy. No one was sorry for this though every one felt that the reward went to persons who did not suffer the brunt of the sacrifices made. The poor subjects of Indian States bore the whole burden. They contributed to the manpower and to the recruitment. From their pockets flowed the voluminous stream of monetary help in various directions. But their lot has not been improved even by an atom in the post-war distribution of honours, emoluments, compliments and felicitations. But even for such an unhappy result no one felt the slightest discontent as every subject of Indian States thought that it was his primary duty to incur any sacrifice in the defence of this Empire. The Government as a post-war reform inaugurated the Chamber of Princes to strengthen the position and to augment the dignity of the Indian Princes. This also was a one-sided act and did not show the slightest regard on the part of the paramount power to safeguard the interests of the subjects of Indian States whose fidelity and whose sacrifices undoubtedly deserved some recognition. The Government went a step still farther in nominating a member of this high order to the Imperial War Cabinet, to the Peace Conference and to the League of Nations. As a matter of fact, the representation of Indian States in the League of Nations is utterly meaningless. The Indian States have absolutely no international existence. They can not promote international co-operation or cannot achieve international peace and security by reason of their feudatory and subordinate position under the British Empire. They are a part of its colonial protectorate. By treaty obligations they cannot maintain any relations with foreign powers. They cannot conclude war or peace with any independent State. This position has been emphasised times out of number, and the selection of an Indian Prince to the League of Nations has no other effect except that of gratifying the vanity of Indian Princes and of affording them an opportunity of studying the world-wide problems discussed in that organisation which is the outcome of a huge and ambitious political conception. His Excellency Lord Reading has also stated that the object of these changes was to widen their horizon with a view that new ideas may emerge into their minds. But how many of them have benefitted themselves by this experiment? It has put a little wind into the tiny heads of this aristocracy always whining the old tale of privileges and they have not realised in the slightest degree the great responsibilities of an enlightened rule which the world-wide forces have ushered into existence and which have awakened consciousness in all people of freedom and self-deter

mination. The Indian Princes and Chiefs with the obsolete weapons of absolute power still believe that the world is moving in the same old style as it did in the bye-gone days of their illustrious predecessors.

WHERE ARE THE PEOPLE ?

This is the short history of the changed angle of vision perceptible in the treatment of Indian States. But this policy has not even in the remotest degree taken notice of the subjects of Indian States. The Government has been patting on the back the Indian Princes without doing its own duty as a suzerain power to ordain the betterment of the subjects of Indian States. The differential treatment shown to the Indian Princes, is making them still more autocratic and instilling into their heads ideas of false dignity, pride and self-importance. By a mistaken conception of treaty obligations, the paramount power is not plainly dictating to the Indian Princes what is expected of them by way of cooperation for the realisation of the ideal of responsible Government in this country. In the face of these facts the unmitigated adulation of a petty chief by His Excellency Lord Willingdon in calling himself an ambassador at his Court, is sure to strengthen the belief that these chiefs are as powerful and independent as the high contracting parties of the League of Nations. We therefore deplore that this utterance is thoroughly wanting in statesmanship and apt to foster false ideas about their dignity and power in the Indian Princes and will lead to accentuate the baneful influence of despotic rule.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION. III.

(BY BHISHMA.)

If once the Convention is appointed and accepted by Mr. Gandhi, non-co-operation is at an end. Mr. Sastri, though desirous of immediate action, has, however, pointed to a number of serious objections to it. He said that the boycott of the Prince of Wales organised by the non-co-operators "has estranged the sympathies of a good section even of our friends in Great Britain" and hence the time is not propitious at present. It is true that lapse of time might assuage the soreness but may it not be that a responsible deputation from the Central Legislatures will materially help in that direction? Mr. Sastri himself advocated a deputation of Liberals to England immediately for this very purpose. If properly appealed to, there can be little doubt that the Prince of Wales himself will rise to the height of his nobility and magnanimity and expressly desire that the British public should forgive and forget the insult offered to him by a section of the people in India and that the progressive British policy towards India should in no way be adversely influenced by it; rather, he would wish well of India in spite of the insult. We have such a precedent in the action of Lord Hardinge after the dastardly attempt on his life in Delhi. Again Mr. Sastri said that the British Cabinet and Parliament were greatly pre-occupied with the Irish, European and domestic problems and hence it was not a favourable time to make an effort. It may, how-

ever, be remembered that the epoch-making declaration of the 20th August 1917, was made while the pre-occupation due to the great war was no less than at present. Mr. Sastri further said, "Above all things, I dread the consequences, in the present state, of another disappointment, as India cannot have another big defeat in the constitutional direction"; though later on he says "I have told them (in England) that to wait longer than is absolutely necessary would be to invite disaster in India". The feeling of helplessness to take immediate action, however urgent and necessary to avoid the disaster, is quite as dreadful as the consequences of a failure in a free constitutional effort. At the worst, we would be no worse.

IS IT TOO EARLY ?

Another objection that may be urged is that it is too early to ask for further advance, since the last Reform Act has been in operation. But the Liberal Conference at Allahabad has already answered this and definitely asked for further advance. Even as early as last year, Mr. Mazumdar moved a resolution to that effect in the Central Legislature. Mr. Lloyd George has repeatedly said that nowadays progress was very rapid, decades being covered in years. So it looks pretty pedantic to stick to abstract time limits, irrespective of the progress made by the people and other considerations. With a view to make a direct appeal to the instincts of the British public Mr. Sastri desired that at the next elections, the Legislatures should be charged with a mandate from the electors. But is it necessary to wait till the next elections for that? Have the present Legislatures no such mandate? It may be said that they have. For, if they have a mandate for all that they have already done, say the repeal of repressive laws and so on, it may be claimed they have undoubted mandates on the question of further reforms. Farther, a specific mandate is necessary when a particular question is of a controversial character. But as far as Indians, of whatever shade of opinion, are concerned, the question of further advance towards Dominion Home Rule is not a controversial one. It may be urged that though it is a non-controversial one as far as the educated and vocal public is concerned, the masses of the people have not asked for such advance. This cannot, however, be sustained in view of the Congress propaganda, though the demand may not have been made under the Liberal banner. Mr. Sastri has said "May I yet again proceed to record in equally sincere terms my admiration of the way in which the movement (N. C. O.) has carried, to the remotest parts of the country, the gospel of Swaraj". Thus the present Legislatures are fully competent and mandated to ask for Swaraj. Perhaps, they have an advantage over the next ones, when some non-co-operators may be expected to enter the Councils or even capture them. The present Councils consist purely of Liberals and co-operators. Ample testimony has been paid by competent authorities to the sobriety and sense of responsibility displayed by them. These, therefore, represent the most sober and moderate opinion in the country, who cannot be accused of having been fools

yed into a false or extreme position, as might perhaps be said of the next Assemblies. Hence, the considered opinion of the present Councils must carry greater weight and conviction to the British people than that of the next.

AN IRISH PARALLEL.

It may still be urged that, unless we scotch non-co-operation in India, the Liberals will have no moral authority to ask for further advance. To this, it may be pointed out that Messrs. Griffith and Collins did not wait to scotch De Valera and the Irish Republicans before they concluded a treaty with Mr. Lloyd George for an Irish Free State. They hoped that the treaty itself would stamp out republicanism, though, it must be confessed, the hopes have not been realised, because the treaty came too late, when antagonisms between the peoples concerned had been allowed to proceed too far, which, happily, is not yet the case in India. In this connection it may be noted that the Government of no less a die-hard than Sir Reginald Craddock did not hesitate to repeatedly urge that "Delay or niggardliness in the grant of Reforms to Barmah as compared with India, may deeply wound the Barmah's *amour propre* and even throw him into the arms of the agitator and revolutionary". If Sir Reginald felt it prudent to take up that attitude, the Liberals who have certainly a greater stake in India, their motherland, will not be out of court, if they plead for immediate Swaraj, which they feel is overdue, if only on the sole ground of saving the country from being "thrown into the arms of the agitator and revolutionary". But, if a deputation is sent to England to press for the declaration, it will not, however, be simply to buy off the agitation. It will be asked on more solid grounds, which justify an immediate advance. Among the considerations that may be advanced the following may be mentioned :

THE MASS AWAKENING.

The political consciousness of the masses has been awakened. What Mr. Montagu desired his reforms to do, and hoped would do in decades in converting "the placid pathetic contentment of the masses" into a lively sense of political rights and responsibilities, has been accomplished within a shorter period by the intensive agitation of the non-co-operators. The depressed and oppressed classes, the labouring classes and women have become conscious of their disabilities, have become more bold and self-determining, as Mr. Montagu wished, and are striving to remove their grievances, though in so doing there have occurred the few inevitable aberrations. The progress in social, economic and religious matters, in spite of certain deplorable lapses and mistaken directions, has also been striking. Mr. Sastri has said "I must now proceed to give here an unaffected tribute in the way in which its (N. C. O's.) prestige and popularity were lent, although for the time being only, to the great social causes, that we have all at heart, the question for example, the elevation of the depressed classes, the removal of untouchability, the question of temperance, including nowadays of prohibition, and the all comprehensive subject, no less dear to our heart than to those of others, that of Swadesi" and, it may be added, of

Hindu-Muslim unity as well. Whatever be the absolute amount of progress achieved, relatively speaking, decades have been covered in the year or two. The Councils have justified themselves in an ample measure. It cannot be said that they have neglected or oppressed the interests of the inarticulate classes and the minorities. Thus the condition, which Mr. Montagu desired in the people before full responsible Government was granted, have greatly been achieved. The progress of the people and the conduct of the Councils form, therefore, the chief justification for Swaraj.

DANGER OF DELAY.

Diarchy has been loyally worked by the Liberals who accepted it as a transitory measure. It has now been found wanting in spite of the utmost good-will. Mr. Sastri declared that, as long as the present dual Government was worked as a unitary Government, it succeeded, but the moment its chief distinguishing character, diarchy, was asserted it failed. And hence it should be dropped. Where the Government have been worked as unitary one, nothing dreadful has happened to create doubts about its efficiency or suitability. These positive arguments may be augmented by negative ones as the consequence of a failure to grant immediate Dominion Home Rule. It would lead to disaster both, England and India. No Government which has, rightly or wrongly, forfeited the active co-operation of the people can govern long smoothly and efficiently without resorting to costly and unprofitable repression. This will but keep up the agitation in India in one form or other, tending ultimately to anarchy, when the grant of further responsibilities will be unwise and useless as it is today in Ireland. Disruptive forces will have worked too long to be easily controlled. The longer it is delayed the greater will be the estrangement between England and India and the transfer of power at a later stage will become increasingly difficult and dangerous, for there will then be room to fear that the new found power may be utilised to the detriment of the Commonwealth. The plight of Ireland is a warning that legitimate grievances should not be allowed to fester too long.

CALL THE CONVENTION.

India is watching what is happening in Egypt, Iraq and Mesopotamia and particularly Ireland. It is not high statesmanship to encourage India to believe that England discovered Egypt, Iraq and Mesopotamia fit for self-government but not India, that violent non-co-operation alone would tell on the British mind and that justice and peaceful persuasion have no effect on it. In the hands of really competent persons, a better and very much stronger case can be made out in favour of India, and pressed in on the notice of the British public by the deputation. If, however, it is found, after repeated and earnest attempts, that the non-co-operators will not accept the Convention idea and hence it is not essential to obtain the declaration, the first deputation idea may be dropped. But the Convention, however, should immediately be appointed and set to work. Such a course will rally round to the Liberal banner a large number of people who, for want

of some aggressive and promising activities on the part of the Liberals, have drifted into the N. C. O. camp. Thus preferably with, or regretfully without, the co-operation of the non-co-operators, the Liberals must pursue energetically their course towards Swaraj, in their own constitutional way, for that is the only way to save India, the motherland as much of the Liberals as of non-co-operators, from the dangers that threaten her immediate future. If the plan of immediate action here proposed is found acceptable, a large amount of preliminary work of a delicate nature in the way of organising, has to be done before the beginning of September next. Competent persons must first prepare the case properly with the help of the Liberal Ministers and Executive Councillors, conduct a strong agitation in the papers and by public meetings, secure the sympathy of Mr. Gandhi, the Viceroy and the leaders of all the parties in the Councils and outside, canvass support for the resolution to be moved in the Legislatures and even get the Viceroy to use his private and personal influence with the authorities in England and so on. It is hoped that the Liberals will lose no time before setting to work.

(Concluded.)

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, July 20th, 1922.

For the first time for nearly two years the Council of the League of Nations is sitting in London. Yesterday most of the time was devoted to the consideration of the problem of traffic in women and children. Certain measures were put forward for their protection on board ship and at the different ports the boats stopped at. Special attention was called towards women and girls seeking employment in theatres, music-halls, etc. The Committee also recommended that the United States should be invited to appoint a member to serve upon it, in view of the fact that America has shown a great interest in the suppression of such traffic. The Committee further recommended that competent authorities should be instructed to warn girls and women seeking employment abroad, such warning, it was suggested, could be given at the time of application for passport. The recommendations were accepted and, at the same time, on the advice of Holland it was decided that a German should be admitted to the Advisory Committee, because of the number of German women passing over German borders and through the ports of Germany. Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary General, made a statement on the question of deported women and children in Turkey and Asia Minor. Sir Eric said he had no reports dealing with the traffic there to be placed before the Committee, but he was expecting one from the Commission in Turkey which had just commenced its work there.

FAILURE OF THE HAGUE CONFERENCE.

Unless there is an eleventh hour saving the Hague closes its deliberations with failure written across it. Mr. Lloyd George announced yesterday afternoon that

unless there was some sudden change in the Hague, the British delegates will return this week. According to the "Westminster" the Russians are said to incline towards negotiation, not with Governments, but with practical business men. Certainly if they try this, business transactions will have to be put on a sound practical basis. Commercial firms may be quite willing to open up business relations with Russia, but they will only do so if they see a reasonable hope of success. But on neither side would the questions of debts and loans stand in the way in such transactions, so that it is quite possible private enterprise may step in and succeed where Governments fail. However, there is just the chance that something may still be done by representative bodies, for almost simultaneously with Mr. Lloyd George's announcement, a letter from the head of the Russian Delegation at the Hague was published. In this letter the President of the Conference was asked to convene a meeting between the Russians and the presidents of the three Sub-Commissions, in order that a discussion might take place to endeavour to find a basis for further agreement.

LONDON BIRTH CONTROL CONFERENCE.

We have just had a four days' Birth Control Conference in London. It has been well attended and a number of speakers of all countries and shades of opinion have been on the platform. This subject is one of those extremely difficult and delicate ones that most communities shrink from public discussion of it. Yet it is a subject that intelligent people have to deal with, the shrinking from discussion of a problem does not solve it. With increased longevity and a low mortality, the problem of population becomes a pressing one. It is generally said that a high birth rate provides a heavy death rate, and that wherever the average duration of life is low, there is over-population. If this be true, then it follows that, longevity and a low death rate, mean birth control in one form or another.

Probably one of the most interesting papers read at the Conference was one from Baron Ishimota of Tokyo. In this he declares that Japan is one of the most densely populated countries in the world, and that there are two solutions of the problem—one peaceful and one not. They hoped in Japan that war was impossible in view of the Washington Conference. This left the peaceful solution, and the peaceful method, meant emigration, importation of foodstuffs and birth control. The last named was the most effective, and apart from whether it was right or wrong, Japan would have to adopt it as a policy.

In Mr. H. G. Wells' speech on the subject, he said that birth control would put an end to mobs and mob rule, it would abolish mobs and crowds from the world, and all the waste, weariness, cruelty and disaster that mobs and crowds entailed.

Several clergymen and doctors spoke, and while many urged self-control as the highest ideal nearly all agreed that the begetting of children without reasonable means to provide for them was detrimental to the offspring, the parents and the state, and made for greater and more varied forms of vice, cra-

elty and immorality than human prevention of birth could ever do.

STRIKE OF TEACHERS.

The fourteen weeks' strike of teachers at Southampton is at last brought to an end. Even the children are probably glad that so long a holiday is at end. The extraordinary thing is that the prolongation of the strike did not mean the necessity to arrive at a compromise, but to act upon the data already in use in other towns of a similar character to Southampton. Nobody has gained anything, the Burnham scale was accepted as the settlement. 20,000 children have had fourteen weeks' idleness, and the teachers have suffered a considerable financial loss.

INSANITY AND CRIME.

The tremendous amount of criticism the Ronald True reprieve gave rise to, has at length found its goal in the statement that the Lord Chancellor has appointed a Committee to consider and report upon what changes if any are desirable in the existing law, practice, and procedure relating to criminal trials in which the plea of insanity as a defence is raised. The serious conflict of opinion seems to be between the lawyer and the pathologist, and though there can be very little doubt that in the interest of the community the legal doctrine is safer, yet the law itself may need modification, so as to enable it to deal justly and yet humanely with those members of society who form a danger to its peace and yet who cannot be accounted really responsible for their actions. The Committee will review the Criminal Lunatics Act of 1884, and enquire into the powers of the Home Secretary in cases where a convicted murderer has been reported by medical experts to be insane after sentence of death has been passed upon him.

SUNDAY GAMES.

By a fair majority the London County Council has decided to permit organized games on Sunday in the London parks and open spaces.

It is extraordinary how strong has been public opinion against Sunday games. Only those who are still in touch with the old Sabbatarian mind can have any understanding of the intensity of feeling old England has against allowing any form of amusement on the Sabbath Day. That the bulk of the people do not attend religious services, that large numbers of young men and women idle about the streets and would be much better, morally and physically, employed in a healthy game of tennis or some other form of recreation, makes no impression upon such minds. To them the seventh day is holy, and may not be used for anything else but the old recognised form of worship. To acknowledge any other way of spending the day would mean the denial of God, the downfall of Christianity and the loss of England. Even though the London County Council has now given its sanction to Sunday games, there are still local bodies who will fight against it. In East Ham, a densely populated working class district, the local Council has just refused to allow football games in their recreation ground on Sundays. It also refused the offer of kinema proprietors to give

shows on four Sundays guaranteeing £400 to the Hospitals out of their takings.

INDIAN WOMEN IN LONDON.

The Annual Meeting of the Indian Woman's Education Association took place last week. This Association is not generally known in India, but it has been in existence some years now, and has accomplished a little of the work it set out to do. The Association was founded in the year 1909 by Mrs. P. K. Roy and Mrs. P. L. Roy. Its first object was to extend and popularise education among Indian women by means of raising the standard of teaching in girls' schools. A committee was formed here composed of Indian and European ladies and gentlemen, and funds raised with the avowed object of enabling selected Indian women graduates to undergo a course of training in an English college and to make a special study of the best educational methods. During part of the war the Association lapsed, but became active later on. In 1917 the Gokhale Scholarship was inaugurated, but the funds only allowed for one scholarship a year. Three Indian graduates have so far received and used the scholarship and are at present holding responsible and good educational positions in India, a fourth is completing a special course here now.

This year a special windfall came to the Association in the shape of a bequest under the will of the late Miss S. S. Bonnerjee, this will possibly amount to about £5,000 which will be invested in the names of trustees, and the income applied for further grants of scholarship.

As the Association becomes more and more known, many applications for these scholarships come forward and it is hoped with the increase of funds by means of donations and new members being added to the Association, to be able to give scholarships to more applicants and thus increase the work. Members of the Association pay a minimum annual subscription of 10s. The Committee is elected annually, and meets regularly.

ROMAN CATHOLICS AND PROHIBITION.

To

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

One cannot but be surprised at the article quoted in your issue of July 23rd, taken from the *Catholic Leader*, Madras, regarding Roman Catholics and Prohibition.

Perhaps in India as in the United States, Roman Catholics will not line themselves with those who are fighting for total prohibition of the liquor traffic, but when the argument is carried out as in this case by saying, "Because its abuse is the cause of many evils, its use cannot be proscribed," it becomes absurd. If a thing is known to be evil, why should not its use be proscribed? Again, the writer says "Drastic legislation will not reform society as a whole and strict enforcement of prohibition is an impossibility and creates disrespect for law and order. A law which cannot be enforced should never be formulated". Was ever any argument weaker than this? What about laws against murder, theft arson and any other kind of lawlessness. No one of these is strictly enforced, these crimes against society are still com-

mitted but no one suggests that we do away with the laws which prohibit them.

Experience has proved that "to control and regulate the manufacture and distribution of liquor, is not at all an effective method of combatting the drink evil". It never has been controlled nor regulated and while we do not say that strict enforcement of the prohibitory law is easy, we do say that it can be enforced the same as any other law.

We are sorry that in India as in America, the same old statements must be refuted; the same battles fought and that those who ought to be always on the side of reform, of law and order, are not *always* to be found there.

The coming elections in the United States will be watched with great interest by those who wish for the triumph of right and of the will of the majority of the people, rather than of might and money coupled with the selfish desires of a minority. That there is a vast amount of money being spent and great efforts made by all the "wet" interests, to bring the law into disrepute, there can be no doubt, but of the ultimate triumph of Prohibition those who have watched the progress of the movement for the past twenty five years do not question.

India too will have the courage of her convictions and we shall see this land freed from this evil, which even our contemporary admits is the "frequent source of unhappiness, poverty, misery, divorce, suicide, insanity, disease and death." A rather long list of evils to wish to hold to because of the fear that "drastic legislation will not reform society as a whole". Wake up India!

A. R. FERGUSON

MAHATMA GANDHI AND NEWSPAPERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir.—I was surprised to read in the "Bombay Chronicle" that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, in answer to a question at Saturday's meeting of the Legislative Council, denied having told the Subjects Committee of the Liberal Conference held last May in Bombay that newspapers were supplied to Mahatma Gandhi in jail, and said that "all that he stated was, when the question of supplying newspapers was mentioned, he believed there would be no difficulty in the way of supplying newspapers, if they were asked for. He had then in mind the communication, issued by the Director of Information, to the effect that newspapers had not been asked for."

As I was present at the Subjects Committee, sat quite close to Sir Chimanlal, was, indeed, the proposer of the resolution which led to his statement—there being at the special request of the President no third speaker on it,—and at the close of Sir Chimanlal's speech, expressed satisfaction at his assurance, I can only think that Sir Chimanlal's memory failed him when he denied having said that newspapers were supplied to Mahatma Gandhi.

Following the suggestion of Mr. Hayward in reply to an earlier question, Sir Chimanlal said that he inferred from the statement of the Director of Publicity that no newspapers had been asked for, that if asked for, there would be no difficulty in the way of supplying newspapers. Let me remind Sir Chimanlal that, as soon as he sat down after speaking, I asked him if he was sure of his facts. He replied that Mr. Cowasji Jahangir (Junior), then a member of the Government of Bombay, had visited Mr. Gandhi in jail. I interrupted: "Is Mr. Cowasji in charge of jails?" "No" replied Sir Chimanlal, "Hayward is; but he (Mr. Cowasji) was asked to go, and he saw Mr. Gandhi." When I was called upon by the

Chairman to reply, I began by expressing satisfaction at the information given by the Hon. Member and admitted that the supply of books and newspapers went a great way towards meeting part of my resolution. I am too old a publicist to feel satisfaction or to express it, at any supposititious beliefs of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.

That the Subject Committee was not the Conference, and that the members of the public are not admitted to it—as if those who attended were not members of the public—are utterly irrelevant, except on the assumption that a Member of Government is entitled to say what he likes at such a Committee without being called to account for it.

As for Mr. Cowasji Jahangir's concern for the confidential character of the Subject Committee's proceedings, it may interest him to know that the first detailed comment on this matter was published by an organ of the Liberal Party.

The episode, in my opinion, shows clearly that it is extremely inconvenient in the interests both of Government and the public that members of the Executive Government should transform themselves into "free-lancers" to use the felicitous phrase of the Honourable President of the Council,

Yours, etc.,

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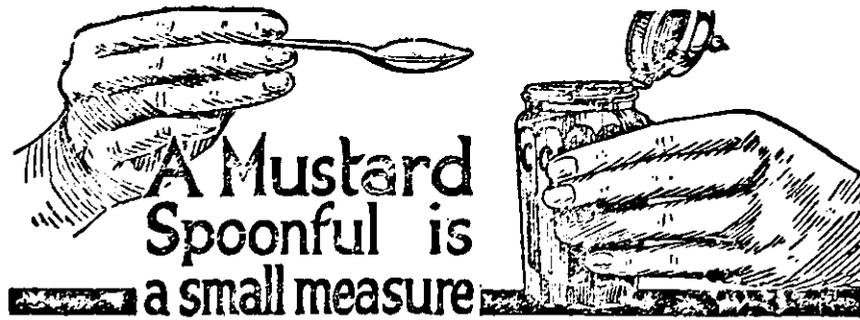
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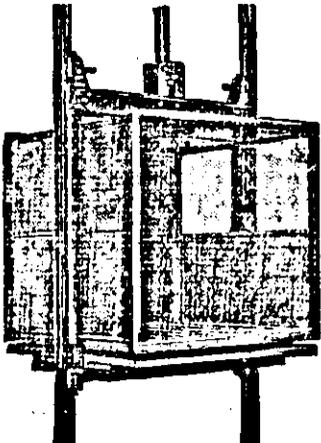
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BOMBAY—SUNDAY, AUGUST 13, 1922.

No. 50

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Prime Minister's Speech. The Liberals have been remarking on the failure of Non-Co-operation, but the Prime Minister's speech on the Indian Civil Service debate shows that they themselves are in no better case. The fact is, as we have said often, there can really be no two parties in Indian politics till we have full responsible Government. Till then, the fate of every party is bound up with that of every other party, and the collapse of the one necessarily means the collapse of the others. The pressure of vested interests on Government was relaxed so long as the Congress party was vigorous and united, and the Liberals enjoyed the full benefit of the relaxation. But with the discomfiture and disruption of the Congress party, owing to lack of leadership, the pressure of vested interests has regained its sway and the Liberals have not sufficient stamina in themselves to withstand it. Mr. Lloyd George is merely the weather-cock on the steeple to show which way the prevailing wind blows. It is waste of time to analyse his speech which really is a patchwork of irreconcilable statements. The only comment that need be made on it is that if India, after a hundred years of British rule, is not able, and will never be able, according to the Prime Minister, at any time to find Indians capable of doing the work of the 2500 Englishmen in the Civil, Police and Medical Services, the Reforms are not even an experiment but something foredoomed to failure. How little Mr. Lloyd George knows about the Indian system, is evident from his astounding remark that there is no Secretariat in India! The Indian Administration is famed far and wide for its top-heavy character, and some one was telling us the other day that in Bombay Castle alone there are so many Secretaries, Upper and Under, Deputy and Assistant, that the Governor is obliged to act in the spirit of the old lady, in the nursery rhyme, who lived in a shoe:

She had so many children,
She did not know what to do:
She gave them some broth without any bread
And whipped them all soundly and sent them to bed.

The fate of India does not depend upon Co-operation or Non-Co-operation but upon work upon the broad lines of such a social programme as that of Bardoli. In that work, we have no right to deny ourselves from

mere sentiment the use of any agency or instrument, be it the Legislative Councils, Municipalities, Universities or Law Courts that may be turned to account.

The Maharashtra Party and the Bardoli Programme: While we agree with the Maharashtra Congress party in urging the relinquishment of the boycott parts of the Congress Non-Co-operation programme, we are afraid that it does not appreciate at its true value the importance as the foundation of *Swaraj* of the main items of the Bardoli programme. With all his great intellectual power and patriotism, Lokamanya Tilak's defect was in not adequately recognizing the social aspect of the national problem. He persistently overlooked the fact that the activities of politics are ephemeral without a solid foundation of social justice and equity. Herein lay his vital difference with the late Mr. Ranade who stood for all-round progress. This is the reason why the non-Brahmins of Maharashtra stand aloof from the national movement. His followers seem to have inherited this weakness of the Lokamanya's outlook, when they make light of the Bardoli programme as the indispensable means to *swaraj*. The greatness of Mahatma Gandhi lies in the way in which he linked up the social and the political programmes, making the one an integral part of the other. Non-Co-operation was a temporary device for a temporary end, but the Bardoli programme represents the high-watermark of Indian statesmanship so far attained. Non-Violence and the items of the Bardoli programme, with the *Khaddar* enlarged to include all *Swadeshi*, hand-made or mill-made, are henceforth irrevocable parts of any national movement. The Liberal party as such has no social outlook and has its foundations in the quicksands of English politics. Thus at present the Congress programme alone combines social and political factors in its nationalism, but these are mixed up with Non-Co-operation which, however, has ceased to function as a practical part of it. It is bound to be formally put aside soon, and all who wish well for the Congress should work to this end.

The Deccan Sardars in Durbar: Addressing a Durbar of Deccan Sardars in Poona on Tuesday, His Excellency the Governor of Bombay pointed out that "it is essential that you and all of those who now have the right of electing a representative on the Bombay Legislature, should keep the representative fully alive to the needs and requirements of your constituency and see that he discharges adequately his responsibility towards you." The representative of the Deccan Sardars and Inamdars in the Bombay Legislative Council, is Sardar V. N. Mutalik on whose motion for the better treatment of political prisoners in this Presidency, Government was defeated at the last session of the Legislative Council. Even apart from that fact, we doubt if it is in keeping with constitutional usage for His Excellency to suggest to a constituency that its representative in the Council is not fully alive to the needs and requirements of his constituency and that it should see that he discharges adequately his responsibility to

wards it. Would the Governor General of Canada or Australia think of doing any such thing? If he did, and if the member in question resigned as a protest and was re-elected by his constituency, the Governor, it is obvious, would be placed in a position from which there is no constitutional way of escape for him. It would be scarcely less dignified if Sardar Mutalik should reply to his Excellency the Governor, and demand and obtain (or even fail to obtain) a vote of confidence from his constituency. If the growth of constitutional Government in this Presidency should proceed on sound lines, it is of the utmost importance that the head of the Government should scrupulously regard the limitations placed upon him by the best constitutional usage in other parts of the Empire. That Sardar Mutalik did not overstep the limits of his duty as representing the Sardars in the Council by moving the resolution, is clear from the fact that His Excellency himself thought the Durbar a suitable occasion to explain the position of his Government on the subject.

The University and Commerce. Speaking at the Sydenham College of Commerce last week, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar referred to the prejudice which for many years stood in the way of Commerce being recognised as a fit subject for University education. There has been a good deal of prejudice, of course, but every superstition and prejudice has had some rational origin, and so has the prejudice against Commerce being included in liberal education. It is, we think, closely connected with the prejudice which long existed in English society against tradesmen, and with the principle on which the commercial caste of the Hindus was placed after the priestly and warrior classes in the order of precedence. This prejudice or principle rests on the belief that certain professions and kinds of education, must be pursued and cultivated in the highest interests of society, though they may bring no rewards commensurate to the sacrifice involved—in fact, they may involve only sacrifice. These are classed as superior or liberal, because the hope of profit is but a subsidiary motive in them. The classes and types of instruction which placed profit first and everything else afterwards, naturally were given a lower rank, just as in the case of the soul and the body. Ruskin in his "Unto the Last" includes the Merchant's as one of the five great intellectual professions—an intellectual profession, in his view, being one in which it is the duty of every member of it "on due occasion to die for it." The soldier must die rather than leave his post in battle, the physician should die rather than leave his post in plague, the pastor (or publicist) should die rather than teach falsehood, the lawyer should die rather than countenance injustice. And the Merchant—what is his "due occasion" of death," Ruskin asks and in answer propounds his own system of political economy. We hope the Sydenham College of Commerce includes in its course "Unto the Last," for truly, as the Master says, "the man who does not know when to die, does not know how to live."

Murder of a Christian Worker: We reprint the *Dnyanodaya's* account of the circumstances in which Mr. Thomas Dobson of the United Free Church of Scotland met his death at the hands of an Arab at Jalna in the Nizam's Dominions. In the true spirit of Christ, Mr. Dobson sent a message to the Police officials who made enquiries into the crime that he refused to prosecute his murderer. Before going to Jalna, Mr. Dobson was manager of the Scottish Mission Industries at Poona. What made the new field most attractive to him, seems to have been the abject condition of the Indian Christians in and about Jalna and the great need for social work among them. Our contemporary reprints a

letter from Mr. Dobson which it published last September. In it, he wrote :

These communities at present are a hindrance and a stumbling-block. I have heard it said that 'Mane, thief and Christian mean the same thing,' and are our Christian young men content to let a condition of things prevail which gives an excuse, even the faintest excuse, for such a statement? It was to seek and to save them that Christ came. It is to seek and to save them that He sends all who will go. The 'saved' of His day could look after themselves. The 'saved' of our day can do so too. But these 'Little Ones'! They are the great opportunity of the young men of the Indian Church. Money from the West will not suffice for the work. Money is a feeble, a misleading, thing. Men are needed.

This appeal was addressed primarily to Indian Christians but the problem to which it refers concerns all Indians. The tragedy of the cruel murder of such a man is too horrible for words. The *Dnyanodaya* anticipates a possible outcry by remarking that "the event has no political significance of any kind." We wish it had also indicated in its comments that the occurrence is an isolated one of its kind and altogether rare in India. We are led to make this observation as the sub-heading of its article "The Noble Army of Martyrs" may mislead a hasty reader. We also print the summary of the Press Note issued by His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government regarding the murder.

The Hospital Scandal: The scandal of the eviction of a considerable number of patients from the principal Hospital in Bombay because the provision of funds in the Budget had been exhausted, calls for searching enquiry. After a day or two, they were re-admitted on the receipt of orders by wire from Poona that funds would be provided. We were told of the intended closing down of part of the Hospital a few days previously but under the seal of confidence. We could hardly believe it possible. We are sure that the Minister in charge of the portfolio, could not have contemplated the partial closure of the J. J. Hospital as a serious contingency. How he came to be let in for this very serious blunder, can only be explained by the publication of all the facts leading to the incident which naturally evoked some stinging criticism in the Bombay Municipal Corporation last week. When the division of portfolios was announced, we commented on the numerous and unconnected subjects assigned to the Education Minister, and whatever may be the explanation of the present incident, it certainly emphasizes the need for a redistribution of portfolios on a more equitable basis.

Officials and the Depressed Classes: With reference to our remarks under this heading in the editorial notes of the 23rd July, we reprint today the article in the *Bihar Herald* on the Tana Bhagat movement and from the *Madras Mail* a report of a homily delivered by the Collector of Tinnevely to Shanars on the folly of giving up their "noble heritage" of tapping palms for toddy.

The Late Sir Vitaldas Thackersey: We deeply regret to announce the death which took place on Saturday at 11 a.m. of Sir Vitaldas Thackersey. The news comes as we go to press, and we can only say today that by his death, we lose one of our best friends and supporters. His great ability, public spirit and enlightened philanthropy were valuable assets of Bombay public life and many are the movements which will sadly miss his guidance and counsel.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 13, 1922.

TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

We welcome the statement which His Excellency the Governor made at the Durbar of Deccan Sardars in Poona last week explaining the position of his Government on the treatment of political prisoners. The tone and temper of Sir George Lloyd's remarks are in refreshing contrast to the narrow pedantry of the Home Member's speech in the Legislative Council. His Excellency was a little puzzled that there should be still some degree of misunderstanding between Government and some of its critics, as he had no small respect for the considered public opinion of this Presidency which he had found could always be relied upon to support law and order. As we are as anxious as His Excellency that the misunderstanding—not small but considerable—should be removed, we, as voicing in some measure public opinion, venture to tell him that the scheme proposed by his Government, to which His Excellency referred and which Mr Hayward or Sir Chimanlal outlined in his speech in the Council, will not have the effect of bringing the treatment of political prisoners in line with public opinion. The public will welcome every step calculated to ameliorate the treatment of all prisoners, but it is firmly convinced that there is urgent and immediate need to introduce improvements in the treatment of political prisoners. Any scheme which does not recognise the distinction between political and other prisoners, will not succeed in removing the misunderstanding between Government and the public, which we regret as much as His Excellency. And we are bound to say that His Excellency's periphrasis about "prisoners who have offended against the law of the land while carrying on a political campaign" seems to indicate continued unwillingness to recognise the plain distinction between political and other offences. It lays stress on the breach of "the law of the land," which is common to both, but slurs over the important distinction between different laws of the land. His Excellency's phrase will apply to a person who commits murder or forgery "while carrying on a political campaign", whereas by "political prisoners" what the public understand is prisoners whose sole crime is the political campaign itself. Their politics is their crime for which they are imprisoned. The resolution passed by the Legislative Council makes it clear that it is not intended to apply where any element of violence or moral turpitude enters into the offence, and that only those who are punished for their opinions are referred to as "political prisoners." His Excellency paid a handsome tribute to the public opinion of this Presidency, but that opinion as expressed in the resolution of the Legislative Council wants something other than what His Excellency's Government has in contemplation on the general question of treatment of prisoners.

The English practice which Government propose to adapt to Indian conditions, is itself unsatisfactory.

The English law throws the responsibility, of assigning in what class a prisoner shall be placed for treatment, on the trying judge and the complaint is that very few judges take the trouble of discharging it. Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, Chairman of the Prison Commission for England and Wales, in his book recently published on the English Prison System, writes :

It was hoped, at the time (when the Act was passed), that the Courts would gladly and readily avail themselves of these new and enlarged powers, although it is recognised that a great responsibility is thus imposed upon the Courts, whose duty, if strictly fulfilled, would be to discriminate in each case brought before it, and to order treatment according to character and antecedents. In this way, it was hoped to secure that *individualisation de la peine*, which modern penitentiary science declares to be the ideal at which a good penal system should aim. Courts have not, however, shown a keen desire to exercise the fresh power to the extent contemplated by the Act, the number committed to the Second Division representing not much more than an average of about three per cent of the total eligible committals. The traditional methods of commitment to ordinary imprisonment with or without Hard Labour, have so deeply affected the Criminal administration of Summary Courts that it has proved difficult to escape from their influence, in spite of the great power of discrimination which the Act affords.

If this has been the case in England, the chances of such an arrangement proving satisfactory in India are very remote. For one thing the English judge in India has not sufficient knowledge of the status of Indians to be able with approximate accuracy to decide to what class a particular prisoner should be assigned. In regard to political prisoners especially though, as the instance of the judge who tried Mahatma Gandhi shows, there are English judges who can rise above their personal interests and sentiments in dealing with them, we feel, human nature being what it is, that it is too much to expect all of them to be entirely impervious to the suggestions so recklessly scattered by responsible Ministers and newspapers that the political Indian has an evil eye on the pay and pension of their Service and that he is in some way responsible for the burden of their children's school bills, their wives' doctors' bills, and so on. Government will be well advised to publish their proposals for criticism and suggestions before they are finally adopted.

His Excellency said that the public may rest absolutely assured that any idea that such prisoners should be treated in a manner in the least humiliating or vindictive would be as repugnant to his Government as to the public. We are much pleased to have this assurance because we have heard it said that the repugnance of some high officials to the general respect felt for Mahatma Gandhi was accountable for the absence of any concessions such as his high character, pure motives and absolute truthfulness would have warranted and, indeed, demanded, in his treatment in jail. It is now clear, for instance, that one of the members of His Excellency's Government felt—according to his own version—that newspapers should be allowed to the Mahatma and that there should be no difficulty in the way of this being

done. But the Home Member holds that this should not be done because the Jail Committee did not recommend that ordinary newspapers should be supplied to prisoners as a rule. The wording of the Committee is significant: it did not recommend, but it did not prohibit newspapers either. The Home Member thinks that this non-committal observation justified him in over-ruling the deliberate opinion of his own colleague. He, of course, did not wish to humiliate the Mahatma or to be vindictive, only he could not see why the weaver of Sabarmati should have a concession which is not extended to any other weaver in Yerrowda. We hope, in passing, that the Home Member sees to it that positive recommendation of the Jail Committee is observed in the treatment of the Mahatma. This is that provision should be made for the due lighting of the cells between the hours of lock-up and bed-time to enable prisoners to engage in reading and recreation. We do not see why when Mr. Rajagopala in Vellore jail was allowed interviews and letters once a month, Mahatma Gandhi should be restricted to once in three months. We also think that it was unfortunate that His Excellency should have imposed on himself the odious task of censoring the Mahatma's letter to his wife. Even an ordinary prisoner's communications to his wife are entitled to some latitude. The Jailor or the Superintendent is obliged to do such tasks as part of his duty, and it will be better to leave them to be performed by him. May we add that it is not enough to say that the treatment of political prisoners has not been vindictive? An element of magnanimity introduced into it, will richly repay Government in many ways. It is an hackneyed saying that great Empires and little minds go ill together. There may be no vindictiveness but there has been much littleness in the manner in which it has been sought to repel arguments for the better treatment of political prisoners. We are pleased to note that the Government of Bombay recognise that the Indian law against political offences errs on the side of undue severity as compared with the law in England and that an amendment of the law in this respect, which should be undertaken by the Government of India, would have their support. It has been said that the wise man would treat an enemy as if he would some day be his friend, and a wise Government would treat a political opponent whom it is obliged to put in prison as if he would one day be one of its own members. Private letters from England show that the public conscience is getting uneasy at the political incarcerations, more especially the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi, and Sir Hamilton Grant's outspoken public protest at Oxford against the repression followed in India, means that it is beginning to seek and find expression. We shall hear more of this as the months pass.

SIDE-LIGHTS FROM THE ANTI-OPIMUM CAMPAIGN.*

We have been favoured with a copy of the life of the late Mr. Joseph Gundry Alexander, by his son Mr. Horace G. Alexander. "My father was not a famous man—except, perhaps, in China," says the author in the first sentence of his Introduction. The late Mr. Alexander was a Quaker, and all his life he was fighting for unpopular causes—the suppression of the opium traffic in China, the exploitation of the coloured races, the growth of armaments. He was

* Joseph Gundry Alexander, by Horace G. Alexander, the Swarthmore Press, London.

a sincere Christian, and happy is the man whose son can write of him:

My father's visions remained clear to the end, and his purposes were still the same. He was sometimes discouraged, but he never lost faith. The work to which he set his hand in impulsive youth was still his active work till the end. He would often embark on fresh enterprises, but he never gave up the old.

This unpretentious volume is, indeed, one of the most helpful Lives that we have come across.

Of special interest to Indian readers is the Chapter on the Opium Commission in India, 1893-94. The story of the movement for the suppression of the opium trade between India and China, is given here briefly. It is a story that should inspire every one who is fighting against a great wrong buttressed by a powerful Government and vested interests. The prospects looked so black for the movement that it was seriously intended to close down the Society formed in 1874 with the object of putting an end to the opium trade with China. It was at this juncture that the late Mr. Alexander became its Secretary, and his energy and enthusiasm gave it a new lease of life. Two years after he became Secretary, the House of Commons passed the famous resolution declaring the system by which the Indian opium revenue was raised to be morally indefensible. In 1893, a Commission was appointed to enquire into the Opium trade and Mr. Alexander was a member of it. He visited India then and his experiences in this country are of much interest. Mr. Alexander and Mr. H. J. Wilson were the only two members of the Commission opposed to the opium trade. They had the greatest difficulty in getting witnesses in India to give evidence before the Commission against the traffic. When he arrived in Bombay, Mr. Alexander met several missionaries and some Indians. Both were indifferent. He wrote:

It is the missionaries who live altogether above the natives, and the native gentlemen who know little of the lot of the masses, who fail to see this evil. Amongst the latter, especially amongst the Parsees, whom we have chiefly talked with, there is also a strong disposition to take their cue from the officials in this bureaucratic country, where about every position to which a man of ability and ambition can aspire is at the disposal of Government, and those who run counter to its views thereby cut themselves off from most of the best positions. And the influence of the semi-official press, with the dread of increased taxation, tells in the same direction.

Things are not quite what they were in 1893, but can it be said that we have left behind this sort of thing altogether? It is true, says the author, that the Indian Government had promised to collect evidence impartially. He adds, however,

but, as we shall see, some of their agents, at any rate, had acted unscrupulously in the selection of witnesses; and, when everyone knows what kind of evidence an omnipotent government wants, only a very brave man, especially of the conquered people, will, in open session give evidence opposed to the wishes of the ruler.

The *Round Table* writer on India may read, mark and inwardly digest that. The "Anglo-Indian" press attacked the anti-opium members of the Commission. The Indian Press supported them. "The attitude of

the Indian press here," wrote Mr. Alexander, "is very encouraging, and the real kindness some of these native gentlemen show goes to one's heart." The Brahmo Samaj, "quite unexpectedly," gave the anti-opium cause its warm support.

At Patna, Mr. Wilson protested

against the proceedings of certain police officials who have been at Gaya within the last week, and five or six times cross-questioning Prem Chand, the Baptist Missionary there, about the visit of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Williams and I paid to that town in November. Only this afternoon we hear of a Government witness who has been kept away because he was found so strongly to sympathise with the ryots.

The same sort of thing was done with the Assam witnesses. But the most exciting experience of the Commission was certainly when they found on returning to Bombay that "our four witnesses at Jaypore are all in prison"!

So I had to drive off to Government House at once to get the Secretary to wire to the Political Resident at Jaypore to obtain their release. I am sorry for the poor men, but it will be a splendid thing for our cause, and will clearly show how little value is to be attached to the mass of pro-opium evidence received from the Native States generally.

We trust that not many Indian States to-day will aspire to earn such a certificate. Mr. Alexander lived to see his cause triumph. And well may China remember him with gratitude for as Dr. Wu Lien Teh wrote:

There can be little question that had Mr. Alexander and his associates in England ever slackened their activities, allowed the subject to become a dead issue, and acquiesced in the then existing state of things, no amount of sincerity on the part of the Chinese Government would have availed to bring about the end of the traffic in ten years from the beginning of the new movement in China.

BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

(BY MR. G. B. TRIVEDI, M. L. C.)

The second session of the second year of the Reformed Council was important for two debates on the Bombay Municipal Bill and one on the treatment of Political Prisoners. It was also important for several searching and inconvenient questions which Government members tried to meet by evasive replies. The public took interest in the work of this session, the visitors' gallery being full especially during the three debates. The press too, both English and Vernacular, reported the proceedings more fully than before and the public including those that advocated the boycott of the Council at the time of its election, have keenly read the reports of the proceedings and are seen criticising its several parts with intelligence. These are hopeful signs of the coming change in the minds of the voters, "our real masters", who will be seen awake to the interest of their estates, viz., their votes, at the next election.

The Municipal Bill debates centered round two things—the fight of the Parsees to get more "bread" as Mr. Cowasjee put it, and the attempt of the two Indian Executive members of Government to take away the new power, proposed to be given to the new Corporation to make appointments of Rs. 500

and over, against the wish of the Minister in charge of the Bill. The Council agreed to a compromise with a view to give a stable element of 30 experts, officials and experienced men, against the inroad of 76 elected representatives of the new democracy of 10 rupees tenants. But the non-officials were almost unanimous against the reactionary spirit of the Government members who looked with decided suspicion on the new democracy which will dominate the new Corporation. In this, the lead was given by the present Municipal Corporators and the Minister, seeing the temper of the House gathered courage and withdrew his support from the reactionary step that was proposed. This was appreciated by the House with outbursts of applause for the Minister counter-balanced by the angry looks of the Executive half of the Government. The Minister was dragged into an inconvenient corner by his colleagues and he was constitutionally correct in following the non-official wish against the official frown. One thing must be mentioned here. The so-called loyalty of the Civil Service broke down. While the minister was piloting his Bill in the Council amongst "consequential amendments" and legal phraseology, none helped him; not even his Secretary. The sight was pitiable and my friend, Mr. Haveliwalla, has rightly exposed this sorry aspect in his letter to the local daily. We hope we shall not see this "leaving in the lurch" of any of our Ministers in the future.

The other debate—that on the Treatment of Political Prisoners—was more interesting and of greater importance. It was on a high level, free from personal attacks and conducted mostly on general principles. It showed a high sense of patriotism of "co-operators" who, one and all, told Government in unequivocal terms that their difference with Non-Co-operators was free from vindictiveness and rancour and that they were chivalrous to their political opponents whom they wanted to see treated as human beings and not as mere creatures. The moderation of their pleadings was acknowledged by the Hon'ble Home member and had a good effect even on those non-officials whose support was canvassed on Government behalf, by the fact that no non-official, not even Europeans, spoke against the resolution. From the Government bench none except the Hon'ble General member supported the Hon'ble Home Member and his Secretary. The sorry figure that he had cut in the morning at question time, was before the minds of members and his speech failed to convince even those Liberal stalwarts whom he had convinced at the Subjects Committee of the Liberal Conference. The three Government members failed to convince the House that there was any change of heart in Government and although the resolution was carried by a majority of only one, it was a real moral victory, most of the non-officials having voted for it.

There was a bitter feeling in the House, which is reflected in the press and the public, at the way in which Government members replied to certain inconvenient questions. The boycotters of Council may find a fresh argument to show the futility of the Council, but there is no doubt that Government have

suffered in prestige by their conduct at question time. We hope they will take a lesson and try to meet the House in a more satisfactory way in future.

Attention has to be drawn to one constitutional point that was raised by Mr. R. B. Chitale while speaking on a resolution to rescind a former vote of the Council on a budget grant viz the revision of pay of Factory and Boiler Inspectors. It was evident from his speech that the member was influenced by considerations other than the merits of the case. The threat of veto weighed with him. In the last session it was rather freely whispered that the Head of the Administration of our province had spoken to several members of the Council on this as well as other questions before the Council. The point that arises is this: whether the Head of the Administration, being debarred from presiding at the sittings of the Reformed Council, should not leave the work of influencing non-officials to his Cabinet Members. The Deputy President of the Madras Council is reported to have resented such action on the part of the Governor of his Presidency. Should not we follow his example if a similar attempt be made here? I leave the solution of this point to students of constitutional law.

THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN STATES. I.

(By MR. B. M. ANANDA RAO.)

Ten years ago there happened an incident in Bangalore about which there was much comment at the time. Mr. (now the Right Hon'ble) Srinivasa Sastry was invited to lecture on educational and other innocuous topics by a few friends in Bangalore. The then Dewan the late Mr. T. Ananda Rao caused a notice to be served on the lecturer to quit the state, even as my distinguished friend Mr. Amratlal Thakkar was asked to quit for preaching temperance in another state the other day. That a man so sober and a lecturer so circumspect as Mr. Sastry should have been considered a danger to the peace of Mysore naturally evoked an outburst of resentment all over the country. Native States in general and Mysore in particular came in for bitter censure. The lawlessness which prevailed in Native States, the reckless extravagance of their Princes, their economic backwardness, were the themes of many an article in the journals and even to-day the Native States are much in the public eye and none so poor among our publicists as to do them reverence. Yet have not these ten years seen a remarkable change? To-day if the Right Hon'ble Mr. Sastry were to be in Mysore on a lecturing tour, it needs no extravagant imagination to believe that he would be an honoured guest of the State and the Dewan, the First Councillor, the Chief Justice, the Resident, even H. H. the Yuvaraj himself would eagerly come forward to preside at a lecture by Mr. Sastry. And this would be true of Travancore, of Baroda, of even Indore and Gwalior. But it may also be well believed that if the same Mr. Amratlal Thakkar were to go again clad in simple khaddar to have a friendly talk with the fishermen of Junagadh, the self-same Fonjdar would come galloping to order him out of so suspicious an occupation. Herein is a contrast to be noted.

Undoubtedly some of the more progressive Native States have felt the impact of the political movement in British India. But the minor States still remain in stygian darkness as of old. The numerous Native States in Rajputana, Central India and Kathiawar remain where they were a decade ago. Not a railway was added in these States, not a canal, not a High School nor any of those visible embodiments of material and moral progress. On the other hand, more princes from these States have crossed the seas and have tasted the heady wine of Western civilization. Their motor cars have increased in number and size, a few of them maintain aeroplanes and one prince is said to have bought the biggest steam yacht in the world! All the while their subjects grovel in the direst poverty and the tax-gatherer with his one hundred and one taxes roams abroad squeezing an anaemic population to slow death. Oh, the taxes in some of these Native States! We in the British territory who loudly grumble when we have to pay an extra pie for our matches, what would we say of a marriage procession tax? Do you wonder that, when it was merely whispered that Berars were to be handed back to the Nizam, extremist and moderate, cooperator and non-cooperator in that country, rose in protest against what they considered an outrageous proposal? There is still a generation alive in Berar who remember Native rule but there is not the remotest disposition on the part of the Beraris, not even of the Mahummadan population therein, to be again under the Nizam. One can be sure, should the proposal be once more seriously adduced, the Beraris to a man will rise against it. Kanara which still remembers Munro would not care to go over to the Wodeyars. Not that we in British territory love our present rulers more, but we admire Native rule less.

At the same time it must in honesty be said that there could not be found a single subject of the most tyrannical Native State, who would acquiesce in the least savouring of the Dalhousian policy of painting red all over. The subjects of the States may hate and despise their princes, may even emigrate to British territory and there set-up an outcry against their tyranny, but they will always remain loyal to the Native State idea. What is in this idea that so powerfully appeals to them? Is it the mere conservatism that normally makes mankind dread a fundamental change in social and political life? Partly so, partly also it is the inexpressible and deeply-felt belief that there is something in the atmosphere of a Native State which is greatly lacking in the British territory, an appeal to the sense of the picturesque, the solemn, the romantic, the beautiful which to an Eastern race like ours means much. In the Native States are concentrated and preserved all the best that is in our music and the arts. Most of the greatest Mohammadan and Hindu musicians still hail from the Native States. But for the patronage of the courts, they would have had to languish in dancing girls' dens teaching their ancient art for a pittance as alas! many have actually to do to-day in British territory. Our best sculptors even now come from Rajputana, and temples and palaces are still being built there by native craftsmen on the medieval

models, while British Dehli has to indent for the Lutyenses and the Wittetts from an alien land. The *ustads* still flourish in Gwalior, Hyderabad and Mysore and the glory of our classical music is still celebrated by musicians who are proud to date their ancestry from Tansen, while here in Maharashtra the Balgandharvian staccato pierces the ear at every street corner.

After all Politics is ephemeral, Art is the permanent possession of the human race. From the point of view of Art, the destruction of the Native States would be the destruction of the Indian soul. Happily the political position of the Native States has grown much stronger after the war although economically it has probably become worse owing to the sacrifices they had to make for the war. There is a sincere desire on the part of the British Government to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the States. It is not necessary to go deeper into the motives which actuate the British Government in following this policy of complete non-interference. The motives are obvious. But the effect of the policy has been various. Upon the already progressive States such as Mysore, Travancore, Gwalior the effect has been wholly good. Upon the minor States the effect has been wholly bad. Deprived of the frequent admonitions of the Resident, some of these States have actually curtailed the liberties of their subjects, increased their burden of taxes and have in many other ways demonstrated that they have not caught the spirit of the times. Look at what happened in Sirohi State the other day and what is happening to-day in Jamnagar, Junagadh, Jaipur and Patiala. Any itinerant public worker penetrating into these States is liable to be forcibly ejected. There is not the least doubt that these States who are so afraid of political agitators disturbing their peace of mind, simply take their cue from the officials in the British territory. Reactionism and Repression in British India is a direct incentive to Reactionism and Repression in Native India. Conversely Liberty and Freedom in British India is the first step towards the emancipation of the subjects of Native India.

(To be Continued.)

WHAT AMERICA MEANS.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

The general interest of Indian readers in things American leads me to send you a few thoughts of one of our well-known American writers. Dr. Frank Crane is known all over America as a keen student of our national institutions and movements, and along some lines is recognised as a man of deep penetration and singular ability. He has recently undertaken a study of the prohibition movement of America with the object of ascertaining just what was the influence that was really responsible for bringing about such a revolutionary thing as the prohibition of the liquor trade in that land. His study has appeared in print in "Public Opinion" of June, and if copies of that magazine are available to any of your readers, they may be interested in following Dr. Crane's reasoning.

My object just at present is to give the heart of Dr. Crane's article, for I feel that it is worth pondering on the part of thoughtful Indians who are so eager to have India benefit by all that is making America such a force in the world today.

Let me quote two sentences from Dr. Crane's articles, and then offer a word of explanation for Indian readers. He says:—

"It is in this group represented by the "Little Church on Main Street" that there abides the most significant force of conscience in the United States.....It is this force that has written the Prohibition Amendment into the constitution of the United States, and has done so in defiance of almost every class that thinks it controls public opinion."

"Main Street" stands in American parlance to-day for the small town, with all its limitations and lack of deep culture, with its conservatism and orthodoxy, as distinguished from the fuller, freer life of the modern cities with their broader outlook and finer culture. The term has come into vogue because of a recent book of popular fiction which took "Main Street" (or chief street of the small town) as its theme and title. The "Little Church" is, in Dr. Crane's article, the Protestant, evangelical Church, whether it be Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian or any other of the evangelical religious bodies of that land. Each little town will have one or more of such Churches, with their Sunday Schools, weekly Prayer Meetings, and the varied social and religious life that gathers around them. Such Churches as these, numbered by the tens of thousands and extending from one end of the land to the other, are the determining force of American life, according to Dr. Crane, and are primarily responsible for America having prohibited the traffic in alcoholic beverages, which he describes as the greatest revolution that ever came to any nation. These same "Little Churches" he considers the one really typical American institution born of essentially American conditions and reflecting the actual life and genius of America.

This statement of Dr. Crane's is of deep interest to the student of American life and movements, and must carry with it a great deal of force.

Equally striking, in the same article, is Dr. Crane's statement regarding Democracy. Of this subject Dr. Crane has made a life-long study, and his conclusions are worthy of the closest thought. He says:—

"If the student of affairs wants to put his hand on the pulsing heart of democracy, to find the secret impelling soul of democracy, and to understand what America means, let him go to the Little Church on "Main Street."

This statement may not be borne out by the average visitor to the United States, and certainly not by the British "globe-trotter" who, as Dr. Crane says, goes only to the chief cities and is "unable to see America for the tall buildings"! By those, however, who have lived in America and seen its life intimately, by those who can look into essential causes, Dr. Crane's pronouncement will be accepted. It is the evangelical Church (there is no "State" Church in America, and never will be if America preserves her genius and good sense), particularly in the multiplied thousands of towns throughout the country, that the real voice of America is heard. There is the abiding strength of American life, and there that which makes America so different a land from any European country. The influences that have been chiefly instrumental in making America a world force have come from the Christian homes of the common people that make up the life of the evangelical Churches of that land.

I am interested in putting this view before your readers because I feel that India should understand that not education,

not science, not politics, not even morals, have made America great, but vital religion lived out in the daily relationships of life. It is not merely religion as popularly understood, the formal life of conformity to accepted standards of morality and the outward allegiance to organised Christianity, which is so plentifully illustrated in the life of Europe today. It is spiritual life, derived from a personal relationship to Jesus Christ as Saviour from sin in the individual life and the One who empowers for service, be it personal, civic or social. If India thinks that anything else has led America to her present position of power and influence, she is being misled.

I hear a good deal these days in new India of the pre-eminence of Jesus Christ as the world's teacher, and much also of the need of India to "apply His teachings to the national life" of this land. I respectfully suggest to your readers that there can be no application of the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ, until He has been enthroned in the life and made regnant in the heart. His teachings cannot be applied to the national situation until they have been applied to the personal lives of the citizens of this land. India's need is not to learn the teachings of Christ and apply them to her problems, but to meet Christ in a personal relation, and accept Him in His saving and transforming power. The day that this is done by India she will have entered into her real heritage: the Son of God will have made her free.

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ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN'S RIGHTS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In the July 30 number of your valued Journal I notice you take an extract from "The Justice" of Madras re. the speech I made in opening the Debate "should Illegitimate Children be Disinherited?" on behalf of the Hindu Social Reform Association of Madras. I have not seen the "Justice" myself. The "Justice" report contains things which are not what I said or what I believe. I do not like to be misunderstood. Permit me, therefore, to indicate what I said, in regard particularly to the issues that are referred to by the "Justice" Reporter. I leave out here references to other matters on which I spoke, however relevant they may be to the subject of the debate.

I said:—The Bill, if it became an Act, disinherited the "illegitimate" children of certain classes (castes)—the Sudras for instance. By "illegitimate children" was meant children born of unions or marriages outside of legal marriage. There is no essential difference between legal marriage and the non-legal. If law as is put down in the Law-Books were identical with the highest morality of human experience, many marriages that are legal now (and to the popular mind the legal is unconsciously the moral) would have to be condemned as illegal because they are immoral. Law is slower to move and it does not represent the highest morality of the country for the time given. Many customs, therefore, of an immoral character are still permissible by Law. But the Social Reformer, the Progressionist, does not, and should not, if he is as good as his principle, wait for the sanction of Law with regard to his own conduct in society—in his social relations.

Though he, the Reformer, himself should not hesitate to do the right simply because Law forbids it; though he should not live in the wrong simply because Law does not brand it as illegal, he might constantly work so as to bring the law up to the level of the highest morality. He ought to, for a

similar reason, whole-heartedly protest against any attempt that may be made to set Law moving backward. This new bill is an attempt like that.

And where is the need for this change? I do not know. Because other countries are endeavoring to equalise the status of the so called illegitimate children: I never said, by the way, that in Norway the illegitimate were as many as the legitimate. I don't know in fact the relative numbers which, however, is not necessary for my purpose.

Theistic Endeavor Society }
Madras, E. Aug. 3-1922. } K. VAIKUNTA RAO.

THE MURDER OF Mr. TOM DOBSON.

(The *Dnyanodaya*.)

THE NOBLE ARMY OF MARTYRS.

Untold possibilities for India are wrapped up with its industrial developments and the economic uplift of the Indian Christian Church largely depends on the industrial work of Christian Missions. Realizing these things in 1919, Mr. Tom Dobson, after seventeen years as manager of the Scottish Mission Industries, Poona, accepted an appointment from the United Free Church of Scotland as a missionary at Jalna in order to help in rescuing India's poor from the thralldom of the money-lender. After a little more than two years of priceless work at this great task, Mr. Dobson was struck down (on Saturday morning, July 22.) Five days of agony followed, nobly borne, and on Thursday afternoon, July 27, at two o'clock, he passed away from heart-failure, leaving a widow and two dear children (now in Scotland), a stricken community at Jalna, and India's Industrial Missions as a whole, to mourn his loss. When police officials, enquiring into the case as was their duty, visited the mission, though too weak to see them, Mr. Dobson sent a message that he refused to prosecute his assailant. Tom Dobson's life had already enriched the annals of Scottish Missions in India; by his death and his Christlike spirit of forgiveness he has proved to India, in one of the greatest hours in India's history, that a man 'in Christ' can die nobly as well as nobly live. 'The noble army of martyrs praise Thee.'

A TERRIBLE STORY.

The sad story is soon told and what we relate here is entirely 'without prejudice', as the whole affair will call for the closest investigation. The story as it has been related to us is that on the fateful Saturday morning, Mr. Dobson went out into the fields some eleven miles from Jalna in the Nizam's territory, one task being to interview an Arab who had borrowed money from the Co-operative Credit Bank to tell him that the loan should be repaid in the usual way. As they were proceeding to the man's house to settle the matter, the Arab, it is said, suddenly attacked Mr. Dobson with a knife, inflicting terrible wounds on the forehead, the back of the head, arms, leg, and left side. An Indian Christian a short distance off rushed to Mr. Dobson's help but he also received a severe wound on the arm from the same knife. When others working in the fields came running on the scene the Arab took to his heels and fled. An Indian Christian woman in a house close by washed the gaping wounds, while Mr. Dobson with his own hands bound them up and ordered a bullock-cart for himself and the wounded Christian brother to be taken into Jalna. Half way in they were met by Dr. Mowat, the missionary surgeon of Jalna, who transferred them to a motor car, but six precious hours had elapsed between the plunging of the dirty knife and the medical attention that was so necessary. On the following day the doctor was operating for three hours, performing head and brain operations which for difficulty and delicacy

were impossible before the war. Medical skill was seconded by the resourcefulness of two missionary nurses, Miss Mowat and Miss Cameron, and when it almost seemed as if Mr. Dobson's towering strength was to win through, heart weakness set in during Wednesday night and he passed to his reward on Thursday, July 27. The funeral took place the evening of the following day, first in the Jalna Mission Church and afterwards in the Jalna cemetery, attended by missionaries and Indian Christians from Bombay, Poona and other places. The above narrative makes clear to all that the event has no political significance of any kind. Mr. Dobson's assailant has been arrested.

REWARD FOR ARREST.

(Times of India.)

The Director-General of Nizam's Police has offered a reward of Rs. 250 for the arrest of Ahmed Bin Sheikh, the Arab who murdered Mr. Tom Dobson of the United Free Mission at Jalna. In a statement to the press the Director-General says that Mr. Dobson was not a missionary but is reported to have been an inspector of the co-operative societies worked by the United Free Mission at Jalna. The dispute arose over the money lent by Mr. Dobson to the Arab. On the Arab being asked for the immediate return of the money and being pushed by his neck, he turned on Mr. Dobson and inflicted dangerous wounds with a dagger he had on his person which ended fatally. Every effort is being made to arrest the Arab who is about 25 years of age, five feet and six inches tall, of medium built, and fair complexion; with a scar on the left side of the neck. He was wearing a white pyjama, white kurta and had a black handkerchief when he absconded after committing the crime. He was a resident of Mahsaie, a village 14 miles from Jalna.

PROHIBITION TRUTH AND UNTRUTHS

(Social Welfare, TORONTO, FOR JULY)

In the face of continued fabrications of the evils of prohibition, of its resultant increase in crime, arrests, convictions, etc., facts and figures stand out clear and unadorned, against which fiction and calumny cannot contend.

The statement is made that since prohibition serious crimes have increased, though it is admitted that crime on the whole has decreased. Serious crimes may have increased, but how? *Relatively only*—that is, that with a decrease in general crime, the greater part of which is due to decreases in drunkenness, disorderly conduct and other offences related to drink and alcohol, the volume of serious crimes may remain unchanged, or even decrease somewhat—yet be a greater percentage of the whole than previously.

Any supporters of prohibition faced with such a statement should demand production of the *absolute* facts and statistics, and should such a relative situation exist, explode the fallacy of such malicious and false constructions.

Meanwhile, facts line up behind the prohibition argument. Here are some from the hospital and institutional statistics of the U. S. A. for 1920:

The alcoholic ward in the Philadelphia General Hospital, which usually had about 150 patients a month, has been almost depopulated. In 1917 that ward treated 1,470 alcoholic cases: in 1918, 1,194; in 1919, after six months dry, 276; and in February, 1920, it dropped to eight, and has now been abolished. And in New York city the same thing is observed. At Bellevue Hospital, where more alcoholic cases were cared for than in any other institution in the city, the record for January and February, 1919, was 228 cases, and for the same months of 1920 only 81 cases. This means

that Bellevue Hospital can now take care of 7,000 more general patients per year, on the basis of 5½ days per patient. And the effect on crime, and business, is so plain and unmistakable that Bird S. Coler, New York's Commissioner of Charities, has come out strongly in favor of the "dry" law. He says that this year New York will receive \$500,000 from patients in city hospitals who, under the "wet" regime, would not have paid a dollar. The jails also tell their story—1,100 empty cells in Philadelphia; a decrease in Baltimore of 3,999 commitments to jail last year over the year preceding, and this with only six months of bone-dry law; in Buffalo a falling off in arrests for drunkenness from 2,761 in January, 1919, to 1,012 in January, 1920; while the inmates in Erie County Penitentiary dropped from 551 in January, 1919 to 176 in January, 1920.

THE TANA BHAGAT MOVEMENT.

(The Bihar Herald.)

The last number of *Man in India* contains, as we have said, an interesting account of a new religious movement among the Oraons of Chotanagpur, which comes from the pen of the editor, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy himself. The movement owes its genesis to a desire of the originators to emulate the higher position occupied by their fellow-tribesmen who have become Hindu or Christian converts, "and to remedy, if possible, their long-standing agrarian grievances and the present wretchedness of their economic condition." It is not actuated by any political motive and consists mainly in a campaign against the drinking of liquor, animal food, animal sacrifice, and in the expulsion of *bhuts* or evil-spirits from the villages.

Three years ago we made mention, more than once, of the Tana Bhagat movement—for that is the name of this religious movement—and the fate to which it was doomed. "The movement," thus went the official report, "appears to have started about July 1915 in an obscure village on the borders of the Lohardaga and Ghaghra thanas in the districts of Ranchi, Hazaribagh and Palamau. By the end of the year, the movement counted among its votaries practically the whole Oraon population in an area of about 1,790 square miles in Ranchi and Hazaribagh (total population 870,000; Oraon population 230,000) and about 84,000 Oraons scattered amongst a much more numerous non-Oraon population in a large area in Palamau. The *Bhagats*, as the followers of the movement generally call themselves, have given up strong drinks and also meat and flesh, as well as all vegetables which being of a red colour suggest association with blood (the same expression *Khaso* is used by Oraons for blood and red), and their practices include exorcising, sometimes by violent means, the *Nads* or devils which, in their opinion, are the creators of all evils and the chanting of unintelligible *mantras* in large gatherings at dead of night. The decrease in the consumption of spirit in the area affected by the movement is estimated to have been about 23000 gallons in only three months, January, February and March.

What led to the labelling of this apparently innocent and healthy movement as 'dangerous' and seditious, is indeed a baffling question. Yet the fact remains that several papers termed it a seditious propaganda and the fire of enthusiasm of most of the *Tana-bhagats* was promptly—within a year, to be exact—quenched by official repression.

We were ever of opinion that this movement "the first indication of the revolt of the human mind from animistic bondage," if it had proper scope, would certainly have wrought a great moral and spiritual benefit upon these semi-savage aborigines, and that its suppression for this considera-

tion alone, if not for any other, was unjustified. We are now therefore glad to have the support of such an authority as the Orsons as Mr. Roy who happened to endorse our views. We shall try to produce here a short sketch of the history of the movement as given by him.

The movement originated with an Orson youth, Jata Orson by name, who in April 1914 gave out to his fellow-tribesmen that he had a revelation from the Deity (*Dharmae*) and that he had been told "to give up *Matias* (ghost-finding and exorcism) and the belief in *bhuts* or spirits, to abjure all animal sacrifice, animal food and liquor and to give up ploughing their fields which entailed cruelty on cows and oxen but failed to save them from famine and poverty, and no more to work as coolies or labourers under men of other castes and tribes." He also declared to have the injunction from God to gather together disciples to whom he would teach divine mantras or incantations with which to cure diseases. He soon got a large number of followers. True to his doctrine, when he declined to let his followers work as coolies in the construction of a school in Dokotoli, a village adjacent to his own, he was, with seven of his followers, hauled up before the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Gamla and sentenced. The first episode of the drama ended here.

The next outbreak of the movement was in 1915. It spread through most of the thanas in the Ranchi district and even a part of the Palaman and Hariabagh districts caught the fire. In the western and south-western part of the Ranchi district the ardour comparatively cooled down ere long, but in the thanas of Lohardaga, Sisai, Lapung, Bero, Kuro and Mandar, the movement still lingers.

There have been two stages of the movement. The first stage consisted in an extensive campaign of ghost-driving at night-time and created a panic among the local Zamindars and police officers. "Alarmist (?) accounts received by police officers from panic-stricken local Zamindars and avaricious money-lenders who apprehended a rising of the Orsons against themselves and from local liquor-sellers who were dismayed by the vow of total abstinence from drinking adopted by these Tanas, were readily believed. Their meetings were regarded with suspicion and exaggerated into disloyal and illegal meetings.....The authorities prohibited nightly gatherings and several batches of followers of the new religion were sent up to the courts as likely to commit breaches of the peace, and on their failure to furnish sufficient security were sent to prison." The result of this sort of repression was that many followers who wavered in their faith relapsed into their old religion.

To put down the movement the authorities prohibited not only nightly gatherings but also those held in day-time, "except where they were strictly orderly." "One such gathering that was arranged for at Sisai was, however permitted to be held and the Sub-Inspector of Police was permitted to attend. The resolutions—over twenty in number—passed at this meeting were found all to relate to social, moral and religious affairs, and indeed one of those resolutions warned the Tana Orsons to be very careful not to have any quarrels with non-aboriginals who were spreading false rumours against them."

"A revelation of the popular feeling against the Tanas followed. And while the authorities did not slacken their vigilance, so that the extreme sections of the Tana Bhagats might not commit any disturbance, the mind of the public was generally taken off the movement. And the leaders of the movement now turned their attention to the building up a body of rules to regulate their religious and social practices. This marks the second stage of the movement.

We shall not go into ethnographic details and shall conclude simply by quoting a few of the tenets and hymns of Tanism.

"To kill life is sin, to worship ghosts is sin, liquor-beer drinking is sin.

"Then it is prohibited altogether to kill a life, it is prohibited to kill a life knowingly.

Thana B. 2.

"Eating meat, O brethren, should cease, should cease.

"Committing theft, O brethren, should not be, not be.

"Practising adultery, O brethren, is forbidden, forbidden,

"Committing sin, O brethren, is prohibited, prohibited.

"The destroyers of life, O brethren, the destroyers of life shall be totally destroyed—destroyed.

"Sinful people, O brethren shall be totally destroyed—destroyed.

"O brethren, ungrateful people shall be totally destroyed—destroyed.

"The wicked, O brethren, shall be totally destroyed—destroyed.

"All ghosts and spirits shall be totally destroyed—destroyed.

"O brothers, you call (upon God, crying) Father, Father But the Father is really (all the time) within you."

We need not multiply any more instances here. Suffice it to say that these hymns or songs are not a whit behind the doctrine of such world-religions as Christianity and Buddhism. It is absurd to think that such noble teachings can ever work mischief in any way.

When a backward tribe tries to uplift itself, we, who boast ourselves as civilized,—our effort it should be to see that the attempt succeeds, far be it from us to set it back. Hence we say the smothering of the Tana Bhagat movement of the Orsons has been cruel and unjust,—a movement which would certainly have been for their amelioration and not derogation.

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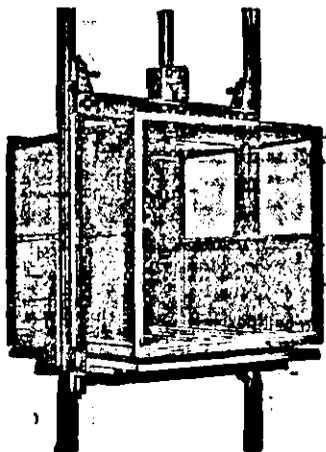
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Vol. XXXII.

BOMBAY—SUNDAY, AUGUST 20, 1922.

No. 51

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Congress "Civil Disobedience" Enquiry Committee: This Committee has finished taking evidence and is considering its report. From certain speeches of its members, especially those of Pandit Motilal Nehru, we apprehend that the Committee may seek to steer clear of the sharp differences of opinion among Congressmen, by producing a report with recommendations capable of varied interpretations. The questions drafted by the Committee were some of them not at all clear. We earnestly trust that the Committee's report will prove our apprehension to be groundless. Whatever its conclusions may be, let them be stated in plain, unequivocal language. The country wants a firm, clear lead, and to withhold it now will be to plunge the Congress into chaos. If the Committee thinks that the evidence before it shows that the country or any part of it is fit for civil disobedience, individual or mass, it should say so. If it finds the other way, it should say so without if's and but's. If the Committee thinks that the boycott items of Non-Co-operation ought to be put aside, it should not hesitate to say so. The Pandit has not spoken with one voice on them. If we cannot all agree to the Committee's recommendations, let us at least know definitely where we are. Failure of the Committee to give a strong, clear lead, will mean the splitting up of the Congress into three or more parties of which the most responsible will not necessarily be the most dominant. In the resulting confusion the cherished ideals of Mahatma Gandhi would be submerged in the violent voices of men clamouring for leadership.

The Congress and Sir Sankaran Nair: We reprint an editorial headed "Wanted Coals of Fire" from the *Hindu* of Madras commenting on Sir Sankaran Nair's application to the Congress leaders to help him in the matter of his defence in the suit for damages filed against him by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Our contemporary rightly holds that the help solicited would and should be given, as the defendant in the suit is not merely Sir Sankaran Nair but the whole Indian public of all shades of opinion. But we regret that our contemporary should not have had the self-restraint to withhold some ungracious and, in any case, irrelevant references to Sir San-

karan's recent attitude to the Congress, though it itself hopes that this aspect of the matter would not be too obsessive. The artist, it has been said, is known by what he omits. The *Hindu* is one of the ablest and most eminent exponents of the art of Indian journalism, and we should have expected it to rise above the temptation of indulging in a clever bit of criticism which it itself feels should not be allowed to weigh in a consideration of the question it is dealing with. But since our contemporary has referred to this aspect of Sir Sankaran's request, although only to deprecate it, let us say that Sir Sankaran has really paid a high compliment to the Congress leaders by his request, notwithstanding his sharp differences with them. No one who knows anything of the feeling in the Punjab, can doubt for a moment that if Sir Sankaran had appealed to the Punjab leaders direct, they could not but have rushed to his side, Congress or no Congress. If the Congress leaders have any idea of heaping coals of fire on Sir Sankaran's head by rendering the help which he seeks in defending the Punjab and India, they are mistaken. They will be heaping coals of fire on their own heads, if they do not promptly and ungrudgingly express their resolve to stand by Sir Sankaran in this suit. We have had as much cause as any others of his friends to deplore his erratic attitude to the Congress in and after the Bombay Conference. But it is not a consideration which has any relevance or should, even as a dialectic exercise, be represented as having any relevance to Sir Sankaran's position in this matter.

The Bombay Prostitution Committee's Report: The Government of Bombay has given to the report of the Committee it had appointed to consider remedies for the prevalence of prostitution in Bombay city, the limited publication of placing it on the table of the Legislative Council, in answer to a question in the Council. The majority report is signed by all but three members. The Municipal and the Police Commissioners and Dr. (Miss) Mistry, constitute the minority. The broad difference of principle between the majority and the minority is whether prostitution should be treated as a disease capable of being cured, or as an incurable one to be controlled so as to cause the minimum suffering to those suffering from it and so as to prevent others from being infected by it. The majority take the line that by pursuing steadily ameliorative measures and by educating public opinion, prostitution can eventually, though not immediately, be reduced to negligible proportions, if not totally abolished. The minority hold that prostitution like poverty will be always with us and must be controlled as stated above. The majority report is chiefly important because it contains an assertion of certain principles, namely, that the man who uses a prostitute is no less a—often a far greater—social pest than the prostitute, that there should be no inequality between the treatment of the male and the female partner in the evil, and that society must realize that it is itself largely responsible for the evil and that it must constantly exert itself to get rid of it. The measures

suggested by the majority by no means go to the root of the matter, because the problem of Bombay prostitution has its roots spread wide in far distant areas in and out of the Presidency, and the Committee's scope of enquiry was limited to the city. But they are calculated to redeem the evil from much of the brutality and bestiality which surrounds it at present. The most important part of the Committee's work is the information it has collected regarding the nature and incidents of Bombay prostitution.

A Wise Decision : The Senate of the Bombay University by a decisive majority rejected on Friday a proposal to allow candidates for the School Leaving examination, as the combined Matriculation and School Final is now called, the option of answering all question papers, except those on English, to be answered in their vernaculars. This proposal originated with the Minister who sent a note on the subject to the University commending the proposal. The Syndicate of the University rejected it. Thereupon the Joint Board which conducts the School Leaving Examination deputed one of its members to bring it directly before the Senate. The resolution had been appearing on the agenda for several months, and it has now been decisively rejected, after the Director of Public Instruction made a fervent speech commending it to the acceptance of the Senate. The decision of the Senate is an endorsement of the view taken by the Syndicate which it was sought to overturn by a flank movement. It is further a snub to the Minister who was present at the Senate meeting and whose approval of the scheme before-hand was mentioned by Principal Kanitkar, the mover of the resolution, as an argument for accepting it. If the supporters of this proposal had recognised the enormous practical difficulties in the way of holding an examination for six thousand candidates in six different languages in various stages of development, with some uniformity of standard, they could have persuaded the University to a general acceptance of the principle of option, the application of it, being adjusted to the demands and facilities of instruction and examination in each vernacular after investigation. The Director of Public Instruction told the Senate that the proposed option was allowed when the School Final was conducted by his Department, but he did not state that so few candidates took advantage of it that when the Joint Board was instituted, it did not think it worth while to continue it. And it was now proposed to extend it to the Matriculation of the University where the medium of instruction and examination is English! Apart from the Arts' course, the vernacular examinees will have the greatest difficulty, after the single year in an Arts College necessary to qualify them to enter the professional colleges, in pursuing the Medical, Engineering, Agricultural and Commercial courses of the University. The Senate has decided well and wisely and in the best interests of University education in this Presidency.

An Eminent Indian Journalist : Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon whose death took place last week, was one of the ablest journalists India has produced. He joined the editorial staff of the *Hindu* of Madras shortly after he took his degree and the largest and best part of his career was on the staff of that journal. During the Tilak prosecution in 1897, he was in editorial charge of the paper, Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer having gone to London for the Welby Commission. Mr. Menon's leading articles on the case attracted wide attention, by their knowledge of law, wide information, and vigorous phrasing. Mr. Menon studied law as part of journalism and eminent lawyers like Bhashyam Iyengar used to speak in high terms of his legal articles. A man of extremely simple character and habits, he lived, so

long as this writer knew him, a rather secluded life, though men in various walks of life used to consult him on their own particular problems. For many years, Karunakara Menon was the main source of inspiration to Madras non-official Legislative Councillors, the wide extent, exact nature, and ready mobility of his information constituting him a living work of reference on almost all subjects. In social matters, he was a conservative, and his opposition was one of the most formidable which Sir Sankaran Nair's legislation for marriage reform among Nairs had to encounter. His influence as a publicist began to wane from the time that he became a Dewan Bahadur, and within a few years he had to give up the profession which he had long adorned.

Mahatma Gandhi and Sir Michael O'Dwyer : The concluding article which Miss Gertrude Emerson contributes to *Asia* on the Indian situation, is headed "Non-Violent Non-Co-operation in India," and is an exceedingly able and well-informed estimate of the problem in all its aspects. Incidentally, she refers to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's description of the Mahatma in the *Fortnightly Review*. She writes :

One reads with astonishment at the obtuseness of the point of view criticisms of Gandhi like that offered by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in a recent number of the *Fortnightly Review* "The ascetic pose of this unctuous hypocrite is nauseating to honest men many of whom have for years seen through his gospel of mixed humbug and race-hatred." I have talked with Gandhi and I have talked with Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Sir Michael is as honest in his conviction as Gandhi, but Gandhi has greater insight into the eternal verities.

The phrase "eternal verities", we know, is nauseating to some of our local O'Dwyer's who have not the excuse of a white complexion, but all the same they may usefully ponder Miss Emerson's stinging verdict.

The Bombay Municipal Corporation. We hope the Minister for Local Self-Government will not be unduly vexed at the resolution of the Bombay Municipal Corporation on his manner of piloting the Bill reforming it, in the last session of the Legislative Council. The present Corporation has been long fed upon the illusion that the whole Presidency and, indeed, the whole country exists for it. The passage of the Reform Bill has scattered that illusion to the winds. Hence all these tears. One gentleman in the Corporation is reported to have remarked that the Council had usurped the function of the Corporation. Legislation is not a civic function and it is the Corporation that would have usurped the function of the Legislature if it had been allowed to do so. As the Minister has been attacked in the most gratuitous and offensive fashion, we think we ought to say that, while he undoubtedly committed mistakes, mainly because he did not trust his own judgment sufficiently, he has on the whole conducted himself in a novel and complex situation with judgment and discretion. The public confidence in him stands higher than it did before the passing of the Bill.

Bombay Scholarships : We are glad to see that notwithstanding the financial situation, the Minister for Education has provided several scholarships in all stages of education for children of the depressed classes. Where a scholarship in a higher stage is likely to lapse for lack of candidates, we hope it would be possible to convert it into one or more at a lower stage where there are more candidates. With regard to the three State technical scholarships abroad, it is stated that one is still vacant and is reserved for the study of the Actuarial science. When the demand for funds was made before the Legislative Council for this scholarship, we think that the Minister stated that he had some suitable candidate in view. What has become of this gentleman? If he has dropped out, why has he dropped out?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 20, 1922.

AN ANCIENT AND A MODERN UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION.

We acknowledged the other day the receipt of some excellent editions of some of the Upanishads by Swami Sharvananda, published by the Ramakrishna Math, Madras. A few days of enforced leisure fortunately gave us the opportunity of glancing at their contents. Each booklet has a short but suggestive introduction by the learned Swami prefixed to it, indicating the special significance of the Upanishad. In the introduction to the Taittiriya Upanishad, it is noted that the special feature of the Shiksha Valli, as the first section is named, is that it gives "a most beautiful, pithy address" to young students who have finished their studies, analogous to the convocation addresses at modern Universities. After ten or twelve years at the forest Ashram, his mind and body strengthened by the hard study and discipline of Brahmacharya, the day comes when the young man should assume his share of the work of the world. The Master after his morning rites has taken his seat in his sanctum under giant trees, surrounded by his scholars, for the day's lessons. The young graduate reverently approaches carrying in his hands the gift which he has to give the Teacher at parting. If he is the son of a well-to-do man, he brings something valuable. If he is a poor boy, he merely brings some sacrificial fuel gathered in the surrounding forest. He salutes the Teacher and places the gift in his hands. A hush falls upon the assembled scholars. The Master fixes his keen, kindly eye on the departing scholar, and slowly, clearly, solemnly delivers his final charge. He pauses, and with a gentle gesture, gives his pupil leave to depart. The "convocation address" in the Upanishad contains in all about twenty sentences. But each sentence is like a winged arrow shot by an expert marksman. In the twenty sentences, are covered all the essentials of life and conduct. The very first injunction repeated later in varied forms is *satyam vada*: "Speak the truth." This is rightly placed in the forefront of the address because if a person makes it a point ever to speak the truth, nothing more is needed to ensure that he shall never deviate into wilfully wrong conduct. The Master goes on to enjoin:

Let thy mother be to thee a god; let thy father be a god to thee; a god let thy teacher be unto thee, and let thy guest be unto thee a god. Let only those works be done by thee that are free from blemishes, and not others. *Only those deeds of ours should be followed by thee, that are good, and not others.*

The mother, be it noted, here as in all similar precepts in all the Indian languages, comes first. The last sentence which we put in italics is specially noteworthy. The Teacher confesses his own fallibility here, and begs his scholar to avoid his failings while following his virtuous qualities. The essence of the Hindu educational system was the

individual and personal relation between master and pupil. In the great Buddhist Universities which came later, such as Nalanda with its 10,000 scholars in residence, some sort of group teaching must have been introduced but it was even there subservient to the individual and personal relation between teachers and the taught.

From this solemn simplicity of the ancient Convocation, let us turn to the Bombay University Convocation as it was enacted last week. The leading part in the drama is taken by the Governor of the Province, who except for one day in the year never functions in any academic capacity. The next important part is assigned to one of his own Executive Councilors whose normal activities lie equally wide apart from teaching or learning. (We may observe in passing that the combination for the first time after fifty years of the offices of Member of Government and Executive Head of the University, has not justified itself.) The best part of the Hall is filled by visitors of various classes. The poor graduates for whom the day should be one of lifelong significance, are herded together in the galleries, a few of them only being presented to the Chancellor who mechanically repeats a formula which has no meaning and is, moreover, ungrammatical. Then the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor reads a printed speech dealing with some topic which happens to take his fancy without the least reference to the actual problems of life and conduct which beset the graduate who has taken his degree. Even this is inaudible to nine-tenths of the graduates. No wonder that the number of graduates who take their degrees *in absentia* is growing. There is a good deal of talk about University reforms, but the first and most crying reform that is needed is to convert the annual convocation into something simple, solemn and appealing to the fresh graduates. We think that one way of doing this is to let each College hold its own Convocation for its graduates. Old students may be invited and Principal and Professors will take the leading part, officials and members of the Senate attending only as invited guests. As regards the address delivered by the Vice-Chancellor at the last Convocation, the most noteworthy thing about it was Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's onslaught on the "Vernacularists" of whom he avowed himself as one with a difference. We do not know many persons who desire that the Bombay University should transform itself into an agency for imparting higher education in the six vernaculars of this Presidency. The utmost that has been proposed even by extreme "vernacularists" is that the Vernaculars may be the medium of instruction up to the Matriculation stage, and this has the support of the Sadler Commission of which the Vice-Chancellor used to be an enthusiastic admirer. The only excuse that we can think of for the Vice-Chancellor's onslaught upon his imaginary "Vernacularist", is that he wanted to outline his scheme of linguistic Universities in Poona, Ahmedabad, Dharwar and Karachi. Such Universities have been suggested by several others, but it was always understood that they will not radically

differ in any respect from the Bombay University. Whatever improvements are effected in the latter will, of course, be embodied in them, but they will be essentially on the same lines as the Bombay University. What Sir Chimanlal says is that the Bombay University should continue to teach and examine in English, while Poona and the other places should have Vernacular Universities. What is Bombay without the moffossil? According to the last Census the proportion of Bombay-born to the total population of the city is rapidly dwindling and is now about 18 per cent. If education in the districts is imparted in the Vernaculars, the Bombay University will have very few students to educate through the medium of English. Cut off from the hinterland which supplies it with its best brains, Bombay will become once again the desolate speck that it was when the monsoons tossed their foam scornfully on Old Woman's Island.

The greater probability is that while the Bombay University under Sir Chimanlal's scheme would be intolerably congested by the influx of scholars from the districts, his Vernacular Universities in the moffossil will have very few and that the least capable, ambitious and aspiring students. Even the Non-Co-operationists whose National Universities, it may be supposed, Sir Chimanlal would not be sorry to checkmate by means of his Vernacular Universities, realise the need for a common medium at least to justify their designation of "national." They are unable to make head mainly because of the importance attached to English education by the generality of parents, but the moment English is banished from the districts under the Vice-Chancellor's scheme, that moment the National Non-Co-operationists will have the field clear for their enterprise. Our own belief is that the Nationalists, who after all have plenty of commonsense, will frankly accept English as the common medium in preference to Hindi, as soon as India has full responsible Government and English ceases to bear the stigma of being the language of a dominant race. Notwithstanding the pious resolution in favour of Hindi, English is still and to an increasing extent the official Congress medium tacitly though not avowedly, and its many practical advantages are fully understood and availed of by Nationalists. Sir Chimanlal's scheme is, therefore, a much more reactionary one than the scheme of the Nationalists and would, if adopted, mean the immediate collapse of the present system without anything to compensate for it. The scheme will narrowly provincialise education except in the Presidency towns, while the Non-Co-operation scheme is to Indianise it everywhere. In the name of the unity of India, the Vice-Chancellor solemnly proposes to crystallise the present linguistic divisions! India is not Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Bereft of the moffossil, these places would sink back into the pestilential swamps which they were in pre-British days. We are surprised that he should have brought forward a scheme of this kind with so little deliberation. His dual official position as Vice-Chancellor of the University and a Member of Government, invests his proposals with an air of authority which does not intrinsically belong to them. Very little of them

may materialise, but the mischief is that they create uncertainty and suspense which affect immediately the working and growth of the existing system. Colleges and High Schools for the last several years have been on tenter-hooks as to what each succeeding day may bring to wipe off the results of their previous day's labours. We agree with Sir Chimanlal in his description of the practical difficulties of displacing English by the vernaculars in the Bombay University. But a purely vernacular University is unthinkable anywhere at this day. India is no longer a *pardah* lady content to peep into the outer world through the latticed window of Bombay or any other town. She wants to go forth freely under God's sky to fulfil her mission among the world's nations.

THE LATE SIR VITHALDAS THACKERSEY.

The death of Sir Vithaldas Thackersey at the early age of 49 leaves a gap in the industrial and progressive public life of Bombay which it will take long to fill. He belonged to the Bhattia community which is the only Hindu community that has shown itself a competent rival of the Parsees in commercial and industrial enterprise. But owing to the backwardness of women's education among the Bhattias, their capacity to acquire wealth has not been counter-balanced by the steadying social influences emanating from educated women. The scandal of the recent Bhattia-American marriage is a striking exemplification of it. Only a very few days ago an enlightened and practical Bhattia social reformer was telling me of the special difficulties which a middle-class man in his community had in effecting improvements in the position of women in the family and in society. Conversation is apt to degenerate into coarseness, he said, among some of their best men, and conversation is often an index to the tone and outlook of life. There are several exceptions and Sir Vithaldas was one of the most notable of them. In a close daily intercourse extending over several years, I have never known a coarse word to escape his lips. I have lived with him for days together and have always been impressed by his friendliness which never descended to familiarity and his enjoyments which had no touch of vulgarity in them. At Allahabad some years ago a well-known Indian singer and dancer was engaged as a side-show in an Industrial Exhibition. Sir Vithaldas went but I did not go to her performance and when he returned, he said to me casually: "You did well not to come. You have lost nothing by not coming." That was the business man's way of dealing with a principle, which he always respected, even when he did not accept it for himself. The personal and domestic life of Sir Vithaldas, especially in his later years, was greatly influenced by a keen recognition of woman's place and part in progress. His magnificent help to the Women's University, to the Seva Sadan and other institutions having the educational and social amelioration of the condition of women for their object, was obviously motivated by the same conviction. He was not given

to speak about motives, either his own or others', but there is a significance in the fact that much of his thought and liberality were directed in recent years to institutions for the improvement of the position of women. His great reverence for his mother was, of course, the main source of his inspiration. This interest was greatly stimulated by Sir Vithaldas' close contact with Mr. G. K. Devadhar whose eager enthusiasm in the cause of women's progress could not impress one so open-minded as he. Lady Vithaldas, to whom the sympathy of the numerous friends of her late husband goes in overflowing measure in her hour of irreparable loss, has taken a keen interest in all these movements. Work for the public benefit is the great cure for personal sorrow. When John Bright in his early days was stricken down by the death of his wife, his friend, Cobden, called upon him. "There are to-day," he said, "millions of women and children in England starving because of the iniquitous Corn Laws. Come, and help me to get them repealed and thus to bring happiness to these poor millions." The appeal went home and Bright emerged from his seclusion, and the Corn Laws were repealed. Today millions bless the names of Cobden and Bright for the great relief of cheap food which they secured for them. In conveying my deep sympathy with Lady Vithaldas in her great and lonely grief, I venture to commend that little incident to her who so closely shared in all her husband's broadening interests ever since her marriage.

It was my privilege to assist Sir Vithaldas in his public work for nearly nine most important years of his all too brief career. I know nothing of business, and the business side of his activities was entirely outside my purview. When I first joined him, he had acquired great credit for the successful conduct of the Bombay Industrial Exhibition held in connection with the Congress. He was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council for many of these years, and during one of them, President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. The Co-operative Credit movement in this Presidency owes much to him and the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas who early made it their own. Lord Sydenham had much confidence in Sir Vithaldas' judgment and gave him a prominent place in his counsels. But the most important part of his work during the period was performed in the Indian Legislative Council where he had the late Mr. Gokhale as his colleague and close co-adjutor. The Indian Factory Commission, leading up to the Act, engaged a large part of his time and energy. In whatever he undertook, Sir Vithaldas displayed gifts of immense brain power, application and faculty for details. He worked night and day on his subject; revised, recast and often re-wrote his speeches; and made himself a perfect master of it. The remarkable thing about him was that while an immensely hard worker, he never worried or lost his temper. Always calm and collected, his was one of the most equable temperaments I have come across. He had large social gifts. He was a princely host, looking to every detail of the comfort of his guests, leaving nothing to the care of servants. I remember his coming into my room late one night

in Calcutta to see that the mosquito net was firmly tucked in under the bed. "Calcutta mosquitoes," he informed me, "are not like our Bombay mosquitoes. They creep in from under while ours float over into the bed." His powers of observation were quite remarkable. Nothing small or great escaped him, and he was always observing. He was a warm friend ever ready to place his resourceful advice at the free disposal of any one he cared for. It was his idea that this paper should be turned into a company. He was on the Board of Directors, becoming Chairman on Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's resignation owing to his duties as President of the Legislative Council. I have watched him closely in moments of high success and of great calamity, and I can truthfully say that I have not seen another man who bore himself so utterly in the spirit of the Gita precept not to be exalted by success or depressed by calamity.

When the late Mr. Telang died, there was an interesting controversy as to why our educated men die prematurely. Ranade laid the blame on the crushing burden of University examinations, while Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar attributed it to evil social customs which robbed us of our vitality. Sir Vithaldas' death at the age of 49, would seem strongly to confirm Sir Ramakrishna's opinion. Sir Vithaldas was not a victim of the crushing burden of examinations. He is said to have attended the Elphinstone College but it must have been for a short time. He did not, so far as I know, go through any regular University course. He was also exempt from the early struggles of poverty which leave so many of our bright graduates a prey to early disease and death. He had high ideas of comfort and stinted nothing in giving effect to them. He was a man of powerful build unlike some of the younger Bhattias. He was fond of horses and rode every morning—Lady Vithaldas accompanying him—and I remember gently chaffing him at Poona last year on what his orthodox castemen would have thought of the innovation fifteen years ago. He was not a sedentary man but of very active habits. Apart from destiny, to what are we to attribute the premature death of such a man who had everything which might have helped him to live a longer life? So far as I can see, to nothing except the social environment, in which, I include, customs such as child marriage, quantitative ideas of comfort and happiness, erroneous dietary, want of religious freedom and so on. I do not say that any of these had an effect on Sir Vithaldas' health. But it is a mistake to think that an individual can escape from the evil consequences of a bad social environment, if he has himself done his best to avoid its worst incidents. Whatever we tolerate, we follow, and we must endure. Unless he totally cut himself off from it, the social environment tells, whatever may be the extent in which it has directly influenced a person's own particular case. Sir Vithaldas' tragically early death is a warning to the Bhattia community to emerge from their medieval notions of caste and religion, if they would use their commercial talents to the best advantage of their community and their country.

K. NATARAJAN.

PROBLEM OF INDIAN STATES II.

(By MR. B. M. ANANDA RAO.)

Bad as is the economic condition of British India, that of most of the Native States is appalling. Let us take the large belt of territory which stretches from Jabhua to the extreme edge of Bundelkhand, a country consisting of a congeries of States large and small. Exposed to drought practically every alternate year, with a thin infertile soil cap supporting a meagre listless population, these Central Indian States are a picture of economic ruin. The princes ruling over these States walk in silk attire but lack bread. They too have got into the habit of moving out of their mud built capitals—very costly to their subjects these journeys to hill stations and English and Continental watering places of their princes—they too must replace their gorgeous palanquins by Rolls Royce motor cars. And all the time the peasantry is preyed upon by a mass of tax gatherers. While the population of British India is growing that of the Central Indian States is decreasing, owing to continued migrations to British territory. In the severe famine of 1908, most of the tent works were overcrowded by destitute refugees from the Native States of Rewah and Bundelkhand (vide Mr. G. K. Devadhar's article in one of the issues of the *Modern Review* of that year). The States themselves had made no preparations for famine relief and were content to see their poor trekking into the neighbouring British districts in search of food. Another such famine and the same emigrations to British districts would follow. Yet these Central Indian States are not devoid of natural resources. They happen to have a highly mineralised zone whose value is just beginning to be realised. Some of them have vast forest resources and there is unlimited scope in some of them for several industries and for the collection and sale of minor forest produce such as lac, tanning materials, etc. Some of them could grow more and better cotton and certainly more wheat, juar and bajra. There is ample arable waste land there, awaiting cultural development. But the one thing lacking there is water! Water could come from deep borings,—how they have transformed rainless Australia into one vast cattle ranch and wheat-field! It could also come from irrigation on a very large scale.

Some years ago, Mr. Marsh who was an Irrigation Officer with experience of these Central Indian States read a paper before the East Indian Association in which he outlined a scheme for a huge irrigation canal running right through Central India. The scheme was placed before the thirty-two princes who rule over the States great and small but while all agreed that the scheme was necessary, when it came to unloosening the purse-strings, each one began to see difficulties. If this great canal had been made, the water levels in the Centre of India would have risen, trees would have grown where there is now an arid waste, attracting more rain, and even the rigorous summer heat would have been modified and once more Central India would have been that fertile corn-laden region which it once

was in the age of Kalidas. Yet this was not to be because of the indifference to the general good of the several princes and the empty treasuries of most of them. The Council of Princes which has been established could well take up the economic problems of the Native States. Economically the Native States, I am speaking of course of the backward States, are a drag on the country. In times of famine they have to be fed out of the surpluses of British India. Many of the States are so small and their revenue so meagre and uncertain that they cannot maintain industrial and commercial departments. But what they cannot achieve singly they could do collectively. Several states contiguous to one another and possessing similar physical features and containing similar natural products could have joint enterprises for industrial and agricultural development. The princes themselves who own large private lands could engage the best agricultural talent in the country and add to the food supply of their territories, or they could apportion their lands among desirable emigrants from British areas who could be attracted by means of special concessions. Gwalior and Hyderabad have recently shown some enterprise in this direction and it is for the other states to follow.

One of the important problems before the central Indian Native States is that of Opium. While Opium has ceased to be cultivated and sold under Government auspices in British India, the Native States show no disposition to reduce opium cultivation. The present writer had the opportunity in the columns of the "Reformer" of drawing attention to the very serious evil of opium cultivation and consumption in the Native States. The free use of opium and Bhang is one of the prime causes of the backwardness of the people of Rajputana and Central India. Not until they completely get rid of this incubus will they be able to make an advance, economic or political. This is a fit subject for the Council of Princes to consider. It is most commendable that several States in Kathiawar have enforced complete prohibition of liquor. If they should extend their prohibition to opium and bhang, the men who will be most benefitted will be the Rajput aristocracy, a race of historic traditions now fast degenerating, thanks to the accursed opium and bhang. In this connection it is sad to think that one of few Girasias who had risen superior to the hereditary vices of the race, the Thakur Sahab of Dasa, should have incurred the displeasure of the British Government. It is indeed a miracle that out of a race of opium bibbers so noble a man should have arisen and it is to the credit of the great Mahatma that his influence should have reached quarters ordinarily least susceptible to great moral ideas. If all the princes were animated by lofty patriotism and a readiness for self-sacrifice, if they set themselves to improve the economic condition of their subjects and to work for their political advancement, then would there be no one so radical as even in thought to wish that Native State Rule were ended for ever.

(Concluded.)

BIRTH CONTROL AND THE MORAL OUTLOOK.

Mr. Walter Hunt F. R. A. I., writing in the current number of the *Shield*, the journal of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, London, contends that the reasoning of advocates of the Birth Control movement is altogether emotional and unsupported by science. He maintains that abstinence is the natural method of birth-control and gives examples of communities in which the principle had been practised with highly beneficial effects. The *Shield* in an editorial note says that the author is a man who has travelled much in savage countries and who is strongly of opinion that the civilised races are rapidly deteriorating and that the cause is largely due to the growing practice of using artificial checks to conception. Our contemporary does not think that he proves his case that the deterioration of the nation's health is due to the practice of artificial birth-control. It adds:

"There is little doubt that sexual excesses and venereal diseases are the root cause of many of the physical ills with which we are afflicted, but we are not aware that there is any reliable scientific data available which points to the prevention of conception as being in itself a factor in promoting physical weakness or as either a cause or effect of sexual excess or venereal disease. Both these evils were rampant long before the Bradlaugh-Besant trial, which first popularised the knowledge of contraceptives in this country."

We quote below the essential part of Mr. Hunt's paper:

Even Lord Dawson of Penn, in his speech delivered at the Church Congress at Birmingham, dealt more with the emotions, which at the present day may be abnormally developed, than with any scientific reasons he could advance in favour of unrestrained intercourse. He appears to have based his arguments entirely upon the present conditions of society without any reference to peoples who had lived in closer touch with nature than ourselves. To quote from his speech: "Imagine a young married couple in love with each other—the parents, say, of one child, who feel they cannot afford another child for, say, three years—being expected to occupy the same room, and to abstain for two years. The thing is preposterous. You might as well put water by the side of a man suffering from thirst and tell him not to drink it. . . . No—birth control by abstinence is either ineffective or, if effective, is pernicious." To any impartial student of nature who has paid much attention to the functions of generation, the above must be considered a weak and ill-considered argument. Nature has never stipulated that a young married couple should occupy the same room at night, but she has demonstrated very definitely her law with regard to lower animals, where she insists upon absolute abstinence during pregnancy and the suckling of offspring. Lord Dawson seemed to think that this law did not apply to man, yet if he had studied the question more closely he might have found ample evidence that man is not exempt, and that his indifference has been the cause of much misery and suffering to the race. Had the leading lights of the artificial birth control movement been really sincere in their desire to serve their fellow-men, they would have devoted a little more

time to research before launching out in such an astounding proposition. They would then have found that but a few years ago there were peoples in various parts of the New World whose birth-rate was controlled by *abstinence*. They would also have found that those same peoples enjoyed perfect health, and that their women almost invariably bore perfectly healthy children.

BIRTH NATURALLY CONTROLLED BY ABSTENTION.

It may not be generally known that as recently as fifty years ago there were still unsophisticated tribes on some of the less-frequented islands of the Pacific, and in various parts of Africa, who lived in closer touch with nature than we, and whose habits of life were conducted largely in consonance with natural law. Under the ordinary system of village life the sexes were kept strictly separate in youth, girls being kept under strict supervision of the women, who had a part of the village entirely to themselves, while boys over a certain age were brought up together under control of men. In Zululand boys were separated from their mothers as soon as they had cut their second teeth, in order that they should not grow up "soft and effeminate through associating with women." Married men even, we are told, were not allowed to visit their wives except during the periodical feasts, and not at all while their wives were bearing or suckling children. Since the Zulu War of 1879 these customs have entirely ceased.

On the Pacific islands referred to they were not quite so stringent, although very definite with regard to the virginity of the bride, and absolute continence of pregnant and nursing mothers. Men and women always slept separately at night. Dr. Seemann, writing on the Fijians in 1859, remarked:—"The men sleep in the *Bure-ni-sa*, or stranger's house, those of about the same age sleeping together; whilst the boys, until they have been admitted publicly into the society of the adults, have a sleeping bure to themselves. It is quite against Fijian ideas of delicacy that a man ever remains under the same roof as his wife at night."

As the period recognised as necessary for the suckling of children was three, or sometimes four, years, it will be readily understood that women seldom bore more than three or four children in a lifetime. Therefore it may be said that birth was controlled naturally by abstinence. In what way this could be considered "pernicious" it is difficult to realise, especially when considering that the races who practised those customs were recognised as among the finest in the world and were famous for their remarkably sound health.

It may be interesting to advocates of artificial birth control to learn that since associating with Europeans those tribes referred to no longer practice natural control, or abstinence; neither do they any longer enjoy the perfect health for which they were famous, but may now be counted as among the declining races of the world. When the Fijian Islands were annexed by us in 1874 their ancient customs came almost abruptly to an end, and the people were told to conduct their lives as British subjects. The results were most disastrous to the native race, for men no longer slept apart from their wives, and with more frequent intercourse, both in and out of season, they no longer produced healthy children; also being visited by many epidemics of diseases formerly quite unknown to them, their numbers were soon depleted by more than one-third. To an impartial observer the epithet "pernicious" would appear to have been misplaced when levelled at "abstinence," and should have been applied to indulgence for pleasure as advocated by artificial control advocates.

To refer once more to Lord Dawson's speech, and his attitude to nature: "It is said to be unnatural and intrinsic.

ally immoral. This word unnatural perplexes me. Civilisation involves the chaining of natural forces, and their conversion to man's will and uses. Much of medicine and surgery consists of means to overcome nature."

This is perhaps where our modern civilisation has gone astray; by thinking that nature is to be chained and made subservient to man's rule we have sometimes made infractions of her law which it is impossible for nature to condone. Nature is bountiful, but she is not to be chained. Whenever man adapts his methods to natural law, and takes advantage of her bountifulness, he is amply rewarded, as may be verified by the uses made of steam, electricity, in the propagation of plant life, improvement in domestic animals, etc., but his success has resulted solely from complying with natural law and not by opposing it. The surgeon binds the broken limb, but he leaves it to nature to do mending; he carves away diseased parts, and again nature does the healing, but there is no guarantee that there will be no recurrence of the trouble unless the cause, which is against nature, is removed. While the physician applies natural remedies and assists nature in overcoming difficulties, everything goes on smoothly, but if he advises his patient to act adversely to natural law, nothing can save his patient from suffering the penalties.

There is every indication to prove, and it is practically admitted, that artificial birth control and intercourse out of season are offences against nature, but, if we are to judge from Lord Dawson's remarks, medicine is capable of so chaining nature that man may offend and still escape the penalties. We have no evidence in support of this. Since the popularisation of artificial control, and incentives to free intercourse, medicine has been brought to a higher state of proficiency than at any previous time. Many new hospitals and asylums have been erected, and the numbers of their staffs increased enormously, yet it might be safe to add that at no time in the world's history it is known for the people to be in so indifferent a state of health as now. It is true that in bygone days our towns were sometimes swept with plague and other zymotic diseases, but thanks to improved sanitation, on the advice of the medical profession, those scourges have to a considerable extent been removed; but to-day the trouble is far worse, for people are suffering very extensively from constitutional and incurable diseases.

In conclusion, let me repeat that the contraceptive movement was sprung upon the people of this country in a very unscientific manner, and in defiance of expert medical opinion of the time. At no time, so far as can be ascertained, has a really representative conference been convened to discuss the nature of the problem, or the advisability of the adoption, or otherwise, of so extraordinary a measure. The fact that it appealed to the emotions was sufficient for the unthinking crowd and it became popular; but the fact of its great popularity is no evidence of the truth of the arguments advanced in its favour, and unless it can be defended by the clearest pronouncements of scientific investigators its further practice should be discouraged. I would therefore suggest the appointment of a fully representative council of men and women before which the most exhaustive evidence may be discussed.

THE SHIVAJI MEMORIAL-

APPEAL FOR FUNDS.

The following appeal for funds for the All-India Sri Shivaji Memorial of which H. R. H. the Prince of Wales laid the foundation stone at Poona has been issued by their Highnesses the Maharajahs of Gwalior and Kolhapur, on behalf of the General and Working Committees :

Reverence for the Great Departed would appear to be co-eval with human history. The instinct to keep alive the memory of those who have wrought for the betterment of their fellow-beings may be rightly regarded as a Wise Dispensation of Providence. For, has not the Poet said:—

"Lives of great men all remind us,
We can make our lives sublime."

It is due to the operation of this instinct that every Nation, from time immemorial, has sought imperishably to preserve, whether in song, stone or other material, the deeds of its great men or their physical images as an inspiration to its future generations.

India, with her spiritual outlook and faith in the continuity of life, her peculiar susceptibility to benefaction and natural disposition abidingly to cherish the sentiment of gratitude, could not only not be an exception to this universal rule—but was bound to have exhibited throughout her history, the possession of this instinct in an eminent degree. Her mythology is therefore, the richest and her epics are the longest of all the surviving civilised Nations of the present-day World.

With a deep and un-erring instinct she has constantly deified her great men. From the varied dedications to Rama and Krishna, believed to be incarnations of the Deity, to those monuments held sacred to the memory of her Saints like the far-famed Dargah of Khawaja Sahib at Ajmere or the mausoleum of Shah Nizam-uddin Aulia in Shahjehanabad—ancient Hastanapuri and now the site of the Imperial City,—there are evidences on all sides of India's national habit of perpetuating the memory of her Great and Good sons. The Country is studded with superb votive monuments and its inheritance of magnificent memorials is large beyond measure. If therefore, our characteristic national traits are not to become extinct and if we are going to remain true to our national traditions, we must continue to honour the outstanding personalities of this—our ancient Land and to cherish the memories of those who when 'departing left behind them footprints on the sands of time.'

It was in this spirit that the Shri Shivaji Society, the promoters of the Shivaji Memorial movement, conceived the idea of raising a lasting monument to the memory of this great son of Ind and in recognition of his place in History, chose an occasion and sought an association than which none could have been more appropriate for the inauguration of an All-India conception. As the public already know, the foundation stone of the projected Memorial was laid, last November, by the Royal hand of our future Emperor as one of the several eminently fitting ceremonies which he performed during his first visit to this country—a country which one who was at once a maker of modern history and a phraseological genius aptly described as 'the brightest jewel in the Crown of Great Britain.'

The foundation having been thus 'well and truly laid' and the honour of India pledged to the early consummation of the scheme, it behoves every Indian, high or low and of whatever caste or creed, to hasten that event by all the means and resource at his command.

Pursuant to this end, a preliminary meeting was called (proceedings separately published) on May 25th, at the Bombay residence of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior and it was unanimously resolved that the Memorial should take the form of (a) an equestrian statue of the Great Shivaji, with a proper setting, (b) a stately building comprising, primarily, what may be called a Hall of all Nations and a spacious Library—with an artistically laid out garden attached, so as to provide for the modern needs of all classes of the public.

The project is estimated to cost about 20 lakhs of rupees and in appealing to the Country—to our brother princes and all others who at present inhabit this vast peninsula,—we feel confident that this modest sum will be made available with magic speed—so that the work of the Memorial may go ahead with due rapidity. In order to give it a start, one of us is making an advance to the Memorial Fund of Rs. 2 lakhs.

It may be added that as the proceedings will show, at the preliminary meeting aforesaid a General Committee, with power to add to their number and a small working Committee were appointed with the necessary office-bearers.

All contributions, of one rupee and upwards will be gratefully accepted, and so far as possible, publicly acknowledged. They should be remitted to the Honorary Treasurer Mr. F. E. Dinshaw, 54, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.

M. SCINDIA.
RAJARAM CHATRAPATI.

FORCED LABOUR IN SMALL NATIVE STATES.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

SIR,

Before the costly, top-heavy, and machine-like system of administration was blindly copied by the Native States, the peasant-folk in those small states had been very happy. Officers were few, taxes were moderate. Forest Laws were not so exacting and spacious pasture-grounds were reserved for cattle grazing. These poor people had easy access to the Raja Sahab and could put forth their grievances in their own words. In those days the Raja was just like the head of a big family. Naturally in such happy times what is called today forced labour was a labour of love, which was practically very little and was paid in some form or other. But those days are gone. Today the smallest state has nearly as many departments as in British India which are generally officered by so-called experienced old men. Second-hand servants in whom the zeal of doing good to humanity has been displaced by love of office-routine. Though the administration is run on the lines of the British Rule, we miss the solid advantages of the British Rule. We feel it is not the law that rules but individuals. We cannot even ventilate our grievances. In some states even the holding of 'Rajat Sabha' is an impossibility. Education is extremely poor. These departments have multiplied the number of officers, clerks, peons etc. Taxes are increased and still the old system of forced labour is not done away with. On the contrary, it has immensely increased due to the large number of servants in the State. From a peon to a big officer everybody gets his own work done under the broad name of 'Sarkari' for little or no money. As the wages have now gone up, the demand for free, forced labour has increased with the result that women in some places instead of men crowd on Bazaar-days. The lot of these peasants is that of dumb driven cattle. Will the leaders and politicians in the states take this subject in their hands and do their bit towards the suffering humanity?

A JAWHARIAN.

SHANARS AND TODDY TAPPING.

The Collector of Tinnevely, Mr. Eric Davies made the following speech to the Nadars, a caste which is giving up Toddy drawing its ancestral occupation, at a Conference of the caste on the 7th July. We take the report from the *Madras Mail*:—"Your community has of recent years by its perseverance and industry enhanced its reputation more rapidly than any other similar body in the Southern districts. But

with this continuous increase in material prosperity has arisen a grievance, namely, that you receive neither that social consideration nor those privileges which you deem your efforts have earned. Those who oppose your social aspirations and deprive you of these time privileges, from time to time allege various objections as necessitating their action; and it has been a constant concern on your part to counter those objections. Indeed, is not your attempt to prevent tapping for toddy by your members directed to removing, as you think, an obstacle rather to your social aspirations than to the moral and material advancement of your caste? If you examine your hearts carefully, I think you will have to admit that this is so. No doubt you suffer under disabilities and deprivation of privileges under present conditions in this part of the country, and it is not for me to blame you if occasionally your position in this respect arouses feelings of humiliation and resentment, or if you seek a remedy in every possible direction. Nevertheless, I do advise you to think calmly and well upon the whole matter before you hurry into action; and it is specially incumbent on your leaders to consider the matter from a wider point of view than that of your own community alone. One thing is certain: you cannot hope to obtain by violence that which is denied to the influence of persuasion and a just cause. Attempt to enforce your demands by the weapons of violence and social boycott and resistance will crystallise against you. You will make enemies where you might have had friends. You will be opposed where you might have had assistance; and what you may gain you will hold by the same tenure as you secured it, namely, by force. Which among you balancing the probabilities of loss or gain, would willingly risk a loss to gain so little? On the other hand, do you really hope that your social claims will be conceded by those opposed to you merely because you remove the grounds for objection now taken, such as that members of your caste are engaged in tapping? Do not believe it. The intolerant will never suffer themselves to be defeated owing to inconsistencies in their objections. Necessity knows no law, and when one ground of objection has been removed another will be found. You are doomed to disappointment if by such means you hope to realise your expectations. The fact is that you are attempting an innovation which affects the established system of society in this country.

TREE-TAPPING BAN.

So far, I have dealt merely with the general position of your community. I should like however to touch more particularly on two special matters, which are now agitating you. The first is the matter of tree-tapping. I understand from some words that have fallen from your leaders, that the restriction imposed upon members of your caste against tapping for fermented toddy is merely a preliminary to enforcing the cessation of tree-tapping altogether. Gentlemen, if it were merely a question of ceasing the production of fermented toddy, if it were a genuine temperance movement, I would frankly admit to you that my opinion on that question is unsettled. For it cannot be denied that the matter bristles with difficulties which will take much time and ingenuity to solve. But when it is plainly stated that the efforts at temperance are merely a step towards ceasing tree-tapping altogether, I am filled with astonishment. The palmyrah tree is the most valuable asset of this district. Its exploitation has become practically a monopoly of your caste. It forms the chief means of sustenance for the poor among you. There are vast extents of land slowly and painfully acquired by your fathers which have little or no value apart from the palmyrahs upon them. And this noble heritage you propose to discard. Why? Not at the bidding of a tyrannical Government, not because you can assert that tree-tapping in

itself is immoral, but because some of you having acquired a position independent of manual labour, would wish to conceal the means by which they were enabled to rise. Well, if such persons are ashamed of their origin, by what reasoning do they expect others to honour it? Or the malicious to forget it? Let them, therefore, pause and reflect before they seek to deprive their less favoured countrymen, not only of an inheritance, but even of future means of employment in order to gratify their own social aspirations. If, however, you decide to continue in the course you have mapped out, I think you must be prepared to face a cleavage in your community.

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TOBACCO AND SNAKE BITE.

Hakim Mohammad Younis of Hyderabad writes to the "Practical Medicine" :—

The easiest and the surest remedy for snake-bite is tobacco. About 5 tolas of tobacco should be mixed with ten tolas of

water and the liquid portion should be drunk throwing out the drugs. If the man bitten by a snake is senseless, the tobacco water should be poured down his throat, or if lock-jaw has set in, it should be passed through his nostrils. In about five minutes after the administration of the drug, the man will commence vomiting, and as the vomiting will go on, the effect of the poison will be removed and in about an hour the man will be all right. It is generally known here that no snake will pass through a tobacco field. Tobacco is the antidote for snake poison.

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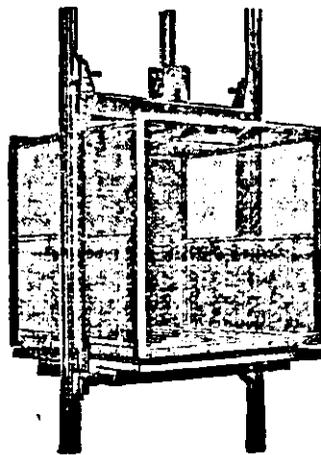
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No. 32

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

— 10: —

Prostitution in Bombay: At the suggestion of some friends, we print the full report of the Bombay Prostitution Committee as a supplement to this issue. Since the Committee's report was written, we received the report of the last Census on the cities of the Bombay Presidency, in which a special chapter is devoted to prostitution in Bombay city. "Prostitute" for census purposes means one who returned her occupation as prostitution. Under this definition only those get into the census schedules whose occupation is so obvious, or who are so hardened to opinion, that concealment is either impossible or unnecessary. The number of prostitutes thus enumerated at the Census in Bombay city last year was 2,995. The Commissioner of Police, on the other hand, estimates the number of prostitutes living in brothels alone at nearly double the census figures. Over and above these, are the clandestine prostitutes whose number in Bombay is estimated by Dr. Mistry, who is not prone to minimise the evil, at between 30,000 and 40,000. The horrible revelations in what is known as the Syed Mirza Khan's case in 1917, led to public attention being directed to the condition of life in brothels. In this case, a young girl was brutally done to death because she tried to escape from the brothel not being able to stand the life. It came out in the trial that the girls were often required to serve as many as 30 or 40 men a day. There are 865 brothels in Bombay, consisting of 5000 Indians, 76 Japanese, 31 Europeans or Eurasians, 23 Indians in European brothels and 8 Asiatics other than Indians. One of the most important witnesses who gave evidence before the Committee was Miss Ronaldson, Matron of the Salvation Army Rescue Home. Speaking of the Kamatipura and Falkland Road brothels of which she had most experience, she said: "Several, sometimes as many as twelve, girls live, feed, sleep and carry on their trade in a room usually not any larger than 12 feet by 12 feet, with a broken earthen floor and very inadequate sanitary arrangements. There is usually a large four-poster bed with a screen round it in the middle. There is usually a small room behind; but cooking is often done in the main room." Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas stated that in the lowest class of brothels, the women had to receive 10 or 12 men a day, even when ill and even obviously diseased men

were not prevented from entering the brothel. As to the recruitment of the brothels, the Committee had some important evidence. Miss Ronaldson said that male procurers worked regularly at Railway stations and decoyed women who were maltreated or deserted by their husbands. Hawkers and gharriwalas were in the pay of brothel keepers. The suppression of brothels is thus the most urgent reform needed in Bombay as the majority report rightly apprehends.

The Viceroy on the Prime Minister's Speech: His Excellency the Viceroy received on the 19th instant a deputation which called his attention to the amazed consternation created by Mr. Lloyd George's speech on the Indian Civil Service debate in the House of Commons. In his reply, Lord Reading laid his knowledge of the Prime Minister, of the House of Commons, of the English language, and the politeness of his hearers, heavily under contribution in order to explain that what Mr. Lloyd George meant was the reverse of what he said. Realising nevertheless that no second-hand interpretation of the Prime Minister's speech was sufficient, even though emanating from one of his own authoritative position, the Viceroy produced a declaration from Mr. Lloyd George, which, however, does not go very far. His Excellency said:

But on so grave a matter there should not be room for the faintest possibility of doubt and I therefore placed myself in communication with the Prime Minister, who authorizes me to say that nothing in his statement to the House of Commons was intended to conflict with, or indicate, any departure from the policy announced in the formal declarations and his Majesty's proclamation.

It is the policy announced in the formal declarations and his Majesty's message that Mr. Lloyd George purported to elucidate in his House of Commons speech, in view of the discontent that has arisen in the Services, and to say that what he said was not intended to be inconsistent with that policy is to say nothing that is re-assuring. We can conceive of no device by which India can attain responsible Government and, at the same time, the Services can be maintained as a privileged class. The two things are incompatible, and the Viceroy himself skipped over this part of his subject as lightly as possible. Neither the Prime Minister nor the Viceroy seem to think that the Indian public has some intelligence and understanding, and that it is entitled to put a plain interpretation on plain English words. We print an article on the Viceroy's gloss on the Prime Minister's speech from the Non-Co-operationists' point of view. It may be noted that while Mr. Sadanand wants Liberals to join his party, the *Hindu* of Madras suggests that Non-Co-operationists should join Liberals, if the latter agree to force a General Election on the issue of the Prime Minister's speech, to bring about real responsible Government. It writes:

We wonder if in the new scale of values a seat in the council yet retains the glamour with which it was once invested. It is no longer a stepping-stone to self-government but a sort of

sinicure for the nominees of the bureaucracy. If the moderates really mean business, the country will naturally expect them to put the matter to issue by resigning their seats and applying to the electorate to decide how far it is prepared to submit to bureaucratic dictation in the choice of its representatives. With the issue so narrowed down—for the question is between real self-government and a bureaucratic camouflage of it—it may not be inadvisable for Congressmen to consider whether the boycott of the Councils should not be lifted for the purpose of demonstrating that India is not going to be palmed off with a self-confessed tinsel imitation of home rule.

The J. J. Hospital Scandal: The Director of Information has issued a communication on the circumstances in which several patients were turned out of the principal Hospital in Bombay by the Medical officer in charge of the institution. It seems that, in pursuance of the policy of retrenchment, Government sent out a warning to all officers in charge of Hospitals to keep within their budgetted expenditure and for the purpose, if necessary, to limit the admission of patients. This circular was by mistake also sent to the J. J. Hospital for which Government receives a grant from the Bombay Municipal Corporation on the basis of maintaining not less than 300 beds. This was the first mistake from which arose the whole trouble, and the public have a right to be told how this arose and where it arose. The officer in charge of the Hospital, it appears, made representations to Government that it would be necessary to reduce the number of patients if he had to keep within his grant, and by way of emphasising them, he, after waiting for a reply for what he considered a reasonable time, first, restricted admissions to the Hospital, and, later, actually turned out of it some 150 in-patients in less than a fortnight. The Government Order was issued on the 29th June, and though, it is stated, correspondence on the subject between the Medical officer of the Hospital and the Surgeon-General and Government took place in the interval, no one seems to have noticed that the circular was sent to the J. J. Hospital by mistake, till the 4th of August when Government came to know that patients had been turned out of the Hospital. This also requires to be explained. Colonel Carter's intimation of his intention to turn out patients is dated the 28th July, but the figures given in the communique show that he had begun to carry out his idea four days earlier. It is impossible, in the absence of fuller information, to reconcile this discrepancy and, indeed, the whole episode, with the duty of a departmental subordinate not to embarrass his responsible superior. At the same time, the delay in dealing with a question so grave, does not reflect credit on the Surgeon-General's office or the Secretariat. The Minister's complaint that there was a delay of four days in the Surgeon-General's office of the ultimatum of the Medical Officer of the J. J. Hospital, is virtually an admission that it was the threat of turning out patients that brought him to a decision. The publication of the whole correspondence between Colonel Carter and the Surgeon-General and Government, may put a different complexion on the course adopted, but the information so far available is not creditable to the Department concerned. The Minister responsible for it, has no reason to be satisfied with his part in the matter, and the attempt to intimidate the Press—for that is the only way in which we can understand it—for bringing this scandal to public notice is an affront to the public. It was very reprehensible of the *Bombay Chronicle* to have stated that two of the patients turned out of the Hospital had died in consequence. Our contemporary has acknowledged its mistake, and we are bound to say that in the circumstances the *Chronicle's* mistake was much less reprehensible than the mistakes of the Department. The communique does not show that the authorities responsible yet realise the seriousness of their blunder.

The New Official Style: In our comment last week on the motion, at the last meeting of the Senate of the Bombay University, to give candidates the option of answering all papers except the English ones for the Joint Matriculation and School Leaving examination in the vernaculars, we pointed out that, while the Director of Public Instruction in supporting the motion referred to the allowance of the option in the School Final examination when Government conducted it, he did not state that very few took advantage of it. The *Times of India* reporter understood that the precedent cited, was cited as a successful one justifying the adoption of the motion before the Senate. It is not a little surprising to read the following letter from Mr. Lory in Monday's *Times of India*:

In the account in to-day's *Times of India* of the proceedings of the University Senate of 18th August, I am incorrectly reported to have said that the experiment of allowing candidates in the Government of School Final Examination to answer papers in the Vernacular had proved a success. I said nothing as to the success or failure of the experiment.

To cite an experiment, as to the success or failure of which one could say nothing, in support of a proposition to extend it on a large scale to an examination where it had never before been tried, seems to be meaningless, to say the least of it.

A Partial View: The *Baptist Missionary Review* for August reprints, with an editorial commending it to American readers, Mr. Badley's letter, published in the *Indian Witness* of the 31st May, headed "Gandhi's Gospel; an open letter for American readers." That letter was noticed in a leading article in the *Reformer* of June 11th and Mr. Badley in reply was good enough to explain some points in his letter, published in the *Reformer* of June 25th. We think that Mr. Badley's letter in the *Indian Witness* must be taken with his letter in the *Reformer*, to convey to American or other readers a whole view of his position relating to Mahatma Gandhi and his influence in the country. The *Baptist Review* frequently does us the honour of quoting from our columns, and we are surprised that it should have overlooked Mr. Badley's important letter when it reprinted and commented editorially on his "open letter" in the *Witness*.

Some Judicial Pronouncements: The Punjab High Court in rejecting a Government appeal against an acquittal on a charge of sedition, declared that "on any definition the Government established by law could not mean a few policemen at a particular place whose misdeeds, if proved, Government would certainly repudiate nor could it be held that any aspersion against a few policemen tended to bring Government into hatred." It also declared that "class" or "section" connoted "a well-defined group and not a fortuitous concourse of a few policemen assembled at a particular place on a particular occasion." In the Patna High Court, Mr. Justice Das in a political case laid down that, while the Court would never sanction a breach of the peace, it was necessary for the Court to assert from time to time, and as often as possible, that the subject had his rights as well as his duties, and that the Court would sternly repress any attempt on the part of the Executive Government to tamper with such rights and liberties and in order, in the garb of an order for the maintenance of law and order, to make a very serious inroad upon the liberty of the subject.

Our Supplement: A small number of the supplement to to-day's issue, containing the report of the Bombay Prostitution Committee, is available for sale at annas 8 per copy.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 27, 1922.

THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY REFORM BILL.

The Madras Minister of Education has drafted a Bill for the re-constitution of the Madras University as a residential University within the limits of Madras City and an affiliating University for the rest of the Presidency. The moffussil colleges in the Southern Presidency, which are both numerous and powerful, have naturally risen up against the the morganatic position in which the Bill would thrust them. It is practically impossible for a University in the hybrid position of a residential-affiliating University to be equally solicitous or efficient towards the two parts of it. Nor can the status of the graduates under the dual arrangement be assured of any measure of uniformity. So long as an Indian University feels the need of retaining its affiliating character, so long it cannot seek to form a few colleges near its head-quarters into a residential type without serious detriment to the outlying colleges. The Bombay University, which for a few years played with the idea of concentrating colleges in a few centres, has been obliged by the force of circumstances to give it up and when it affiliated the National College in Hyderabad, Sind, a few months ago, the concentration policy was formally relinquished in the course of the debate in the Senate. The objections to the concentration policy may be briefly stated. In the first place, our colleges are yet as much institutions of educational propaganda as of cultural development. The desire for higher education has to be created in large parts of the country. The moffussil colleges are the outposts in this great educational campaign, and a college on the edge of the desert like the Hyderabad College is, from this point of view, of even greater importance to the University than the great and flourishing colleges nestling in the warmth of its bosom. These distant colleges are to an Indian University, what missions are to a Church, its means of self-expression in new spheres and of renewing its vitality from the life abundant which it seeks to irradiate. Education has to be brought to the doors of the people and, until this has been done in sufficient measure, residential Universities are premature except in a few isolated areas.

Again, the residential system involves the hostel system which has so far not proved a conspicuous success in this country. Hostels have become centres of political propaganda, of communal antagonism and, in some cases, as Newington which the Madras Government abolished two years ago, of actual demoralisation. Until an adaptation of the hostel to Indian conditions has been successfully reached, the residential system must be a doubtful and even perilous experiment. And it cannot be reached until Indian social and national ideas emerge from their present chaos into some semblance of a definite, purposeful scheme of life. Even apart

from that, the tendency even in England is towards the day scholars system, as offering more advantages than the residential from a purely educational point of view. The educational value of the family life, with its constant and voluntary adjustments, its little daily sacrifices, its object-lessons in altruism, is eliminated from a system where a student lives a life of rules and artificial ease as in a hostel. No young man brought up in a decent family amidst his mother and sisters would have written such a letter as the one which we received last week from an address at one of the important Madras College Hostels, and which we reprint in another column as a warning to parents who, deceived by the glamour of a University degree, fondly sacrifice their daughters to callous men who have no thought except for their own advancement. This young man, and he is by no means a rare type nowadays, who has probably been maintained by dint of daily stinting of their bare necessities by his parents at a Madras College Hostel, now wants the parents of some girl, possessing money, to purchase him for her husband on the terms which he mentions with so much self-complacency. It is not a little humiliating to us after nearly thirty-five years to be told that it is part of our mission to find purchasers of such husbands! But that is nothing compared to the horrid fate that awaits the poor girls whom under the pressure of cruel custom fond parents would sacrifice on the altar of such damnable egoism. If this young man had lived with his people and shared their privations, he would not have developed such a callous self-conceit as is exhibited in his letter. This writer has inspected over a dozen colleges in this Presidency during the last few months, and he does not remember a single one of which he was satisfied that it fitted into the Indian scheme of life. The fact is that the system is yet an exotic without its roots in the social soil.

We have before now indicated in these columns what, in our opinion, is the true line of University expansion in India. Indian Universities must propagate themselves by fission. We should start daughter Universities of the type as it has developed during the last fifty or sixty years in India with progressively reduced areas in their jurisdiction. The Indian University as it is today in Bombay, for instance, is by no means an exclusively examining University. Its teaching and administrative sides have been fast developing in response to the changes in the economic, social and political environment. As we have said more than once, the University system in a country cannot possibly develop without reference to social, economic and political conditions. The Madras University has become unwieldy and it is high time that two more daughter Universities rose to share per mission. We had some reason to think that the Madras Minister of Education, Mr. Patro, had not fallen a victim to the fatal fascination of the Sadler Commission's Report—already largely out of date—and was resolved on thinking out a policy for himself. What has been the experience of the new unitary Universities in Dacca, Patna and Lucknow? There are

every day advertisements for Professors, and men are being drafted as University Professors, some of whom at any rate would have made passable Headmasters of High Schools. Professors from the Colleges are converted by the simple process of paying larger salaries into University Professors. It is a natural and laudable ambition for a Minister to commemorate his three years' tenure of office by founding a new and ambitious type of University, but the country cannot produce a host of University Professors at twenty-four hours' notice. We have known more than one instance of a would-be Professor playing off one University against another in his desire to obtain the best terms for himself. It has become difficult for the several Indian Universities to follow any rule as regards the equivalence of their respective examinations, because the new Universities have formed standards of their own without reference to those of the older Universities. We think it high time that the Universities of India federated together in some form which would ensure unity of principle and development so essential to a cultivated national life. A wise conservatism is a fundamental necessity of all stable institutions, and in none more than in a University. In India for the last fifteen or twenty years education in all grades and stages has been in a state of violent unsettlement. The Reforms are yet in the stage of experiment, according to the Prime Minister, and the diarchical Ministers have been able to do little in any other Department. They will do well to wait till the Councils have had time to settle down to carry through their educational schemes. With its present communal obsessions, the Madras Council is particularly ill-fitted to deal wisely with University reform.

THE AWAKENING AMONG THE THIYARS.

The presidential address delivered by Mr. C. Krishnan, B. A. B. L., at the inaugural meeting of the Thiyar Malabar Association held in Calicut on the 6th instant is a lucid exposition of the several disabilities which the members of his community have been subjected to by the arrogance of the so-called high caste Hindus of Malabar. The Thiyars are the most advanced of no less than thirty different communities which the Caste-Hindus consider as "Unapproachables." The Thiyar population in the West Coast is nearly 18 lakhs and they form nearly 40 per cent. of the Hindu population of Malabar. The educational advancement of the community has been so rapid that, especially in North Malabar, they form the most educated of the Hindu population. Some of the members of the Thiyar community hold high offices in the Government, as for instance, a member of this community is a Judge in the Madras High Court. It is no wonder, therefore, that such a progressive community has been feeling rightly indignant at the outrageous customs to which they have been subjected.

Mr. Krishnan devotes the major portion of his address to show the necessity for special representation for his community in the Councils. But for the want of

Thiyar representatives in the Councils, the Editor of the *Moderate Advocate* would not have denounced the Reforms as "a mockery" and he would not have declared that "they must not look up to the British Government for help any longer." He says that when the Moplas who number about 10 lakhs and who are neither more educated nor enlightened than the Thiyars, have two representatives in the Councils, there is hardly any justification for the denial of special representation to the Thiyars. His scathing condemnation of the existing system of Malabar land tenure is, perhaps, the most important portion in his address. As a publicist who has been taking much interest in the tenancy question, Mr. Krishnan's opinions on this subject have special weight and we think he voices the intelligent public opinion in Malabar. Dewan Bahadur Krishnan Nair has already published his Tenancy Bill which he intends to bring before the Madras Legislative Council. His Bill has evoked adverse criticisms both from the landlords and the tenants of Malabar. We understand that Mr. C. B. Reddy is preparing a Bill on more liberal lines and from the resolutions of the Thiyar Malabar Association it is seen that the Thiyars have passed a resolution supporting Mr. Reddy's Bill. We trust that this long-standing grievance of the Malabar tenants will be removed at an early date by the passing of the Tenancy Bill.

Mr. Krishnan advises his community to educate public opinion to raise the prestige of the community and to agitate to obtain an early recognition of their claims. He emphasises the need of education and social service and advises the Thiyars "to throw off false notions of prestige and fashion which involve avoidable expenditure." We wish he had been more unequivocal in advising the members of his community on the subject of the business of manufacturing and dealing in liquor. While he appreciates the movement among the members of his community in Cochin and Travancore to give up the manufacture of liquor, he warns his hearers to be "cautious enough to see that we do not bring financial ruin and unemployment upon our heads, and that we do not become mere pawns in other people's political games." There are more natural and more profitable uses to which the palm can be put, than tapping it for toddy. The sight of a tall, graceful palm, with its fronds upraised to heaven, gashed and bleeding from its neck is one of the most gruesome sights that one can behold of a morning. We think that the insinuation that the temperance movement is a part of the "political game" is unfair. Even if it is, the great social benefits of the movement should outweigh its political complexion, and what after all, is politics for but to advance high social ends? He should have said that so long as the members of his community cling to the hereditary profession of tree-tapping there is no hope of getting the legitimate grievances redressed and that unless they remove this stain from their community it would be idle to expect the recognition of equal social status.

In the concluding part of his address Mr. Krishnan "after a good deal of consideration and with a full sense of responsibility" advises his community, "to

break off our fancied connection with the Caste-Hindu community." What exactly this means is not clear. We trust it will open the eyes of the orthodox caste-Hindus of Malabar who are responsible for having driven a person of Mr. Krishnan's education and culture to such a conclusion. But in view of the change of attitude of educated Hindus towards social problems affecting the untouchables and unapproachables, we cannot say how far it is expedient to start such a separatist movement. "As Sir Theagaraya Chetty told us not to trust a political Brahmin," says Mr. Krishnan "I advise you not to trust a political Caste-Hindu." He quotes the example of the Madras Non-Brahmin movement to show that his community would be much profited by seceding from the caste Hindus. While we have recognized the awakening the Non-Brahmin movement has created among them in the Madras Presidency, we have not failed to point out the defects due to its intolerant exclusiveness. We trust that the leaders of the present movement among the Thiya's will guard against its degenerating into one of anti-Caste-Hindu agitation. The one feature of the Thiya's which alienates the sympathy of outsiders is their antipathy towards those communities which are lower than them. A Thiya who does not tolerate a Paraya approaching him forfeits the right of finding fault with a high caste Hindu for a similar attitude taken by him. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for the Thiya's to extend to the lower communities the same sympathetic attitude which they expect from the Caste-Hindus. The movement can do much good if only the leaders carefully guard against the possibility of the less educated and more enthusiastic of their followers taking advantage of it to give vent to their feelings of hatred against other communities.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

HIS LIFE-WORK.

(By MR. H. P. MORRIS.)

The concluding paragraph of Ernest Rhys' biographical study of Rabindranath Tagore ends thus: "His temperament, his love of nature, and the life of meditation that the Indian sun favours, might have led him to retire from the struggle for the new order. A sharper force drove him to look to the ailment of his time, and he became, instead of its ascetic, or its hermit in the wilderness, its healer, its discernor, and its lyric poet in one." Of the three kindred functions here assigned by the biographer, the first two—those of the "healer" and the discernor or "discerner"—will be acknowledged to have gained increasing significance in the later phases of Rabindranath's career. This fact was emphasised in an address, delivered under Lord Hardinge's presidentship at the Simla Viceregal Lodge, wherein the lecturer declared that larger international problems were then looming on the horizon of Tagore's mind. In one of the poet's own letters written at this period (1912-13) to an English professor, we read that the "Making of Man" or the welding together of different races is the one problem of the present age, and we must be prepared to go through

the martyrdom of sufferings and humiliations till the victory of God in man is achieved." In another of about the same date, he again writes to this friend: "I realized that a new stage in my life had come, the stage of a voyager. To the open road! To the emancipation of self! To the realization in love!" This new stage was, however, not reached without a transition period of severe trial, inner and outer, during which time he had struggled hard by selling all his own to found "a little Academe" at Shantiniketan, Bolpur. And so the years that marked a profound change in his inner life, whereby death itself brought but a sense of fulfilment, synchronized with the years that witnessed his efforts to work out constructive, social ideas, broad-based on the universal interests of humanity.

It is not, therefore, difficult to understand Tagore's message as contained in the pages of *Nationalism* and *Creative Unity*. "Our real problem in India is not political. It is social." By reason of her great diversity in race and largeness of area, India is not one country but "many countries packed in one geographical receptacle"; and on her solution of this race problem depends the worth of her contribution to Man's civilization. The truth of her mission lies in the manner of her social adjustments, so "we cut a poor figure when we are trying to be political, simply because we have not yet been finally able to accomplish what was set before us by our Providence." Those who live their lives under the daily inspiration of his genius know how deep is Rabindranath's distrust of a tendency "to build a political miracle of freedom on the quicksand of social slavery." To read aright the history of India would be to discover therein 'a process of creation to which various races of the world contributed—the Dravidians and the Aryans, the ancient Greeks and the Persians, the Mohammedans of the west and those of Central Asia. Now at last has come the turn of the English to become true to this history, and bring to it the tribute of their life.' Then, again, is to be faced the most momentous event of modern times—the meeting of the West and the East—which has to be utilised for 'a great creation of man.' 'The materials for such a creation are in the hands of science; but the creative genius is in Man's spiritual ideal... Truth has its nest as well as its sky. For some centuries the East has neglected the nest building of truth. But has she then to be told that the messenger of the sky and the builder of the nest shall never meet?'

Prompted by the impulse to do the utmost that lies in one's power for this need of the moment, Rabindranath founded last year, on the basis of the Shantiniketan institution, a world-centre of culture, named Vishwa-Bharati. Its primary object is 'to seek to realise in a common fellowship of study the meeting of East and West, and thus ultimately to strengthen the fundamental conditions of world peace through the establishment of free communication of ideas between two hemispheres.' A few months previous to the foundation, the poet's international appeal, circulated in Europe during his memorable tour,

stated: 'Any disinterested offer of co-operation from any part of the West will have an immense moral value, the memory of which will become brighter as the regeneration of the East grows in vigour and creative power.' The heartfelt response may be judged from the advent of some of Europe's best workers whom her ancient seats of learning have sent or are sending to the Institute. Will the future historian of our none too quiet times record Rabindranath's instance as lending one more verification to the adage, that 'A prophet has most honour out of his own country'; or rather, may it not be hoped that India's best energies will be harnessed to realise in its fullness of truth this world-wide, constructive, social ideal of her healer, her discernor, and her lyric poet in one?

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

(By MR. S. SADANAND.)

The non-official deputation that waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy to protest against the Premier's utterance asked for bread and has received a stone. Could anything better have been expected of the Premier or the Viceroy? The fond hopes entertained in interested circles that the Viceroy would repudiate and himself lead the Indian protest against the implications of the Premier's speech and "take necessary steps to obtain such a declaration from His Majesty's Government," have been falsified. The Viceroy has not only refused to take up the cudgels on behalf of the people of India against the desecration of the solemn pledges and declarations to the Indian people as if they were mere scraps of paper but defended the Premier and attributed an "almost sinister view" on the part of his critics. He said: "I have studied the speech and have re-read it by the light of the fierce criticism directed in India against it and I remain of my first opinion and am unable to accept the meaning attributed to it in many quarters"

The Viceroy's pronouncement is as emphatic and lucid as that of the Premier. The English language may be elusive, as an Anglo-Indian contemporary says apologetically, but the language of the Premier and the Viceroy is not. His Excellency said of the Premier: "No speaker is more capable of expressing himself lucidly and forcibly." Exactly. The Premier meant what he said in his speech and not what the Viceroy would have us to believe. The Viceroy said that the words of the announcement of August 20, 1917, stating the goal of British rule, and embodied in the Preamble to the Reform Act stand now where they did before the Premier made his speech and that no change was indicated by him. It is not denied that the Premier in his speech did not indicate any change in the words of the Preamble to the Reform Act or to the goal of British rule in India which they define. The Premier could not change them even if he wanted by a mere declaration without bringing an Act of Amendment before the Parliament. We agree with the Viceroy and accept his assurance that the Premier did not indicate or even intend to indicate any change in the Preamble to the Reform Act.

But the position is that the Preamble to the Reform Act only embodies a general principle, that of the progressive realisation of responsible Government by the people of India, while the main feature of the Act is the constitution of Parliament as the judge of the progressive stages towards that realisation. Time is the important factor on which depends the reality or otherwise of the declared goal. What differences of opinion exist between the different political parties in India are entirely over the methods of attainment of the goal, as to whether it should be, by, what is called, Parliamentary Action or by Direct Action. There is not a single responsible party in India which does not believe that the country is fit to have responsible Government immediately. If any party is willing to have responsible Government by stages, it is only in a spirit of compromise to reconcile vested British interests.

The pronouncement of the Premier is equivalent to a declaration of policy by His Majesty's Government not of the goal of British rule in India, which is defined in the Preamble to the Reforms Act, but of what constitute the essential conditions which the Indian people should fulfil, in order to satisfy the British Cabinet and Parliament, that a further step towards advance can be taken. Since in a spirit of compromise the Indian co-operationists agreed to the implications of the Preamble to the Reform Act, there can be no real opposition on their part to the Premier, laying down, on behalf of the British Cabinet and Parliament, certain conditions which they must fulfil, that is, make the country to perform. It is now too late for the co-operationists to dispute the right of the Premier, the British Cabinet and Parliament to impose conditions as a test of India's fitness for freedom. They had surrendered on the vital issue that freedom is a right and not a boon for good behaviour, which His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught rubbed into them, in his speech inaugurating the central legislature on the 9th February 1920, when he said—"Political freedom has often been won by revolution, by tumult, by civil war at the price of peace and public safety. How rarely has it been the gift of one people to another in response to a growing wish for greater liberty and to the growing evidence of fitness for its enjoyment."

So the co-operators cannot legitimately object to the imposition of conditions. But the outcry against the Premier's speech is not that he has imposed conditions but that he has laid down conditions the fulfilment of which would mean the negation of all freedom. The Viceroy has chosen to confuse the issues and to treat the non-official deputation to a homily on the meaning of the Premier's speech but it will not deceive anybody. The Viceroy was asked to repudiate the declaration that the conditions laid down in the Premier's utterance were the *sin qua non* of Indian progress and that a breach of those conditions would even lead to a reconsideration of the goal of British Rule in India and the scrapping of the Reforms. It is a camouflage to say that it is legitimate use of language to describe the reforms as a constitutional experiment, the implication being that

if the Reforms are scrapped even then the progressive character of British rule in India will remain unchanged; only a benevolent autocracy or military despotism may be considered more suited to the Eastern peoples.

Now, the two chief conditions promulgated by the Premier as essential conditions of Indian progress, which have now been ratified by the Viceregal pronouncement are firstly that for all time the supremacy of the British Imperial services in this country must be maintained unimpaired and secondly, that in the next elections, the return of the moderates or extremists at the head of the polls would decide the adaptability or otherwise, of a system of responsible Government suited to western conditions, to Eastern peoples. It is contended that a new situation has arisen on account of the Premier's speech. It is true as far as the co-operators are concerned. Whatever excuse they may have had for agreeing to accept freedom in instalments as 'boons' through the Reform Act and its advertised possibilities, they can no longer have any reason for continuing to stick to their seats on the Legislatures and offices. After the Viceroy's support of the Premier's speech and the latter's refusal to withdraw or regret the insulting implications of his utterance, no Indian can co-operate in the working of the Reforms without subscribing to the humiliating conditions laid down. Are co-operators dead to all sense of self-respect? If they are not, they can adopt only one course, to refuse to work the Reform Act. They need not necessarily adopt any item of the non-co-operation programme, as such. They need not, if they wish, even join the Congress. Let them adopt their own plan of action, which can be anything but a return to the old order of things. Whatever concerted action they may plan, they should strive for freedom on the basis of self-respect, and self-reliance and once for all and at last bid adieu to the time-worn policy of mere protests and petitions, which is demoralising not only to the ruled but the rulers. But will the co-operators have the wisdom and courage to face the issues squarely?

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

London, August 2, 1922.

CRIME AND MENTAL DEFICIENCY.

England seems to thoroughly enjoy conferences. All the year round, scarcely a week passes without a conference taking place on one important subject or another. Last week's conference, organised by the Central Association for Mental Welfare dealt with mental deficients. There was a large attendance of delegates from all parts of the country, and an extremely valuable discussion took place. Crime and mental deficiency were by most speakers classed together. Sir Bryan Donkin, formerly Commissioner of Prisons, said that there was overwhelming evidence in favour of the belief that the menace to the community was great from the number of unquestionably defective children who were the immediate offspring of similarly affected parents. Another speaker sup-

porting Sir Bryan's statement about defective parents producing defective offspring, pleaded that the association should carry its programme far enough to consider how best they could prevent more mental defectives being brought into the world. "If", said this speaker, "a man who commits a murder is to be let off simply because he is a mentally defective, and if nothing is done to stop the breeding of such defectives a new race of privileged persons would be coming into life who would be able to commit any crime, including murder, without suffering any penalty for it." This speaker advocated optional sterilization, which, he said, he was convinced would find favour even with the defectives themselves.

STATUS OF MARRIED WOMEN.

A Select Committee of the House of Commons spent a considerable amount of time last week in going over the problems that must be dealt with before arriving at a decision regarding the British Nationality (Married Women) Bill. This Bill was introduced into the House of Commons little time ago by Viscountess Astor, Mrs. Wintringham and others, and affects the status of British women marrying British subjects. In an explanatory memorandum of the measure, it is stated that by the common law of England, the nationality of a woman was not affected by her marriage. If a British woman married an alien she remained British. If an alien woman married a British subject she remained an alien. In 1844 an Act was passed which brought a change into the original common law. By this Act, an alien woman marrying a British subject became a British subject, and by a later Act that of 1870 a British woman marrying an alien lost her British nationality and became an alien. The provisions were brought up for review and continued in 1914. The present Bill proposes to restore to British women the right lost by them 52 years ago, that of retaining their British nationality on marriage with an alien, and also provides that women who have lost it through marriage, shall regain it unless they make a declaration of alienage. It also provides that an alien woman shall not acquire British nationality by marriage with a British subject, and requires the woman, if she desires to obtain British nationality to satisfy the same conditions as to residence, oath of allegiance, etc., as are required before an alien man is naturalised.

At the present time, the English law is in conformity with the law of the majority of foreign countries. In France the status of a French-woman who marries a foreigner is that of the husband, unless she marries a man of a nationality that does not confer such nationality upon the wife. In that case she remains French. The same applies to most other European countries.

The Committee is still considering the details of the new Bill now before it; much thought will have to be given to its effect on the laws relating to enfranchisement of women, succession, divorce and probate.

THE "EGYPT" ENQUIRY.

The Board of Trade enquiry into the loss of the "Egypt" has been going on now for days. Nearly

all of the evidence centres round the boats discipline and behaviour of the Lascar crew. The captain in his evidence paid a tribute generally to a Lascar crew for the London to Bombay journey. He said he had never found them give any trouble if they were under good leadership. But he also said that the Lascars at the time of the accident seemed paralyzed with fear, and completely lost their self-control. From all the witnesses the story was practically the same. The Lascars lost their mental balance and once having lost it could not regain it, and no one could do anything with them. Thus more lives were lost than need have been, notwithstanding the suddenness of the wreck and the quick sinking of the boat. The stories told by the passengers who were called as witnesses make were unhappy reading, the whole incident making a bad blot on Indian seamanship. All the more is the present failure of the Lascars to be deplored, because of the fine work they put in during the horrors of the war years. Many of these same men who were on the "Egypt", and who, at the expense of others whom they might have helped, sought to save themselves, were men who had spent years on the sea and had faced the horrors of wreck and disaster on more than one occasion before.

"NO MORE WAR" WRECK.

This week end just passed is to be known as "No More War" week end. In at least a dozen countries demonstrations were held asserting the determination that wars shall cease. In France, Germany, Holland, Sweden, Australia, Hungary, Switzerland and the United States, these demonstrations were held, London's demonstration was an impressive one. Thousands of men and woman marched from four main points and met together in Hyde Park. Men and women of various schools of thought, but all of the same principle, spoke on the platforms provided for the speakers. All urged the same plea, that the nations bind themselves together and refuse to kill each other in the settlement of any international dispute. At a given moment a roll of drums heralded the putting of the resolution, and from every platform the resolution of the day was put and carried.

Then the whole assembly of thousands, led by a massed choir, sang a hymn that has been the cry of many lovers of humanity for many years past:

"When wilt Thou save the people,
Oh God of Mercy, when;
The people, Lord, the people,
Not thrones and crowns, but men.
God save the people, Thine they are,
Thy children as Thy angels fair,
From vice, oppression and despair
God save the people."

HORATIO BOTTOMLEY.

It is said that only once before in our Parliamentary history has one of the Members of the House of Commons been expelled from it. To-day will see the second occasion of such an expulsion, for to-day Horatio Bottomley is to be summoned to attend the House and the motion for his expulsion is to be put. Last week it was believed that Bottomley would be present in the House, and make a further plea to be

re-established in the eyes of men; but this morning it was announced that, acting on the advice of friends, medical and otherwise, he has abandoned his intention of attending in person, and will content himself by sending a letter to the Speaker, in which he gives something of an explanation of his absence. Since Bottomley, then, will not be present to make an impassioned appeal, and nobody can say anything in defence of him before judgment by his Parliamentary compeers is passed upon him, it is probable that the business will be a purely formal one; but Bottomley's name will go down to posterity, written in the history of the House of Commons as a swindler who was expelled from it. Possibly not many Members will be present, all feel keenly the slur upon the honour of the House. If Bottomley were present in person it might be different. A full Members meeting would probably then take place. But it is better that the business should be quickly over, and its ugliness packed away out of sight.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND MANDATES.

Considerable interest marked the closing session of the Council of the League of Nations. The Palestine Mandate was before them and this had been the cause of much controversy and comment. The Council room was filled with representatives of the public who followed the speeches with more attention than is usually given to affairs so far off. The Council agreed that the British Mandate for Palestine and the French Mandate for Syria should come automatically into operation, immediately the Italian and French Governments have settled some slight outstanding differences. The Syrian Mandate has not yet secured the necessary approval of Italy and the unfortunate political crisis in that country has interrupted the negotiations that were taking place in Paris. There still seems to be considerable difficulties between the Jews and the Arabs, the Arabs until the last moment showing their apprehension of Jewish influence in Palestine. The Mandate now given is said to formally safeguard the interests of all, especially the Moslem and Christian inhabitants of the country and provides for them a court of appeal if they find their rights or privileges infringed.

THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH.

We have heard of the alchemists of old who sought for the elixir of life and youth, and for the last few years have known that monkey glands grafted on to an old man can give him back the youth he craves for; whether or not he enjoys youth so obtained is another matter. But all this seems to belong to the world of speculation and un reality. The annual report, however, of the Ministry of Health gives us much more real hope for prolonging the mature years of life by purely normal means. In this report, it is pointed out that the average duration of life here is already increasing, which means that premature death is being appreciably lessened. Education of a very varied character has taught us the value of hygiene, the importance of taking reasonable precautions against disease, and the value of temperance in all things. Medical science has also done much to bring about this improved state of things, but probably the greatest asset of all in the fight against disease and premature death is the developing common sense of the mass of the people who are willing to be taught and to carry out the lessons learned.

Bombay Prostitution Committee's Report.

1. *Terms of Reference.*—The task assigned to this Committee* is "to consider means for remedying the evils of prostitution in Bombay". The history which had led up to the present condition of affairs is little remembered and must be briefly recounted.

2. *Contagious Disease Act.*—In the late 60's the official conscience awoke to the terrible ravages of venereal disease. The passing of the English Contagious Diseases Acts of 1866 to 1869 was followed by an Indian counterpart, Act IV of 1868, which enabled the Provinces to enforce the registration and compulsory examination of common prostitutes and their detention till cured. Advantage was taken of the Act in all the three Presidency towns. In Bombay a temporary Lock Hospital was built and staffed, the city divided into six registration districts and the administration of the Act entrusted to a Supervisor with six medical inspectors and a small force of policemen and matrons. The Act came into force on 1st May 1870 and in the first year Rs. 80,000 were spent by the City and Government jointly, 2,000 prostitutes registered and subjected to weekly examination and 600 medically treated. The Bench of Justices however decided that the results had not justified the expense and refused their contribution for 1871. Government agreed that the results were poor but decided to continue the experiment for a year more and to reduce the cost by abolishing the post of Supervisor and entrusting the working of the Act to the Health Officer without extra remuneration and with a smaller staff. The second year's working however was less successful than the first. Rs. 60,000 was spent, but the whole staff was discontented and the prostitutes began to learn how to evade registration. The result was that on 30th March 1872 the operations under the Act were formally closed and the hospital and inspecting staff disbanded.

The Sanitary Commissioner to Government in 1876 proposed the revival of the Act and the Health Officer of the Corporation supported him, giving it as his opinion that the opposition to the Act would disappear if the Lock Hospital were sympathetically administered. Government accordingly invited the Municipality to reintroduce the Act and at a meeting held on 27th April 1877, the Corporation agreed that it was desirable to do so but to make the working of it self-supporting, as the Corporation had no funds for the purpose. Government rejected this proposal after long deliberation and early in 1880 called on the Corporation to furnish half the cost of working the Act. The Corporation at first refused, resolving that it was ready to spend a maximum of Rs. 15,000 a year on the mitigation of the diseases, but finally acceded to the demand of Government. A Lock Hospital was established in charge of a medical officer, the City divided into three

* By Government Resolution, Home Department, No. 469 of 16th November 1921. The final constitution of the Committee was:—Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy, Bart., M.L.A. *Chairman*, The Right Reverend E. J. Palmer, D. D., Bishop of Bombay, The Most Reverend Dr. A. Goodier, S. J. Archbishop of Bombay, Mr. W. C. Holman, Commissioner of Police; Mr. H. B. Clayton, I.C.S. Municipal Commissioner; Major C. Fernandez M.D., I.M.S., M.L.C., Dr. (Miss) E. Turner Watts M.D., Dr. (Miss) Jerbanoo E. Mistri, L. M. & S., Mr. Fala B. Tyabji Bar-at-Law, Mr. S.G. Velinkar, L.L.B., Bar-at-Law, Mr. Kanji Dwarakadas, M.L.C., Colonel K. McLennan D.S.O., R.A.M.C., Colonel Stanley R. Ewens, Chief Secretary, Salvation Army; Mr. K. Natarajan, Rev. R.M. Gray with Mr. E.W. Perry, I.C.S. as *Secretary*.

registration districts, the prostitutes registered, this time by the police, three examination centres established, each with its doctor, and prostitutes found diseased were marched to the Lock Hospital by the police and there detained. Much protest was raised by well-known citizens led by the Bishop of Bombay, but Government persevered with its policy until in 1888 the Contagious Diseases Act was repealed by the Central Government two years after the repeal of the English Acts.

3. *Subsequent Policy.*—During the succeeding thirty years the policy has been one of frank *laissez-faire* so far as the worst evils of prostitution, the moral and physical, are concerned, combined with a very efficient enforcement of the laws made to control prostitution regarded as a public nuisance. Latterly, especially since Syed Mirza Khan's case in 1917 a rigorous attempt has been made to protect prostitutes from illegal detention by enhanced punishments and by declaring debts contracted by them from the keepers of their brothels irrecoverable. The new Children's Welfare Bill should abolish, when it becomes law, the grave abuse of children living in brothels. By a systematic use of section 20 of the Bombay City Police Act, which enables the Commissioner of Police to direct any prostitute to vacate her place of residence, a segregated area has been formed in the vicinity of Grant Road Station. The effect of this process can be seen by a comparison of the figures of the 1901 and 1921 census, though it must be remembered that the census deals only with women who are so patently prostitutes as not to desire to conceal their profession. The return shows that the two Sections—Tardeo and Kamatipura—contained in 1901, 849 and in 1921, 1,340 such women—or 18 per cent. and 45 per cent. respectively of the whole number in Bombay as shown by the census.

4. *Number and location of prostitutes.*—The Provincial Superintendent of Census to whom we are indebted for much up-to-date information has furnished us with a map showing the distribution of the 2,995 women who returned their occupation as prostitution in the last census. There are known houses of prostitution in areas professing complete immunity in the census returns, for instance in the approaches to the Alexandra Dock, but the women outside the tolerated area have a motive to conceal their calling which those inside have not, and consequently the map exaggerates the degree of segregation achieved. It does not show however the intenser degree of segregation in the rectangle bounded on the South by Grant Road, on the North by Bellasis Road, on the West by Falkland Road and on the East by Duncan Road. The Commissioner of Police estimates the number of prostitutes living in brothels alone at nearly double the census figures. The present policy has achieved the concentration in a small area of a large proportion of acknowledged prostitutes, especially of those likely to offend against good order.

5. *Advantages of segregation.*—This segregation has been progressively attained largely by compliance with demands continually arising for the removal of prostitutes from "respectable" localities. Prostitutes have been transported to an area where they can be a nuisance only to each other. On behalf of segregation it has been urged that it facilitates administrative supervision, the maintenance of order, sanitation, and medical supervision. How far can these advantages be said to have been gained in Bombay? Medical

supervision may be left out of account for there is none whatever. The other three points are said by the executive officers of Government to have been facilitated by segregation. Their opinion would be conclusive if it were right to assume that the duty of securing public order and decency belongs to the executive officers of Government alone. But we incline to the opposite view that the public has the duty of co-operating with Government on all such matters, and that in proportion as it does so, public order and decency and sanitation are better secured. We believe that the policy of segregation has encouraged the public in holding aloof from any interference with the evils existing in the segregated area, whereas, if these evils were dispersed, public opinion would be more aware of them and more likely to exert itself to combat them. Further we note that the system of saving the better areas by the creation of a plague spot is one against which public opinion is visibly strengthening. We doubt if any citizen of Bombay can entirely eliminate from his mind the horror and disgust inspired by the contempt of morality which "Grant Road" implies and the misery of the unfortunate women which it displays.

Though we have no wish to see an aggravated condition of affairs in the by-laws, the demand for the removal of brothels from the main roads and tram lines which are used by all classes of the population is insistent and should be carried out in the interests of public morals whether our main proposals are accepted or not.

6. *Public feeling against Grant Road.*—The recent proposal of the Municipal Corporation to expel prostitutes from the Grant Road area and segregate them elsewhere was inevitably rejected by Government. Similar appeals in the past, notably that of the meeting presided over by Sir Bhalchandra Krishna in 1911 for the removal of prostitutes from Girgaum, have remained unanswered. The present area is tolerated by force of custom. If a new area on same scale were established in any accessible position the inhabitants would raise a strong protest, while relegation to an inaccessible and undeveloped area would be equivalent to abolition. "Grant Road" has however, as we understand, only just survived a scheme of reconstruction which has been temporarily shelved as involving heavy demolition. The scheme would inevitably have led to some dispersion of prostitutes. Public opinion would not permit the rebuilding of quarters for prostitutes by or on behalf of a public body.

7. *Defects of segregation.*—Segregation then has by no means destroyed the nuisance. We believe that it is also responsible for some preventible immorality and disease and much unnecessary misery. We must briefly refer to the conditions of that area. A few foreigners still maintain comparatively luxurious and well-conducted quarters in close proximity to the humbler members of their profession. But there has been considerable reduction recently in the numbers of such women owing to the action of Government, and we are glad to learn from our witness Mr. Takayama that the Japanese Government is keeping a close watch on the emigration of Japanese girls. Though we object on principle to a system which implies toleration and gives publicity, these higher class brothels are probably not productive of gross cruelty to the inmates nor centres of such venereal disease, as systematic medical attention is provided by the brothel-keepers. One admitted abuse peculiar perhaps to brothels of the European class is the sale of drink which is common in them. Money may occasionally pass for the drink, but we desire to bring the facts to the notice of Government, though unable to

suggest the remedy. Brothels of this class are however an inconsiderable fraction of the problem. The normal brothel is one which panders to the demand of the poorer substrata of the city.

8. *Present conditions.*—The girls in these Indian brothels are regularly recruited, some from the Punjab, some from Kashmir, very many from Goa, others from Kanara or places nearer at hand, but the brothel inmate is seldom a native of Bombay. Each brothel usually receives a succession of new inmates of the same class or caste. Whether systematic or not there is an agency continually at work to supply the demand of the brothels for an ever-changing personnel. Provided the girl is over sixteen years of age the authorities are powerless to interfere. Many Bombay prostitutes live a semi-family life and keep with them young dependant children who, if girls, are inevitably inured to the trade. At present the authorities have no power to remove these children from their deplorable environment, but as the Bombay Children Bill, makes adequate provision to meet this crying evil by making it an offence for any one having control over a girl between the ages of 4 and 16 to encourage her seduction or prostitution or to allow her to reside in a brothel, we have no further recommendation to make on this question. The brothel-keeper on the arrival of a new comer in the brothel binds her to him by the ancient device of putting her in his debt. Though such debts have been recently made irrecoverable at law and the police do all in their power to make this known, the very fact that the custom remains prevalent shows how effective it still is. Physical detention may be rare, probably because it is seldom necessary. We are told that the bars on the brothels were put up to screen the women from unwelcome attentions from the police and maltreatment by hooligans. Special powers have been recently given and vigorously imposed against the forcible detention of prostitutes. But there is seldom need for forcible detention. The only apparent alternative to continuance in the brothel is starvation, and the mode of life induces mental inertia. A great number of women are the virtual slaves of the brothel-keepers. Their scanty fees are the property of those who contrive always to keep them in their debt. In consequence they are compelled to ply their trade up to the limit of human endurance even when suffering from acute venereal disease. The insanitary and overcrowded condition of the brothel area, though perhaps not worse than in some other parts of the city, is particularly horrible in their case. The normal lodging is a room with about 150 square feet of floor space, with sometimes a smaller room attached in which the girls cook, eat, live and ply their trade. In the worst instances as many as 12 prostitutes are confined in premises of this description. Medical attention is wholly denied them.

9. *Features of the present agitation.*—Such being the admitted state of affairs the unanimity of the demand for improvement is not to be wondered at. Two improvements we find to be invariably demanded:—

(1) Adequate provision for the treatment of all cases of venereal disease presenting themselves by the provision of dispensaries, beds in hospitals and free maintenance during treatment.

(2) The elimination of the pimp, procurer and bully.

10. *Medical provision.*—The fullest possible treatment of venereal disease is the obvious means to a decrease in its incidence. But the means of treatment available are deplorably inadequate. There is no hospital in Bombay at which a sufferer from venereal disease can count upon reception a

an in-patient, though a beginning is soon to be made, we believe, in a new municipal hospital at Parel. Dispensaries at which free treatment is given, are also far too few. We agree with Dr. DeSouza that Bombay should be dotted with such dispensaries as that which the League for Combating Venereal Disease has recently set up at Byculla. We wish to leave to this body and to the local authorities the questions of the education of the public in venereal disease, notification of disease, prophylactic treatment and ablution centres. If the Government of India subscribes to the Geneva convention to that effect, the provision of hospital treatment for men suffering from venereal disease and advertisement of the location of the hospital will become obligatory upon the Central Government. Much as we should welcome the acceptance of the principle that a sufferer from one of these diseases is entitled to the same care and sympathy as a sufferer from any other disease, it will be humiliating to see provision made for a class which is mainly not indigenous, in response to outside pressure, on a better scale than that provided for our own people. Though we have no satisfactory statistics available, recent partial enquiries seem to show that the diseases are particularly severe in their incidence in this city. Our witnesses have it clear that a large proportion of those who would gladly resort to treatment are unable to obtain it. If wards were available where prostitutes and others were treated under humane and liberal discipline, we feel sure that a great many carriers of disease could be retained under treatment till they were rendered non-infective. This is our first recommendation. It is one which should be carried out, whatever system of control is adopted. Moreover, until provision is made for all patients, male and female, voluntarily presenting themselves, we do not think that the advocate of compulsory treatment is entitled to a hearing.

11. *Procurers.*—On the question of the pimp and procurer we have heard no more vigorous denunciations than from those of our witnesses who favour a continuance of the brothel system. But the brothel-keeper is necessarily the worst offender, and if pimping and procuring are really anti-social acts and we are not to stop short at moral indignation, we are bound to cease tolerating the institution which necessitates their continuance. The suggestion has been made that because male brothel-keepers have been responsible for the worst atrocities they only should be penalised. The suggestion of course proceeds from the assumption that the present brothel system is to be retained and on the admitted fact that the "mesdames" of brothels see that their institutions are conducted in as orderly and outwardly respectable a way as possible. But the male would screen himself behind a woman brothel-keeper in every case as is now done in Bombay and wherever brothels exist, and we do not think that the provision would result in any appreciable improvement. The powerlessness of Government to deal with this undesirable class under the existing law has caused much comment and surprise not only from non-officials. The reason is simply that the pimp and procurer must be tolerated under a system which virtually tolerates the brothel.

12. *The Brothel.*—We regard it as axiomatic that so long as the brothel is tolerated, there will be a steady flow of girls from the mofussil to the Bombay brothels, and, under present economic conditions, so long as the supply of professional prostitutes equals the demand, the bulk of prostitutes will have to live in the most degraded physical conditions. Our objection to the brothel, however, does not end here. First the public display and advertisement of a facility or product must increase the demand for it.

Any man knows at once where he can go to satisfy his primitive instincts. Some expose themselves to unnecessary risks through curiosity, though we doubt if this is true of any considerable number of Indian inhabitants, whom we are mainly considering. Secondly, though we are far from wishing that the prostitute should be continually exposed to harassment because of her calling, we think that the entrenching of prostitution behind a ring fence does help to encourage an inert state of public opinion.

13. *Abolition and Regulation.*—Having said so much, we have prepared the ground for our constructive proposals. Segregation without medical supervision is a compromise between two rival systems upon which there is world-wide division of opinion—'regulation' and 'abolition'. By regulation we understand the registration and licensing of prostitutes and brothels and compulsory periodical medical examination with compulsory detention in hospital till cure of those found diseased. This is the system prevailing in France and Germany and still more completely in Japan. By abolition we mean destroying the brothel by making it an offence for any man or woman to live wholly or in part upon the immoral earnings of a woman. The standard arguments used for and against both systems are well known and scarcely need reiteration here. It is possible to state briefly the extent of agreement which the adherents of the two systems may reach. The staunchest advocate of abolition must admit that the regulationist is one who frankly recognises an insistent evil and deliberately ignores certain natural scruples in order to combat it the better. The regulationist will admit that his measures, since they are directed against only one sex and against only a fraction of the women who practise indiscriminate immorality, can only be partially effective. He will not agree that whatever diminution of disease is effected by such partial means is so inconsiderable as to be less than the increase due to the indirect encouragement given by the sense of official toleration. The arguments on this point remain inconclusive because they are incapable of proof. No system has been devised that will give sufficiently wide data of the incidence of venereal disease among the civil population under different conditions for the relative importance of any individual factor to be ascertained. If the question is merely whether abolition increases or diminishes venereal disease, the arguments cannot in our opinion be carried beyond the point which we have indicated. But the abolitionist is never content to leave the matter there. He cannot be persuaded that the State ought to throw the weight of its authority by regulation on the side of a system which condemns thousands of women to life-long degradation from which others make pecuniary gain. The more acute the public conscience becomes about all kinds of slavery and exploitation of the weak, the more importance will be attached to this argument.

14. *Military Cantonments.*—'Regulation' was until recently in closely defined cantonment areas enforced in India. The sting of compulsion is greatly weakened when it is easy for any prostitute who objects to it to quit the area affected, and this, combined with the fact that the powers given by the Cantonment Act were exercised with the utmost regard for the susceptibility of public opinion, was responsible for the late continuance of the system. We do not see the least ground for supposing that the compulsory examination of women could ever be re-established in Bombay. It is argued that regulation can be made self-supporting or nearly so by the levy of fees from licensed prostitutes. We think that the argument ignores the very

heavy cost of any efficient scheme of medical inspection, and we see no reason to expect that medical examination, which has in no 'regulated' country been effective as a security against disease, could be made efficient in Bombay. Moreover, we do not think it possible that public opinion would permit such a high degree of State interference and State recognition of the vice. This has never been attempted, as far as we are aware, in any part of the British Empire. The failure of regulation under the Contagious Diseases Act all over India points to the unsuitability of the soil to such a system, an unsuitability that must increase with the liberalising of ideas and the importance of the women's voice. Secondly, powers cannot be legitimately taken for compulsory treatment until provision has been made to meet the maximum demand for voluntary treatment. Thirdly, we feel that the moral objections to regulation among a civil population composed of all ages and both sexes are overwhelming.

15. *Main Recommendation.*—We therefore consider that this Government should follow the example of the Government of Burma and make the following acts illegal:—

- (1) the keeping of brothels;
- (2) the procuring of women;
- (3) the letting of houses for purposes of prostitution.

By 'brothel' we understand, as it is defined in Burma Act II of 1921, a place which one person allows another to use for purposes of prostitution. If brothels in this sense are illegal, the landlord who knowingly lets his premises for the purpose of prostitution clearly abets an offence. The offence however should be separately constituted. The inducements to a conscienceless landlord to let his premises to a class who will pay him a 50 per cent. higher rent than other tenants and pay it in advance are obvious.

It is possible that no perceptible diminution in the volume of vice will follow the legislative reform we advocate. Some actual decrease must follow from the lessening of advertisement and accessibility. This is a factor which we expect to affect particularly the visitor and new-comer. We hope also for progressive improvement in the public attitude to the question by the proscription of the brothel and discouragement given to the *laissez faire* school of thought. Thirdly, we look for a great improvement of the conditions of the average prostitute. The elimination of the procurer—the last census shows no less than 104 admittedly professional male procurers,—and of the acknowledged brothel, will automatically close down a great deal of the regular importation of women, and raise the present extraordinarily low market value of a prostitute's favours. When it is remembered that in Bombay a man with four annas in his pocket has the wherewithal to gratify his passion, it will be seen that not only does the economic barrier to vice, which is very effective in Western countries, not exist, but that a prostitute is impelled to submit herself to unthinkable abuse to obtain a living.

16. *Enforcement of abolition.*—We do not advocate that the powers which should be taken in the proposed legislation should be used otherwise than gradually. It may be necessary to allow a considerably longer time to lapse between the passing of the Act and the date of bringing it into force than the three months prescribed in the case of Burma Act II of 1921. We would certainly recommend that action should at first be taken against the sanitarily most degraded brothels, a strict watch being kept against the creation of new brothels and the advent of fresh blood to the old ones. It will probably be found, as we understand was the case when abolition was introduced in Colombo and

Rangoon, that quite a number of women have homes to return to, and that the abnormally short life of the class will begin to operate visibly when the sources of supply are cut off. Some special provision in the nature of temporary homes will be required, but we do not expect that this will have to be so considerable as to necessitate an unduly gradual enforcement of the law.

17. *Results of abolition.*—The eventual result of this change of law will be the disappearance of the brothel type of prostitute. Prostitution will become furtive instead of open, and dissociated instead of gregarious. Though it is notoriously difficult to prove a woman to be a common prostitute, association to the degree now prevalent will become impossible. It is not likely that many of the women now inhabiting brothels will be able to adopt themselves to the changed conditions and join the clandestine class.

18. *The clandestine prostitute.*—Various estimates have been made of the number of clandestine prostitutes now in Bombay. None are so sanguine as to put their number at less than that of brothel inmates, while Dr. Mistry tells us that 80,000 to 40,000 would be a moderate estimate. They are recruited largely from the ranks of the underpaid woman worker, the hereditary prostitute, the discarded mistress, the widow and the pauper. The Provost Marshall has told us that the problem of the homeless beggar woman has recently become very serious. The closing of the brothels may temporarily give a special vogue to this class and every effort will be required in protecting the decency of our streets and public places which is not too satisfactorily safeguarded at present. The problem of the clandestine is a social and economic problem and one which is mainly outside our province. We do not accept it as probable that the abolition of brothels will result in a large increase of clandestine prostitution. We expect, as has been said, that the diminution of demand due to the lessening of advertisement, accessibility, tolerance and inertia, and to the closing of some avenues by which prostitutes are recruited, will be considerable. Several witnesses have however pointed out that the clandestine prostitute being less worldly-wise is more liable to become a vehicle of disease. This may be true of European and high class prostitutes. We must again point out that this class is only a fraction of our problem, and that in the case of the majority of Bombay prostitutes disinfection and treatment are unknown. Perhaps these apprehensions which we believe to be exaggerated are due to the abnormal experience of England during the war. The more general objection which is sometimes heard that under abolition the streets will be unsafe for respectable women has, we believe, nowhere been realised. The fear that there may be an increase in unnatural vice is one which it is impossible either to discount or to meet by safeguards, but it probably proceeds from the unfounded assumption that the supply of prostitutes can be kept seriously below the demand in this city.

19. *Solicitation.*—It has also been suggested that abolition may lead to a great deal of solicitation. If this is found to be the case, the law can be strengthened. The present punishment for this offence is limited to eight days' imprisonment or a fine of fifty rupees, and our police witnesses wish it to be enhanced to six months' imprisonment or a fine of one hundred rupees as in Ceylon. But prison loses its fears with familiarity and fines impose the need of greater activity on this unfortunate class. We have no objection to the proposal, which the Magistracy will apply with due discretion, and suggest that it be accepted, in the hope that it may prove a greater deterrent than the present law in some cases, until fine and imprisonment can be entirely replaced by detention in certified Homes.

20. *Public Opinion and Custom.*—The most serious objection which can be brought against abolition is that it runs counter to the opinion and habits of the country, an opinion which has tolerated the existence of hereditary prostitution and virtually regarded prostitutes as ministers to the lawful need of the Community. The attitude of the general body of Bombay citizens in reference to the existing system of prostitution in the City has been one of helplessness which has sometimes been taken for acquiescence. But at the same time there has been continual agitation on the subject of the scandals of the brothel system in Bombay for many years. This has centered round the supposed increase of prostitution of which there is no trace whatever, but appears to us to show intolerance of the existing system. There is also a growing opinion amongst educated Indians which is strongly opposed to its more crying evils. We admit that much education of the conscience of the general public is still required and must be attempted by those who are alive to the need. But we believe that there are certain features of the existing system against which public opinion will harden more and more, and by striking at those features, legislation will both strengthen, and be strengthened by public opinion. The features to which we refer are those included under the terms "the commercialisation of vice."

21. *Organisation of Social Work.*—We have now a very large number of bodies engaged in propaganda and practical work. Apart from the Salvation Army which has many years of beneficent activity behind it, there are the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Seva Sadan, League of Mercy, Social Purity Committee, the Women's Council, the Servants of India Society and Children's Protection Societies, all interested in the problem. The suggestion has been made that these various bodies should be coordinated in a Vigilance Committee and perhaps allocated definite public duties. We commend the suggestion to the bodies themselves. A deliberate recommendation from a body of this description might carry more weight and their statements receive a wider hearing than if they emanated from relatively small and purely denominational bodies. On the practical side the advantages of denominational work in its special application to different castes and creeds is undeniable but co-ordination has again obvious advantages.

22. *Additional and Women Police.*—The enlistment of women police to save the faltering, rescue the unconfirmed, protect from ill-treatment the confirmed prostitute and generally to help in the administration of the reform we advocate, is a proposal favoured by all the witnesses we have consulted on the point. The extreme difficulty of recruiting women of the necessary education and character and the arduous conditions in which they would work are likely to make the experiment a fairly expensive one. Our recommendation is necessarily affected by the proposal now mooted to abolish women police in England where the atmosphere and conditions of work are so much more favourable and where we understand they have been found extremely successful after considerable experience. We ourselves are suffering from financial difficulties, we have our own Retrenchment Committee and expenditure on police is peculiarly unpopular. The proposal is, moreover, one which must have been considered and rejected by Government in the past. Our recommendation is therefore that judgment should be suspended till more experience has been gained by the efforts of voluntary organisations. The enlistment of additional police is provided for by the existing law and we contemplate that persons recommended by such voluntary associations should be given powers of instituting prosecutions, making arrests, searching places reasonably be-

lieved to be brothels and the like, if such powers are desired by the Associations. Provided a suitable number of such police were obtained it might be possible to exclude the offences committed by prostitutes from the purview of the regular police. The administration of the laws in relation to this unfortunate class is subject to abuse in all countries. A responsibility lies upon the public to provide funds for these beneficent activities which should not be confined to women. We were impressed by the evidence of Mr. Micklethwaite of the Salvation Army, made from personal experience, that one half of the male frequenters of brothels could be deterred if approached in the right way and at the right time and place. If comparison were possible it would be interesting to know how these efforts compare in result with those of the military police made at a vastly greater cost.

23. *Rescue Homes.*—We have heard considerable testimony to the activity of the police in the exercise of their existing powers of preventing the introduction of girls under 16 into brothels and reclaiming stranded women and unwilling recruits of 16 and over. These girls and women are sent back to their relatives or guardians if any can be traced, otherwise they are placed in a Home. Considerable difficulty is found in disposing of young girls who are likely to suffer from contact with confirmed prostitutes. The Salvation Army draws no distinction of persons but the inadequacy of their accommodation and the consequent impossibility of separating the novice from the abandoned woman makes it occasionally necessary to refuse admissions. The existing accommodation is very limited. Apart from that available for children, there are available:—

(1) A Home newly established in Mahim Woods by the Presidency Women's Council, at present housing two women, and with accommodation for fifteen.

(2) A shelter of the League of Mercy, with room for ten Europeans or Anglo-Indians, from which suitable cases are sent to a Home at Bangalore up to the number of thirteen.

(3) The Salvation Army Rescue Home with room for twenty women, and at present containing ten women and two children.

The separation of the "preservation" cases from the novice and the novice from the hardened prostitute is essential, but no Society is in a position to do this. Government appear to make no grants for rescue work at present and we agree with the Commissioner of Police that it would be outside the province of a Government Officer to take an official share in the work of the Homes. But whether or not the Salvation Army or any similar organisation is willing to accept any responsibility for the women dishoused by the legislation we propose, Government will have to provide land and funds for the erection of temporary buildings and the maintenance of the women. Further consideration of the question may wait on the experience gained during this period of adjustment. We need scarcely point out the better prospect of permanent success from voluntary organisations of the right stamp in work in which the moral factor is so paramount, particularly in the important branch of "aftercare". In their world-wide experience the Salvation Army have found that three-quarters of the women received in their homes are permanently saved from prostitution, only one quarter relapsing, and the Matron of the Bombay Home stated that these percentages would be found approximately correct for Bombay.

24. *Detention in Homes.*—The great difficulty with which Rescue Homes have to contend is the prostitute's inborn or acquired laziness, in consequence of which she can seldom be induced willingly to work in a Home. It has accordingly

been suggested that powers of detention should be given, especially if a suitable Home is provided. Experience has proved the impossibility of treating prostitution as a crime in itself, but a prostitute convicted of any offence connected with her calling, such as repeated solicitation or brothel-keeping, should be detained in a rescue home rather than in a prison. We contemplate either action under section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code, or better, the empowering of magistrates to pass direct sentences of detention in certified homes. When this is done, the need of increasing the penalty for offences like solicitation in terms of fine and imprisonment will disappear.

25 *Education*.—There is one direction in which the co-operation of Government may be necessary in assisting the education of the public in these matters. We refer to the debased subject of sex instruction in schools. We think sex instruction should be given by carefully selected and specially trained teachers to older children, and that a simple and cheap text book might be prepared for the use of parents and teachers explaining how instruction should be given.

26. *Recapitulation*.—In conclusion we summarise our recommendations, first noting in contrast to them the principal alternatives which we have rejected.

On the side of hygiene, we do not recommend compulsory notification or compulsory treatment of venereal diseases, until the fullest opportunities for voluntary treatment have been given and proved to be ineffective for combating these diseases. On the side of morality, we do not recommend that the profession of a prostitute should be made penal, nor the act of fornication a crime. We recognise that there would be no problem of prostitution if the great mass of public opinion condemned fornication. But such public opinion is at present lacking in India and could only be formed by religious and moral influences acting on individuals. It cannot be formed, and probably cannot be usually reinforced, by such legislation as we have just referred to. The suggestion of State regulation, advanced mainly on hygienic grounds, we have rejected because the hygienic case for it is not convincing and the moral case against it is overwhelming. State regulation makes prostitution appear to be a respectable profession. We do not believe that many people think that it is so. But State regulation also makes the traffic in vice appear to be a respectable trade. We believe that hardly any one thinks

that it is so. The State must at least stand for humanity, and the traffic in prostitutes is one of the most inhuman trades in the world. So far from countenancing this trade by regulation, the State ought to use its authority and force to suppress it, and in so doing we believe it can obtain adequate support from public opinion. Our main recommendation is therefore that an Act should be introduced closely modelled on Burma Act II of 1921. We are in favour of the introduction of whipping as the most effective punishment in cases of this nature. These proposals are shown in detail in an appendix.* We are in favour of the ordinary police enforcing the suppression of brothels and procuring unless a sufficiently strong body of police can be obtained by the social service organisations and enlisted as additional police. In order that the police may not be overwhelmed by a sudden dishousing of women, the Act should be enforced so gradually as may be found necessary, foreign prostitutes being sent away to their own countries and provided with passages and the necessary apparel under the existing regulations. We understand from our witnesses that the present powers of Government over the undesirable alien have been found adequate and that no counterpart of the clause in the Burma Act which aims at facilitating the deportation of non-Indian British subjects is required.

To provide for the dishoused women and still more to enable the police to deal expeditiously with prostitutes and to enable detention in homes to be substituted for other punishments where women are concerned in sexual offences, we advocate the provisions of shelters in Bombay and Homes near at hand to which women can be sent and kept under detention and discipline by voluntary organisations.

To decrease the evil of venereal disease, provision of adequate medical arrangements of all kinds should be made at the expense of Government and of the Municipality and secondarily of public benefactors.

At the same time we think that a campaign of publicity and of moral and hygienic education should be seriously undertaken by voluntary bodies, if necessary supported by public funds, among the general population. If this proceeds hand in hand with the abolition of brothels which we recommend, we have no fear that this measure will give rise to any serious difficulties or opposition or that Bombay will ever wish to revert to a system of segregation.

APPENDIX B.

NUMBER OF PROSTITUTES IN BOMBAY.

The Commissioner of Police's figures (all being within the segregated area) are as under:—

<i>Japanese</i>					
84 brothels containing	...	...	80	Japanese	
<i>Other Foreigners—</i>					
20 brothels containing	...	...	28	Europeans	
			28	Eurasians & Indians	
			5	Mauritians	
			38	Baghdadi Jewesses	
<i>Indian—</i>					
881 brothels containing	...	...	5,000	Indians	
Total	... 885	brothels containing	...	5,169	Prostitutes,

The Census figures are (March 1921):—

<i>Hindus—</i>					
Mahars and Dheds	...	...	890		
Maraths and Kunbis	...	...	712		
Other Hindu castes	...	...	728		
<i>Musalmans</i>	...	...	518		
<i>Parases</i>	...	...	6		
<i>Christians—</i>					
Indian Christians	...	...	64		
Anglo-Indian	...	...	17		
English	...	...	1		
French	...	...	5		
Russian	...	...	1		
<i>Jews</i>	...	...	8		
<i>Buddhists—</i>					
Japanese	...	...	45		
Chinese	...	...	5		

APPENDIX C.

THE BIRTH-PLACES OF PROSTITUTES AND DEPENDANTS AS SHOWN IN THE CENSUS OF 1921, AND PRECIS OF THE PROVINCIAL SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS' REMARKS.

Birth-place.	Prostitutes.	Female dependants.
Bombay City	460	44
Gujarat and Thana (British Districts)	72	...
Deccan (British Districts)	827	127
Karnatac	71	...
Kolaba and Kanara	99	14
Ratnagiri	306	38
Sind, Kutch and Kathiawar	74	10
Kolhapur	50	8
Savantvadi	14	84
Madras, Mysore and Cochin	16	...
Hyderabad State	183	26
Central India, Bengal and United Provinces	58	1
Rajputana (especially Jodhpore)	88	6
Delhi and Panjab	88	3
Burma	1	...
Kashmir	41	...
Goa	510	225
Arabia, Mesopotamia and Egypt... ..	30	1
China... ..	5	...
Japan... ..	45	...
England	1	...
France... ..	5	...
Russia	1	...
	2,995	

These are the birth-places of all the women who gave their profession as prostitution at the last census. A proportion of 84 female dependants born in Savantvadi to 14 prostitutes born in Savantvadi and of 225 female dependants born in Goa to 510 prostitutes born in Goa points to an organized importation of girls from those places. If the prostitutes were bearing children in Bombay their birth-place would be shown as Bombay, not as Goa and Savantvadi. The high figures for Goa combined with a return of 137 male brothel-keepers and their dependants born at Goa out of a total of 489 now living in Bombay are most marked. The presence of 25 prostitutes from one small and distant place like Jodhpur suggests organised procuring from that city. The figures for Kashmir and Hyderabad Deccan are also remarkable.

APPENDIX D.

INCIDENCE OF VENEREAL DISEASE.

The Department of Statistics, India, give in their report on Public Health for 1921 the following figures, for all hospitals and dispensaries in the City and Island. To these should be added a large percentage of the deaths from miscarriage, still-births, and deaths in early infancy which are abnormally high in Bombay :—

	Average for the triennium 1915-17.	1918.	1919.
Deaths from gonorrhoea	8	3	7
Deaths from syphilis	36	43	50
Total deaths from venereal disease	44	46	57
Cases of gonorrhoea treated	18,749	17,154	21,428
Cases of syphilis treated... ..	49,061	39,154	45,610
Total cases of venereal disease treated	67,810	56,308	67,033

The League for Combating Venereal Disease has lately taken a census of E ward which contains some of the biggest hospitals and a large part of the segregated area. Figures were obtained from private practitioners but are of doubtful reliability. All the patients attending the hospitals were examined with their permission with the following results :—

1 Hospital.	2 Period of Test.	3 Number of patients.	4 Percentage who came for treatment of active venereal disease.	5 Percentage who came for other diseases but showed signs of old venereal disease.	6 Percentage of whole venereally infected.
J. J. Hospital (indoor patients)	Nov. 1917 to April 1921	...	9%	9.7%	18.7%
Dr. Masina's Hospital (95 per cent high class patients who would not come here ordinarily for venereal disease).	...	1,000	5.3%	1.1%	6.4%
J. J. Hospital (outdoor patients)	30th Sept. 1921 till 28th Nov. 1921.	3,146 fresh cases	450 or 13.1%	569 or 16.7%	29.8%
Municipal Dispensary, Bellasis Road	29th Nov. 1921 till 31st Dec. 1921.	293 fresh cases	3.8%	26.9%	30.7%
Municipal Dispensary, No. 8 Foras Road	3rd Jan. 1922 till 13th Jan. 1922.	56	7.1%	19.6%	26.7%
Motlibai Women's Department (outdoor)	29th Nov. 1921 till 3rd Jan. 1922.	137	23%	5.1%	28.1%
Motlibai Children's Department (outdoor)	29th Nov. 1921 till 3rd Jan. 1922.	98	...	...	18.3% of congenital syphilis.

APPENDIX E.

LEGISLATION PROPOSED.

I. *Bombay City Police Act IV. of 1902.*

(a) The punishment under section 120 for solicitation to be enhanced to six months or a fine of one hundred rupees or whipping in the case of males.

(b) The punishment of whipping to be added to section 126A (1) in the case of males.

II. *Burma Act II of 1921.*

The following sections to be adopted :—

Section 2 defining "brothel".

Section 6 enabling a magistrate to prohibit the residence of prostitutes in houses on complaint.

Section 7 prescribing punishment for male persons who live on the earnings of a prostitute (to be adopted in respect of persons of both sexes.)

Section 8 prescribing punishment for procuring, males only being liable to whipping.

Section 9 prescribing punishment for importing women for prostitution, males only being liable to whipping.

Sections 11 and 12 prescribing punishment for keeping a brothel or allowing premises to be used as a brothel.

Section 13 giving powers of determining leases of premises in respect of which convictions for brothel-keeping have been recorded.

Section 15 empowering police officers to enter premises without warrant in which they have reason to believe that certain offences are being committed.

MINUTE OF DISSENT.

We regret that we are unable to agree with the proposals made by the majority of the Committee. The report appears to us to state very fairly the facts as they at present exist; but the conclusions deduced therefrom and the recommendations made are in our opinion incorrect. In paragraph 20 of the report it is admitted that public opinion in India has tolerated the existence of hereditary prostitution and that there is no strong body of opinion prepared to support action taken for the abolition of brothels. Until that moral sense is created and there exists among all sections of the inhabitants of Bombay a definite recognition of the fact that prostitution is undesirable and that every effort must be made to reduce its volume, it appears to us that it would be the height of folly to attempt its abolition by legislation. Many years must pass before public opinion can be educated to hold the view suggested, and for the present the work of such education is probably the most important duty of Government and the better class of citizens in Bombay.

In view of the general toleration of prostitution in India we should have been prepared to support proposals for recognising and regulating the traffic, but the medical evidence which has been brought before us has convinced us that for the present at least the weekly medical examination of all prostitutes by official agency is impracticable. In the European and better class brothels such medical examination is already voluntarily arranged for and in this class of houses there is no serious complaint as to the ill-treatment of the inmates. Therefore while educating public opinion—a matter which must take years and probably generations—the object of Government should be to produce in all classes of brothels conditions similar to those already prevailing in brothels of the better class. To make all brothels illegal as proposed would, we are of opinion, make conditions worse than at present and increase the number of clandestine prostitutes *viz.*, women who are at present carrying on the trade secretly and who are far more dangerous and difficult to deal with. By scattering the women over all parts of the city and making it necessary for them to solicit customers on public streets, not only would the danger of disease be augmented but the lot of the women themselves would be made even harder than it is at present. The result would be that if the law was at all strictly enforced, individual women would occupy rooms in company with persons who were nominally husbands and would bring their customers to those rooms. The evils of intimidation, bullying and want would be increased rather than lessened, as control of any kind would be impossible. The public seeing that as a result of the action taken by Government, vice instead of being confined to particular quarters of the town was allowed to flaunt itself in the main streets, would at once draw the inference that the object of Govern-

ment was not to abolish the evil but to popularise it. Even with the strict regulations and excellent police force of London it is notorious that it is even now impossible to walk at night down any of its principal streets without meeting women of easy virtue, and though they may not dare to accost a stranger openly, still they do not hesitate to solicit him either in a whisper or, if a police man happens to be very near, with their eyes. In Bombay the enforcement of the law would certainly be much less effective.

We admit that measures to remedy the existing state of affairs are necessary but consider that the process must of necessity be gradual and that even if the ultimate object aimed to be complete abolition of brothels, immediate action can only be taken on some such lines as the following :—

Segregation in a definite area should continue as at present but the brothels should be confined to the back streets and those which exist upon the principal streets should be closed. A Vigilance Committee consisting mainly of non-official citizens of all castes and creeds should be established to supervise operations, which should continue to be conducted by means of specially authorised officers of the Police. The Vigilance Committee might be furnished with its own agents for inspection purposes. Beginning with the lowest class of brothels, efforts should be made (1) to eliminate the male pimp, (2) to secure voluntary medical examination of the inmates at least weekly, and (3) to see that the inmates are reasonably treated and have the option of leaving the brothels whenever they wish. We believe that as a matter of practice the existing powers of the Police are adequate for the purpose but if they in practice prove not to be so, the police might be given definite powers to prohibit with the sanction of the Vigilance Committee the use of any premises for purposes of prostitution. It is possible that these measures might result in a considerable enhancement of the fees charged by prostitutes, but this would be a step in a right direction rather than the reverse, provided the enhancement was not so great as to drive all the women from the lower class brothels on to the streets. The result of the measures we suggest would, we think, be rapid diminution in the number of brothels and if they are combined with systematic attempts to educate public opinion and to provide homes and employment for those who can be persuaded to abandon the profession, there would, we think, in 15 to 20 years' time, be some chance of its being feasible to adopt the measure of abolition suggested in the Committee's report.

H. B. CLAYTON, I. C. S.

F. McLENNAN, Col., B. A. M. C.

W. O. HOLMAN,

I agree generally with the views expressed by Mr. Clayton except that I do not approve of regulation.

JERBANOO MISTRY, L. M. & S.

SACRAMENT OR SALE?

We refer to the following letter in the leading article. We are sorely tempted to publish the name of the writer but we refrain from doing so because of his request. We trust he will have the grace to see the error of his views:

I desire to marry a girl of respectable birth and parentage, in affluent circumstances, belonging to Bombay or N. India. I wish also she be not older than sixteen and not below fifteen. Caste is no consideration for me provided, in addition to good looks and learning, the above-mentioned conditions are satisfied, however it must be galling to me to marry in one of the lowest castes. I am myself a born Brahmin of S. India, belonging to a very respectable family, aged about 28, not ugly, anyway—I leave it for others to judge whether I am fair and beautiful. I took my degree (B. A. Honours) only this year and so am unemployed, yet, I would forego part of the terms above laid down if the parents would consent to send me to the West for some kind of University study. I write all this asking you to recommend me to any one who has a daughter with the accomplishments stated above, coming forward to advertise the marriage of his girl and to intimate to me of the same, since part of the objects of your *Indian Social Reformer* seems to be the finding of suitable matches for girls as well as boys. If the people own any large firm, I shall be willing to be admitted into it in return for marrying their girl. I finally desire that the contents of this letter be kept strictly confidential and be not divulged to others at any time; and if your attempts fructify, I shall be immensely obliged to you. I shall thank you for an early reply.

THE LIQUOR TRADE IN INDIA.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

Will you kindly give space in your paper to the following inquiries?

Why are advertisements of intoxicating drinks printed in the stamp books issued by the Government of India? The Post Master General in England recently ruled that no postal publications or post office buildings should give place to such advertisements. Is the proportion of people in India who do not wish to see such representations less than in England? Is there not good reason for considering the opinions and wishes of the people of India?

In this connection allow me to quote from a recent address in London made by The Right Hon. Leif Jones. The statements made by this honourable member of Parliament are well worth considering.

"It was maintained by the governing authorities of India that the liquor traffic was a source of revenue to the Government; but the people, speaking through the representative institutions, said they did not want the liquor traffic, and the Government must make other arrangements for raising their revenue. In regard to Local Option, he continued, England learned slowly, although Welshmen were always trying to teach them. (Laughter.) Scotchmen, Canadians, South Africans, and Indians had already picked up this lesson of Local Option, and the only people who seemed to be afraid of it were the Governments in the various countries, and of course, the drink trade as well. The attitude of the Governments had been one of fear and distrust, and had proved to be a drag on the wheel.

They heard a great deal of talk Mr. Leif Jones continued, about the fanaticism of teetotallers, but it was nothing to the

fanaticism of drinkers. There fanaticism resulted from a refusal to face the facts and anger with the teetotallers for telling them that drink was not what they thought it was. They found the drinkers hugging their false view of drink, and on the other side they had the Government of the world opposed to those reformers who were trying to get rid of this great cause of disease and misery. It was impossible for any Government by any ingenious system of taxation to get the net revenue out of the liquor trade. (Hear, hear.) They found that the Government of India were endeavouring to damp down enthusiasm for temperance. They had intervened to postpone the Madras Temperance Bill, which was their way of getting rid of such measures. The Government might yet have to yield to the pressure of public opinion, as all Governments had to do in time; but what he was protesting against was that there should be any obstacles at all placed by Government in the way of progress on this temperance question. It was preposterous that instead of helping the Councils to get round the difficulty, the Government seemed to be in the position of holding back and restraining the people who wanted to get on. The worst thing the Government of India could do was to allow it to be supposed in India that it was on the side of liquor or that it depended on the liquor trade. (Hear, hear.) They had seen in Ceylon and India recently a protest against the mixing up of the temperance movement with certain disloyal movements. But if the Government mixed itself up with the liquor traffic, could it be wondered at that protests against liquor were taken to mean protests against the Government? The action of the Government was throwing the temperance movement in India towards the extremists. After all, the teetotallers of any country were the best citizens. And it was a very foolish thing for the Government to antagonise the best of their citizens. In India and Ceylon he charged the Government with having pursued that mistaken policy; but he had the confident hope that India would be able soon to deliver herself from the difficulties and evil consequences that followed from the existence of the liquor traffic.

Yours truly,

EMMA S. PRIOR,

President of the Women's

Christian Temperance Union of India.

(*The Bihar Herald*.)

Mr. F. Hope Stephens protests in a Calcutta paper against the advertisement of liquor in postage stamp booklets issued by Indian post offices. He points out pertinently that the Post-Master General of Great Britain has excluded liquor advertisements from post offices and post office publications. We have not ourselves so far seen any booklets containing liquor advertisements, but if what Mr. Hope Stephens writes be true, there is nothing to be surprised at. The attitude of Government with regard to the consumption of liquor in India may at best be described as one of "benevolent neutrality." That is why when an Excise officer in order to counter-act a strong temperance movement based on religious injunctions posts a placard on trees purporting to be an order from the deity that people should resume their drink, he is patted on the back and has been described as an "enterprising subordinate" in page 149 of that wonderful book, *Bihar and Orissa in 1921* by G. E. Owen I.O.S. and published by the Government of Bihar and Orissa. Why blame the last angel who tempted man to eat the fruit of the forbidden tree? In India, people have, however, come to realise that that life is intoxication at best and that man must get drunk in order to be blest. That explains the conspiracy of silence maintained by our temperance preachers and social reformers over the methods of civilization practised under the gospel of the maximum of revenue with the minimum of consumption.

KATHIAWAD POLITICS.

" In response to the request of Mr. Faiz Tyabji, President, Kathiawad Political Conference, for its co-operation, the Kathiawad Hitavardak Sabha, has passed the following resolutions which we have been requested to publish.

(1) The Executive Committee of the Kathiawad Hitavardhak Sabha approved of and has full sympathy with the Resolutions passed at the special session of the Kathiawad Political Conference held in Bombay and approves of the personnel of the Deputation appointed by the President of the Special Conference to wait upon His Excellency the Viceroy and the purpose for which it is appointed.

(2) In view of the Deputation appointed to wait upon His Excellency the Viceroy, the Executive Committee does not consider it necessary to take at present any further action against the amendment and amplification of Section 124 A in the Agency area and the denial of the Bombay Government to cancel the said amendment and amplification but would await any result that may be arrived at in connection with the Deputation.

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