

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

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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
toss, 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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Residential Universities: The *Bombay Samachar*, while recognising the force of our arguments against the premature and forcible conversion of Indian universities into residential universities, thinks that they are not so weighty as to deter it from wishing success to the Madras project. First, as to our view of the propagandist work of colleges, the *Samachar* naively observes that, as this work has been undertaken by Non-Co-operators in the outlying parts of the country, the present Universities should confine themselves to the capital cities and their immediate vicinity. It says:

The propaganda work for education forms no longer a part of the function of the Universities. That forms part of the work of colleges and political parties. The Non-co-operators have developed a desire for education and better education amongst the most outlying portions of India. The older Universities had better turn their attention now to consolidating their work in a more permanent and national shape instead of continuing in their present hybrid and exotic forms.

We do not believe in educational propaganda by political parties. As, consequently, we have never had much faith in the Non-Co-operation brand of education, the reason given by our contemporary for the Universities retiring from the districts, appeals to us in quite an opposite sense. As for the Hostels, it may be, as our contemporary says, that the secular western form is responsible for their evil effects, but we are unable to share its satisfaction that the Gurukuls, &c., have solved the problem. Now, we come to the crux of the matter, referring to the educative value of family life, the *Samachar* writes:

We wish the *Reformer's* remarks about the value of family life were true. We state with regret they are not. In Calcutta, Madras and Bombay true family life does not exist in the middle class and the poor. The problem of the educationist in these cities is more to save the student from the vitiated atmosphere of his home—degraded, commercial, money-seeking, irreligious and unconventional than to keep him in it. You cannot have a family life in tenements of two rooms in a chawl amidst the noise and dust of this

city, with the harlots' hive staring at you in the neighbourhood the sharebazar tempting with promises of untold wealth earned without labour, the ale-house flaunting its degradation and vulgarity at every second chawl. The student must be withdrawn from these contaminating influences as soon as possible and we wish the Madras University will try to bring into existence an institution as near to the ideal as it can.

Would our contemporary say that a student who lives with his people even in Bombay is in a worse atmosphere than one who puts up in a hostel? We cannot jump away from our own shadows. The evils above-mentioned can not and are not evaded by segregating students in hostels. Students' hostels cannot and do not settle problems which an active and aggressive spirit of social and civic reform alone can solve. It may be that our observations last week were somewhat sweeping as regards the Hostels, but we are only confirmed in our opinion as to the utter impolicy of the "forcible conversion" of our Universities into so-called "residential ones". Our educational system is about the only thing that has shown some sign of growth and vitality under British rule. We ask our Ministers not to meddle with it until at least they are sure that their diarchic souls are really their own.

Disintegration of the Non-Brahmin Movement: While recognising that there were some solid grievances underlying the non-Brahmin movement in South India, we have again and again urged upon the leaders the need of extending it in depth and breadth. No merely anti-Brahmin movement can be a national movement one of the essential conditions of which is that it should jealously guard the rights of minorities. Evidence is accumulating that the Non-Brahmin movement is getting the same measure meted out to it as it has to the Brahmins. The representative of the Depressed Classes in the Madras Legislative Council has repeatedly repudiated in public the claim of the non-Brahmin movement to the allegiance of his people. The President of the Thiyya Conference the other day called upon his fellows to apply to non-Brahmin caste Hindus the same formula as Sir Theagaraya Chetti has devised for the attitude of the latter to Brahmins. Even more significant, is the protest in a recent issue of the *West Coast Spectator* against the oligarchic tendencies of the party now in power in Madras. Our contemporary writes with reference to a suggestion to boycott a Minister who is to visit Malabar:

The Nayers owe it to themselves as much as to the Government that they should place their case before them and seek redress. This obviously represents the first line of approach and must be attempted before working out the general boycott idea which must be reserved as the very last weapon. But nothing need prevent a representative body of Nayers from meeting the Minister and representing to him, emphatically, that the Nayers believe that they have not been treated fairly by the Non-Brahmin leaders and that they cannot tolerate certain aspects of the policy of the present Govern-

ment. We do not plead for special treatment for Nayers but their prospect should not be adversely affected through the existence of the Non-Brahmin movement.

Difficulties of this kind are bound to multiply unless the non-Brahmin party unites upon a national programme embracing every caste and creed.

Management of Indian Railways: The Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau has addressed a vigorous representation to the Government of India urging that the East Indian Railway and the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, the contracts with the companies that work which expire on the 31st Dec. 1924 and the 30th June 1925 respectively, should on these dates be taken over and managed thenceforward by the State. The Chamber, in order to make sure of its position on the question, called a Conference of commercial representatives from several places and the conclusions put forward in the present representation were arrived at unanimously at the Conference. The principal conclusion was that the management of the East Indian and the Great Indian Peninsula Railways should, on the expiry of the present contracts, be taken over by the State, no private capital being allowed to be mixed up in any of these railways on any account. The two railways should be completely State-owned and the management of these railways should not be entrusted to a Company even though domiciled in India. All except a fraction of the capital spent on the railways has been found by the State, and the Chamber very pertinently asks why it is necessary to entrust State capital for, say, 90 crores to representatives of private capital of 5 crores! The other arguments advanced by the Bureau in answer to the advocates of Company management are equally cogent. The fact is that the Company management of Indian railways has worked detrimentally to Indian interests, and Indian opinion is practically unanimous that it should give place to responsible State management. This view received weighty support from the Acworth Committee which investigated quite recently Indian railway policy. The Government of India's way of dealing with the recommendations of this Committee, has not been fair to it. The unanimous recommendation of that Committee regarding the separation of the Railway from the General Budget was summarily rejected. On the main question of State or Company management, Government, as pointed out by the Chamber, are not adopting the straightforward course of asking the opinion of the Legislature. It is well that the Chamber has placed before Government in unmistakable language the strong feeling in the country on the question.

Bombay Compulsory Education Bill: The draft Bill for the introduction of compulsory education in this Presidency has been published. Generally speaking, it seems, on a hasty perusal, to be conceived on right lines. The proposal to place education in charge of special School Boards instead of leaving them with the Municipal and Local Boards as at present, will commend itself to every one who has had experience of the absolutely unintelligent way in which many of these bodies fulfil their educational functions. It is not quite clear from the draft Bill how it is proposed to elect the School Boards. Unless some special qualifications with an educational flavour are prescribed for membership of these Boards, they will be no better than the present School Committees which, except in a few local bodies, are hopelessly incompetent. Provision has also been wisely made in the Bill to enable local bodies to vary the official curriculum to suit local needs, with the sanction of the Educational Department. We do not think that the differentiation proposed to be made in the matter of grants between

Municipalities and Local Board areas, is justified by actual circumstances. There should be one uniform rate for both classes, and after all, many of our towns are only more or less large villages. The only preferential differentiation that is necessary in the case of local bodies which apply the compulsion principle to both boys and girls. It is more costly to maintain girls' than boys' schools, but the higher expense is more than compensated for by the more abiding and elevating effects which women's education has upon society. We have not been able to find in the Bill any indication of the source from which the scheme is to be financed. The present haphazard system in which education gets whatever is left after meeting the demands of the reserved and other departments, cannot obviously be relied upon to place the scheme on a certain and permanent financial basis. Either the proceeds from some head should be definitely ear-marked for the compulsory scheme or a cess or tax imposed specially for it. It is better to face the question boldly at once. We are glad that the Bombay Minister of Education has begun at the bottom and not given way to the ambition of his confreres elsewhere to build the tower before the foundations are broadly planned.

Dr. Annie Besant in Bombay: We are glad that Dr. Annie Besant had a large and respectful audience to listen to her address on the way to Home Rule on Thursday. She is a great and earnest worker, and should be sure of being received with deference by any Indian gathering. As regards the substance of her address, it is much the same as she elaborated in a little book some years ago, namely that we must begin with the village and build upwards. Only, she has now not actual Home Rule in view. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry in his speech at the Bombay Liberal Conference suggested a deputation of members of the present Legislative Council, that is, of his own party, to England to press for an advance in *swaraj*. Dr. Besant's Convention not be confined to Council members or Liberals. Only, she omitted to say how members of the Congress could join the Convention without the leaders being released at least for the purposes of the Convention. If some one had suggested what Dr. Besant was interned that she should be left in internment and that others should call a convention to nominate a deputation to England to secure Home Rule, her friends, and even many who will have not that honour, would have thought a very shabby suggestion. And yet Dr. Besant speaks for an hour, and not a word about the political prisoners, the legality of whose conviction has been seriously questioned! We suppose a deputation goes to England. It will, of course, be respectfully received. Will there be any other result? Mr. Lloyd George who certainly knows his British public as well as Dr. Besant, would not have spoken in the vein of utter abandonment that he did recently, if he had felt that the British elector is capable of any sequence of thought on Indian matters. We note that Dr. Besant expressed it an open question, whether India is or is not to continue a part of the British commonwealth thus getting into line with the modified Congress Creed. Every suggestion to get out of the present depressing dead-lock is worth consideration, and we do not by any means rule out definitely the one Dr. Besant has made.

The New Volume and Index: With this issue we begin the thirty-third volume of the *Reformer*. The index for the last volume will be shortly ready, and will be sent free to those of our subscribers who intimate to us within this month that they desire to have it.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1922.

THE BEGINNINGS OF FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA.*

Part II of Selections from Educational Records of the Government of India from 1840-1859, published recently, contains an interesting chapter on "the Beginnings of Female Education." Unlike in the case of boys' education, there were no indigenous institutions for imparting instruction to girls. For many years the Government of India and the Court of Directors scrupulously avoided making any reference to the subject as they were of opinion "that any attempt to introduce female education, when there was no demand for it, might be regarded by the people as an interference with their social customs." In June 1825, a society of ladies (the Calcutta Ladies' School for Native Females) for the promotion of female education in Calcutta and its vicinity, applied to the Government for the sum of Rs. 10,000 to enable them to purchase a site on which to erect a Central School. Two of the Members of the Governor-General's Council were for complying with the request. But the Governor-General, Lord Amherst, although Lady Amherst was Patroness of the Society, "having ascertained that it had been publicly avowed in the hearing of many native gentlemen that the object of the ladies' society was the propagation of the Christian religion, interposed his authority and the grant was negatived." The Court of Directors upheld the action of the Governor-General. In 1832, during the enquiry by the Select Committee of Parliament into the affairs of the East India Company, the question of women's education was touched upon. Sir Charles Trevelyan, in answer to a question, said that he thought that the primary and main reason for the hostility to female education among Hindus was that, in order to keep the women in subjection and seclusion, it was necessary to keep them ignorant. In a subsequent enquiry in July 1858 Mr. J. C. Marshman stated, speaking of Bengal, that there was only one school under the auspices of the Government, appropriated to the education of girls, namely, the school that was established by Mr. Drinkwater Bethune, who was then dead, to which he devoted "of his own personal funds" the sum of £10,000. That, remarked Mr. Marshman, was within the past three years. Another witness before the same Committee (1858) testified that, as regards the Government, female education had been wholly disregarded till Mr. Bethune came out. The Governor-General, he added, "has taken up Mr. Bethune's school, but I am not aware that the Government has rendered any assistance as a Government." There had been some sporadic efforts made in earlier years to promote female education in Bengal, but to Mr. Bethune and Lord Dalhousie

belongs the credit of being the pioneers of women's education in India outside Christian Missions.

The letter in which Mr. Bethune officially communicated to Lord Dalhousie the results of the working of his school some ten months after it had been started, is given among the selections, and is one of the utmost importance in the history of Indian social reform. It shows with what anxious care and solicitude, Mr. Bethune thought out every detail of his institution. The high principles by which he was actuated are illustrated in the following passage. He writes :

At this time the question was agitated whether or not I should offer stipends to the girls who attended, as was done on the first establishment of some of the Government Colleges and I was assured that if I would offer 5 or 6 rupees a month to each, I might count on immediately recruiting the School to any extent that I might think desirable from Brahminical families of unquestioned caste and respectability. I considered however that by administering an artificial stimulus of this kind, I should not bring fairly to the test what I was anxious to ascertain whether any real desire for the education of their daughters exists in any respectable class of the community, and I decided against it.

The only allowances which he had made, he went on to say, were for carriage hire, and "occasional presents of dresses, when any of the little girls appeared in rather too primitive a state to correspond with my notions of decency." He had lately built a carriage which held twelve children expressly for the purpose of the school and would probably require soon to build another. Mr. Bethune concluded by stating that, with respect to his school, he had no other wish than to continue to defray the expense of it as he had thereto done so long as he remained in the country, and when he left it, he was hopeful of being able to interest others to supply his place. But he requested that, to show publicly that Government sympathised with the cause of female education, Lord Dalhousie should use his influence with the Court of Directors to obtain Her Majesty's leave to call the school by her name and to consider it as placed especially under her patronage. The Governor-General warmly supported Mr. Bethune's request, but the Court of Directors did not think that the then state of female education was such as to warrant "the unusual proceeding for applying for the sanction of Her Majesty's name to the Female School at Calcutta." Lord Dalhousie is chiefly known to Indians as a breaker of Native States, but his earnest desire to promote women's education shows that he had the real good of the country at heart. "It is the opinion of the Governor-General in Council," we read in one of his despatches, "that no single change in the habits of the people is likely to lead to more important and beneficial consequences than the introduction of education for their female children." And this was no empty sentiment. Mr. Bethune died in 1851 and the Governor-General at once took upon himself the cost of maintaining the School, and although in 1854 the Court of Directors sanctioned the appropriation of funds for the purpose, Lord Dalhousie declined

* Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, Price Rs. 6-8.

the offer and declared that he would continue to bear the cost so long as he remained in India. In the masterly minute in which the great Governor-General reviewed his work in India on the eve of laying down his office, he referred with justifiable pride to his part in founding the School.

His (Mr. Bethune's) unexpected and lamented death in 1851 seemed likely to be fatal to the benevolent and novel undertaking in which he had engaged. Unwilling that any chance of success in so desirable an object should be lost, I adopted and have myself supported the school from the time of Mr. Bethune's death until now (1856).

There were no Bethunes in Bombay and Madras where the work of pioneering female education was done by Christian Missions. The first attempt to establish an Indian Girls' school in Madras was made in 1821, under the auspices of the Chnrroh Missionary Society. Most, if not all, of the girls' schools started up to 1850 belonged to Christian Missions. In Bombay, the American Missions Society had the credit of introducing female education, the first girls' school in this Presidency having been opened by them in 1824. The Church Missionary Society and the Free Church were next in the field. The movement however caught on. In 1851 there were two girls' schools in Poona, lodged in two small houses. The Hon. Mr. Warden who visited the school that year, described his experience in the following terms :

The School-mistress, the wife of a gardener, who educated her in order that she might be the means of elevating her country women from their state of miserable ignorance, drew her *saree* over her face, and was with difficulty persuaded to examine a class in my presence, and a band of young matrons, who had formed themselves into a normal class, refused to see me on any terms.

In about three years a great change had taken place. In 1854, the same Mr. Warden "assembled in the court yard of the Poona College, in the presence of the Governor, the Bishop, and a host of others, a collection of more than a hundred girls, who were publicly examined, and we heard stories of one girl having read herself blind and of another who had died from the effects of study." In that year, Mr. Warden records that there were at the Presidency eight girls' schools, three Marathi, one Gujarati and four Parsi, the total number of girls being 500. They had no official return of the girls' schools in the mofussil. They were principally at Poona and Ahmedabad, and Mr. Warden estimated them roughly at 500 more, thus giving one girl for every 16 boys who were being educated. "So effectively is the leaven spreading," he noted, "that although we might appropriate part of our new grant to girls' schools the general feeling at the Board seems to be that we should leave well alone." The tradition has been handed down since then in this Presidency of Government doing as little as possible for the education of girls. It is interesting to note that there was a member of Lord Dalhousie's Council who opposed the Governor-General's proposal to issue instructions to district officers to encourage female education. He was alone in his opposition and the Governor-General scoffed at him in a private letter for an old fogey.

Major-General Sir J. A. Littler took up the position that the work of the district officials was to maintain peace and order. "Magistrates and other Judicial authorities are at all times prepared to do their duty, and protect those who may make known their grievances or demand their assistance." He regarded it as dereliction of the principle of neutrality to which the Government, he had always understood, was pledged in like cases, to encourage female education. Ill-disposed natives might consider it a step towards proselytism. "Individually I wish him (Mr. Bethune) every success, but having always been of opinion that Government should not interfere in such cases, I have deemed it incumbent upon me to record my sentiments accordingly". One cannot but feel a sneaking admiration for this ancient exponent of bureaucratic bigotry, for his courage in standing up single-handed to a powerful Governor-General like Dalhousie, when all his colleagues joined in pouring encomiums on the policy of the great pro-consul!

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

London, August 17, 1922.

THE MEDICAL CONGRESS AND ALCOHOL.

The Medical Congress recently held at Glasgow gave much of its time to the discussion of the influence of alcohol on the human organism, and though the closing resolution, which was carried unanimously, showed an open mind on the subject, nevertheless the bulk of opinion as evidenced by the speakers was that alcohol was not a food, that it did not repair, nourish, or renew wasted tissue, but did apparently give some energy in the same way as the cup of tea or coffee may do. A great deal was made of the medical evidence which has been gathered together over a long period, that children of drinking parents are seriously handicapped through a bad inheritance and further, that the waste in child life, and infant mortality, as the result of alcohol-taking parents could not be over emphasised. One big employer of labour, speaking at the Congress, said that the change in opinion of the value of alcohol during the last few years had been very great. A few years ago, he said the man who went without his beer for two days was looked upon as a wonder, it being firmly believed that a working man needed beer to keep himself fit. To-day, however, the question asked by employer and employee alike was, can I take alcohol and retain my efficiency, and the answer given by many investigators into the question was that alcohol reduced efficiency in a marked degree.

THE IRISH REBELLION.

The Irish rebellion seems well on the road to an end. The capture of Cork by the Nationalist army marks the closing chapters of one of the most painful episodes in the history of Ireland, for Cork was the base of the Irregulars and therefore essential to the for any protracted resistance. With the closing of the civil war, the commencement of the work of the new

Government was to begin. Irish Labour had threaten to resign its seats if the Provisional Parliament was not called for August 20th, and all eyes turned to Mr. Arthur Griffiths as the big essential figure who could bring into being the new order in parliamentary life. Then came the news of his sudden death, and Ireland received one of its biggest shocks. It was known he was not well, that he had been rather ill, but no one thought his end was near. That Mr. Griffiths was a great man, a born leader, one who combined idealism with practical ability, all classes of men unite in saying. The British Press has been unanimous in deploring this loss not only to Ireland, but to the British Isles of one of its great men. It is said he had few illusions about his own country or countrymen, but he worked for a future that was to him real and possible. He saw not only the goal, but the road with its many obstacles, that Ireland had to tread and overcome. He did not think the new state could be born in a day and was content to travel and lead others along the road to the promised land, even though he himself might never hope to enter it.

POPLAR AGAIN!

How one evil begets another is amply shown by that much-advertised borough of Poplar. The Poplar Board of Guardians, as a great part of the world knows, considered that every person living within its province was entitled to support either through earning a living wage or receiving a bonus sufficient for maintenance. To get sufficient money, however, to maintain the poor of Poplar, meant amongst other things raising very heavy taxes, and this is today reacting upon Poplar's financial resources to the detriment of Poplar itself, and the further swelling of the unemployed of that borough. Last week it has been announced that owing to the exorbitant taxes, at least six big firms are either closing down or moving their whole business to country districts, where, their working expenses being less, there is a possibility of carrying on a business, without incurring a loss in so doing. Many more thousands of workers by the action of these firms will thus be thrown out of employment, and have to rely upon the already over-burdened tax-payers for support. There seems nothing in front of Poplar but bankruptcy, unless drastic measures are taken by the borough, taxes are reduced, and enterprising men can be encouraged not only to continue to keep their business firms going, but the best men be induced to open up new concerns in a district where labour is so plentiful.

THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK.

The fear of the winter is already haunting the masses of working class people. The knowledge that the lessening of unemployment during the few so-called summer months, is but a temporary improvement, destroys all sense of security in life and gives a restlessness and irritation to all concerned. Two committees are sitting to consider measures for dealing with unemployment during the coming cold weather. That conditions will not be quite as terrible as they were last year is probable, but with

over a million of workers on the unemployed list, and some trades without any hope of a revival for years to come, the outlook is still very serious. The events happening on the continent will also adversely affect the hopes of better times coming here. Mr. Clynes, president of the National Federation of General Workers, in addressing a Labour Party meeting, dealt with the European economic situation as affected by the failure of the Allied Conference in London. The collapse of the Conference, he recognised as a lamentable thing, and would, he said, have serious effects upon the workers of Europe. That the collapse of the Allied Conference is lamentable is acknowledged by all parties; it is the most serious European happening since the armistice. Possibly we are not overwhelmed by it, because the attitude of France through all the conferences that have taken place, has not led us to think that aught but failure, or at best an unsatisfactory compromise would be arrived at. British public feeling here seems opposed to France's attitude towards Germany, for the making bankrupt of that country will neither help France nor us.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

News from Kenya and Uganda is not unfavourable. The alarm of the local Indian community at the speeches and statements of Mr. Winston Churchill and Major Wood is natural, but not altogether justified if the information that I have received from official sources is, as I believe it is, correct. The Kampala segregation scheme, in any case, is likely soon to be withdrawn, and nothing in the nature of a settlement of outstanding Kenya questions is likely until the end of the vacation and Mr. Churchill's return. The retirement, at his instance, of the Governor, Sir Edward Northey, is to be welcomed, and his successor, Sir Robert Coryndon, the Governor of Uganda, is a man of a bigger mould altogether. Sir Edward Northey has been a failure for the last three years, and his anti-Indian bias is notorious.

INTERNATIONAL MORAL EDUCATION CONGRESS.

OBJECT:—To enlist the active co-operation of all, irrespective of race, nation and creed, in promoting the work of Moral Education.

BASIS:—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, nationality and point of view, an equal opportunity of expressing their opinions and comparing them with those of others.

At the City of Geneva, in Switzerland, from 28th July to 1st August, 1922, the third International Moral Education Congress was held in the principal hall of the University. About 500 persons had been enrolled as members, and they belonged to about 30 different countries, including China, Japan, India, Egypt and Turkey. At the opening session, an ad-

dress was delivered by the Chairman of the Executive Council, the Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock, a philosophic lawyer who is familiar with India and its literature, and who has written an important work on the philosophy of Spinoza. Another address on the opening day was given by Professor F. W. Foerster, who, in 1914, opposed the German war policy, though he is himself a German by birth and in ideas.

The two chief subjects of discussion were :—

I.—The International Motive, with special reference to the Teaching of History.

II.—The Motive of Service.

The first of these excited most attention, and were contributed by Indian, Polish, German, Spanish, Japanese, and English writers. From the paper sent by Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali, on History Teaching in India, the following may be quoted :—

At the time of Akbar, it became the fashion to translate the Vedas, and to draw the Hindus into closer and closer touch and Unity with the Moslem system. This movement, it is true, received a set-back in the declining days of the Moghal Empire; and it was almost completely lost sight of in the early days of the British rule. The revival of Anglo-Moslem unity now stands on a political and therefore narrow basis, which will probably not permeate the inner thoughts of the people. The recent controversy, as between Maulana Hasrat Mohani and his school and Mr. Gandhi and his school may appear to shatter the ideal of Hindu-Moslem unity; but it only shatters a false ideal, based on a shallow and negative foundation. The real Hindu-Moslem unity, based on a mutual study by each side of the history, thought, and institutions of the other, is still to be developed. It will be one of the principal objects to be pursued in moulding the methods of teaching and of study of history in India.

I may also mention that a very interesting meeting of the Congress was held at the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and was welcomed by Dr. Inazo Nitobe, the Japanese Under-Secretary General of the League. I was one of the speakers myself, and I said that the European teacher of history should never forget Asia. Another speaker on the same occasion was Mr. D. N. Banerjee.

The Congress decided,—

1. To pursue the study of History Teaching and present the results to the next Congress, in 1926.

2. To establish a Bureau, with library, etc., at Hague in Holland; and Mr. S. L. Veenstra will be pleased to receive gifts of Indian books dealing with education, history, etc.. His address is 196, Loanvan N. O. Indie, Hague, Holland.

3. To form a Permanent Association of Educationists all over the world, to help in creating a universal conscience of mankind. A number of Indians already belong, among the latest adhesions being Professor Radhakrishna of Calcutta University.

FREDERICK J. GOULD.

Hon. Sec. Int. Exec. Council.

Armour, Woodfield Ave,
Ealing, London, England.

THE PRAYER OF A SOCIAL REFORMER.

How shall men stablish their rights?
How shall they combat the wrongs, black as
night,
That crush down their lives in despair?
How shall they win, for the future,
That fuller and ampler life,
That radiant freedom, that joy,
Which now so sorely they lack?
How shall the Kingdom be built
Where none is oppressed or despised,
Where all are brothers, and equal, and free?
I know not, Master:
This only I know,
I must follow Thy way, by Thy grace:
For over the passions and plottings of men,
As swiftly the centuries glide,
There looms for me, silent, compelling, Thy Cross.
All I know is Thy generous love,
Which recked not of insult and wrong to itself,
Nor of shame and despair:
Which forgave, and trusted, and toiled, to the
dark bitter end
In humility, poverty, pain:
Which strove for the poor and the slave,
Forgetting itself:
Which sought not its own,
Neither justice, nor freedom, nor rights:
But laboured and died,
And, dying, forgave all the blackness of wrong it
had borne.
Yet so dying built by its death
A Kingdom immortal of freedom and hope,
Wherein I, even I, may abide.
Teach me to work for that Kingdom,
O Master,
To work for its amplest coming on earth,
To tell men Thy goodness, Thy Love:
So that none may be ground in injustice and
shame,
But all men be brothers, and equal, and free,
Because they know Thee,
Their Father, their Saviour, their King,
Because they rejoice in Thy will and Thy way,
Which is freedom and friendship and hope.

Kashmir.

WHITHER ARE WE DRIFTING?

(By T. M.)

Whither are we drifting, my countrymen? This is the query that vexes every thinking active head in this ancient land to-day. On every side it is visible that we are caught in a titanic struggle and may be stranded on the very brink of civil strife. Men's minds are not in a peaceful static mood as they used to be. New ideas and fresh ideals have crept into the minds and hearts of some, but at the same time there are yet others who are totally blind or uncomprehendingly opposed to the New Order and are trying to hold fast to the Old with all their might and main. Under

such circumstances perhaps a clash is inevitable and in its train must follow all the suffering, the dislocation, the waste of energy and loss of effort that is in its very nature inseparable from it. This is nothing new or surprising, and I have no desire to waste the readers' valuable time in vainly philosophising over it. My aims are severely practical. The Congress Executive have appointed—in imitation of the much-abused and denounced system of the Bureaucracy—a commission to enquire into the fitness of the various local centres and of the country in general for undertaking Civil Disobedience at an early date. This body is already touring and gathering evidence *in camera*, and will soon be writing their report and tendering their final advice to the country. Nobody can say just now what their advice would be, for that would amount to accusing the members of the commission of being biased in a particular direction. I have no desire to cast any doubt on their impartiality, and while I do believe the personnel of the commission was capable of improvement, I think even as it is it may be trusted to sift and weigh the evidence before it carefully and impartially. But much will depend upon the evidence tendered, and there are reasons to fear that the opinion opposed to the resort to Civil Disobedience at an early date will not receive adequate representation before the Commission. It may be useful therefore to claim some public attention to a sane view of the situation at this juncture.

That thorough organisation alone can justify our taking up Civil Disobedience with any human chance of keeping it non-violent and at the same time crowning it with success is, I should think, a truism. I shall not waste time in arguing this proposition as I believe no sensible man will dispute its obvious truth, and if there be any such as think otherwise I can only pity their foolhardy optimism and want of capacity to learn even from repeated experience. Taking this truism for a guide, then the only question for the Civil Disobedience Commission to answer is whether in their opinion the various local Congress committees are so thoroughly organised as to justify embarking on civil disobedience, without the risk of heralding a chaos in most parts of the country, in the near future. It is not enough for these committees to say that they have collected a few thousand rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and picketed foreign cloth shops and arranged a few lectures on temperance or untouchability. All this is not organisation. It is merely hap-hazard work and more often than not the achievement of one or two individuals, who being removed from their places the work is left to look after itself. What organised efforts, one should like to know, have been made for instance, to remove the curse of untouchability from this fair land? To any pair of critical eyes, I mean of friendly criticism and not envious looks, the work so far achieved by the D. C. C. is very fragmentary, almost negligible. This is what our Liberal countrymen insist on calling the failure of Non-co-operation and what I should prefer to call its want of good efficient organisation. That the Congress is better organised to-day than ever before in its history is not enough; it should be perfectly organised if it means to combat successfully with the 'most determined people on earth'. It is doubly necessary for the Congress to organise perfectly because it has under the prophetic guidance of Mahatma Gandhi resolved not to allow room for violence in its programme. The progress hitherto made with the schemes for the removal of untouchability and foreign cloth are patent evidence to any unprejudiced mind of our want of sufficient organisation. The details about these and other parts of the Bardoli programme will doubtless be placed before the Congress Commission and I am sure it will be an eye-opener to

many. The success so far achieved is not even one per cent of what should be considered the minimum requisite for embarking on civil disobedience. Under the circumstances, it will be noticed that embarking hastily on civil disobedience will clearly be an unwise policy and plainly speaking playing into the hands of the enemy by giving battle before the ranks are fully drilled and arranged. Looking forward into probable developments, if civil disobedience is adopted in the near future, it will mean a clear clash with the authorities, strong and crushing repression by the Government, and complete alienation of feelings with that group of our own kith and kin who do not yet see eye to eye with the Congress. Blame the Moderate as you will, he will not turn to your side and even if he did, he will not be of any use to you. He can at best resign his place in the government and be a helpless witness of events. He cannot co-operate with you and would lose any influence he possessed with the government the moment he showed any sympathy for you. It will doubtless lead to wholesale arrests on an unprecedented scale, and confiscation of property could not be avoided. It may probably lead to large military demonstrations and loss of life and cause unthinkable suffering to thousands of innocent citizens. Some will perhaps be inclined to say that if it comes to that, it will be the government to blame and not the Congress. But this is a gross fallacy. The Congress will be equally to blame for it, not by commission perhaps, but certainly by omission to organise every nook and corner of the country and getting a firm hold on the sympathies of all those groups of our countrymen who, though they may not be prepared to suffer with us, should at least be convinced that we are suffering not from any mercenary or revengeful motives but purely because we believe rightly or wrongly that this is the only way left to us by a cruel Destiny to serve our motherland. In such an atmosphere alone is success practicable for us. And then it is not the government that is preaching the Gospel of Success through non-violence but the Congress, and it is up to the latter to demonstrate the utility and practicability of its evangel.

Going to jail and putting up with temporary discomforts are no tests of the capacity for good government, however much they may mark out an idealistic nature or an ascetic character. Therefore no one should attempt to argue that because so many persons have readily gone to jail the Bureaucracy should immediately be convinced of our fitness for Swaraj and grant it by a stroke of the pen. Let us not forget that we have so far shown only our enthusiasm for Swaraj and not any additional capacity for it beyond what we possessed a few years ago. In all items of the constructive programme we have not shown, to be quite frank and candid, much ability for good organised administration. And the Bureaucracy is not blind to this. If the object of embarking on civil disobedience in the immediate future be, as it appears in the view of several leaders, only to answer the repressive policy of the government and perhaps to overawe them by your capacity to suffer, then I shall venture to say it is sheer madness to expect it. For if anything is true it is this that the British are a very determined people and the Englishman, though he would tamely submit to the logic of accomplished facts, would under no circumstances be bluffed. And we shall forget this trait of his character at our peril. Let us ponder well and be wise in time and concentrate at once on a perfect organisation for the Nation through the Congress, abandoning all thought of offering civil disobedience for some time to come.

FIRST DIVISION PRISONERS.

The special treatment meted out to first class misdemeanants in English Prisons has been frequently referred to recent

in connection with the non-official demand for Indian political prisoners. What are the special privileges allowed to the prisoners in the "First Division"? In a book just published, "English Prisons to-day, being the Report of the Prison System Enquiry Committee," edited by Messrs. Stephen Hobhouse and A. Fenner Brockway, these privileges are summarised as follows:—

Like the man in the second division, he is supposed to be kept apart from other classes of prisoners. Beyond this, he has, or may have if he has the means to pay for them, peculiar advantages which are shared by no other class of inmates, except the unconvicted prisoner awaiting trial. (The rules for "trial prisoners" are to a very large extent verbally identical with the first division rules; but, as indicated elsewhere, most trial prisoners, owing to their poverty, are unable to secure these "privileges"). Thus he may wear his own clothing. He may have "such books, newspapers or other means of occupation as are not considered to be objectionable" by the authorities. He may be visited once a fortnight for a quarter of an hour by three friends and may write and receive one letter in each fortnight; for special reasons the visiting committee may increase this allowance of letters and visits. Further, he is not required to work and "may be permitted, if practicable, to follow his trade or profession," receiving the whole of his earnings, if he is not maintained at the expense of the prison. If he has the requisite means, he may arrange to have his own food supplied and even have a limited quantity of beer or wine, "subject to such restrictions as may be necessary to prevent luxury or waste." Finally, the visiting Committee may, "if having regard to his ordinary habits and conditions of life, they think such special provision should be made," permit the first division prisoner (1) to occupy at the rent of 2-6 weekly a superior and specially furnished room or cell, (2) to have the use of private furniture and utensils suitable to his ordinary habits, and (3) to have at the charge of 6 d. a day, the help of another prisoner, "relieving him from the performance of any unaccustomed tasks," such as e. g., the cleaning of his cell and the washing up of his crockery."

Though the regulations are silent on these points, first division prisoners are apparently sometimes allowed an hour's open air exercise in the after-noon, as well as in the morning, with the opportunities of unrestricted conversation with some other first division inmate of the same sex, should any be found in the prison—a rare occurrence. In most cases, too, a visiting minister of the prisoner's own denomination is allowed free access to him for at least an hour each week.

The first division offenders are the aristocrats of the prison world. The rules affecting them have a class favour about them, and are evidently intended to apply to prisoners of some means, who are in the habit of keeping servants. A poor man, who had no trade by which he could earn in prison, would hardly be better off in the first than in the second division, except that he could have his own clothes and books, and enjoy a visit and letter fortnightly instead of monthly. But almost all first division prisoners have doubtless the means to take full advantage of the privileges allowed. They have, however, to forego the use of tobacco and, unless they can show that "writing" of some kind is their profession, they have no opportunity of recording their thoughts on paper beyond their fortnightly letters.

These may be serious deprivations, and, in any case, the essence of the punishment of first division prisoners is in the denial of almost all freedom to communicate with their

fellows and in their perpetual confinement within their cells or other parts of the prison precincts. Apart from these severe restrictions upon their movements, first division prisoners are not subject to anything in the nature of "discipline" or "treatment." They have merely to undergo a rather right form of internment, the severity of which doubtless varies very much in accordance with the dispositions of the officers who administer it.

The object of this internment is presumably either to deter such offenders, and others also, from repetition of their offences, or else to isolate them temporarily from society, inasmuch as their liberty of action is regarded by the Government as being dangerous to itself and to the community.

In addition to the above, the orders direct that medical examination and the searching should not be made in the presence of another prisoner; but this rule has not always been followed, according to our witness. Offenders of the first division, of the second division if not previously convicted, and offenders sentenced to less than a month, are exempted from the examination for "distinctive marks." No attempt is made to encourage decency in personal appearance. The use of razors is forbidden, except in the case of those awaiting trial and of offenders of the First Division.

"SHAH JEHAN"

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I am interested in Indian plays and Indian music for our College girls; and am trying to find out where such can be bought. I have heard of a play called "Shah Jehan" by D. L. Roy, but I don't know where to get it. I wonder if you or any among your readers can tell us where we can get Indian plays and Indian music.

Yours truly,

Isabella Thoburn College,
Lucknow,

FLORENCE L. MIPOLS
Principal.

AN ANCIENT UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

THE EDITOR *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

With reference to your suggestive Editorial Note in the *Indian Social Reformer* dated the 20th instant, on *An Ancient and Modern University Convocation* it will interest you to know that the passage in the *Taittiriya Upanishad* mentioned by you is a part of the Convocation charge to graduates at the Benares Hindu University. At the Annual Convocation of the Benares Hindu University, the Vice-Chancellor repeats the solemn exhortation to the graduates assembled before him to receive the respective degrees in the same measure as the Ancient *Kulapati* did to those leaving the *Asrama*.

Hindu University,
28rd August, 1922.

Yours faithfully,
P. SEBHADIN.

SACRAMENT OR SALE?

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I am sorry you should have been so harsh with the young prospective bridegroom whose letter you partly published under the bold title 'Sacrament or Sale?' You thought, perhaps your readers will lay the motion to their souls and

echo your feeling of puritanical horror with real or even pretended disgust; but the fact is many will agree with me that you have done injustice to the young aspirant, by laying a little too much emphasis on the monetary side of the matter. For, however sacred and sacramental marriage may be in theory, in practice 90 per cent of matrimonial alliances are at least *marriages de convenance*, as the expression goes, if not purely commercial transactions. Where is the father who does not move heaven and earth to secure for his daughter, by hook or by crook, the best son-in-law in the market, the greatest from the point of wealth, social position etc.? Poor parents who cruelly sell their daughters do not do so because no person is ready to marry their girls without *hunda* or *vardakshina*, but because they are needy or avaricious; and those that buy are generally unregenerate old men with one foot in the grave. While those parents who have enough try their utmost and willingly offer any amount of bribe to secure the best man in the marriage market. The young men who accept the offers only supply a demand and their qualms of conscience are set at rest by elders solicitous about their welfare, that the father-in-law was only giving them a start in life and that it was no bribe or *hunda* and so on. So that the parents of girls seldom sacrifice their girls to the 'damnable egoism' which, you say, is characteristic of the poor hostel-bred college student. That would not have been very bad.

While actual sales are tolerated in Kashiwar and S. India, neither the boldest reformer nor the most foolish conservative is so disinterested, and it is foolish to expect him to be so, as not to secure for his daughter, the comforts and luxuries which wealth and social position can give, why, the girls themselves where they are educated and have or supposed to have a voice in the matter, would rather go in for an I. C. S. man than a poor graduate like your correspondent, for example. So that on the side of the girl, where there is so much scrambling for other desirable things of life, it is quite natural that some selfish bridegrooms take a similar view of the matter. 'Perchance there may be a rich Vakil or even a modest Head-clerk who has a girl of not very enviable features, of not very fair complexion, perchance even of somewhat indifferent looks' thinks he; and if a young man ready to sacrifice good looks and aesthetic tastes is available, I do not think the father would be unwilling to take off the girl from his hands by just fitting the son-in-law for a foreign voyage, or say giving him a start in life either through influence or money. I mean—not that I have such a daughter—but that one witnesses such instances by the score. But surely no rich man who has a girl that can pass for something in the marriage market will sacrifice his worldly wisdom to do a philanthropic act of lifting up a young man. I wonder whether you think such a tendency exists among parents of girls unless the latter are very defective or ugly. If it does not, as I believe it does not, the foolish dream of the young man is very harmless and did not deserve so severe a condemnation. And if he sacrifices self-respect, is ready to have a monster for wife, and agrees to be indebted to her for a home, his own lot in conjugal life will be all the more pitiable, as it has been with similar people. Because there is such a lot of exaggeration in the popular sentimental twaddle about the oppression of women by men that if it were possible to take a census of it, there will at least be as many oppressed husbands as wives. So that I consider the young man is not after all so unregenerate a materialist as most fathers of girls who selfishly sacrifice other considerations of age and fitness merely for wealth. I do not think the number of foolish parents who value a University degree

more than other things or sacrifice other material considerations for the glamour of academic trappings and letters is not so vast as to render you apprehensive about the future of girls.

Of course, an ideal marriage in the present state of society in India at any rate, is inconceivable, and will perhaps long remain an ideal; hence the somewhat selfish idea of well setting in life expressed so frankly by the latter may be pardoned. I do not think that this tendency is in any way peculiar to the youth of this country, nor that it is directly traceable to the exotic system of education. Only the state of our society which does not give scope before marriage for the formation of affections between parties, and our custom which excludes the conscious exercise of choice by them, are responsible for all evils. In other countries the desire for self-advancement by marriage is neutralised by the play of formed affections, while here there is no such influence. Hence the frank expression by your correspondent attained a magnified importance in your columns; and hence the danger of a few unfortunate and cruelly ill-gifted girls being sacrificed at the altar of this 'damnable egoism'. Even there you can not say that all the unhappiness will be for the girl and not for the other party.

As for your being solicited to help in the matter, for aught I can imagine, it must be a mischievous joke perpetrated on you by the collegian and may have a pointed reference to matrimonial advertisements that you publish. I think you could profitably have charged him the usual charges and inserted an advertisement with the fantastic conditions and your witty comments.

I am,
yours etc.
B. R. R.

[We can hardly believe that our correspondent writes seriously. There is a wide difference between parents from prudential motives desiring to be assured of a comfortable home for daughters with their husbands, and a man putting up to auction his masculinity and "B.A. Honours" for the purpose of getting a "Western education" or a partnership in a prosperous firm. We remember to have heard of at least one case where a matrimonial adventurer utilised the money he obtained from the parents of his Indian bride, to set up a second establishment in a Western country with a Western bride. The Indian parent is the victim of a social custom which unscrupulous graduates like our "B.A. Honours" correspondent exploit for their utterly selfish ends without a thought of the girls' happiness. Many parents, to our knowledge, would gladly keep their girls unmarried but for inexorable custom and "the talk of neighbours" which non-compliance engenders. The letter that we published is the grossest that we have had, but we have had several others conceived in the like spirit. We were not, therefore, generalising from a single instance. Our correspondent seems to think that young men like our correspondent are the victims, the oppressors being the girls whom they marry out of regard for their fathers' money. There would be some poetic justice in this, but unfortunately in the generality of cases that has come to our notice, maltreatment of the girls was systematically practised as a means of blackmailing the unhappy parents. Even a worm will turn, however, and even Hindu parents have at last begun to refuse to send their daughters to their husbands, bidding the latter do their worst, either by going to court or by marrying a second or third wife! The Seshagiri Act enabling parents to bequeath property to their daughters' children over the heads of their sons-in-law, was evidently necessitated by the utter demoralisation of some of our "Honours" graduates'. Ed.—I. S. R.]

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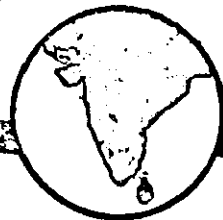
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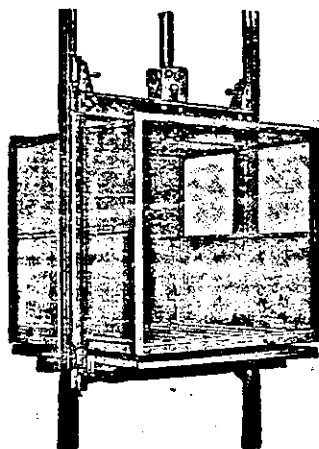
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Turkish Triumph. While Lord Reading was assuring the Indian Legislature that India's views would be carefully considered in the revision of the Treaty of Sevres, the Kemalists had crumpled up the Greek Forces in Asia Minor, and the latest news is that Greece has offered immediately to evacuate Asia Minor as the price of an Armistice. It was not more than a month ago that Mr. Lloyd George told the House of Commons that the Greeks, if left to themselves, could settle the Turks in a very short time! The invitation of the British Government to the French and Italian Governments to intervene between the belligerents, has not been acceded to by the two latter, and the British Cabinet too has, therefore, wisely decided that it did not appear of any use for the interested Powers to place their good offices at the disposal of the belligerents.

Indian Press and Princes. It has been announced that a Bill will be introduced in the Indian Legislative Assembly to protect Indian princes against attacks in the Indian press. The Act of 1910, now repealed, for the first time extended to these Princes the same protection as to the Government in British India. The Viceroy argues that though British India has decided to dispense with protection, the Princes are entitled to have it. There is here no question of Treaty rights, as has been sometimes suggested. We hope that the Legislative Assembly will show circumspection in dealing with the measure. If it has proof that the important Princes do really require and desire any protection, it should afford such protection under proper safeguards. If, as we believe, they do not need and do not want any protection, the Assembly should throw out the Bill. Our leading Princes have behaved handsomely in the matter of Indian constitutional reforms, and the Assembly should mark its sense of their services by leaving no loophole of misunderstanding between the States and British Indian public life.

The Guru-ka-Bagh Situation: The *Leader* writes: "The Guru-ka-Bagh situation shows no signs of improvement. A trial of strength is going

on there between soul force and brute force. Passive resistance, if well organised, is always most difficult to deal with. The Punjab authorities have found the Akalis a hard nut to crack. Elated with religious fervour the Akalis are showing a supreme spirit of endurance and self-control which cannot but place in the wrong in the popular eye the authorities engaged in vindicating the supremacy of the law. The greater the force used to disperse the *jathas* the more will be the amount of sympathy felt for the non-violent resisters and the greater will be the revulsion of feeling against the Government which sanction the use of force. It appears from the various non-official versions published in the press of the manner in which the police are dispersing the *jathas* that the Akalis have been in some instances mercilessly beaten, although they remained perfectly non-violent."

A New India Criticism: *New India* writes: "The bad examples set by Lord Lytton has been followed by the Governor of the Central Provinces. All resolutions relating to the Premier's speech, which were proposed to be moved in the Central Provinces Legislative Council, have been disallowed, on the ground that the matter is not primarily the concern of the Local Government. We are afraid that the Governors of Provinces are using their powers in an arbitrary manner in the present instance. The popular Legislatures in the Provinces have every right to discuss such a speech as that made by the Premier, and we fear the action of the Governors amounts to needless encroachment on the rights of the Legislatures." The Bombay Government has also followed the example of Bengal and the Central Provinces. It is a curious doctrine that a thing which affects the whole country, does not affect any part of it!

A Grave Social Danger. We are glad that the publication of the letter of a B. A. (Hons.) matrimonial aspirant in a recent issue of the *Reformer* and our comments thereon, have attracted wide attention. We trust that the discussion will lead to some practical result, and we would particularly commend the suggestion thrown out by Mr. S. Sadanand that a league of young men should be instituted consisting of those who realise and are ready practically to counteract this evil tendency.

Sir Ali Imam's Resignation. The news published last week that Syed Sir Ali Imam, the President of the Council of Ministers of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, had resigned and left Hyderabad, was certainly sensational in its suddenness. None, however, who are acquainted with the course of ministerial careers in Indian States, will be surprised by the suddenness. Few, moreover, will credit the reason given by the Associated Press of a personal difference with another Minister as a sufficient one to explain the resignation.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1922.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

The speech with which His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Simla session of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State is the speech of an eminent lawyer but hardly that of a statesman. Lord Reading's brief was to the effect that everything is progressing in the most satisfactory manner possible under his inspired guidance, and the only danger to the country lay in the Non-Co-operation movement. It has been officially affirmed that this movement had collapsed with the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi, and it is somewhat surprising to see the Viceroy vehemently urging the members of the Indian Legislature to throw all their strength in killing the serpent whose funeral was announced in the House of Commons by Lord Winterton in a famous speech. "You hear around you," said His Excellency, "propaganda against the reforms; your rights are assailed by misrepresentations; your privileges and prospects are attacked; your achievements are belittled; your sins (or sons?) are vilified." This is the language of the hustings and, as a fact, Lord Reading added that the next election was within sight and that those whom he addressed should not be content with defensive tactics, but "with the fullest co-operation of Government and of the Civil Services," must lead and guide the country "upwards and onwards." There was never a time within our recollection when the Civil Service was less criticised in the Indian Press, and we find it, therefore, somewhat difficult to find justification for the Viceroy's allegation that these Services have, "in the face of much misrepresentation and hostility, freely co-operated to work the Reformed constitution and continue to labour for its success." The memorial or representation recently addressed to the Secretary of State by the English members of the Indian Civil Service in the Central Provinces, is perhaps to be understood as the most conclusive confirmation of Lord Reading's tribute to the co-operation of the Services. Ministers and Members of the Executive Councils are in a better position than the Viceroy to appraise the measure of the support they receive from the Services, and such revelations as we have had from them do not wholly bear out the viceregal panegyric.

As regards the Viceroy's renewed endeavour to make out that the Prime Minister's speech was not inconsistent with the Reform Act, we can understand it only as a strong suggestion to Indian Liberals that they should revise their beliefs as to the implications of that Act. This only makes matters worse. An indiscreet speech even by a Prime Minister may be set right by another speech. But, when the Act itself is sought to be shown as sanctioning the "steel frame" and perpetual trust arguments of the Premier, the situation becomes far more serious. Has the country been sitting in a fool's paradise all these months? Mr. Kale's motion in the Council of State expressing

the apprehensions created in the country by Mr. Lloyd George's speech was thrown out without a division, but this was to have been expected. Notwithstanding the depressing result in the Upper Chamber, the Legislative Assembly the very next day adopted, in the face of strong Government opposition, a stronger resolution by a substantial majority. In both Houses, Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, was the principal spokesman for Government, and he adopted in both places a tone which was over-bearing and offensive. His remarks about Mr. Pheroze Sethna in the Council of State were disingenuous and insolent. If, as has been reported, he used the phrase "biting the hand that fed them" of the members in the Legislative Assembly who condemned the Prime Minister's speech, he ill repaid the courtesy and consideration which his Indian colleagues have extended to him notwithstanding his anti-Indian antecedents going back to the Rowlatt Act. In his speech in the Council of State, the Home Member improved upon the attack of the Viceroy on Non-Co-operationists, and indulged in a personal and spiteful attack upon a man who was now in jail and who could not answer. He maintained that Mr. Lloyd George's speech had been satisfactorily explained by the Viceroy and the Services were the best friends of the Reforms. He proceeded to say: "I said repeatedly and I say it again that the greatest enemy of political progress, industrial progress, and, in fact, of every progress in this country, is Mr. Gandhi." And there was not a man in the Council of State to protest that the Home Member was not showing political decency in thus hitting a man who was shut up safely in prison for six long years!

The political situation to-day is one of deadlock. But happily there are gleams of hope that this will not last long. We have authentic information that Mr. C. R. Das, the President-elect of the next National Congress, favours the entry of Congressmen into the Legislative Councils at the next elections. In the plea for united action, which we print to-day and in Dr. Annie Besant's speeches explaining the scheme therein formulated, an important point is made which really reduces the difference between the Congress and the Home Rule party to a mere matter of words. It is that the constitution which the country will accept must be one framed by the leaders of the Indian people. The preamble to the Reforms Act has been the stumbling-block in the way of all serious constitutional thinkers and Dr. Besant has, by insisting on India's right to settle her own constitution, removed it from the way of their co-operating with the Home Rule party. We have already called attention to a significant observation in her Bombay speech in which she virtually endorsed the Nagpur Congress creed, leaving the future of India an open question, though she personally like most Indians favours, if that can be secured consistently with the nation's self-respect, a place within the British Commonwealth of nations. If our information, which comes from an unimpeachable source, regarding Mr. Das's views as regards entry of Congress

men in the Councils, is correct, there should be no insuperable difficulty in the way of their co-operating with the Convention which Dr. Besant is desirous of calling. The path would be made still easier, if it is agreed that the Convention should have for one of its principal ends the procuring of the release of political prisoners and of the removal of the disqualification for standing for the Councils of Congress leaders, like Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Das, Pandit Motilal, Lala Lajpat Rai and others, owing to their having undergone sentences of imprisonment. Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas speaking in the Legislative Assembly on the resolution on the Prime Minister's speech called upon Non-Co-operators to enter the Councils. The Prime Minister's speech, with its politically immoral attempt to intimidate Indian electorates to return a particular type of members at the next election, is a challenge to all, Co-operators and Non-Co-operators, and we earnestly hope and trust that it will be answered in the only way in which it can be answered by a self-respecting people.

Mulshi Petha Compensation: A Press communique says: "In June of last year a special officer was appointed to select suitable land to be granted as compensation to cultivators whose fields were being acquired for the Nila-Mula Hydro-Electric works. Mr. Indolikar, the officer selected for this duty, had served for five years in the Mulshi Petha area and was familiar with the rice land that was to be acquired. The land finally selected by him is situated in the Dindori Taluka of Nasik District, about 150 miles from Mulshi Petha and after necessary improvements (which would be carried out by Government) would be in no way inferior to the lands that are to be submerged. Every effort has been made to induce the expropriated ryots to take up this land. A notice was issued in September 1921 and widely circulated in all the affected villages by the patils and talatis, pointing out that good rice land was available. The acquisition officers explained the position to all owners who came to them for compensation and offered to accompany them to Dindori area, and assist in the selection of the lands. It was also notified that Government would pay the expenses of the patils of the villages who went to see the land. Not a single villager from Mulshi Petha has visited Dindori. Not one has asked for compensation in land. All desire to take advantage of the liberal cash compensation that has been fixed. Government has therefore decided that no further steps with regard to the finding of suitable land for the cultivation of Mulshi Petha need be taken."

The Late Sir Vithaldas Thackersey. A public meeting to honour the memory of the late Sir Vithaldas Thackersey and to devise measures to perpetuate his name in a suitable manner, will be held on Tuesday the 12th instant at 6 p.m. in Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Mayo Road, Bombay. The Honourable Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has kindly consented to preside.

Bombay Prostitution Committee's Report: All the spare copies of the supplement to the issue of the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 27th August, containing the Bombay Prostitution Committee's Report, having been sold out, we are sorry we are unable to supply any more copies of it.

NOTES FROM MADRAS.

(From Our Correspondent.)

Madras, Sept. 3, 1922.

SOCIALISM Vs. BOLSHEVISM.

That the Bolsheviki in their apostolic zeal to convert all the world to their socio-economic religion founded on the gospel according to St. Karl Marx, are devoting part of their precious time to preaching the true faith in India, we had known for a long time past. That some of their literature had by some surreptitious and almost ghostly means penetrated into our fair province, was also a matter of common knowledge. The *Hindu* stated recently that it was being favoured from time to time with Bolsheviki publications which it invariably places in that receptacle of all the rejected wit and wisdom of the race, the waste paper basket, which forms such an indispensable and invaluable adjunct to every editorial *sanctum sanctorum*. The Madras Legislative Council at its last Budget session sanctioned the appointment of a special Police officer to track and to trace out Bolsheviki influences in this part of India so that the wise old adage might be fulfilled and Bolshevism crushed in the bud before it assumed uncontrollable dimensions. This special officer has evidently not allowed the grass to grow under his wary feet, judging by two comparatively minor but highly significant incidents that recently took place here. One of these was the arrest of a man believed to be a native of Tinnevely, calling himself Neelakanta Brahmachari, and the other was a raid carried out by the Police in the house of Mr. M. Singaravelu Chetty, a man well-known in local Non-Co-operation circles and until lately President of the Madras District Congress Committee. The reason alleged for these Police actions were that they were in possession of Bolsheviki publications for the purpose of secretly distributing them broadcast. Arrested originally on this score, the former is now awaiting his trial before the Chief Presidency Magistrate for attempting to murder with a revolver the head constable who effected his capture.

But it must be said that the Police raid on Mr. Singaravelu Chetty's house created something like a sensation locally, for Mr. Chetty is, as I have stated already, a non-violent Non-Co-operator. In spite of the superficial comparison often instituted by shallow foreign observers between Mahatma Gandhi's Non-Co-operation movement and the Bolsheviki movement in Russia, we in India know that there can be no greater, more determined or more powerful foe of Bolshevism and Bolsheviki principles, social, economic, political or religious, than Mr. Gandhi and that there can be no better safeguard against the onrush of the stream of Bolshevism into this country than his non-violent Non-Co-operation movement—*pace* the furious fulminations against him in the "Vanguard of Indian Independence" published by Indian Bolsheviki in Berlin. It is, indeed, doubtful whether Mr. Gandhi, an upholder of the caste system and Varnashrama Dharma, has any intellectual or emotional sympathy left for even Fabian Socialism which, as the veriest tyro knows, is a far different

ching from Leninian Bolshevism. Truth to tell it has been one of the biggest surprises of my life to find more than one Socialist in various parts of India giving their whole-hearted adherence to Mr. Gandhi's movement. Their devotion to Mr. Gandhi can be only explained in terms of the admiration and veneration they feel for his personality and character in the contemplation of whose lofty grandeur they have lost sight of or overlooked much that is rankly, nay, rabidly reactionary in his doctrines especially in the social and religious spheres of human life. Be that as it may, the fact remains that Mr. Singaravelu Chetty, who is supposed to have some socialist leanings, happens to be a non-violent Non-Co-operator and a devoted follower of Mahatma Gandhi and as such, he took care to point out to the Police at the time of the search, that all his actions had always been quite peaceful and above board. The search, needless to say, resulted in the discovery by the Police of nothing more incriminating than a letter written to the gentleman in question by a friend of his giving a bibliography of standard works on socialism, which the Police rightly thrust aside as useless for their purpose. Mr. Chetty is, therefore, still a free citizen.

This is, I believe, the first incident of the kind in India and should give all observers of current socio-political tendencies here as well as elsewhere some food for thought. While the new attitude of "seeing red" of officialdom and its proneness to hunt after a new kind of mare's nests is worthy of condemnation, it is idle to shut our eyes in ostrich-style to the existence of certain Bolshevik influences in our midst. The rapid growth of the Agrarian movement alongside of the Trade Union movement which has already attained gigantic proportions, is a portent and an omen—whether good or bad, events alone can show. These movements are undoubtedly signs of a new life, a new vigour, a newly-found health in the body politic but it behoves us to see that the germs of disease are not implanted in it which may yet reduce them to the putrefaction of Bolshevism. It is idle for any one to imagine that what is called "the genius of the race," the deeply-ingrained conservatism and the long-suffering patience of the Indian masses, is in itself an adequate safeguard against the evil, for were not the Russian masses equally conservative, equally long-suffering and patient? But let them beware who harbour any design of leading our people along the Russian path, for it can only lead us all to the Russian hell. The only remedy, the only adequate safe-guard against the danger of Bolshevism is, in my humble opinion, the timely growth of a healthy Socialism. This may sound like a daring paradox or a glaring contradiction in terms to those who cannot tell the difference between the two and who believe with Dean Inge and his dismal school of cynics that the one is only the extreme practical application of the other. My answer to all such critics is that Socialism is no more accountable for Bolshevism than Christianity was responsible for the Great War.

Let us be wise betimes. India is certainly not going to prove an exception to the experience of the

whole modern world in this respect. With the advent of Swarajya—or even before its advent—a Socialist party is bound to emerge and take its legitimate place in the politics of all provinces in India as it has done in every other civilised country under the sun. The part of wisdom lies in assisting its growth and development along constitutional lines and not in confusing it with Bolshevism and seeking to prevent or to delay its rise Partington-wise.

TRADE UNIONS.

(By MR. S. H. JHABVALA.)

A combination of causes has started a few reflections in the mind of the present writer which, thinking as he does, will be of use to the general class of readers he has ventured to put them here.

The causes are firstly, a general interest evinced by both the Government and the people, secondly, an awakening among the labourers and thirdly, the adoption of more practical measures by the different parties concerned in the effort to do more tangible good to the labouring communities in Bombay. The Government has prepared certain legislation as well with the obvious intention of developing a healthy trend of Trade Unionism in India and directing the efforts of the masses on the right lines. Therefore, it is worth our while just to look into the actual state of affairs prevailing at present in Bombay. All those who must have read Mr. Findlay Shirras' address delivered some months ago before the members of the College of Commerce, must have felt a sense of appreciation for Government's endeavours in the direction of solution of a very grave industrial problem facing it. The establishment of the Labour Office in Bombay has its own advantages which cannot lightly be overlooked. The problems facing Government in matters pertaining to Labour are briefly noted as Registration of Unions; Workmen's Compensation Act; and the foundation of Conciliation Boards. The weight of Labour's opinion on the above questions is not likely to over-balance that of the opinion of the employers of labour as the latter may not still be said to have organized itself on right lines. What efforts have been made in this direction by way of founding the men's Unions may not still be said to have achieved the purpose in view in the absence of willing aid and support given by other related agencies. But now that the Government has moved it is likely to foster a spirit of good-will and amity between the employers and the labourers which is bound to go a great way in making it easy for Trade Unionism to grow on healthy lines. In the absence of certain useful legislation, the independence of certain Unions has grown so intolerable that their recognition by the employers has been quite difficult if not impossible and when that margin of tension is reached the Unions became feeble and impotent.

But I am not here solely to plead for Government interference and the maintenance of the rights of the employers. These two have inherent rights vested in them which they can exercise at any moment

and with sufficient power ; but as I am a man of the workmen and also a believer in the potentialities of Unionism I am here to urge the claims of the labourers which under the existing system, have been greatly nullified. That there is scope for a workable machinery needs no proof and again there is no gainsaying the fact that a healthy growth of Unions established in our midst will go a great way in rightly solving the difficulties undoubtedly arising in the working of the machinery if left all to itself. A number of Trade Unions need to grow up just now and for that a number of well-meaning, selfless persons need to come forward. There is a class tyranny in our midst, and what great efforts are needed to end it will be experienced by those who desire to have an inkling into the labour conditions prevailing in our midst. Their dwellings are unfit for human habitation, no provision is made for their future well-being, stark ignorance envelops their present life and they know nothing of domestic or social happenings. There are millions like these in our own town alone. I appeal to the educated communities to think if we can tolerate such an unbearable state of affairs to continue in our midst. If a few were to come forward to form Unions and conduct them in the interest of the men there is much alleviation possible to be achieved which will lead us forward a step in the road to Self-Government. The men are anxious to form Unions provided they get leaders and helpers. They are desirous of having even paid service if some care to have it. But failure on the part of the educated classes to evince an interest in the well-being of the labouring masses has kept them lingering after the fulfilment of their righteous hopes. Again, those who are actually working need a certain amount of training which is possible to get in England. They are personally not able to go in for such training and Government will certainly be aiding Labour by volunteering to send young scholars on its own initiative to proceed to England in order to learn the science of Unionism as well as to gather some of the more useful Labour principles which are bound to be useful to the labourers in this country.

LIMITATIONS OF SOCIAL SERVICE.

A valued friend writes : In his address at the Ahmedabad session of the National Social Conference, the Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* called pointed attention to the danger of regarding Social Service as a substitute for social reform. It is a sign of the times that protests regarding the limitations of Social Service are being made from different sides. In the *Challenge*, the Christian democratic paper of the 24th February, the Rev. Roland Allen, who is contributing a series of articles on "Spontaneous Expansion in the Mission Field," points out that social work has tended to supplant the religious purpose of Christian Missions. He observes :—

It is extremely easy to divorce social reform and the alleviation of suffering from religion. How easily they can be divorced is proved by the common fact that both at home and abroad the Church is being supplanted in

these social activities by Governments which promote education, and support hospitals and schemes of industrial reform subsidised from public funds without any religious purpose. Social reform is not necessarily Christian, and schemes for the amelioration of the conditions of life certainly do not necessarily lead men to Christ, even if they are set on foot by Christian men with the most serious Christian intentions. Both at home and in the mission field the change in our thought was more important than any change in our method of work. In the mission field the more we emphasised the gospel of enlightenment and social reform, the more these things tended to take the first place in our thoughts. In the beginning we put Christ first. Belief in Christ was the one thing needful. Out of that belief, health and enlightenment and reform would inevitably grow. If we were not quite sure of that, we were at least sure that these things were secondary, and must follow. Conversion to Christ was the first thing, the only thing that really mattered, and our attention must be given first and before all else to leading men to Christ. But more and more as we developed these social activities, they became first in time, and two serious consequences followed.

It is not without significance that one of the prominent social workers in Bombay has publicly declared that all religions are frauds. *The World To-morrow* is a monthly Review published in New York on nearly the same principles as the *Challenge* in London. It describes itself as "a journal looking toward a Christian world." In its February number, it prints an article by Mr. Roger N. Baldwin with the startling heading "Immorality of Social Work." Speaking of social work as a whole in American life, Mr. Baldwin writes :—

Social works' difficulty as a solvent of anything is its utter dependence on moneyed interests for its very existence. If it is not the charity of the rich that maintains it, it is the tax-payers, who represent property *per se*. Social work is hamstrung in achieving any thorough-going reform by the very nature of its livelihood and its class character. It is in essence a class institution. It is work done by one class for another—the propertied for the propertyless. There is no social work for the rich or the well-to-do, much as it is needed. This is the immorality of social work, that it pretends to service to society as a whole, when in fact it is used anti-socially to buttress the class interests of private capitalism.

In the passage quoted above "social reform" and "social work" are used as synonymous terms, and that is so in Western countries, where they are applied to the relief of the poorer by the voluntary service of the better-to-do classes. But here in India, social reform is not a class affair. It relates to the reform of abuses in one's own home, caste, society, religion. The social reformer has first to reform himself and it is to the extent that he does so that he can reform others. Social reform, in this sense, is not liable to the drawbacks pointed out with regard to social work in the Western sense, of making the worker a reactionary in economic and political reform. There is exaggeration in both views quoted above, but it is well to take them as a warning not to miss the essence of reform in the cloud of social programmes. An allied question which is much discussed in America, and has given rise to diametrically opposite opinions, is whether social workers should or should not form a profession.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE, BOMBAY.

The following is the summary of the work done during the year 1921.

Education.....Schools :—For the promotion of mass Education the League has had under its supervision 30 schools with a total of 1839 working class pupils on the rolls, of whom 1216 were boys and 123 girls and women. Out of the 30 schools 18 are night-schools with a total of 754 on the rolls, 6 day schools for half-timers with 365 on the rolls, and three classes for women in the Currimbhoy group of Mills with 68 pupils on the rolls. There were also 8 special English classes for clerks in the Currimbhoy Mills. Music, sewing and drawing formed part of the instruction in the day schools.

Libraries :—There were 6 libraries and reading rooms as well as 50 boxes of Travelling Libraries. The total number of books was 13174 and the total issues of books during the year came to 26638, while the total attendance in the reading rooms was 68435. Books were supplied to prisoners in the House of Correction, Byculla, and to the patients in Gokuldas Tejpal Hospital. One of the libraries is specially meant for the depressed classes.

Lantern Lectures :—19 lectures were delivered with the aid of magic lantern slides mostly on co-operation and Temperance.

Excursions and Sports :—The League arranged facilities for healthy recreation of workmen by organizing fresh-air excursions, 19 times during the year, and by means of open-air sports at 37 different places, and the number of persons who participated in the former being 1812 and in the latter 1675.

Boy Scouts :—The first troop of boy scouts was organised by the League in 1918. During the year under report two more troops were being trained, one at the Tata Sons Workmen's Institute and the other at the Currimbhoy Ebrahim Workmen's Institute. Each of the three troops has now about 40 scouts.

Medical Relief :—The League maintains two charitable dispensaries. The Bai Bachubai Dispensary for women and children is located at the Bombay Working Men's Institute, Elphinstone Road, Parel, and the Homeopathic Dispensary is situated in Nabob Buildings, opposite to Byculla Station, Parel Road. The total number of patients treated at the former dispensary during the year came to 9852 and at the latter 2426. Sheth Kanji Carsondas has contributed Rs 55,000 as a permanent fund towards the maintenance of the Bachubai Dispensary.

Police Court Agent :—In co-operation with the Released Prisoners' Aid Society, the League has been maintaining the services of an agent in the Esplanade Police Court to give assistance to the first offenders by recommending them to the Magistrates for being given the benefit of Section 562 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

Spread of the Co-operative Movement :—With a view to securing the economic amelioration of the poorer and working classes, the League has had under its supervision 84 co-operative societies during the year. Of these 78 were Credit Societies, 4 were Stores, a Medical store on co-operative lines and a laundry on a co-operative basis. The total membership at these 84 societies at the end of the year was 5675; their capital Rs. 1,30,000 and they carried on business of over Rs. 3,20,000.

Welfare Work :—The Tata Sons Workmen's Institute and the Currimbhoy Ebrahim Workmen's Institute have been steadily carrying on welfare work for the operatives of the respective groups of Mills. At both these centres there are day schools

for half-timers and night schools for grown up boys. There are also special classes for women workers and clerks. Co-operative Credit Societies and Stores form part of the work of the economic improvement of the workmen. There are Gymnasiums attached to both centres as also two Creches or Day Nurseries for children of women workers.

The Parel & Madanpura Settlements :—The League's Settlements at Parel and Madanpura were started with the object of assisting the poor people in those localities in their difficulties. Both the Settlements maintain reading rooms and libraries and help the people in representing their grievances to municipal and other authorities. The Madanpura Settlement has four Urdu night schools attached to it, while the Parel Settlement supervises over 22 co-operative societies.

Administration of the Florence Nightingale Village Sanitation Fund :—During the year co-operative societies of 6 villages in the mofassil were helped with grants from the Florence Nightingale Village Sanitation Fund, the administration of which has been vested in the League from 1920. Upto December 1921, in all 11 villages have been helped by the Fund.

The Bombay Working Men's Institute :—This Institute is intended to serve not the workmen of any particular group of mills but for all working class people in the Parel locality. The scheme was formed three years ago, a plot of ground was secured and an appeal was made for funds for the buildings. Two of the buildings, including a spacious hall capable of accommodating about 1500 persons, were completed at the end of the year at a cost of about Rs. 1,80,000. Two more buildings, one for the school and the other for a gymnasium and social club, will complete the necessary accommodation.

Propaganda Work :—To disseminate correct ideas regarding social conditions and social work, the League is conducting an English Quarterly Magazine called the *Social Service Quarterly* and a Marathi monthly called the *Samaj Sevak*. A Register of Institutions doing social work in India is being printed.

Representations to Government :—During the year the League on being requested by the Government of Bombay sent its views to them on :—(1) Amendment of the Indian Factories Act (2) Employment of women before and after child-birth (3) Registration and Protection of Trade Unions and (4) Workmen's Compensation Bill.

The League's Finances :—The total number of members at the end of the period under report was 723, of whom 9 were patrons, 35 supporters, 47 life-members, 26 members paying Rs. 50 each, 1 paying Rs. 30; 36 paying Rs. 25; 1 paying Rs. 15; 25 paying Rs. 12; 84 paying Rs. 10; 43 paying Rs. 6; 297 paying Rs. 3; 47 paying Rs. 2 and 87 paying Rs. 1. The total receipts and expenditure for the period for all the branches amounted to Rs. 8,00,978-12-10 and Rs. 2,83,455-6-9 respectively. Of these Rs. 89,870-14-7 were the receipts towards the General Fund of the League and the total expenditure came to Rs. 82,668-6-11. The total contributions received during the year toward the building fund of the Bombay Working Men's Institute came to Rs. 1,30,000 out of which Rs. 1,23,000 have been spent. The Tata Sons Workmen's Institute, the Currimbhoy Ebrahim Workmen's Institute, the Bai Bachubai Dispensary and Florence Nightingale Village Sanitation Fund have their respective funds. The most pressing and urgent need of the League is a sum of Rs. 75,000 in order to be able to have a building for a gymnasium and a club as a part of the Bombay Working Men's Institute. The League hopes that the generous public of Bombay would enable it to begin the work of the building without delay.

A PLEA FOR UNITED ACTION.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

SIR,

All who love India and work to gain for her full Dominion status, or Home Rule, must see with dismay the growing tendency towards a kind of political guerilla warfare, which shows widespread discontent with present political conditions, but is spasmodic and irregular, without concerted action towards a definite end, or agreement as to means. Yet beneath this disturbed surface there is a fundamental unity as to the goal to be reached, Self Rule, Home Rule, Responsible Government, whatever the label may be. The real and deep division is only with regard to the means; can Home Rule be more quickly and easily gained by Non-Co-operation with the present mixed Governments of Indians and English, standing completely aside from all Government institutions, or by what the late Mr. Tilak happily termed Responsive Co-operation, *i. e.*, Co-operation between the Governments and the elected members who form a majority in every Provincial Council, in the Assembly and the Council of State? That is the one difference of principle which divides the country into two parties, and it is clear that it is fundamental; it is the difference—to borrow terms from western politics—between Parliamentary and Direct Action. The remaining differences are details, like those which divide ordinary political parties in free countries. They will still exist after India becomes a Self-Governing country; some will be with the Government of the day, others will form the Opposition; or, as in France, there may be several groups, uniting or dividing from each other, according to the exigencies of the day. But that is in the future.

The question of questions for Indians to-day is: can all those who believe in Parliamentary Action unite together so far as to seek election to the Councils, in the autumn of next year, in order to obtain a mandate from the electors to take concerted action for the gaining of Home Rule in the shortest possible time? The Political Sections of the 1921 Clubs of Madras and Bombay believe that such a temporary agreement is possible, and they are therefore addressing leaders of parties who differ much in detail, but are willing to seek election after agreeing on a common election programme, which might be hammered out at a small Conference, but the broad outlines of which should be accepted as a basis of discussion at such a Conference, all taking part in it being free to form their own parties and policies within the Councils, subject to their uniting to formulate a draft of the changes necessary for the gaining of Home Rule.

The following broad outlines are suggested as a basis of discussion:

1. The future Constitution of India should be framed by bodies consisting of members of the Provincial and of the Indian Legislatures, such bodies having power to co-opt a small number of non-members, whose aid is thought to be desirable.

2. That within a stated time after the meeting of the new Legislatures, the members shall elect such component bodies, or Conventions, to meet outside the Councils for the purpose of framing such a Constitution.

(*Question.* Should each Legislature form a separate component body?)

3. That apart from these component bodies, meeting outside the Legislatures, every member shall be free within the Legislatures, as stated above, to join any party or group.

4. That these component bodies shall formulate a scheme of Home Rule, that shall comprise complete Provincial Autonomy, the placing in the hands of Ministers responsible to

the Legislature all subjects now controlled by the Governor-General in Council, except foreign affairs, army and navy, the two last-named being taken over by the Indian Cabinet, when India is sufficiently consolidated for Home Defence. It is further suggested that the Secretary of State for India should bear the same relation to India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies bears to the Self-Governing Dominions, and that the India Council shall cease to exist. Further, that foreign affairs should be relegated to an Imperial Council, in which all the Self-Governing Dominions, including India, should be represented.

The proposers of this Conference suggest that the Conference might be held at Delhi in November, when the Indian Legislature is in session, and the assistance of some of its members might be sought; that the months before the general election might be utilised in organising the electorates, pointing out the importance of selecting suitable members, and of giving them a mandate to carry out proposals 1, 2, 3, 4, as approved by the Conference; that the various groups in the country should organise themselves and form political committees to select candidates whom they would support, to call meetings of electors to hear and question proposed candidates, etc.

This letter is sent to the gentlemen whose names are on the enclosed list, and the Secretaries of the Political Sections in Madras and Bombay would be glad to receive names of other leaders, who accept Parliamentary Action as the means of winning the changes suggested, so that the letter may be sent to them also. Representatives of the National Home Rule League and the Liberal Leagues will be invited. The invitations to the Conference should be signed by well-known leaders of different schools of political thought, who are in favour of entering the Councils.

By Order

S. NATESAN,

Secretary, Political Section,

1921 Club, Madras.

KANJI DWARKADAS, M. L. C.

Secretary, Political Section,

1921 Club, Bombay.

P. S.—The Secretaries would also be glad to receive any suggestions which might ease the present situation, and facilitate the convening and the work of the proposed Conference.

SACRAMENT OR SALE?

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

SIR,

In your footnote to a letter from "B. R. R." published in your last issue on the above subject, you say that "maltreatment of the girls was systematically practised as a means of blackmailing the unhappy parents." This is quite true and I have known of instances where so-called B. A.'s and M. A.'s have been the culprits. Especially if the brides happen to be fatherless and there is some property left, vagabond husbands play this mischief. Some typical instances occur to my mind in South India as I write. Allow me also to say that in publishing the scandalous letter of the B. A. (Hons) student, you have done a service, as it served to bring to light one of the most notorious ways of of bride-banting. I should not say this were it not that your judgment has been criticised by 'B. R. R.'

Nagpur.

V. N.

II

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have read with painful interest the letter of 'B. R. R.' in the *Reformer* of September 3rd on the above subject. The correspondent ridicules your 'puritanical horror' at a graduate of one of the leading Indian Universities offering himself for sale as a husband and thinks that many will agree with him "that you have done injustice to the young aspirant" and that in practice 90 per cent of Matrimonial alliances are at least "*Marriages de convenance*."

Your correspondent is mistaken. It is difficult not to share with you your 'puritanical horror' and still retain any sense of right and wrong opinions or likely to differ as to the contribution hostel life has made towards the building up of the character of the 'young aspirant.' But there cannot be two opinions about such men, young or old, who will deliberately traffic in marriage, of all institutions, being great social pests. Your correspondent may be right in his assertion that the sacramental character of marriage is fast losing its hold on Hindu Society. I hope he is not. But if he is right, then his course of duty as that of every right-minded person is clear, namely to band together to fight the canker that is eating into the vitals of our society. Instead, your correspondent indulges in some cheap sneers at women. Certainly, the lesson of Snehatala who immolated herself in the flames at the altar of the damnable egoism of our young men cannot have been so quickly lost upon us. The spirit of Snehatala is the spirit of Hindu womanhood which is manifesting itself daily, unostentatiously, unrecognised and unhonoured in countless ways. Consistently with our self-conceit, where the spirit of Snehatala which embraced the flames in righteous scorn, in humility, forgiveness and love, patiently subjects itself to the petty tyrannies and persecutions of the husband and Hindu household life, we attribute it to cowardice, fear, absence of economic independence and everything else but the true Love Spirit that animates the mother and the wife.

The holy fire that burnt in Snehatala until it consumed the physical body that enveloped her spirit is unquenchable. It still burns in the sisters of Snehatala. If we will not cherish it and nourish it, instead of being a life-giver, it will become a life-destroyer and burn us, as surely as it did Snehatala. She in her immortal glory and to our eternal shame stands over us, ever watching us, whatever we may do to keep the flame of Grihastha life pure and in its fullest sacramental character. If we will not listen, we will be sounding our own death-knell. There can be no other escape. What is wrong with the young aspirant owes its origin not to the conservatism of Hindu Society, so much as to the enthronement of material values over moral and spiritual values as a result of an exotic culture and civilisation.

By this, I do not defend all the Hindu customs. I am fully alive to the vicious working of some of them. But your correspondent, however, in his desire to draw pointed attention to them, makes too sweeping allegations. He also makes a fetish of the need of 'scope before marriage for the formation of affections between parties and our custom which exclude the conscious exercise of choice by them' which, he says 'are responsible for all evils.' Any close study of marriages under Hindu customs and the conditions of Western society will show that the percentage of marriages proving unhappy or treated in a purely utilitarian manner is much less under Hindu customs than under the western conditions of courtship and conscious exercise of choice by the parties. I feel strongly as anybody ought to, that the superstitions of every

marriage, intercaste restrictions and the glamour of academic qualifications should disappear completely and instantaneously, if Hindu society is not to perish. But I think it must also be admitted that the conservatism of the Hindu society in regard to marriage has also helped greatly to preserve the traditions of Savitri, Sita and Damayanti, and maintain a high level of *Sati Dharma* otherwise aptly called, *Pathiv-ratha Dharma*. The Hindu Dharma of Marriage is, properly speaking, known as the *Sati-Pathi Dharma*, the husband also contributing equally to the maintenance of the high traditions of marriage as the wife. I must, however, confess that while I have come across innumerable cases of the family or *Kula Dharma* being maintained in the face of utilitarian husbands of the type of the 'young aspirant' by the high sense of duty of a Sati, cheerfully and consciously lived up to, by the wives, I have been struck by a general lack of the sense of duty on the part of husbands, owing to an unhealthy obsession as to their so-called rights. If these Hindu husbands were paid back according to the Jewish law of a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye, a majority of the Hindu marriages will have been deservedly wrecked and disintegration would have set in long ago. It is a sign of the times, that in an age of Reason, Hindu women are slowly growing to be neither contented with being willing chattels nor with immolating themselves like Snehatala either literally or figuratively, but to build an independent scheme of life. The pioneers amongst them are living proofs of what women can achieve, independent of the 'young aspirants' who would sell themselves, so cheaply for tin.

Bombay. 7th Sept. 1922.

S. SADANAND

III

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

There appears in two issues of your journal correspondence entitled "*Sacrament or Sale*", from which I gather that a South Indian B. A. (Hons) addressed you a confidential letter with the request that he be recommended for marriage if a daughter of the wealthy, respectable parents approach you with a proposition of marriage. He has explained in unambiguous language his objects. One is to enable him by the fruition of such marriage to take a journey on to the West to prosecute his further studies (perhaps the further portion of "*Bachelor of Askance*") and the other is to enable him to enter the parlour of a merchant prince. A proposition very charming and attractive indeed! I have noted your comments thereon and on the correspondence of one 'B. R. R.'

This correspondence and your comments thereon have brought in controversial matters and an impartial observation is required to do justice to either party. Where the correspondent (B. A. Hons) errs is on the side of his making marriage a shift to quick fortune. Possessing as he does a good education, if he, instead of taking this mendicant course, had earnestly endured the battle of life and by courage, character and perseverance had come out successful as young men both in the West and East do (for instance in the East, of Rama, to win the hands of Sita, bending the giant bow) he could have laid more claim to his Honours Degree than he does now in the eyes of all thinking men.

Now as for your comment. You cannot honestly charge him of degeneracy because you happen to have come across an instance of setting a double establishment in the West (where our friend incidentally wishes to go) on the money thus accrued of a marriage in India. The blunt fact is this: that in this country in recent times some men under the attractive caption of "*Social Reformer*" have been not only inserting

in newspapers fantastic matrimonial advertisements, but also directly aiding innocent educated girls to enter into clandestine marriages. There goes an advertisement "wanted bridegroom England or American returned, possessing Ph. D., M. A. or L. C. S. if possible, girl well accomplished, educated beautiful, aged 25. Preference given to candidates below thirty." Here goes another "A Tamil Brahmin of moderate means wishes to marry Brahmin girl of Bombay or N. India of a respectable beautiful and healthy family, etc. etc.". These advertisements without a head and tale, naturally give an impression to the general public that possessing of a Degree of a University will easily bring into the recipient marriage of the daughter of wealthy parents who will provide the husband a "Palace of Pearls". Therefore, it is not the social customs that are to be blamed, but the so-called 'social reform' marriages; and the system now obtaining among the Indian social reformers, if I am allowed to say, is nothing short of "Sale", at any rate not "Sacrament".

Nevatia Bldg.,
Hughes Rd. Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
T. S. GOPALKRISHNA.

[We have already stated that we were not generalising from the letter that we printed, but had received other similar letters though not so shameless as this. As for advertisements, few social reform marriages are arranged through advertisements in newspapers or through friends, touts, obliging school masters and College professors. Social reformers, besides, have throughout condemned the purchase of brides or bridegrooms. The evil is rampant among people who, professing orthodoxy, and even non-co-operation, have trampled under foot the dictates of the ancient Hindu lawgivers who denounce the making a merchandise of one's own flesh and blood in terrible terms. We have received a letter from Madras giving names and particulars of some scandalous cases, which we do not publish because of the law of libel, though it may become a duty to risk it in the interests of public morality if there is no other means of calling public attention to this grave social danger.—Ed. I. S. R.]

PROSTITUTION IN BOMBAY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

From your reference to the "limited publication" given by Government to the Bombay Prostitution Committee's Report and from your own restrained comments on the same in your issue of August 20, your readers might have well been apprehensive about the whole affair. I, for one, am all the more thankful to you for your so generously publishing the report *in toto* in your very next issue. Still I feel unable to grasp the propriety of the Minute of Dissent, with all the well-intentioned arguments in it. For even in the most *laissez faire* countries in the West the consensus of opinion is not entirely regulationistic; on the contrary I personally know some very enthusiastic abolitionists who think practically on this subject in the West. In countries therefore like ours, which are yet novices in the ways of the so-called modern civilization, dogmatic regulationism in this respect would be rather out of place. Though one may have to admit that the evils of prostitution and drink are the cursed twins born and brought up all along with civilization itself, why should there be, I wonder, two opinions as to the immediate abolition as far as can be, of a third consequent evil, *viz.*, commercialization of either of these? This is the very crux of the problem and one cannot sufficiently sympathise with the Committee in their tribulations over it! With regard to drink, a fashionable regulationist, or for that matter a Government may plead with, whatever conscience, for the national finance. But can even that lame

excuse come to the deliverance of a 'let-alonist' or a regulationist in the matter of commercialized prostitution and of the extent to which it is carried on with impunity in cities like Bombay and Calcutta? If this matter is to reach the anvil of our councils, it is, I am sure, now high time that it be discussed thoroughly and yet practically even more outside the Councils than inside.

There is again one important point which I fear the Committee has least discussed so far as I can gather from its published report; and that is "Sex Education in Schools." I understand the Director of Public Instruction is referred to in this matter and he has done well to invite some opinions.

Poona.

V. R. SHINDE.

ANNIVERSARY OF RAM MOHUN ROY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The 27th September is sacred to the memory of Ram Mohun Roy, who is universally accepted as the father of modern India. Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians and in fact, all find in him a soul congenial to them and have even gone to the length of claiming him as their own from the religious point of view. But it is not only in the field of religion that he has rendered unique service to modern India, but he has done so in almost every field in which we in India today are engaged in working e. g., social, political, educational etc. One has but to study his life to see how deep and broad is the foundation that he laid of new India almost exactly a century back, and to find that our efforts since, including the great work accomplished by Mahatma Gandhi, are only directed towards raising a fitting building for such a foundation.

Under these circumstances, may I request all your readers in all the parts of India to celebrate the coming anniversary of this great man in a worthy manner? Hitherto wherever his anniversary is celebrated, which unfortunately is not in many places, members of all the communities united together in paying their tribute to Raja Ram Mohan Roy. But this requires to be done all over India, in all the cities, towns and even villages, and here I appeal to all the public-spirited men and women of the country, of whatever community they may be, to unite this year and all succeeding years in paying their due to this father of New India.

Blessed is a country that knows its great men.

5th Sept., 1922,

Rajkot, C. S.

Yours truly,

MANILAL C. PAREKH.

SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER *Vs.*

SIR SANKARAN NAIR.

STATEMENT OF PLAINTIFF'S CLAIM.

The following is the material part of the Plaintiff's claim in the above case:—

8. Throughout the months of March, April, May and June, 1922, the Defendant in the said book (which was widely and extensively circulated throughout India and the British Isles) falsely and maliciously wrote, printed and published, and caused to be written, printed and published, of and concerning the Plaintiff, and of, and concerning him in the way of his said office, and in relation to his conduct there, in the following words:—

"The recruitment of non-Mahomedans also went up and both were due to the terrorism of Sir Michael O'Dwyer (meaning the Plaintiff) very useful in this instance."— (Page 26.)

"THE PUNJAB ATROCITIES."

"Before the Reforms (meaning a period during which the Plaintiff held his said office) it was in the power of the Lieutenant Governor, a single individual (meaning the Plaintiff) to commit the atrocities in the Punjab we know only too well."—(Page 47.)

"Above all, it will be remembered that it was necessary to pass an Act of Indemnity to save the delinquents (meaning the Plaintiff and his subordinates) from proceedings in civil and criminal courts"—(Pages 47-48.)

"Many high-handed proceedings (meaning proceedings by the Plaintiff) were taken under the Regulations of 1818 the provisions of which were applied for which they were never intended" (Page 48).

"I realise that the eulogium passed by the English Cabinet on Lord Chelmsford and Sir Michael O'Dwyer (meaning the Plaintiff) was an outrage on Indian public opinion." (Page 49).

4. By the said words the Defendant meant and was understood to mean that the Plaintiff in his government of the said Province had employed methods of terrorism and had enforced illegal orders and had been guilty of crimes for which but for the passing of an Act of Indemnity to protect him, he would have been convicted and punished and that his methods of government were vicious and oppressive and were in fact the cause of the said disturbances and that he had grossly misconducted himself in and proved that he was unfit to hold the said office.

—The Tribune.

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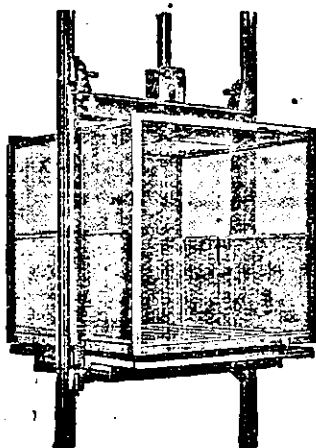
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Vol. XXXIII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1922. No. 3

"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.

Sir John Woodroffe: We reprint the appreciation of the career as citizen, judge and lawyer of Sir John Woodroffe who retired last month from the Bench of the Calcutta High Court. His most important contribution to oriental scholarship bears on the Shakta doctrine of worship, which for many years was regarded in and outside India, as a degraded cult, because of the orgies associated with a single sect of Shaktas. It required much moral courage to undertake to expound this discredited system, and for many years the identity of Arthur Avalon, the pseudonym under which Sir John issued his books, was a great literary mystery. He has, we think, succeeded in establishing that the Shakta doctrine embodies a great principle and should not be judged by the obscene perversion of it. Replying to a farewell address presented to him by the Vakils of Calcutta High Court, Sir John Woodroffe said:

You have also spoken of my work in the propagation of a right understanding of the great civilisation of India. This also is a work of justice though in another sphere. I have been moved to undertake it by reason of my affection for the country as also because of my great debt to it both material and intellectual. This is, to use a Sanskrit term, my "Arsha Rina." Justice is here also correct judgment, that is the discrimination of what is true and false, of what is worthy of praise or reprobation with complete impartiality and freedom from all racial and national prejudice. What I owe to India cannot be fully expressed here.

Sir John belongs to a race of Englishmen who cared for something more than what they could get in the way of pay and pensions out of her. The race is almost, though not quite, extinct but its few surviving representatives no longer sit in the seats of power. Sir John Woodroffe is one of the last of the Romans.

Parsi Charity Organisation: The total sum represented by the several Parsi Charities in Bombay must amount to several crores. If it is equally distributed among the 50,000 Parsi inhabitants of Bombay, it will, we think, work out at some hundreds of rupees per head. It is well, therefore, that a Society has been formed to work for the organisation and co-ordination of these Charities so

as to give the greatest relief to the most deserving cases. Such a Society is the Parsi Charity Organisation Society whose third annual report has been issued. The Society is fortunate in having for its Hon. Secretary, a trained economist like Prof. P. A. Wadia. The most important Parsi Charities are already co-operating with the Society. The report on Parsi Poverty which the Society has drawn up and which we publish to-day, will be read with interest. According to it a single Parsi requires for food alone a sum of Rs. 24 every month. The several necessary items of his dietary given in the report, show that the term "poverty" as applied to the Parsi differs widely from what it means with reference to other people. Mutton, which is the most expensive single item, and eggs, every day, is more than what many middle class persons of other communities can afford in these hard days and there are several thousands of people who keep physically fit on more frugal fare. We mention this because as the other communities of the country come up, poor Parsis cannot but be much handicapped in the race of life by believing, on the authority of the Society, that they cannot keep physically fit on a less expensive dietary.

Inscrutable! Commenting on our remark last week that Dr. Annie Besant virtually endorsed in her Bombay speech the Nagpur Congress Creed with, for its goal, Swaraj within or without the British Empire, *New India* of which she is the Editor, remarks: "It is a mistake to say that Dr. Besant endorses the Nagpur Congress creed. What she has always insisted on is that India is entitled to choose for herself, as the Dominions are recognised to have the right of choosing, whether she would remain within the Empire. But she is a firm believer in the future of an Indo-British Commonwealth and in the value of co-operation between England and India to the world. She can therefore be no party to a creed which leaves this question open." Dr. Besant, we believe, is not in Madras, but her words, as reported in the *Times of India*, did not seem to us to differ materially from the Congress creed. Since writing the above, we have seen in the next issue of *New India* a note by Dr. Besant written from Simla with reference to our comment, in which she says that for her, the question whether India should or should not remain within the Empire, is not an open question but that India should have the right of self-determination like other nations. The position of many in the Congress, including Mahatma Gandhi who rebuked Mr. Andrews for his writings on the subject, is the same, so far as we know. But the point is that Mrs. Besant left the Congress because it adopted a creed which asserted this right of self-determination, and now she is anxious that those with whom the connection with the Empire is an open question, should join her Convention!

A Great Indian Journalist: Babu Motilal Ghosh, Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, died on the 5th instant at the age of 75. He and his elder

brother, Babu Shishir Kumar Ghosh, started the paper as a small vernacular sheet in their native village 55 years ago. In a few years the *Patrika* was established as an English newspaper in Calcutta, and for many years it occupied a position of unrivalled influence in the Indian press. Its enterprise and daring in exposing official secrets, its skill in steering clear of the law, its inimitable use of political parables, also its attitude of narrow bigotry towards social and religious reform movements, made it for years the most popular journal in India. The Ghose brothers did not, like their contemporary journalist, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, appear on public platforms as political leaders. Their work was always done behind the scenes and it was done exceedingly well from their point of view. The Partition agitation and the political developments which followed, on the one hand, and the comprehensive Press Act, on the other, created a situation where the *Patrika's* peculiar talents could not show to as much advantage as before. Babu Motilal Ghose too, we believe, had practically retired for some years from the active conduct of the paper. His name will remain famous in the history of Indian journalism and politics during the last century.

Indian Princes and the Indian Press: The Press Association of India has sent the following telegram dated the 14th instant to the Government of India: "After the experience of and the repression and harassment suffered under the Press Act of 1910 the Press Association of India is emphatically of opinion that the proposed Bill for the "Protection of the Princes against seditious attacks upon them in the newspapers published in India," is absolutely uncalled for and will be interpreted by the public as an indirect attempt to revive the Press Act of 1910 under a new garb and considers that any such fresh enactment to restrict the freedom of the Press will not only check the growth and expansion of a free Press but will kill honest and independent journalism. If, however, the Government of India persist in introducing the Bill in the Imperial Legislature, the Press Association of India demands that full and adequate opportunity should be given to the public to consider the Bill and that for this purpose all the papers connected with it, including the requests from Princes for such protections, recent instances of attacks on Princes, the opinions of the local Governments and of the Princes in regard to the proposed measure, should be immediately published and that its detailed consideration should be postponed to the next session of the Legislature."

Vidya Sabha Punjab Rupa: A deputation of this Sabha is visiting Bombay for the purpose of collecting funds. We had an interesting talk with the members, who are Non-Co-operators. The scheme of the Rupa Sabha avoids the mistakes of the Non-Co-operation National Education schemes elsewhere, in that it carefully avoids setting up rival schools where there are Government or Local Board schools, and so orders the courses of study that, while they are somewhat ahead of the Departmental courses, the scholars attending the Sabha's schools are able and free to appear for the Departmental and University examinations. In other words, the Sabha's aim is to supplement the official provision of schools and not to destroy them. As we have often said, there is ample scope for work of this kind. We are, therefore, surprised that the District officials have issued orders to the Rupa Taluka officials not to lend any countenance to the Sabha's schools which are more in number than the Local Board schools. The late Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Richey, has borne testimony to the efficiency of the Sabha's scheme, and we are sure that so liberal-minded a Director as Mr. Anderson will view with sympathy

every effort to enlist public sympathy and support by way of supplementing the none too abundant resources of Government. We commend the Sabha's appeal to the generous support of wealthy men.

A Dissertation on Painting: We have received a copy of a well-printed book entitled "Dissertation on Painting" by Mr. Mohendra Nath Dutt. Mr. Basanto Kumar Chatterjee, who has edited it, very indifferently we must say, informs us that Mr. Dutt is next brother to the late Swami Vivekananda and has travelled alone through almost all the countries of Europe and Asia as an itinerant scholar. He has written a number of books which he has handed over to the Seva Series Publishing House for publication, the proceeds of their sale to go to educational work. The volume before us has a foreword by Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore whose pupil Mr. Dutt seems to have been at one time. Though named "Dissertation on Painting," the book is really one on the fine arts as it deals with sculpture, music and poetry also. The chapters seem to us to be of very unequal merit. Profound observations occur side by side by others which strike one as rather banal. The Editor has in many places done nothing to repair the broken English of the author. We are sorry we cannot commend this book at any rate in its present form to readers.

Dewan Bahadur R. Venkata Ratnam Naidu: At a public meeting held at Cocanada, it was resolved to celebrate the 60th birthday which falls on the 29th September of Dewan Bahadur R. Venkata Ratnam Naidu, the distinguished social and religious reformer, by collecting a sum of Rs. 20,000, to present an adequate purse to him in token of the general affection and esteem; to endow in his name a University Gold Medal; to found in his name a monthly scholarship of Rs. 20 in the Cocanada College, and to celebrate the Day at Pithapuram, his present place of residence, by a public meeting for the presentation to him of an address with the purse as a *souvenir*. We are sure the many friends of the Dewan Bahadur will be glad to subscribe liberally to the fund. Remittances may be sent to the President, V. Rama Krishna Rao, M.A., L.T., Principal, P. K. College, Cocanada.

The Theosophical Society: We have received a copy of a pamphlet containing a statement by Mr. B. P. Wadia, the well-known Theosophist who did good work in connection with the Labour movement in Madras and who was one of those interned with Mrs. Annie Besant by Lord Pentland, explaining his reasons for resigning from the Theosophical Society with its head-quarters at Adyar. These are summed up in the sentence that the Theosophical Society has proved disloyal to Theosophy and its holy cause. Although he has left the Society, he will continue to work for Theosophy loyal to the true founders and their message, at Los Angeles, California.

A New League: We have received from Mr. P.V. Iyer, Honorary Organiser and General Secretary, the prospectus of an Indo-British Empire League, the object of which is the rather familiar, not to say hackneyed, one of enabling Englishmen and Indians to understand each other. Incidentally, the League "while engaged in its work of propagating the Empire idea among the Indian people, will also be able to carry on alongside educative work among them, teach them the blessings of sanitation and hygiene, the evils of untouchability and purdah, and the benefits to be derived from co-operation in agriculture." It is a pity that we have no Charles Dickens in India to write some New Pickwick Papers. Mr. Iyer's address is, the Indo-British Empire League, Simla.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1922.

GURU-KA-BAGH.

Within the last few days Guru-ka-Bagh has become a famous name in Indian politics. For several days past, newspapers have had almost every day some sensational news headed Guru-ka-Bagh. What and where is Guru-ka-Bagh? Guru-ka-Bagh is situated at a distance of about 12 miles from Amritsar in the Ajnala Tahsil. There are two Gurdwaras there, one sacred to the memory of Guru Arjun, the fifth Sikh Guru, and the other to that of Guru Tej Bahadur, the ninth Guru. According to the official account, in August 1921 this Gurdwara was "taken possession of" by the Akalis, who may be compared to the early Protestant Christian reformers, but the fact, as stated by the special correspondent of the *Tribune*, is that "as a result of mutual understanding, it was agreed that while the lands and residential quarters remained in the possession of the Mahant, the Gurdwaras were to be in the possession of the Parbandhak Committee." We call attention to this here, because it is typical of the language of the Government communique which, where it cannot definitely allege anything aggressive or illegal on the part of the Akalis, uses words and phrases that are less accurate than suggestive in a sense adverse to the Akalis. The trouble began when, at the beginning of August in the present year, five Akalis, living in the Gurdwara, under instructions of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, cut down a tree on the "Gurdwara lands"—the phrase is in the communique—"ostensibly for use as fuel in the langar or public kitchen of the shrine." The use of the word "ostensibly" suggests that this was not the real motive which was something else, but the communique refrains from saying what that was. Mahant Sundar Das complained to the Police of the theft of this property from "his land"—the land described in the previous sentence as "the Gurdwara lands,"—and on the 9th August the five Akalis concerned were arrested and sent for trial. They were convicted of theft and were sentenced to undergo six months' imprisonment and to pay a fine. The Akalis persisted in cutting trees and otherwise using the land and by the 24th of August no less than 110 of them had been arrested on the complaint of the Mahant. So far the Police seem to have been acting merely to protect the Mahant's property rights. We have so far seen no explanation from the Akali side of how if, as stated by the *Tribune* correspondent, they had come into possession of the Gurdwara by mutual agreement on the condition that the Mahant should have possession of the lands of the Gurdwara, they came to violate it by cutting trees and squatting on the lands without the Mahant's permission.

On the 25th August the matter took a different turn. "An attack was made on a small body of the Police on the afternoon of the 25th August," says the communique, "and they were stoned by the Akalis. The attack was repelled and the rioters were dis-

persed." This communique, dated the 1st September, is "attested"—whatever that may mean—by Mr. P. Wood Collins, Senior Assistant Secretary to the Punjab Government. Another communique, dated the 2nd September, and "attested" by Mr. R. A. Matthews, Superintendent on duty, Punjab Civil Secretariat, gives the "true facts" in contradiction to certain allegations made in the Press as to the occurrences on the 25th August. The first of these facts is a letter dated the 26th August from the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. How incidents of the 25th August are explained by a letter of the 26th and what happened afterwards, is not clear. The scene so far is Guru-ka-Bagh. It now shifts to Amritsar. The Wood-Collins' communique states that "simultaneously with the despatch of Akali Jathas to Guru-ka-Bagh, meetings were arranged, morning and evening, at the Akhal Takht in Amritsar, which were attended by the leaders of the Parbandhak Committee. At these meetings violent speeches were made inciting Sikhs to continue the lawless resistance to authority at Guru-ka-Bagh." The district authorities, evidently of their own motion and without any complaint from Mahant Sundar Das or any one else, instituted proceedings against the leading office-bearers and members of the Committee, and the President and seven members were arrested on the 26th August. There were, we are told, between three and four thousand Akalis at Guru-ka-Bagh by this time, "the efforts to squat on the Mahant's land continued, and the trespassers had to be forcibly removed." The communique proceeds:

In consequence of the continued influx of bands of Akalis into the Amritsar district, which was becoming a source of embarrassment alike to the local public and the district authorities, Police pickets have been placed upon the roads in order to turn back parties as they arrive. Most of the bands so stopped have obeyed the orders and turned back. But on 31st August a Jatha from Tarn Taran attempted to force their way through a Police picket, and had to be forcibly dispersed. The Jatha suffered 18 casualties, none of which are believed to be serious.

The authorities have after ten days' experience withdrawn this order preventing the Akalis from going to Guru-ka-Bagh. Most reasonable people will be of the view that it should never have been made. How and with what hardships this simple truth was brought home to them, remains to be told.

The authorities for the first time in India had to deal with a body of people whose organisation and discipline were as complete as their acceptance of the creed of non-violence. The Jathas were sent from Amritsar in batches of from 50 to 100 Akalis. Motor lorries and doctors accompanied them to treat the injured and take them back home. Each Akali had instructions drawn up with military precision to march straight to Guru-ka-Bagh, not to allow himself to be stopped till he was disabled, and not on any account to repel violence by violence. When the Jatha was stopped by the Police it sat down on one side of the road, leaving the other side clear for traffic, and sang hymns. When the Police withdrew, the Jatha resumed its march. Then the Police came back and beat down the Akalis with

lathis, the Akali passively receiving the blows with invocations to the Guru. The disabled Akalis were removed in the lorries. The special correspondent of the *Tribune* writing of the non-violent behaviour of the Akalis at Guru-ka-Bagh observes :

Less than a couple of years ago when the annual session of the Sikh League was held at Lahore and the No-co-operation resolution was duly passed, people were not wanting both among the Sikhs themselves and others, who warned Mahatma Gandhi and the League against the "dangerous" experiment on which they had embarked. The Punjabees, and Sikhs in particular, it was argued, were a highly inflammable people. They were different from the people of the rest of India, it was said. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's remark that with the Punjabees there was very little interval between thought and action, was freely quoted in support of their contention. But the step was taken and non-violent non-co-operation was inculcated among the martial mind of the Sikh masses. If one is anxious to see and verify for himself whether the seed of non-violence was thrown away on barren soil or has firmly taken root and fructified, let him go to the Golden Temple at Amritsar or pay a visit to Guru-ka-Bagh and he will find in the sight of the injured an ocular proof of the fact that the Sikhs as a people have accepted non-violence as an article of faith and have exemplified it in their conduct during the present struggle.

One of the issues of the *Tribune* gave a long list of names, with addresses, of Akalis who had been injured in these encounters. After some six or seven Jathas consisting of men had been thus dealt with, the Akali leaders organised a Jatha of women, and the authorities withdrew the order preventing the Jathas from marching to Guru-ka-Bagh. The story of the patient behaviour of the Jathas has thrilled the country, and constitutes one of the most effective illustrations of the power of non-violence pitted against physical force methods. And it has a lesson to the rest of India. The excellence of the Akali organization may be due, as has been suggested, to several Sikh ex-soldiers returned from the war, co-operating with the movement, but the perfect exhibition of non-violence is possible only to a people who, like the Akalis, have a deep and abiding faith in an overruling Providence. It is by inculcating this faith that the Sikh Gurus were able to train the sparrows of the Punjab peasantry to face the soaring eagles of the Moghuls in the plenitude of strength. It is by a renovation of that faith alone can India achieve her great goal of self-knowledge, self-reverence and self-control, summed up in the word *Swarajya*, through the path of perfect non-violence in thought, word and deed.

SHOULD BROTHELS BE ABOLISHED?

At a well-attended meeting held under the auspices of the Social Service League on the 8th instant, the Rev. R. M. Gray, one of the members of the Bombay Prostitution Committee, opened an interesting debate on the Committee's Report which we published with the issue of August 27. A number of speakers took part in the discussion from several points of view. The general sense was that the Committee's recommendations did not cover the most important causes of prostitution,

such as poverty, the disproportionately small female population of Bombay, the housing question and so on. But the sense of the meeting was unanimous in favour of the Committee's principal recommendation that brothels should be suppressed. The Bishop of Bombay, also a member of the Committee, introduced the report at a recent Missionary Conference in Bombay and that Conference also unanimously approved of the recommendation. We hope other meetings will follow and show that the chief, if not the only, reason given in the minority report for its opposition to the abolition of brothels, is unfounded. That reason is that there does not exist at present 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. The minute quantum of moral sense required for this recognition already exists and has not, as the minority think, hereafter to be created among our citizens. It does not follow from the existence of hereditary prostitution in India that the virtue of chastity is not highly valued. Everything in this country has in the past tended to be hereditary. There are castes whose hereditary occupation was thieving. It would be absurd to infer from that that security of property was not appreciated in India. The little knowledge of Indian society of many present-day Anglo-Indians, is a dangerous thing. If it is too much to expect them to study Indian literature, they might at least study the writings of their own great predecessors who knew infinitely more of the people than they are ever likely to know. What struck Sir Thomas Munro as especially noteworthy in Indian civilisation was the high regard in which woman was held. Giving evidence before a Parliamentary Committee in England in 1813, he said :

I do not exactly understand what is meant by the 'civilisation' of the Hindus. In the higher branches of science, in the knowledge of the theory and practice of good Government, and in an education which, by banishing prejudice and superstition, opens the mind to receive instruction of every kind from every quarter, they are much inferior to Europeans. But if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, capacity to produce whatever can contribute to either convenience or luxury, schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other, and above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe, and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo.

Surely a century of British rule, English education, Christian Missions, and our own reform movements, have not made Indians a worse people than in the days of Munro. Within the last twenty-five years, there has been at work a movement to do away with the institution of nautch girls attached to temples, and it has been attended with some measure of success. In the Chapter on Prostitution in Bombay, in his report on the recent Census of cities in this Presidency, Mr. L. J. Sedgwick observes that the remarkable increase in

the number of persons returning as procurers, seems to indicate that the character of prostitution in Bombay has changed a good deal, "the Indian or domestic type giving way to the International or Brothel type." Social reformers who have done much to put down hereditary prostitution, cannot see it replaced by the brothel type, which is a worse type, of the evil. The main ground of the minority for its opposition to the principal recommendation of the majority report, therefore, falls to the ground.

The reasons given by the majority of the Committee for the abolition of brothels are summarised in a succinct paragraph thus :

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.

The minority does not controvert these statements. All that it does is to draw an imaginary picture of what will happen if brothels are made illegal. To begin with, such a step, it holds, would increase the number of clandestine prostitutes, that is, women who carry on the trade secretly. The answer is simple. No trade can be carried on secretly on the same scale and with so much profit as it can be publicly. Publicity, advertisement, are well-recognised adjuncts of prosperous trading. Every tradesman knows it. The majority, indeed, have laid stress on the injurious consequences of the public display and advertisement of brothels. The clandestine prostitute has to take precautions which make her trade precarious, dangerous and costly. Most of the inmates of the present brothels simply cannot afford to be clandestine prostitutes, and it is monstrous to suggest that women who are not such now will come forward to take the place of the inmates of the suppressed brothels. The next contingency feared by the minority is that the five thousand inmates of the brothels will come out on the public streets and ensnare the industrious and virtuous male citizens of Bombay on their way to business. The evidence given before the Committee went to show that most of the inmates of the brothels had been inveigled from distant towns upcountry by the brothel-keepers or their agents. If there were no brothels in Bombay the probability is that these 5000 and odd women would not be here at all. "The steady flow of girls from the mofussil to Bombay brothels," cannot be checked unless these institutions are suppressed.

The remedy of the minority, namely, the levelling up of the brothels to the superior class of them, we are told, "may 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." From the evidence it appears that in several brothels the fee charged does not exceed annas 4 while in the superior brothels it may go up to Rs. 50. Rupees 5 to 10 may be taken as about the average between the two extremes. If Government undertake the object which the minority sets them, "to produce in all classes of brothels conditions similar to those already existing in the better class," they will have to find the difference between annas 4 and Rupees 5 or 10 per visitor if the women at present in the lowest class of brothels are not to be cast upon the streets !

The minority observe: "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 is impracticable". We have already shown that there is no general toleration of prostitution in this country. State Regulation has been a hideous failure wherever it has been tried. The medical examination is a farce, and as the men who use the prostitutes are not examined, the enforcement of examination on women alone is useless as a means of preventing the spread of the disease, even if it can be made effective. There are other more serious objections to State Regulation which have been repeatedly exposed. While the minority professes that, for the present, it does not propose such regulation, the course it recommends will in effect involve almost all its incidents except the weekly compulsory medical examination. It will involve inspection of brothels; it will involve the laying down of a minimum sanitary and efficiency standard for brothels; an agency will have to be set up for this purpose, which will be exposed to extraordinary temptations to black-mail and oppress. The moral police in some Belgian cities, said the Matron of the Salvation Army Home who had worked in Brussels, are worse than the ordinary police. The minority recommendations are but a step to the introduction of State regulation and all that it connotes. So far as they can be carried out, they will make brothels more lucrative, and as a consequence, the hand of the brothel-keeper will lie harder upon his proteges. Men with large capital will enter the field, though they will keep in the background, and the institution will develop into a greater social danger than it is in its present condition. More girls will have to be got into them in order to make them pay the larger returns that the increased expenditure would entail. The trade will increase instead of decaying. We regret that the majority, in a spirit of compromise, have recommended that the abolition should be gradual, the

sanitarily worst brothels being suppressed first, the less bad next and the better class brothel last of all. This, in effect, will not be very different from the course recommended by the minority. The worse brothels will try to emulate the better, in the hope of staving off abolition. A standard of brothel will have to be laid down in this as in the other case, to enable the agency, whatever it is, to judge between the better and the worse. The compromise shifts the stress of the majority arguments as quoted above to sanitary considerations.

REPRESSIVE LEGISLATURE ABOUT INDIAN STATES.

(Contributed.)

The speech of His Excellency the Viceroy on the occasion of the opening of the autumn sessions of the Central Houses of Legislature was very disappointing from the standpoint of Indian States. The speech adumbrated a measure of legislation for the protection of the Indian Princes as enjoyed by them under the repealed Press Act, in defiance of the considered opinion of the Committee presided over by the Hon'ble Dr. Saprú, the present Law Member. The Press Laws Committee had investigated this question thoroughly. It had invited the Indian Princes to assist them with their views. The Princes declined to give any evidence before this Committee and thus treated with scant courtesy a responsible Committee chosen from both the Houses of the Central Legislature. The announcement therefore of the Viceroy is another proof of the retrograde policy which has been set in motion by the Prime Minister. The extremely indiscreet speech of the Premier and the unsatisfactory and irrelevant commentary on the same by the Viceroy have not been in any way useful in restoring confidence in the country. The Viceroy specially referred to the preamble of the Government of India Act and to the proclamation of His Majesty the King Emperor, but he studiously omitted the only point which called for an explanation.

No sane man was out of his wits because the Premier characterised the reforms as an experiment as every political change is by its very nature bound to be so. It was not even necessary to remind the people that the Premier cannot unmake an Act of Parliament. The only statement which deserved an explanation was about the "steel frame" and it is this which has filled the public mind with grave apprehensions. The crucial point was about the Indianisation of the Services. The Viceroy in spite of his long and irrelevant commentary in his reply to the deputation, which appears to be inspired or in the opening speech of the Councils, has not said one word about this important subject. The Public Services Commission sent in their report some seven years before. Five years have elapsed since the proclamation of August 1917. We put it to His Excellency to state, from how many places, till now the monopoly of the Europeans, have they been ousted? How many of them have been allotted to Indians? We know the tendency of the last five years has been

to create new places for the Indians; but this is entirely opposed to the policy of Indianisation. The relevant issue is how many European officials have been divested of their posts in pursuance of the pledges given for Indianisation? If His Excellency had been pleased to place a statement before the public instead of shirking this responsibility ingeniously, he would have certainly received respectful hearing. He has been talking of justice *ad nauseam*. Does he not see any justice in the demand of the Indians for a substantial share in the services? Has he not seen the fitness of Indians for a real share in the services from his experience of last 18 years? If he will not do any justice to Indian aspirations in this respect, his name would go down to posterity as a miserable failure.

His Excellency has not given any reasons for going counter to the Press Laws Committee. Has any new evidence been adduced to support the demand (?) of the princes in this respect? Will His Excellency be pleased to allow the publication of this new evidence before this new measure is introduced into the Councils? Will the Government be pleased to publish all the correspondence between the Local Governments and the Secretary of State? The unanimous findings recorded by the Press Laws Committee may be briefly summarised as below. That there was no protection given to the Princes prior to the Press Act of 1910; that during the course of nearly 12 years of the existence of this pernicious enactment hardly any necessity was apparent to take action under this Act; that only three cases were instituted of a very insignificant character during these 12 years; that these facts support the conclusion that the Indian Princes are not in need of any protection; that there does not exist any free and independent Press in any of the seven hundred Indian States; that the criticism appearing in the British Indian Press has never been of a disloyal character; that no Press criticism has till now advocated the dethronement of any Prince from his State; that the worst that the criticism in the British Indian Press amounts to is the advocating of the introduction of the British standards of administration in the Indian States; that the subjects of Indian States have no means whatever of ventilating their grievances and the hardships which they suffer in their States; that the forms of administration in Indian States are purely those of despotism; that the autocracy of the Indian Princes stifles all criticism emanating from the people. Witness after witness condemned the policy of giving protection to the Indian Princes. Those who were in favour of giving protection distinctly made it a condition precedent that the subjects of the Indian States should be given the right of free criticism along with any form of protection. The speech of His Excellency does not state that it is intended to secure the right of free criticism to the subjects of Indian States and to provide them with legitimate facilities for the same. This new piece of legislation therefore, is fraught with serious danger to the liberties of the subjects of Indian States, and we earnestly appeal to all newspapers to strongly condemn this measure which is entirely opposed to the recommendations of the Press Laws Committee.

PARSI POVERTY.

Professor P. A. Wadia, Hon. Secretary of the Parsi Charity Organisation Society, has written an interesting report based on an analysis of 156 cases into which careful personal investigation had been made by voluntary workers; and which were selected as typical out of a total of 570 cases that were brought to the notice of the society. The society has consistently discountenanced the system of periodic doles except for the old and decrepit who are absolutely helpless.

Taking the figures of single widows in the first instance we note that out of the 18 single widows who live in Ashrams, 10 are unfit for work, and get an average help of Rs. 14/8 per month; that the three widows who are fit for work earn an average of Rs. 8 per month, and receive an average help to the extent of Rs. 12 per month. These widows pay a nominal rental of 8 annas a month. We note further that the 85 single widows who do not live in Ashrams pay an average rent of Rs. 4 per month, that out of these 85, 19 are unfit for work and have no earnings and receive an average help of Rs. 14 per month, and that the 16 others who are fit for work earn an average of Rs. 9 per month and get help to the extent of Rs. 18 per month. It will thus be noticed that out of the total of 46 single widows who figure in our analysis, there are 29 who are unfit for work, and that they receive an average help of Rs. 14 per month, and that out of these 29, 19 have to pay a rental of Rs. 4 per month for occupying dark ill-ventilated rooms which our committee believe are unfit for human habitation, which leaves them a bare Rs. 10 per month to be spent on food and other necessaries of life. The remaining 19 widows who are fit for work have a total income including help of Rs. 20 to 22 per month, and as 16 of them have to pay a rental of Rs. 4 per month, they have a total income including help, of Rs. 18 per month which they can spend on food and other necessaries. We also note that out of these 46 single widows 27 are over 55 years in age. We have also noted that 29 of them are found unfit for work. These figures bear out a conclusion which may be corroborated by other considerations—that normally a person gets incapacitated for work at the age of 55—more especially a woman amongst the classes that are helped from charity Funds, whose sole occupation on account of illiteracy is either cooking or doing sewing-work of a simple character.

Turning in the next place to widows who have children and who are dependent on charities we find that their plight is in no way better than that of single widows. Out of the 76 cases analysed we find that there are 14 widows with children who have no earnings of any kind. The average help in these cases is Rs. 28 per month. The average rent is Rs. 7 per month. This leaves to the widow and her children an average of Rs. 18 per month. We find further that the average number of persons in the family including the widow herself in these 14 cases is 8. Thus the help which is given in these 14 cases after deducting the rent amounts to a bare Rs 5 per head. This is all that is left to be spent on food and other necessaries. It must be remembered that in these cases the help from charity Funds constitutes the entire source of maintenance for the family.

Taking the remaining 62 cases of widows with children who receive help, and who are found to have earnings we note that the average help per family is Rs. 17 per month. The average earnings per family amount to Rs. 15/8 per month. The total average resources of a family thus

amount to Rs. 32/8 per month. These 62 families pay an average rental of 7/8 Rs. per month. Thus the amount that remains after deducting rent to the family including help to be spent on food and other necessaries of life is Rs. 28 per month. The average number of persons to a family in these 62 cases including the widows and dependents is 8.5. Thus the amount per head that such a family can spend on food and other necessaries of life is Rs. 8 per month. We also find that in the majority of these cases the children are below 18, that is, still schooling, that the widow and children are to a large extent suffering from some ailment or another and are chronic invalids—the complaints most frequent being fever, rheumatic complaints, diarrhoea, etc.—and that in very many cases the ailments are traceable to unhealthy surroundings and bad accommodation. If we deduct the number of school-going children in these 62 families, the average earnings do not exceed Rs. 9 to 10 per month. And as in the case of single widows so in the case of widows with children and their dependents who are capable of earning, we believe that these small earnings, are due to 2 or 3 causes, viz:—

(1) The limited character of the occupations in which women of these classes can be employed—either cooking or sewing of a simple kind.

(2) Even the income which they could thus obtain by work being considerably reduced by chronic ailments due to bad housing.

(3) With regard to the grown-up men to be found associated with these cases, their earnings being limited owing to their being usually illiterate, and working only 15 to 20 days in the month, on account of chronic troubles, as fitters, turners, or carpenters.

Turning to the 20 cases of married couples who are helped, we find that there are 9 couples who get an average help per family of Rs. 19 per month, and who have children dependent on them, the average earnings per family in these 9 cases are Rs. 20 per month, the total resources, including help, in each of these 9 cases thus come to roughly Rs. 40 per month. The average number of children in these 9 cases is 3. Thus each family consists 5 souls. But of the Rs. 40 the rent absorbs Rs. 7 per month, thus leaving Rs. 38 per month to be spent on food and necessaries of life; or counting 5 persons to a family the amount that such a family can spend per head on food and other necessaries is Rs. 6/8 per month. There are 4 couples out of these 20 who are helped that have no children, and who are unable to work, husband and wife alike being over 55. They have no earnings and the help they receive is Rs. 24 per month. These 4 couples pay an average rent of Rs. 5 per month. Thus the amount they can spend on food and other necessaries is Rs. 10 per head. There are 7 couples out of these 20 who have no children, but whose average earnings come to Rs. 16 per month. They pay an average rental of Rs. 7 per month, and they get an average help of Rs. 10 per month. Their total resources including help thus come to Rs. 26 per month; deducting the rent of Rs. 7 per month, the amount that remains to be spent on food and other necessaries comes to Rs. 10 per month.

The number of spinners helped is 12. 11 out of these are below 40 in age. They pay an average rental of Rs. 5 per month. Their average earnings come to Rs. 5 per month, and the average help they receive is Rs. 9 per month. Many of these spinners are weak in mind or chronic invalids, hence their low earnings. Their total resources including help are thus Rs. 14 per month. Deducting the rental of Rs. 5 per month, the amount left to be spent on food and other necessaries is Rs. 9 per month.

Taking all these 156 cases into consideration we find that there are 3 single widows living in Ashrams, whose help and earnings give them Rs. 19 per month; and 16 single widows not living in Ashrams whose help and earnings after deducting rent come to Rs. 18 per month. But barring these 19 cases, in the remaining 137 cases the amount to be spent on food and necessaries of life, even when this amount is supplemented by earnings, works out at a pittance varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per month per head. Now we are in a position to ascertain the minimum expenditure on food alone for a single individual which will suffice to keep him or her physically fit. The following Budget is fairly representative of the amount required in a month under various heads:—

| | Rs. | a. |
|------------------------------------------------|-------|----|
| Tea | 1 | 0 |
| Milk at 6 sa. a seer quarter seer, per day ... | 2 | 13 |
| Sugar 5 seers | 0 | 12 |
| Eggs 1 per day | 1 | 14 |
| Ghee 4 seers | 3 | 0 |
| Oil for cooking, 2 seers | 0 | 10 |
| Rice | 1 | 14 |
| Daul, 5 seers | 1 | 3 |
| 3 coconuts | 0 | 6 |
| Onions, 10 seers... .. | 0 | 10 |
| Spices | 1 | 0 |
| Mutton quarter lb. per day | 3 | 12 |
| Vegetables 1 anna per day | 1 | 14 |
| Fuel-wood for cooking and bath | 3 | 0 |
| Flour | 0 | 9 |
| | <hr/> | |
| | 24 | 5 |

Thus a single individual requires for food alone Rs. 24 per month to keep him or her physically fit. Even supposing there might be some saving in the cost of items like fuel, wood, ghee, rice, etc., in the case of families consisting of 3 or 4 persons, the amount required per head for food alone will not be less than Rs. 20 per month. Now in 19 out of the 156 cases we have analysed—and these 19 cases, are cases of single widows—the total resources never go beyond Rs. 19 per head, and in the larger majority of the cases they do not go beyond Rs. 10 per month. We have not included in our monthly budget items like clothing, oil for lighting, washing charges, medicines, etc. The majority of these families thus live on starvation rates getting barely enough to keep alive, still less to keep physically fit. They live in the most unhealthy surroundings in dark ill-lighted ill-ventilated rooms, some of them in open verandahs, others in windowless garrets. The majority suffer from chronic diseases which prevent them from earning to their full capacities. Their earning capacities further are limited not only by illness but on account also of illiteracy.

It is these cases that require greater help. The resources of our charity Funds which are ample enough to meet the requirements of such cases are unfortunately scattered and spread over a large field, which include very many cases in which the need for help may not be as urgent, and in which pittances of 4 and 5 Rupees a month only lower self-respect while they serve no useful purpose. We desire expressly to draw the attention of charity Funds to the need of applying their resources to cases like those that we have analysed. Much of the help given in such cases may be regarded as old age pension. In other cases where parties are capable of earning, we believe that a normally healthy woman doing sewing-work at home for 6 hours a day cannot earn more

than Rs. 15 to 18 a month. That if she does cooking-work she would earn Rs. 80 a month if she works all the days in the month. We find, moreover, that these are about the only occupation in which women receiving help are found engaged, and that considerable interruption in work takes place on account of chronic ailments. These facts point to the desirability

(1) of providing sanatoria equipped with medical facilities, where people suffering from such chronic ailments would get a chance of cure,

(2) of providing facilities for training the women in such other occupations as would increase their earning capacity,

(3) of providing above all better housing in all these cases.

Our committee believe that the last is the only radical method of getting rid of diseases and ailments which are so largely responsible for diminished earnings and consequent destitution.

It is possible to meet these requirements by starting an institution where (1) families might be housed in healthy surroundings and under sanitary conditions, (2) they might be fed on simple but wholesome food good enough to keep physically fit, (3) they might have proper medical advice and treatment when ill, (4) they might have proper facilities for the education of their children, and for their own training in such occupations as would increase their earning capacity. In order that such families may not lose their sense of self-respect nor have their finer susceptibilities benumbed, the members of such families who are fit for work, should contribute out of their earnings towards their own maintenance a sum not exceeding a certain percentage of their earning or not exceeding a fixed sum per month per head.

We believe that such an institution based upon the principle of self-help for its inmates to the extent of its possibility can be easily started, equipped and maintained if our charity Funds will only join forces, and instead of running on in present grooves and helping the poor to prolong their miserable existence in revolting conditions, agree to contribute towards such an institution to the extent of their resources for such purposes as would fall within the scope of the objects for which the charities have been founded. Should there be any deficit the flow of Parsi charity is still full and strong enough to make up for it.

SACRAMENT OR SALE ?

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I share your gratification in the fact that your publication of the letter by the B. A. (Hons) student and of my letter criticising your comments thereon, has evoked certain serious interest among your readers. But I am sorry to note that your correspondents Messrs. Sadanand and 'V.N.' have not fully penetrated into the spirit of my letter.

As regards my ridiculing your 'puritanical horror' at the letter, you were right in remarking, after careful perusal of my letter, that it was couched somewhat lightly, and that I am bound to confess not quite unintentionally. I wish to make it clear that far from ridiculing you, my object was to call forth severe condemnation from your readers, and I am heartily glad to see that my light attempt at justification has evoked the serious thought of several people. My purpose in writing the letter, therefore, was not to justify the B. A. (Hons) student; but the arguments I advanced to mitigate the severity of his crimes were based on an analysis of conditions as they obtain at present. Indeed I do not

dispute the sacramental character of Hindu marriages, and I am one with your correspondents in believing that that is the right ideal; but what I say is that in practice the ideal is 'fast losing its hold' upon the minds of people as Mr. Sadanand admits though haltingly. It was needless to recall the pathetic example of Snehalata as of one who maintained the ideal of Indian womanhood, while each one of us can give scores of examples of women who are undergoing, not self-immolation in Death as Snehalata did, but in living self-immolation. I am no less an admirer of the high ideals of Indian womanhood than Mr. Sadanand; but I wish the women were a little less idealistic and more self-assertive.

When I ascribed 'all evils' to the conservatism of the Hindu Society, you will agree with me that I was not far from truth; because by intolerance of any departure from customs, the society makes the actual conditions intolerable. The old ideal is fast losing its hold; so far as my experience goes, young men and women are successfully evading the joint-family system also. Much as we may dislike it, the fact remains that 'material values' have been enthroned over the 'moral and spiritual values'—may be as a result of exotic culture. What then is the remedy? We should either idealise the real or realise the ideal. While the latter is difficult, the former is easy. Hence the methods suggested by some social reformers with whom your correspondent Mr. Gopalakrishnan seems to be disgusted; they desire somehow to accommodate themselves to the actual conditions. If I make a 'fetish' of 'giving scope before marriage for formation of affections', it is due to the desire that the progressive commercialisation of marriages may, somehow, be checked. Even if it were desirable, as I admit it is, it will be difficult to go back to the times when boys and girls of marriageable age emerged fresh from their natural surroundings of Ashramas and contracted perfectly spiritual ties on the initiation of parents. I am no less ardent an admirer of the family virtues of Hindu women than Mr. Sadanand, but, I am not obsessed with the idea that the spirit of self-sacrifice which characterises them is always a conscious exercise of the virtue. If the number of unhappy marriages amongst us seems to be less than in other countries, it is due to the blind docility and uncomplaining endurance of our women as also to the mechanical exercise of family duties by men. If I have referred to the share of husbands in the usual sufferings by saying that 'there are as many oppressed husbands as there are wives,' there is not mere poetic justice in it, but real truth; and I think Mr. Sadanand scarcely does justice to me when he says I indulged in cheap sneers at women. In fact it is useless to indulge in sneers or to blame one set of people or one sex, when the whole society is moving in a vicious circle. I know of lot of cases where both parties are convinced of the unhappiness of their lot, but none of them would venture to confess it except to himself or herself in secret. So that while some husbands complain of ignorance, superstition, foolishness, and incapacity of their wives, the latter, of course, have real long-standing grievances which every one of us should try to get redressed. It is all well to talk of Kula-dharma, Stri-dharma, and Pati-dharma; but are these being practised by people as living ideals?

To come to my previous letter, what I wished to point out was that each individual, being a member of the Society, is sure to be affected by the latter which is moving in a vicious circle; and that the B. A. (Hons) student was influenced, in this matter, not so much by the hostel-life as by the Society of which he is a member. The Society tolerates certain pernicious customs and gives opportunities and offers temptations to self-seeking individuals. Not that this is a justification but that much radical reform has to be made in the actual conditions, before we can expect a really healthy view of marriage from the Hindu youth.

I hope I have made myself clear so as not to be misunderstood, and that you will kindly pardon me for the length of the letter.

Bombay,

18th September, 1922

I am, Sir,

Your's truly,

B. R. R.

II

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

May I say a few words about the controversy on a B. A. (Hons) 'matrimonial letter' to you? You and your critics have certainly been unduly harsh, so far as I feel. The conditions and requirements, that the gentleman wished to be advertised, (letter was not one asking to advertise.—*I. S. R.*) are really sought for by so many, whether of orthodox or reformed ideas; in arranging for a marriage. This is every day experience. Simply because he was outspoken—perhaps he was caricaturing some Alnaschars ideas—he is put to strictures by Reformers and others. These are not days of romances wherein millionaires pick up a destitute girl in rags and make her their consort, nor a princess Beauty marries any man on whom the elephant puts on a garland. If the girl expects a comfortable home in the husband, it is equally expected of her to contribute to the comfort. If she comes empty handed, empty headed and empty hearted, it will be a real conjugal life! As for empty handedness, let me not be misunderstood. It is really a shame to depend upon any one's—especially on wife's—property, or help. But in case of education it is said that a man may even beg from any one. If so, where is the immorality or degeneration in a young man's accepting the help from the father-in-law provided it is a voluntary one, and there is no extortion of any sort. Have not even Rajas given 'Stridhan' while giving away their daughters in marriage. If some rakes squandered away the wife's wealth, it does not form a rule. My point, therefore, is that so long as the intention of the B. A. (Hons) is bona fide towards the advancement of education, there is nothing objectionable in that advertisement (*sic*). Or else, any marriage which is the outcome of advertisement, is doubtful in its nature of sacrament.

One word more. One gentleman condemned social reformers wholesale. There are number of middle aged bachelors or widowers who can't get but child girls for marrying; if they remain in the orthodox fold, Will this contribute to morality? Let him answer honestly.

Cawnpore,

12th September, 1922.

A. R. G. Iyer.

SIR JOHN WOODROFFE.

The *Bengalee* writing of the retirement on the 31st August of Justice Sir John Woodroffe from the Bench of the Calcutta High Court, observes:

His retirement will be keenly regretted by the Indian community among whom he was vastly popular for his deep erudition in law, his great scholarship, and above all his strong sympathy with Indian ideals and traditions. For nearly three generations, his family has been connected with Bengal. His father was the late Advocate-General of Bengal, and his maternal grandfather was at one time, the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. Before his elevation to the Bench he was a distinguished member of the Calcutta Bar and was once appointed Tagore Professor of Law in the Calcutta University. As a Judge, he was respected for the even-handed justice that he was always at considerable pains to dispense, and the keen intelligence and comprehensive grasp that he brought to bear upon the adjudication of cases before him. But, more than all this, he has earned the esteem and regard of the Indian community by the unflagging zeal with which he set himself to unfold the truths of the Tantras among English-speaking peoples. In fact, he may be regarded as the discoverer of the Tantra to the West. He is well versed in Indian philosophy and has sympathetic insight into the thought and culture of India. His translation of the tantras into the English language under the pseudonym of Charles Avalon has earned for him the heart-felt gratitude of the Hindus, for it has brought within the easy reach of the West the principles embodied in a whole system of Hindu theological literature, which were so long lying as a sealed book both to the East and the West. Not only the tantras, but the Upanishad, the wisdom and civilization of the Hindus, their educational ideals, the outstanding features of their theology and religion have all been explained by him with sympathy. Sir John Woodroffe is leaving these shores amid the universal regret of the Indian people among whom his life was cast for so many years. It will be long before the void left by a man of such culture and sympathy can be easily filled.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

The *Reformer* has entered its 33rd year from this month and on this occasion we are grateful to acknowledge the following words of good cheer from friends in the course of letters received since:

....."The *Reformer* enables me together with the *Indian Witness* to keep up-to-date on India. You are doing a good service to India by leading out on social reform as you do."—(Letter from Rev. G. B. Thompson, Hartford, Conn. U.S.A., dated 12th August 1922.)

....."No paper is more welcome in our home."—Letter dated 15th August from Rev. Frank Hart, Bradford, (England).

"Recently read a book by Mr. Daniel Johnson Fleming, 'Building with India', with great interest and profit. In that work, the Author makes mention of your paper and its practical Aims and Ideas, recommending it to Individuals in United States of America as a means to come in closer touch with the tremendous spiritual, moral and social needs of India's Men, Women and Children. Being a firm believer in the ultimate delivery of India from all its moral and social evils through the practical application of the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ, and its ultimate triumph over all evil, sin, error and miracle, superstition and ignorance, I do most sincerely approve of your noble and effective work for the uplift of India's Millions."—Letter dated 24th July from J. Ziniker, Ocean Park, Washington, U. S. A.

"I have enjoyed reading the 'Social Reformer,' because I believe it gives me a fair idea of what the best people in India think and what they strive for. Thus I hope to be made better fit to help India to rise to higher levels."—Letter dated 6th September 1922 received from Rev. John Theissen, Landour, Mussoorie.

....."Let me once again express how highly I appreciate the *Reformer* from year to year. Your attitude towards the non-co-operation movement is one which entirely meets with my approval. Wishing you all success."—Letter dated 7th September from a Hindu Reformer at Coimbatore.

"Congratulations on the high tone and good sense of your paper.".....Letter dated 10-9-22 from Rev. H. G. Hanson at Sitapur.

"I am very glad that your paper has entered the 33rd Year of its most useful career. To you belongs the credit of giving a rational basis to the social and other movements in India. Yours is the only paper which takes dispassionate views of men and institutions. I wish a brilliant career to the *Indian Social Reformer*."—Letter dated 11th September from Mr. B. A. Khandekar at Cawnpore.

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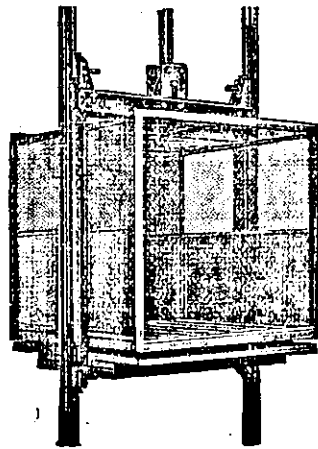
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

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The Turkish Situation: The broad facts relating to the Turkish situation seem to be that Mr. Lloyd George's bellicose pronouncements have met with little support from the Allies, the Dominions and in Great Britain itself. France and Italy have refused to co-operate in fighting the Kemalists. The frenzied appeal to the Dominions has been met by cold replies from Canada and South Africa, Australia is non-committal, and New Zealand is the only Dominion which seems to have entered into the plan with any enthusiasm. The Labour Party in Great Britain has plainly declared that Mr. Lloyd George is a danger to the peace of the world. As a result of all these, the Prime Minister has had to draw in his horns, and Lord Curzon has settled with the French Premier to call a Conference to settle the terms of peace between Greece and Turkey. The first sensational messages about Kemalist atrocities have been qualified in important particulars by subsequent corrections. The auguries are in favour of a satisfactory settlement of this problem in which India is so deeply interested, and the only thing needed to make it a certainty is the retirement from the political stage of Mr. Lloyd George who has clearly outstayed his usefulness. We hope we shall have news of it soon.

A Woman's Appeal: We have received a copy of a lengthy memorial submitted by Mrs. Sunderbai Palshikar of Indore, now residing at Cawnpore, to His Excellency the Viceroy, appealing to him to restore to her her husband, a hereditary Sardar of Indore, who, she alleges, has been obliged against his wishes to marry another wife and to adopt an adult son, and who would be glad to live with her in his estates in British India—he, it appears, is also a holder of extensive Inam lands and a Bardar of the Deccan in British India—if he were free to do so. A similar representation made to the Viceroy by her father was recently rejected on the ground that the Government of India saw no reason to interfere in the matter. The young lady's personal appeal to His Excellency may not meet with any more favourable result. Indeed, much as we sympathise with her, we should be sorry if the Government of India started a practice of intervening between the rulers and subjects of Indian States.

But we venture to urge upon the Maharaja that His Highness should withdraw unconditionally and absolutely any restriction placed upon Sardar Krishna Rao Ram Rao Palshikar's freedom to come to and to live in British India. Mrs. Palshikar says: "If the Dewan (her husband) were free himself, he would gladly make application. If he were free he would gladly live on his estate in British India. The only question is who can release him from Indore." His Highness can and ought to do so as the simplest and most effective way of rebutting the serious statements of this representation. We do not by any means accept these allegations as established but they are there in black and white, circumstantially stated, and friends of Indian States, who wish them to prosper and to grow great, cannot view with equanimity such allegations remaining undisproved in the clearest manner possible. We would add that, though there may exist as relics of an obsolete feudalism some quaint rights of rulers to interfere in the domestic and personal affairs of their Sardars, it is ridiculous to take them seriously and act upon them in this twentieth century. We are told that the alleged acts of the Indore authorities have been sought to be justified on the alleged ground that the unfortunate gentleman, whose matrimonial affairs have caused all this pother, is "an imbecile and an idiot" while, according to Mrs. Palshikar, he is only liable to occasional epileptic fits. But surely he is not the only imbecile, idiot or epileptic in Indore and if His Highness undertakes to regulate the affairs of all such, he will, we fear, have little time to attend to the affairs his historic State.

Women Student's Hostels: Speaking at the prize distribution of the Poona Girls' High School, His Excellency the Governor referred with gratification to the success attained by the Boarding Hostel attached to it. He added: "Such schools are not as a rule appreciated in India but their value in education and the formation of character is to my mind very great, and I hope the success of your hostel here will serve to encourage and inspire others to follow the example it gives." We have had occasion recently to say some severe things about men brought up in our College Hostels and of the influence of the Hostels, but there is a general consensus of opinion that Hostels for girl students have been remarkably successful wherever they have been established in India. A valued friend, writing from Madras, where there are several such, observes: "I have not much experience of Boys' Hostels, but I know personally that Girls' Hostels are doing famously and they are practically breaking down the barriers of caste and that too among our women. I will, therefore, request you not to forget this great good, fraught with the greatest benefits to our social life and country, which the Hostel system is doing." Our strictures on Hostels as regards men students were too sweeping, as the root of the evil influences which we had particularly in view extends deeper than these institutions. Several examples have been furnished to us of

this fact by correspondents whose letters are not intended for publication. But there are special reasons for the conspicuous success of Girls' Hostels. First among them is that the Indian girl inherits an instinct for self-suppression, which acts as a break on any tendency to a swollen head. Secondly, the girls who attend High Schools and Colleges are generally those who have proved that they possess more than ordinary strength of purpose by successfully struggling against the powerful influences which operate among us against a girl's progress in her studies. There are several other reasons, but these two are plain even to superficial observation.

Guru-ka-Bagh: In our leading article last week on the happenings at Guru-ka-Bagh, we remarked, with reference to the statement of the special correspondent of the *Tribune* that by a mutual agreement between the Akalis and the Mahant, the Gurdwaras were taken in charge by the former while the lands attached to them were left with the latter, that no explanation had been forthcoming as to how the Akalis cut trees on the lands in contravention of the agreement. The explanation is given in the Gurdwara Committee's reply to Sir William Vincent's statement in the Legislative Assembly. The Committee state:

The true facts are that the Mahant of the historical Gurdwaras of Guru-ka-Bagh was induced in January 1921 to reform himself. He also got himself baptised as a regular Sikh publicly at the "Akali Takht," and was renamed Jogindar Singh. What is most important is that he willingly signed a paper in which he agreed to work under the full control of a Committee of eleven Sikhs appointed by the Shiromani Committee. After the Nankana Sahib massacre, however, when Sikhs began to be arrested in large numbers, this Mahant like so many others felt encouraged to defy the Panth and went back on his pledges. Therefore, on August 23rd 1921, the Shiromani Committee was obliged to take charge of the institution into their own hands. In this they were quite justified in accordance with the previous agreement with the Mahant as well as by the inalienable right of the Panth to control the Gurdwaras.

The Gurdwara Committee in this document makes another striking statement. It says that when the Police Superintendent, Mr. Macpherson, went to Guru-ka-Bagh, at the request of the rejected Mahant, he, after studying the facts, confirmed the possession of the Sikhs and left a body of Police to protect the Akalis in charge of the place. In corroboration of this, the Committee mentions that, after some time, when the danger of an attack from the Mahant's party was over, the Superintendent of Police wrote to the Gurdwara Committee that he wanted to remove the Police guard unless the latter wished to retain it at its own cost. Another point made by the Committee is that the portion of land from which wood was cut, has always been attached to the Gurdwara and that it stands in the name of the Gurdwara in the Revenue records and not in the name of the Mahant as stated in the official communique. These are all facts that are easily capable of verification and if they are found to be as the Committee states, the main reasons given in the official communique in justification of the action of the District and Police officials fall to the ground. On the other hand, the Committee's statement that the Police originally were left at Guru-ka-Bagh to protect the Akalis against a probable attack from the Mahant's side, shows that the Police at any rate were perfectly neutral as regards the religious aspect of the dispute.

Sir George Lloyd and Non-Co-operators: His Excellency the Governor of Bombay opened the current Legislative Council Session on Thursday with an address reviewing the political and economic conditions in the Presidency. Sir George Lloyd is

entitled to take full credit for acting within the ordinary laws in dealing with the Non-Co-operation leaders, but His Excellency, we think, might have spared a generous word or two in recognition of the high principles inspiring them and especially Mahatma Gandhi, whom it is an abuse of language to charge with "exploiting" national feeling and patriotism. His Excellency referred to the rumour that Congressmen intend to seek election to the Council and, unlike the Prime Minister who threatened to reconsider the Reforms if Non-Co-operators were returned, Sir George Lloyd declared that he "looks forward with confidence to the time, when all sections of political thought who are bent on constructive work will seek election to the Councils and thereby enhance their value not only as a legislative but as an educational machine in the art of self-Government for the people at large." This is the statesmanlike way of looking at the question, and we trust that, when the time comes, His Excellency will be able to remove every obstacle from the way of the all he electors' exercising perfect freedom in the choice of their representatives in the Council.

An Unconstitutional Precedent: When the gaps in the Reforms scheme were pointed out, the answer was that it was intended that they would be filled up by the growth of usage and precedent. Injurious precedents seem to be growing up more vigorously than wholesome precedents—constitutional tares faster than the wheat. The Bombay Government, for instance, proposes to re-introduce in the forthcoming Session of the Legislative Council a Bill to tax entertainments which was rejected in the last Budget Session. The constitutional result of the rejection, in a responsible system, would have been the resignation of the Ministry which introduced the Bill. This, of course, is provided against by the Reform scheme under which Finance is a reserved subject. But surely, it is an astonishingly unconstitutional procedure to bring in the rejected proposal before the same Council in less than twelve months. It has the appearance of an attempt, on the part of the Executive Government, in its entrenched position, to weary out the Council into passing a measure which it has set its heart upon. The Bombay Bill is a small measure, and on its merits it should not have been rejected by the Council when it was first introduced. But having been once rejected, it is wrong to bring it up again as an isolated proposal before the next Budget.

A Defect in Marriage Registration:—In annulling a marriage registered under the Indian Christian Marriage Act on the ground that the girl-bride was in a state of bewilderment and was not in a consenting mood when she went through the formalities, Mr. Justice Coutts-Trotter of the Madras High Court made some observations which apply as much to registration under the Special Marriage Act as under the Indian Christian Marriage Act. His Lordship said:

I confess I am utterly at a loss to understand why the Act contains no provisions for the communication of notice of the intended marriage to the parent or the guardian of the minor concerned. A provision that the notice of the intended marriage shall be posted up in the Registrar's Office seems to me to be no protection whatever. It can only serve at best to verify a suspicion already entertained by the guardian, and obviously the case to be provided against is one where the whole business is deliberately kept from the knowledge of the guardian till the mischief is done. In this country Indians and Anglo-Indians of mixed race, such as are the parties in this case, are familiar with the notion of marriages at an age repugnant to European sentiment. I trust that this case will induce the legislature to take some steps to secure by amendment of the Act that it is made a part of the duty of the Registrar to endeavour to communicate notice of the intended marriage to the parent or guardian of any minor who is about to be married.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1922.

SOME PENDING SOCIAL LEGISLATION.

Quite a number of Bills has been introduced in the Indian Legislature during this Session and a few of them relate to social matters. The Bill to amend the Parsi Matrimonial Act is intended to obviate a difficulty felt in the trial of Parsi matrimonial cases. The present Act requires eleven delegates in the Chief, and seven in the District, courts to assist the Judge trying such cases. It has been found difficult to secure the continued attendance of so many delegates when a case is prolonged beyond one day. The amending Bill permits the trial to proceed if nine or six delegates are present throughout the proceedings in a Chief or District Court respectively, and also, in consequence, it gives a casting vote to the presiding Judge if the delegates are equally divided on an opinion on the facts. Mr. M. K. Reddy's Bill is the same as his original draft which we published on the issue of the 18th June. It is officially entitled 'a Bill to amend the Hindu Law of Succession.' The more correct description of it will be a Bill to extend the Hindu Law of Succession. We reprint the draft Bill for convenience of reference and the statement of objects and reasons appended to it. The pre-ambule seems to require radical revision. The second clause regarding the application of the term, Sudras, implying as it does that it is rightly applied to some but not to others at present, should not find a place in an Act, and is, in any case, unnecessary in a Bill which aims at a uniform law of succession for all Hindu castes. The third clause of the preamble affirms that it is desirable that in the Hindu Law of Succession there should not be any distinctions based upon caste. The question really, however, is, to what castes does the Hindu Law of Succession apply? Does the Hindu Law of Succession include any local or caste customs which, according to the well-known maxim, over-ride the written law? Is it possible to assimilate the Law of Succession of all Hindus without assimilating their Law of Marriage? The second and operative section lays down that "the illegitimate son of a Hindu of any caste shall not be entitled to inherit &c." We have stated before the objections on principle to this wide disinheriting measure. We have also stated the practical objections to it in view of the wide variety of marriage customs among the castes not coming at present within the scope of the Hindu Law. The yoke of the Hindu Law of Succession sits heavily on the shoulders of those who are subject to it and several attempts have been and are being made to lighten it and make it more in accord with modern ideas. Instead of co-operating with those who are trying to do this, Mr. Reddy, in the supposed interests of a class, has introduced a Bill for penalising unborn generations for the acts of their parents. It is quite true that the castes comprehensively grouped as Sudras have much advanced socially and that the marriage tie among them is as rigorous as among

other Hindu castes. Mr. Reddy thinks this is a reason for the Bill, but it is clearly one and a strong one against it. With the strengthening of the marriage tie, the right of illegitimate sons to inherit will not affect any considerable number of persons, and it will be a wholesome check on those whose passions can be controlled only by considerations of property. The Bill is now before the public and we trust it will be carefully discussed from all points of view.

Of quite a different type are the Bills for the amendment of the Special Marriage Act so as to leave out the offensive and inquisitorial declaration regarding religious belief, for the abolition of imprisonment as a penalty for enforcing a decree for the restitution of conjugal rights on women, and for the admission of women to the legal profession, all of which stand to the credit of Dr. Gour. The motion to refer the first Bill to a Select Committee was carried by a majority of only one. This, it will be remembered, was refused at the previous session by an identical majority. The opposition to the Bill was of the stereotyped kind, and we doubt if all the objectors were serious. The opposition of the Mahomedan members to the Bill is altogether beyond our understanding. They themselves enjoy the benefit of what is practically a civil marriage law, and it is inexplicable why they should be anxious to prevent members of other communities from having a similar law passed for their use. As for the Hindu opponents of the Bill, we would ask them to consider seriously to what plight the Hindu Marriage sacrament has been brought owing to blind opposition to salutary reforms calculated to preserve the spirit which animated the ancients who formulated it. If there is a simple Civil Marriage Law, such as that proposed by Dr. Gour, there will be greater chances of the Hindu sacramental marriage being restored to its original purity. A Mahomedan or a Christian or Buddhist can practically marry any one he likes without professing to give up his or her religion. A Parsi also can do the same, although a section of that community is opposed to intermarriages. Thus, although the declaration under the Special Marriage Act is drawn up so as to seem to apply to all religions, in practice it is only the Hindu who is affected by it. The Hindu Missionary Society, we think, should be now convinced that its device to overcome the difficulty is not legally valid in any case where the parties can not marry under the ordinary Hindu law and usage. It is impossible not to regard those who oppose the passing of a simple Civil Marriage law as active agents in the progress of the social disruption which is visible in Hindu life today. We trust that public opinion in the country will find such expression in the interval between now and the next Session of the Assembly as to shame these men into acquiescence. The legal procedure known as the restitution of conjugal rights, is utterly repugnant to Indian ideas and is an importation from Christian ecclesiastical practice. It has been abolished in England, and should have disappeared long ago from the Indian statute book. At the present day, it is chiefly used by vindictive young men as a weapon to coerce fathers-in-law who wish to keep their young

married (betrothed) daughters, until they are of proper age, under the parental roof with a view to give them a good education. We are glad that the motion to refer this Bill to a Select Committee was accepted by a substantial majority in the Assembly. The Bill to admit women to the legal profession needs no comment. It is rank injustice to deny women who qualify themselves for the legal profession the right of putting their training to profitable use. Another measure now before the Bill of a social character is the one to do away with the prescriptive right of Hindu priests to exact payments from residents of their villages, whether or no they officiate for them. The Hon. Professor Kale made an excellent speech in the Council of State in support of this Bill. The practice it seeks to put down is an anachronism and it is a good deal responsible for the misunderstandings between Brahmans and non-Brahmins in Maharashtra. It is a flagrant infringement of the sacred principle of religious freedom, and must go.

BOMBAY PRIMARY COMMITTEE'S REPORT I.

The Committee of the Legislative Council, appointed by the Government of Bombay to consider and report on the question of the introduction of free and compulsory primary education in this Presidency, has made an illuminating report. It had for Chairman, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the President of the Council, and the value of his guidance is visible in many parts of the report. It recommends that universal compulsory education for both boys and girls should be the goal aimed at, and it holds that free education is the natural corollary of compulsory education. The practicability of introducing free and compulsory education is discussed both from the point of view of the popular opposition such a step might have to encounter and from the point of view of finance. On the first point, the Committee is of opinion that in the Deccan, Konkan and the Karnatak—that is, the Marathi and Kanarese speaking districts of the Presidency—a good deal of propaganda work has been done by social and political leaders to pave the way for compulsory education and that its introduction in these districts for boys will not meet with serious opposition and that the people generally are ready for such a measure. As regards Gujarat, in view of the evidence of many witnesses and of the general conditions, the Committee thinks it will be necessary to proceed with caution. As Gujarat, to use the words of the Committee, "is educationally the most advanced area in the Presidency," in point of literacy, very little behind Baroda where compulsory education was introduced 15 years ago, this recommendation comes rather as a surprise. The Committee observes :

We consider, however, that the conditions in Gujarat are far less favourable for the introduction of compulsory education than in the Deccan. The population is far less homogeneous, and the wealth of Gujarat has produced a far larger proportion of dependants on well-to-do cultivators than is to be found in any Deccan village. Disturbed political conditions may have also temporarily affected the attitude of the

people, but the root cause is undoubtedly ethnological and economic.

As Gujarat is educationally the most advanced area in the Presidency, the conditions mentioned in the above passage can not be said to have led to less appreciation of the value of education there than in the Marathi and Kanarese-speaking districts. It is, then, as conditions likely to result in greater opposition to *compulsion* that they must be understood. The Committee dismisses the effect of "disturbed political conditions" as temporary and negligible and describes the "root cause" for its apprehension as being "undoubtedly ethnological and economic." On the other hand, it seems to us that "the disturbed political conditions" are almost wholly responsible for the impression formed by the Committee from the evidence before it and that as these are temporary, they do not form a sufficient basis for the differentiation made between the conditions in the other parts of the Presidency proper and Gujarat. Two circumstances, both of them telling against the Committee's "ethnological and economic" reasons, led to the persons who tendered evidence before the Committee believing that the opposition to compulsory education would be greater and that, therefore, a more cautious approach should be made to it in Gujarat than in other parts of the Presidency proper. These are, the greater success of the non-Co-operation movement in the districts speaking Mahatma Gandhi's own mother-tongue and the absence of the stimulus of Brahmin-non-Brahmin rivalry. The witnesses from Gujarat all belonged to the political party which has had a hard struggle for existence against the influence of the greatest Gujarat leader of our time. They were likely by a natural metathesis to conceive opposition to them as opposition to all good causes, including that of compulsory education. They might have also reasonably apprehended that the Minister for education being one opposed to the Non-Co-operationists, a scheme of compulsion initiated by him might encounter strong opposition from the Non-Co-operationists who are strong in Gujarat.

The strongest demand for compulsory education in the Deccan and the Karnatak came from the non-Brahmins who have realised that it is their want of education that has left them behind Brahmans in the public Services and in public life generally. There is no such Brahmin—non-Brahmin emulation in Gujarat. The Committee's observation that the population of Gujarat is far less homogeneous than in Maharashtra and the Karnatak, strikes one as startling in view of the remarkable absence of acute communal controversies such as the Brahmin-non-Brahmin and Brahmin-Lingayat controversies in the latter provinces. Other and positive grounds may be advanced in support of the opposite view, namely, that there is greater homogeneity among the people of Gujarat—cultural and ethnological—than in Maharashtra or the Karnatak or the Konkan. As for the economic ground, stated by the Committee, there are two considerations which militate against it. In Bengal where there are big Zemindars, agricultural wealth

has undoubtedly led to a lot of supine dependants. The land tenure of Gujarat, except to a very limited extent, is calculated rather to breed a sturdy peasantry such as the Patidars are. Then, again, the strong trading tendencies of Gujaratis are a powerful counteracting influence against a life of dependance. With due deference to the greater experience of the members of the Committee, the two grounds specially stated by them for their opinion that compulsory education will meet with greater opposition in Gujarat than elsewhere seem to us to be singularly ill-chosen. Sind, of course, stands in a category by itself. It is a curious fact that the most advanced Mahomedan communities in India are to be found in provinces where they are a comparatively small minority. Where, as in the Punjab, East Bengal and Sind, they form the bulk of the population, they are backward in all the elements of progress. In the Presidency proper, the proportion of Musalman children, boys and girls, attending school, is much ahead of all except Brahmans. In Sind, where Mahomedans constitute three-fourths of the population, and the Brahman-non-Brahman division among Hindus has no educational significance, there are proportionately less Mahomedan children attending schools than non-Brahmins in the Presidency proper. This is a point worth consideration by advocates of the communal principle in politics. This principle may be paraphrased as leaving every community to stew in its own juice.

MRS. BESANT'S TWO VOICES.

Mrs. Annie Besant delivered an address in Bombay on the 31st August on "How to win Home Rule." In that address, referring to the question whether India should have Swarajya within or without the British Empire, she said, according to the report in the *Times of India* of the 1st September :

We only ask you to pass our constitution that it may become an Imperial Statute as the Australian Convention made the constitution that was turned into an Imperial Statute in Westminster. In saying that, the speaker continued, she was leaving open the question whether or not they wanted to remain in the British Commonwealth. She herself believed that India and England together could do for the world and humanity what neither of them could do alone. She believed that the greatness of both nations depended on their connection, but the only way that connection could endure was if India was an equal partner in the Commonwealth and helped in ruling the Commonwealth as well as in ruling herself. Indians had a right to rule their own affairs, and they had been promised that the right would be theirs.

The *Bombay Chronicle* report of the address was reprinted in Mrs. Besant's *New India* of the 5th September, and in it her remarks on this point were summarised thus :

If they wanted to remain in the British Commonwealth, then India should be taken as an equal partner in the Commonwealth and help in ruling the Commonwealth as well as ruling India.

We were not able to attend Mrs. Besant's lecture. But these two versions in the two Bombay English

dailies of what she said, seemed to us, and we said so, to approximate to the amended Congress creed adopted at Nagpur, which runs thus :

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

Mrs. Besant repudiates this vehemently in a note which she has sent from Simla to *New India* of the 13th instant. She writes :

I said, as I have said all along, that I do not presume to dictate to India whether she shall not remain within the Commonwealth, but that I shall use whatever power I possess to persuade her to remain therein, that I believe she will ruin herself and England if she leaves it, and that I will not co-operate with any who seek to break that connection fraught with good to the whole world. I left the Congress when it left that connection an open question in its policy, and I am not in the least coming into line with it. The Right of Self-Determination I am bound to admit in every Nation, and, as I have always said, I cannot deny it to India. But the matter is not to me "an open question," and never has been.

Even in this note she does not repudiate the reports of her address, but, on the contrary, says "it is charitable to believe that the writer in the *Reformer* had not seen the report of the lecture." Well, we have given above the relevant passages, as reported in the Bombay papers, and reproduced in *New India* without comment or correction, and the reader can judge for himself how far the Simla version of the speech is borne out in the reports of it in the *Times of India* and the *Bombay Chronicle*. From Simla she writes that "the matter is not to me an open question and never has been," and "I will not co-operate with any who seek to break that connection" between England and India. The *Times of India* report, on the other hand, explicitly affirms that, "the speaker continued, she was leaving open the question whether or not they wanted to remain in the British Commonwealth" and, further, she said that

there was no reason why even those who were for the boycott of the Councils and for strict obedience to the National Congress should not come to this conference and discuss with others what would be the best way of winning home rule for India very rapidly.

Mrs. Besant is not a young amateur platform athlete, but a world-famous speaker of mature powers. One can understand the former blurring out what comes uppermost to their lips, and then, finding fault with the reporters for misrepresenting them. Not that the reporting in Bombay is distinguished for its accuracy, but neither is the speaking in Bombay. If Mrs. Besant has not been correctly reported, she should say so. If, on the other hand, things in Simla appear in a different perspective than the same things in Bombay, she should say so. She has no right to say one thing in Bombay and try to make out from Simla that it was just the opposite of what she said. It is very difficult to co-operate in a Conference, the chief promoter of which, "it is charitable to believe," changes her mind according to the altitude of the place she happens to be in.

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

London, Aug. 31st, 1922.

MURDER OF MICHAEL COLLINS.

The death of Mr. Arthur Griffiths came as a tragic blow to Ireland, and the question as to who would replace him was not answered, when the murder of Michael Collins, the Commander-in-Chief of the Free State Army, shook that country from end to end. That Mr. Collins's life had been in danger for weeks was well-known, that he was marked down for dispatch by the Republican party was also known, for more than one attempt had been made on his life, ere he lost it, caught in an ambush near Cork. His last words were for the men who had killed him, and for them he asked forgiveness. Of all the figures that have come to the front during the last few years in Ireland, Michael Collins was the most romantic. Fine in figure, with a handsome face, fearless in manner, frank and courteous to all, he was a man in very truth to win the hearts of his people. He was accordingly beloved by his followers, even as he was feared by his enemies. Perhaps the greatest compliment the Republicans paid him was when they singled him out for death; they knew his power, and knew he was a leader not easily replaced. Messages of condolence, and expressions of horror at the wanton cruelty of killing in ambush one of Ireland's most heroic figures, have been sent to the Irish Free State from all parts of the world. Mr. Hughes, the Australian Premier, in his message, called the Republican party in Ireland, a band of cowardly murderers, and said; "If any man had proved himself a lover of Irish liberty, it was Michael Collins. I cannot think for one moment that the Irish will ever condone this shocking and brutal crime."

It is difficult at the present moment to estimate the effect of the loss of Michael Collins on the immediate course of affairs in Ireland. That there will be a stiffening of the Free State Party is certain, and though the order has gone forth that there must be no reprisals, the fighting will certainly become more bitter, and no attempts at a compromise will now be possible. The loss of Arthur Griffiths and Michael Collins will mean the necessity of enlisting new blood in the Irish Government, and it is possible and probable that Irishmen, who many years ago ceased to take part in purely domestic affairs and who took service in other parts of the British Empire, will rally round Ireland now, return to her, and place their years of experience and knowledge at the service of the Free State, so that the dreams of the two lost leaders, Arthur Griffiths and Michael Collins, shall come to full fruition.

PEOPLE'S VOICE LEAGUE.

The statue of Liberty ought to be transported bodily across the Atlantic and placed in Liverpool harbour, said a well-known American anti-prohibitionist to a press representative on Saturday last in London. "You are one of the few free countries left," he went on. "You treat Bolsheviks, for instance, as they should be treated, by letting them talk as much as

they like and not attaching undue importance to them." He then gave a few facts showing what he considered to be the absurdity of American cranks. A Bill is to be introduced in the Congress to prohibit totally the selling or growing of tobacco in any shape or form. Already in Kansas it is illegal to smoke in public. The State of Texas has made it illegal to tip. "Altogether," said our American visitor, "a strong movement is being made to enforce the old Puritan laws, which, among other things, would make it illegal to publish any Sunday newspapers, or even for a man to kiss his wife on a Sunday, even in private. The only way to combat this repression is by letting the people themselves voice their wants, and the way to do this is by using the People's Voice League. We, of this League, are out for liberty, not licence, and when I get to Washington with 25,000,000 of voices behind me, the Gamshoe Reformers will find their jaws a little muzzled," concluded the anti-prohibition leader.

WOMEN MAGISTRATES AT SCHOOL.

Women magistrates from all over England are meeting this week and at school at Oxford, to learn the art of dispensing justice at petty sessions. There are between 60 and 70 of them gathered together, many being women of title, and the others women who have graduated through public service and come originally from working-class homes. All are of mature age and most are married. With very few exceptions all are used to the bench, but they are taking their work seriously, and wish to investigate the difficult problems of treatment in reformatory schools, the enforcement of maintenance orders when husband and wife are separated, the case of the prostitute and the value of putting first offenders on probation. Each day, informal conferences are held where the women assembled to exchange experiences and talk over difficulties, and a course of lectures has been arranged in which the vital problems of J. P.'s are dealt with. It is suggested that a similar Congress for men-magistrates would be an advantage to the country. At the present time there is too wide a discrepancy in sentences passed by different benches for the same offence, and much more use might be made of the first Offenders Act than at present is made of it.

REVIVAL OF RURAL INDUSTRIES.

On the recommendation of the Development Bureau, the Treasury have made a grant towards the establishment of a Rural Industries Intelligence Bureau. The Committee is composed of representatives of associations and bodies, including the Board of Trade, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Pensions, etc. The Bureau is to pay special attention to the revival and extension of rural industries, and crafts, which, with proper organisation and development, can be rendered sound and profitable; the establishment of new industries, which up to now have not been carried on in this country, provided that such industries are suitable to rural districts, and that handicrafts form the chief element in them, and that they will yield a fair reward to the worker. In connection with the Bureau, a co-operative trading society is to be established. There will be show-rooms and

warehouses and all will be entirely free of Government control. The functions of the trading society will be to supply raw material of every description, or half finished goods, or parts of goods, at wholesale prices to isolated or groups of workers, engaged in rural industries and handicrafts; and also the hiring out of plant and equipment such as looms, sewing machines, tools, etc. The Development Commissions have been particularly impressed by the opportunities which a revival of village industries would offer to many disabled ex-service men.

FRANCE AND REPARATIONS.

The Reparations Commission established under the Treaty of Versailles is endeavouring to find a solution of the difficulty presented by Germany's failure to fulfil her financial obligations under the Treaty. The French Government has been borrowing money from the French people for the purpose of reconstruction in the devastated war zone upon the guarantee of German reparation payments. Now Germany demands a moratorium for cash payments, and France demands against Germany productive guarantees as the condition of such a moratorium. The question facing the Reparations Commission is how to satisfy France without injuring Germany so vitally as to precipitate a financial catastrophe that would immediately involve all central Europe and ultimately almost all the other European countries, France not excluded.

MR. SASTRI'S DISAPPOINTMENT.

News from Vancouver, British Columbia, indicates that, so far from repeating the success of his tour in Australia and New Zealand, Mr. Sastri is unlikely to be able to persuade the Government of the Canadian province to the acceptance of the doctrine of equal treatment for domiciled Indians. The Provincial Government, which is a liberal one, appears to be dependent upon the Labour vote, which it is fearful of alienating. Evidently Labour in British Columbia, has yet a lot to learn; and Mr. Sastri is fully justified in publicly proclaiming his disappointment, at the attitude of the Provincial Ministry which he has found to be unfriendly to the Indian cause.

PRAYERS OF A SOCIAL REFORMER, II.

Master,

Here are my heart and my soul today,

Here is my deepest love,

Here is all the frail loyalty in me,

All the feeble and wavering will,

All the zeal, all the power of work, all the devotion:
Take Thou these gifts.

Poor gifts are they, and unworthy:

Yet, such as they are, they are thine.

Take me today,

And rule me:

Keep me, ah keep me,

Close to Thyself.

Teach me to serve, in secret and humble ways,

Thy brethren, the needy and lost.

KASHMIR.

MADRAS NOTES.

(From a Correspondent)

Madras, Sept. 17, 1922.

A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

In my last letter I stated that with or before the advent of Swarajya a Socialist party is bound to emerge in all the provinces of India. At least in one province the prospect of such a party arising is not so very remote. Of course, I am referring to Madras. The nucleus of such a party is not to be found in the ranks of the Congress organisations in this presidency. Nor should it be sought in the local Labour Unions even. Undoubtedly, these bodies contain a great many democratic elements which will coalesce with the Socialist party when it comes into being as naturally as ducks take to water. But the nearest approach to a Socialist party, is the nucleus round which such a party may be expected to develop in this part of India is supplied by the "Justice" or the Non-Brahmin party.

To none will this statement come as a greater surprise than to the leaders of the "Justice" party themselves and by none will it be more vehemently denied. The evolution of the Non-Brahmin movement presents one of the most curious psychological phenomena of contemporary Indian history. It is one of the most misunderstood, if not the most misunderstood, of modern movements. Of it may be said with truth that it has been misunderstood and misrepresented by no one more than by most of its own sponsors and spokesmen. To its opponents as well as to many of its exponents it always was and still is nothing more than an attempt to secure what is known as Communal representation in the public services and in the Council chambers of the land for the Non-Brahmins. This is in no way surprising when we remember that Mahatma Gandhi himself, who possesses like all great leaders an intuitive faculty for penetrating into the heart of most things, stated some months ago that so far as he could see the Non-Brahmins of the Deccan and Madras only wanted to get the fishes and loaves of office! Nowhere else has the Mahatma gone more sadly astray than in his failure to perceive the real inwardness of the Non-Brahmin movement.

But of late it is coming to be recognised, that, despite the sayings and doings of some of its own champions, the Non-Brahmin movement is essentially a movement which aims at raising all the castes of the Hindu community as well as its so-called Out-Castes to a position of social, educational and religious equality with the Brahmins and that its present attempt to capture political power through the Councils and the public services is only a means—a necessary means—towards achieving that larger and higher end. The present writer has come in for a good deal of friendly ridicule in various quarters for pointing out that social democracy is the distinguishing characteristic of the Non-Brahmin movement, that its aims are more cultural and spiritual than materialistic and that it stands for the destruction of the hereditary caste system which constitutes the direct negation of Democracy. But the fact remains that the Non-Brahmin party is the only party in the whole of India the fundamental plank of whose platform is the breaking-up of the unnatural, anti-social, immoral and Godless system of *Varnashrama Adharma*. And that is my reason for believing that it supplies the nucleus of a Socialist or a Social Democratic Party in a far greater degree than the local Congress and Labour organisations which, although in the vanguard of the political movement, have failed up to this minute to formulate their attitude as regards "Caste" the principal, if not the sole, obstacle to the advent of a true

Democratic State and a true Democratic Society in India.

Some of your readers may know that the "Justice" party has been latterly taking delight in dubbing itself the "Social Democratic Party", I fear, without fully realising all the implications of that term. Even Mr. C. R. Reddy who has done more than any other individual to popularise that phrase among the members of the party (although he is not the author of the new nomenclature which, as he himself has acknowledged, is the invention of another individual who shall be nameless here) is not, I am afraid, prepared to admit all its socialistic implications as is proved by an interview with him published sometime ago in one of the local dailies. But the new appellation is becoming more and more popular among the rank and file of the party most of whom, thank God, are Social Democrats to the marrow of their bones in the fullest sense of the term. The voice of these younger men is bound to assert itself more and more in the counsels of the party—if there is any truth in the claim often put forward by the leaders of the party that they stand up for social justice. Social justice means economic justice. It does not stand to reason to suppose that a party which set out to destroy the paramount influence of Sacerdotalism in the State and in Society will indefinitely tolerate the by no means lesser evil of the supremacy of Capitalism. In my last letter I appealed to the official hierarchy to encourage and assist the growth of a healthy Socialism in India as that alone will act as an adequate safeguard against the rise of the demon of Bolshevism in our midst. May I similarly appeal to the leaders of all parties here and elsewhere, whether they are for Socialism or against it, to profit by the example of countries like England, France and Germany where the chief, if not the only, force that is keeping Bolshevism at bay is a Constitutional Socialist Party?

THE CURSE OF UNTOUCHABILITY.

THE EDITOR *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

When a powerful current of electricity passing through a wire, the bits of iron lying by it become magnets, but the moment the current stops, they exhibit themselves nothing more than cold bits of iron. This very strange phenomenon was witnessed when Mahatma Gandhi led a powerful movement against untouchability, and when since his incarceration, the crusaders *i. e.* his followers have lost all zeal. This has been true as far as untouchability is concerned. But thanks to his powerful advocacy and the steady and continuous work of reformers, there is a wide awakening amongst the untouchables themselves.

To trace back, it is the saints of Middle ages and not the Christian Missionaries, as mistakenly supposed by some, who deserve much credit for launching a movement against untouchability. It was Eknath in the Deccan, Ramanuja in the South, Narsi Mehta in Gujrath, Lord Gauranga in Bengal and Ramananda in the North and a bright galaxy of many other saints who led a fight against the dull-headedness and stone-heartedness of Orthodoxy. Is it any wonder therefore if the untouchables, in spite of the degradations and humiliations, cling to Hinduism? They are attached to Hinduism because of the solid and self-less work of these saints. The flag is hoisted long ago by these saints, we have to fight under their banner for the glory of these saints. The glorious day must dawn, when these persecuted men and women will be admitted into Hindu temples to crown the work of these saints.

One wonders how is it that the work of so many centuries could not drive the cursed untouchability from Hinduism? The reason is very plain. When boys are of impressionable age, when their minds are full of enthusiasm, this poison of untouchability, this poison of hating their own fellow-men is instilled into their minds as one of the gospel truths under the broad name of religion.

Boys are taught to hate Shudras, they are taught to hate the Pariahs. When they grow up, they in their turn bestow the paternal legacy on their tender children. Thus this legacy of hatred is handed down from one generation to another. This phenomenon can well be seen in our holy places. These holy places are the castles of Orthodoxy, where religion means hatred of Shudras, Pariahs and widows. The best way to get rid of untouchability is to purge the religion of such heinous godless teachings.

Devlali,
2nd Sept. 1922.

Yours etc.,
KARKARE K. G.

GOD OR CAESAR?

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Some months ago, there was an interesting controversy—perhaps initiated by the Bishop of Bombay—as to the correct interpretation of the Biblical passage, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's". The *Reformer* was the battlefield, and you made, if I remember right, your own contribution to it. Some argued that in this passage Christ insisted on allegiance to temporal authority in matters temporal, and that He was against "mixing religion, with politics." Very recently a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in his narration of his interview with Mahatma Gandhi in the interval between his arrest and his trial, mentioned Mahatmaji's interpretation of this passage.

It will perhaps be not uninteresting to know what a great man of the 19th century, one who had set himself to found, "not a sect, but a religion of patriotism", Joseph Mazzini, the Italian patriot thought of this passage. His remarks occur on page 80 of his "On the Duties of Man" (published by S. K. Lahiri & Co.). He wrote:—

"Thy kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven. Let these words—better understood and better applied than in the past—be the utterance of your faith, your prayer. O my brothers. Repeat them and strive to fulfil them. No matter if others seek to persuade you to passive resignation and indifference to earthly things, if they preach submission to every temporal authority, however unjust, by quoting to you without comprehending them the words "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."

"Nothing of Caesar, unless it be such in conformity with the law of God. Caesar, that is to say, the temporal power or Civil Government, is but the administrator and executive as far as lies in its power, of the design of the Almighty. Whencever it is false to its mission and trust, it is, I do not say your *right* but your *duty* to change it."

The last statement exactly expresses Mahatmaji's own view of the attitude of the individual towards the State. But perhaps it will be argued that Mazzini was no Christian!

39-40 First Floor,
Improvement Trust Chawls,
Foras Road, Byculla Bombay.

31st August 1922.

Yours very truly,
JAYATIRTH R. K.

THE THIYYAS OF MALABAR.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have been closely watching the movements of the Thiyya community for the last few years and their steady advance and improvement have been a source of inspiration not only to myself but to all who have a sincere desire to see them on a footing of equality with all the other so-called higher communities of Malabar. But I am extremely grieved to find that there are some among them who profess themselves to be the guides and leaders of their community, but who are really out to exploit their sympathy and generosity to achieve their own small ends. Any one who was present at the meeting held at Vattampoil Krishnan's house the other day under the auspices of the 'Thiyya Maha Yogam' of Malabar cannot and will not have the slightest doubt with regard to the veracity of my statement, if only they would view the proceedings of the same with absolute impartiality and without prejudice. I do not mean to give a detailed account of the meeting or the motives underlying it, but only some of the outstanding facts which go to show that the sole object of its conveners was to hoodwink their ignorant and illiterate brethren who could be easily led away by enthusiasm and noisy demonstrations. The very fact that only Thiyyas were admitted to the meeting and no other community higher or lower than themselves were allowed to take part in its proceedings, is a clear indication that it was not any noble motive that prompted them to do this. If it was really meant for the uplift of their country, for the advancement of their community and for the betterment of their society, I am at a loss to understand why the whole thing was done so secretly. One of the principal speakers in the course of his speech said that the object of the meeting was not to satisfy the personal aggrandisement of any particular person, much less that of Mr. O. Krishnan, but was for their own benefit and it would certainly be a sin if any body took it otherwise. He also said that each and every one of them should be a subscriber to the *Mitavadi* since it was the only paper in Malabar that stood entirely for their cause and it would be an unpardonable breach of trust on their part if they denied it their due patronage and support. I leave this entirely for men of sense to judge whether the object of the meeting was narrow or not. Do not such, 'guides and leaders' really forfeit their claim to have anything to do with their country or community? Are they not working with some small motive for selfish ends? It is understood that the speaker has appealed for funds to carry out their work. I would seriously advise all the Thiyyas of Malabar to think twice before they do anything. Let them also bear in mind to guard themselves against being employed as catspaw by their so-called leaders.

Calicut 8th Sept. 1922.

T. P. O. K.

[We publish this letter with some hesitation. So far as we can see, there seems to be no justification for the correspondent's strictures on the conveners of the meeting referred to. Ed.—I. S. R.]

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND SOCIAL REFORM.

(The *Indian Witness*, Lucknow, Sept. 13.)

A large number of missionaries and Indian Christians from the Central Provinces and Central India attended the various Mid-India Conferences held in Jubbalpore, September 5-8. The principal address was given on Wednesday morning by Mr. K. Natarajan, editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, on the subject, "How can Missions Co-operate in Social Reform in India?" The straightforward, sympathetic present-

ation of this vital theme excited the greatest interest and enthusiasm. At the close of his address, Mr. Natarajan very kindly offered to answer questions, and for three quarters of an hour a most profitable discussion followed. The more complete the understanding among the various agencies working for the uplift of India, the more effective will the work of each become. Mr. Natarajan's presence in this meeting, and his inspiring address, will go a long way towards bringing about that co-operation of which he has spoken, and which is so earnestly desired by all.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Association :

Resolved, that we have listened with great interest and profit to the address of Mr. K. Natarajan. We are thankful to him for his frank and sympathetic expressions. We feel sure that the cause of Social Reform has received a great impetus from this time spent together, and we have learned many things that will help us in our future work. We wish Mr. Natarajan all success in his work, and we pledge to him whole-hearted support in every way possible. We trust that he will continue to let us know where we can work together in the cause of India's social emancipation.

A HINDU LAW OF SUCCESSION AMENDMENT BILL.

The following Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly on the 12th September 1922 :—

No. 25 of 1922.

A Bill to amend the Hindu Law of Succession.

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 caste in certain cases are likely to 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 should not be any distinctions based on caste ; It is hereby enacted as follows :—

1. This Act may be called the Illegitimate Sons' Rights Act, 1922.

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 coparceners, nor shall he be entitled to take the property of the legitimate sons or other descendants of his putative father, either by inheritance or by survivorship.

3. This Act applies to all illegitimate sons whose right has 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.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

THE difference in the Hindu Law of Succession between illegitimate sons of the three regenerate classes and of the fourth, having been based on the indefiniteness of the marriage sacrament, and looseness of the marriage tie among the latter in ancient times, and they having very much advanced socially, so that the ceremonial and marriage tie among them now is as rigorous as among the first three classes except in the case of a very few communities, it is necessary that this difference should be removed and this Bill is introduced, with the object of making the Hindu Law of Succession uniform for all classes to whom it is applicable.

M. K. REDDI.

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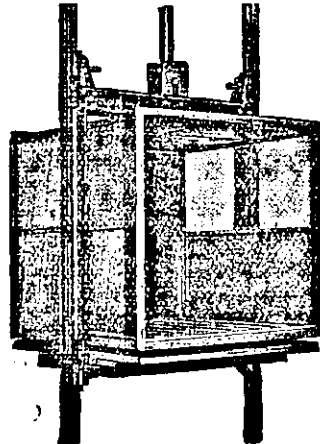
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"I will be as bare as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

—:0:—

The World's Six Greatest Men: The *Strand* Magazine for September contains an interview with Mr. H. G. Wells. The interviewer wished to ascertain from Mr. Wells the names of the six men whom he regarded as the greatest in history. The eminent writer gave the following in reply: Christ, Buddha, Aristotle, Asoka, Roger Bacon and Lincoln. Christ and Buddha occupy a position of unquestioned supremacy because of the universality of their message, and their inclusion needs no justification. Confucius, Mr. Wells would not include in the list because too little is known of him, and Mahomed, because "there is too much of the clay of human weakness mixed with the finer elements of his character." Mahomed, Mr. Wells added, was the immediate cause of calling forth a power much greater than himself—the Spirit of Islam which, he holds, grew out of the character of the Arab people. "It was, and is, something vastly more significant than the man who made itself its spokesman." This is hardly convincing as the character of the Arab people required the Prophet's advent to produce the Spirit of Islam. Islam has overleapt the barriers of race more completely than either Christianity or Buddhism, and the Founder of that religion is clearly entitled to a place in the universal type of human greatness. Mr. Wells gave as his reason for preferring Aristotle to Plato that while the latter said "let us take hold of life and remodel it," Aristotle said "first of all, let's get the facts." But is not life the biggest fact, and did not Christ and Buddha hold on this point with Plato rather than with Aristotle? Asoka's inclusion in the list was justified on the ground that "he is the only military monarch on record who abandoned warfare after victory." Asoka was a great Emperor, but the reason given by Mr. Wells is neither clear nor convincing. Asoka himself would not have claimed credit for a policy which he adopted under the influence of the teachings of the Sukyamuni. If Mr. Wells had said that Asoka belonged to the world's greatest men because he first proclaimed the principle of religious toleration, he would have been nearer the mark. This he did not even mention among Asoka's claims to greatness. Roger Bacon is included in Mr. Wells' list because

he insisted on experiment as the test of truth and that he anticipated by six hundred years the possibility of steamships and aeroplanes. Undoubtedly, he was a great intellect but he is not on the same plane as Christ or Buddha. Mr. Wells hovered for a moment between Washington and Lincoln for his sixth name, and decided for the latter because "America might have imported Washington, full grown, from the old world: she had to grow her own Lincoln." The common test which Mr. Wells applies to all his great men is whether they gave most to or took most from the world in which they lived. He recalled Emerson's observation that the mass of men worry themselves into nameless graves, while here and there a great unselfish soul forgets itself into immortality.

The Problem of the Untouchables: Rao Sahib C. Madurai Pillai, himself a member of one of the depressed castes, speaking at a Conference of these castes at Chingleput, sharply criticised those who urged his community to press forward aggressively their claims to equal treatment. Mr. Pillai pointed out that they had much to gain by not antagonising any party, and that those who favoured a spirited forward policy were responsible for much of the friction between the non-Brahmin party and the untouchables in the Legislative Council. After this it is somewhat surprising to see him condemning the removal of untouchability insisted upon by Mahatma Gandhi as going only skin-deep. The following passage in his address, will be read with interest:

It is put forward in some quarters that Panchamas should be allowed entry into Hindu temples. Here once again let me impress on your mind the necessity of cultivating clean habits. I have seen in several temples especially in Mysore Kapaleshwarar temple (Brahmotsavam) several Panchamas cleanly attired get ingress and egress into the temple without any objection being raised. So long as you are clean in thought, action and body, you could fight out this case with the temple authorities in a constitutional manner and have your grievance redressed in this respect.

It is well that occasionally some one among these classes comes forward to preach the gospel of self-reliance. Mr. Pillay's method combines the innocence of the dove with the wisdom of the serpent in true Biblical proportion as the following shows:

If you separate from the Non-Brahmins, you lack in support and strength with the result that you would be washed away by the rising tide of political parties of modern days. Take care, you are still Panchamas, though you now call yourself Adi-Dravidas or Dravidas and the stigma of this name has not yet been removed. We are just coming forward and have not yet reached the top rung of the ladder. Let us take care of the ladder until then at least. When our position is safe and you feel you stand on Terra Firma, you are free to do so and no one will object to it. Safeguard your main interest first and then fight to obtain more, from those who possess more than you.

Is Lord Reading Going? A Simla correspondent, to whose information our contemporary evidently attaches special importance, writing last week in the *Tribune* of Lahore, refers to a rumour that Lord Reading is leaving India next month and that Lord Willingdon is to act as Viceroy till a permanent successor arrives in this country. The reasons mentioned for His Excellency's resignation relate to health and differences with the Secretary of State on matters of importance. When Mr. Montagu resigned, we said that the Viceroy's position had become untenable. Mr. Lloyd George's speech in the House of Commons did not improve the position, and the polite refusal of the country to accept Lord Reading's explanation of it, voiced in the resolution of the Legislative Assembly, amounted to a formal expression of want of confidence in His Excellency's stewardship. The certification of the Princes' Protection Bill by a Viceroy who had refused to use his certification powers on the much more important matter of the Budget proposals of his Government, has accentuated this sentiment, and Lord Reading might well think that his further continuance in office would serve no useful purpose. The *Tribune* correspondent states that Sir Malcolm Hailey, the present Finance Member, will take the Home portfolio on Sir William Vincent's retirement, Mr. Howard who was lately Financial Secretary, relieving him of a charge which he has held with conspicuous ill-success. The correspondent also states that the Law Membership, in succession to Dr. Sapru, was offered and refused by Sir Binode Mitter, and that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad is probably the most likely selection. With regard to the last, a categorical statement was made in a message from Poona in Wednesday's *Advocate of India* to the effect that Sir Chimanlal has been appointed to the post and that he will leave Bombay on the 15th instant to assume charge of it. This was contradicted in Friday's *Times of India*. Apparently somebody in Poona will be glad to see Sir Chimanlal promoted out of his present place.

Protecting Indian Rulers: The Government of India have been very anxious to protect Indian Princes from attacks in the Indian Press. We hope that they will be equally anxious to protect them from such executive actions as that taken against Shri Gopaldas Ambavidas Desai who is a sixth class Chief as well as a Talukdar in British India, for co-operating with non-Co-operators. The charges against him are that he refuses to remain on friendly terms with His Majesty's Government in India, associates himself with persons who refuse to co-operate with the Government of India, and that he refused to meet His Excellency the Governor of Bombay within the limits of the Kathiawar Political Agency, and made allegations, by way of explanation, of arbitrary and oppressive acts on the part of the Government of Bombay. The notification proceeds to declare: "A person who adopts deliberately an unfriendly attitude towards Government cannot be allowed to remain in his position of Ruling Chief of State or Estate in India. The Governor in Council has accordingly decided that he must be removed from his position as 6th class Talukdar and consequently from enjoyment of his estate." We thought that there was a rule to the effect that no ruling chief should be deposed without the charges against him being investigated by a commission on which there should be representatives of his order. Especially, when the chief makes allegations of oppression against the Bombay Government, that Government is hardly the proper authority to judge of his conduct. The position of an ordinary ryot would be enviable by comparison with that of a Talukdar, if the latter's estate and status can be disposed of summarily by a Provincial Government on such grounds as those given in the notification.

The Late Sir Bhalchandra Krishna. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, whose death occurred last week, was one of the few eminent medical practitioners who have distinguished themselves in public life. He attained a prominent position in the Bombay Municipal Corporation and in the old Legislative Council, and was esteemed by all sections of the public for his sound judgment and sober views. He was the first to call attention to the housing problem in Bombay, and if his advice had been acted upon, the question would not have developed to the extent that it has. In all social questions, the weight of his support was thrown on the side of well-considered progress. Temperance, education of women, and social purity, were subjects in which he displayed strong interest. In a composite community like that of Bombay, the need is always great for men like Sir Bhalchandra who deserved and enjoyed the respect and confidence of all. He had one of the biggest practices in Bombay in his own profession, and it was a wonder how he managed to find the time that he did for his manifold activities outside it. He was for many years a sort of general consultant in all public affairs, and ungrudgingly he gave his advice to all who sought it. For some time past, he was not able owing to failing health to take his accustomed share in public life. His death effaces a landmark in the public life of the city.

Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday. The fifty-fourth birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, now imprisoned in Yerrowda Jail, was celebrated in many places all over the country on Monday the 2nd October. The most noteworthy feature of the celebrations was the procession of about three hundred ladies who went to the jail gate and sought permission of the Superintendent to be allowed to see the distinguished prisoner. The Superintendent very politely expressed his inability to grant their request as he said it was beyond his powers. The ladies then requested him to send their offerings of flowers and part to Mahatma Gandhi. After this they gathered at the jail gate, where a birthday song was sung and prayers were offered in total silence for his release. This being over, the party retraced their steps. Mrs. Gandhi was to have had the usual three-monthly interview with the Mahatma on the 3rd next day.

The Press Law in Mysore: The Dewan of Mysore in his address to the Representative Assembly on Monday, announced that action is proposed to be taken for the repeal of the existing Press Law and the enactment of a new Bill more in keeping with the general public opinion of the country. Its main features are:—(1) Permission of Government to edit, print or publish a paper will be dispensed with; (2) The nature of the matter, the publication of which offends against the law, will be categorically defined; (3) No action will be taken against a newspaper without a judicial enquiry; and (4) Any order passed after such enquiry will be subject to appeal to the Chief Court. If it is the idea that a judicial enquiry is to be simply a preliminary to executive action, the new law will be open to serious objection. The whole matter should be left to the judicial tribunal.

Social Reform among Oriyas: We are glad to publish the prospectus of a Oriya Social Reform League signed by several well-known gentlemen of that community. We wish the movement every success.

Manager's Notice: The Manager begs to request subscribers whose subscription has fallen in arrears to be so good as to remit their dues promptly, as much inconvenience is caused, besides expense owing to the enhanced postage, by having to send frequent reminders.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 8, 1922.

FISCAL COMMISSION'S FALLACIES.

We are indebted to the Associated Press, Simla, for sending us what is called a "long summary" of the Indian Fiscal Commission's Report and the minute of dissent by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, President of the Commission, supported by Messrs. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, G. D. Birla, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Narottam Morarji. The Commission was required by the terms of its appointment "to examine with reference to all the interests concerned the Tariff policy of the Government of India, including the question of the desirability of adopting the principle of Imperial Preference, and to make recommendations." On the main question of the policy to be followed in respect of tariffs, the majority of the Commission, after considering the subject in all its aspects, "recommend in the best interests of India the adoption of a policy of protection to be applied with discrimination along the lines indicated in their report." The adoption of a policy of protection, plainly means that all industries are to be protected, and that if any exception is to be made in case of a particular industry it should be shown that the granting of protection to it is opposed to the general interests. This, however is not what the majority want. Under "the policy of protection" recommended by them, no protection is to be given to any industry which does not satisfy three conditions! It is for the industry concerned to claim protection and to establish its claim to it before a Tariff Board by proving (1) that the industry possesses natural advantages, (2) that without the help of protection it is not likely to develop at all or not so rapidly as is desirable; and (3) that it will eventually be able to face world competition without protection. It is not surprising that Sir Ibrahim and the four others who have signed the minute of dissent, cannot subscribe to this policy which, described by the majority as one of protection, is really the old policy of Free Trade, with a little relaxation in favour of infant industries. That the three conditions prescribed by the majority, which are virtually those required by Mill for the protection of infant industries, are impracticable, is conclusively shown by the fact that in India where the Free Trade policy has been applied with a theoretical refinement unknown even in Great Britain, no industry has been up to now deemed to satisfy these conditions. The recommendation of the majority that the country should adopt "a policy of protection" beset with these conditions, looks a little too much like an attempt to befool the Indian public.

Under an honest policy of protection, the conditions would be exactly the reverse of those contemplated by the majority report. Every industry will have a right to protection unless it is shown (1) that facilities—not necessarily advantages—natural or acquirable for it are markedly absent (2) that protection cannot appreciably help its establishment, (3) and that other

countries possess such special advantages for it as to make it hardly worth while for India to think of being able to protect it. In other words, while the majority's "protection" discriminates against Indian industries, true "protection" would discriminate in their favour. This, we think, is what the minority desire, though the Associated Press summary of the minute of dissent, is hardly as clear and convincing as its summary tries to make out the majority report to be. The Industrial Commission of 1916-18 found that India is a country rich in raw materials and in industrial possibilities but poor in manufacturing accomplishment. It also found that when merchant adventurers from the West made their first appearance in India, the industrial development of this country was, at any rate, not inferior to that of the more advanced European nations. Though that Commission was obliged by its terms of reference to make only such recommendations as were "not incompatible with the existing fiscal policy of the Government of India", its condemnation of the *laissez faire* policy as being responsible for the present backward industrial and economic position of India, cannot but be held to cover also the fiscal policy which is the most direct manifestation of the *laissez faire* policy. Of the three conditions laid down in the majority report for the purpose of establishing that a certain proposed industry is entitled to protection, the first, if "natural advantages" are interpreted in a reasonable sense, has no practical significance in India. India possesses more "natural advantages" for all important industries than any country that is an actual or may be a possible competitor with her in them. If this condition stood by itself, few industries would be disentitled to protection under the majority scheme. But this does not stand alone. A prospective industrialist must prove before the Tariff Board that without the help of protection the particular industry he wants to start is not likely to develop at all or not so rapidly as is desirable. All that he can do obviously is to show that he cannot carry out his idea without protection, but nothing can be more easy for interested and influential competitors than to produce experts to testify before the Board that not only is protection not needed, but that it will be positively harmful to the industry and to the country. This second condition is a farcical one and it makes one seriously doubt if the majority were in earnest when they designated the policy which they recommend as one of protection.

The third condition, namely, that an industry must be able to show that it will eventually be able to face world competition without protection, in order that it may get the benefit of protection in the home land, is an even more extravagant demand than the second. Who can undertake to say what will be the "eventual" state of "world competition," say, thirty or forty years hence? Supposing, any one has the hardihood to undertake such industrial prophesying, what would be the practical value of his opinions to the administrator or statesman? It is evident that the majority of the Commission have used the word "protection" without a clear idea of its underlying

implications. First and foremost of these is that "protection," absolutely rejects and repudiates "competition" as a beneficial principle in international politics or economics. The protectionist or nationalist view of economics is radically different from the Free Trade view. To use the words of List, national economy is "that science which, correctly appreciating the existing interests and the individual circumstances of nations, teaches how *every separate nation* can be raised to that stage of industrial development in which union with other nations equally well developed, and consequently freedom of trade, can become possible and useful to it." India is yet a long way off from the stage of industrial development in which freedom of trade on equal terms is possible to her with the advanced countries of Europe and America. The majority assume that protection will work injuriously to the Indian masses. On the contrary, it is the masses that stand to gain most in the long run by the industrial development that is sure to follow the adoption of an honest protective policy. Take the necessary article of cloth. The Lanchashire manufacturer may give cloth cheaper than the Indian manufacturer, but the latter gives not only cloth but work and wages too to thousands of the Indian masses. The majority would not impose their condition in the case of industries essential for purposes of national defence, but men are essential for national defence, and every industry which provides work and wages for men in times of peace, is an essential industry for the defence of the country. The majority suggest legislation against dumping, but where is the line to be drawn between dumping and other under-selling? The phrase "with reference to all the interests concerned" in the terms of reference, has, as we expected, complicated the task of the Commission. Imperial Preference is altogether a different question, and should not have been mixed up with the question of the most suitable Tariff policy from the point of view of India's industrial development.

THE NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT IN SOUTH INDIA.

Presiding at the first Adi-Dravida Congress held at Chidambaram, Mr. O. Kandaswami Chetti, the veteran social reformer of Madras, reviewed with reference to its attitude to the depressed classes, the history of the Non-Brahmin movement in Southern India, of which he was one of the first promoters, its present degeneration from its original aims, and the course which the depressed classes (and others) should now pursue in order to safeguard their own interests and also to restore the Non-Brahmin movement to its original purpose. Mr. Kandaswami narrated a conversation with the late Dr. Nair in 1917 when the latter wished to rally the depressed classes to his Non-Brahmin movement, and in doing so, he described what his own idea was of how a compact between the Non-Brahmins and the depressed classes would inure to the benefit of the latter. Hindu Society he conceived as being constituted somewhat like the performers in

a circus; the Brahmins rode on the shoulders of the Non-Brahmins and the Non-Brahmins rode on the shoulders of the Adi-Dravidas. Thus the Adi-Dravidas had to bear the weight of both the Brahmin and the non-Brahmin. Mr. Kandaswami thought that if the Adi-Dravida helped the Non-Brahmin to rid himself of the weight pressing upon him, that in itself would diminish the pressure upon him, and that the Non-Brahmin would not find it easy to oppress him as he had done in the past, since the very same arguments which he used against the Brahmin would hold good against him if he should persist in his oppression. Some of the leaders of the depressed classes had doubts about this line of reasoning, but the majority accepted it and the compact was made. "It was the support of the Adi-Dravidas," added Mr. Kandaswami, "which gave to the Non-Brahmin movement, if not a democratic character, at least a democratic complexion. If the leaders of the movement persist in their antagonism to the Depressed Classes, the Non-Brahmin party cannot claim to be a democratic party." He showed by references to the speeches and actions of the non-Brahmin party leaders how deeply opposed to the interests and just aspirations of the Depressed Classes, their attitude has become. The greatest act of hostility which the Non-Brahmin majority in the Madras Legislative Council committed towards these classes, was the abolition of Assistant Commissioners or Protectors of these classes in the districts. Mr. Kandaswami recalled that a few days after this resolution was carried, a crowd of Adi-Dravidas appealed to Dewan Bahadur R. Venkatratnam Naidu to intervene between a landlord who was about to evict them from their tenements and were told by a friend who was standing by: "Do not speak of the Non-Brahmin movement. When that resolution was passed on Saturday, the Non-Brahmin movement breathed its last."

Mr. Kandaswami passed on to enquire how this transformation had come about in a party which seemed to have started with the very best of intentions. The three planks on which the movement was built were, he said, (1) Social Justice, with its antagonism to caste in all its manifestations, and its espousal of the cause of the Depressed Classes; (2) Democracy, with its antagonism to class rule, and its advocacy of the equal distribution of the benefits of Government to all classes of people; and (3) redress of the grievances of the non-Brahmins as against the Brahmins. As one who was in the inner councils of the movement when it was started, Mr. Kandaswami was no doubt speaking from positive knowledge when he spoke of these having been the original objects of the Non-Brahmin movement, though in the public utterances of the leaders only the third of these was emphasised, the other two possibly having been uttered in stage whispers to those who were keen about them. However that may be, we cannot help thinking that Mr. Kandaswami rather overshot the mark when he attributed the present degeneration of the movement into a non-Brahmin caste movement to the uncontrolled operation of the reactionary social mentality of Sir P.

Theagaraya Chetti, its leader since the death of Dr. Nair. The very fact that the late Dr. Nair was obliged to seek or accept an alliance with Sir Theagaraya of whose wide divergence from his own public ideals he had had abundant proof, shows that he was prepared to subordinate those ideals temporarily at least to the exigencies of party politics. The truth is that Sir Theagaraya, with his social and religious ideas, more nearly represents the mind of the bulk of his party than Dr. Nair ever did or could have done. The Non-Brahmins in the mofussil districts would never have rallied to Dr. Nair's leadership as they have to Sir Theagaraya's. We do not think that, if Dr. Nair had been spared to the country, the derogation of the party from its high aims would have been prevented. It might have been less precipitate, but the gravitation of the mass would have exerted its steady pressure in favour of Sir Theagaraya's leadership, and Dr. Nair, with his impulsive independence, might have found himself in a cave of Adullam in the party which he did so much to push into power. Dr. Nair drew his intellectual and political inspiration from Western sources. The non-Brahmins as a whole have been very little influenced by Western ideas owing to their backwardness in taking advantage of English education. Sir Theagaraya, although himself a graduate of the Madras University, has been always, it must be said to his credit, a consistent upholder of custom and tradition in his personal and public life which, even political opponents acknowledge with pride, has been distinguished by purity and single-mindedness. He has never fallen down before and worshipped the idol of Western civilization and has always borne himself in the spirit of self-respecting nationalism which has drawn to him the confidence of the people, friends and opponents alike, in such a marked degree. There was a touch of true greatness in the feeling which prompted him to stand aside in favour of younger and less tried men when the reward of victory was in his hands.

While, therefore, Mr. Kandaswami, in our opinion, has laid undue emphasis on Sir P. Theagaraya's leadership as accounting for what are really the inherent defects of the Non-Brahmin party, there can be no two opinions as to the fact that these defects exist and that they seriously militate against the claim of that party to represent a national or democratic principle. It is primarily a movement based on birth as much as the Brahmin caste which it excludes. Its social outlook, as illustrated by the only piece of social legislation as yet initiated by a member of it, is to assimilate the Non-Brahmin position to that of the Brahmin, without any regard to social justice. Mr. Kandaswami's probing criticisms of the weaknesses of the Non-Brahmin party in power, are contemptuously dismissed by *Justice*, the official organ of the party, as "the ravings of a rebel" but the fact that one of the non-Brahmin Ministers has been obliged to reply to it in a public speech not particularly marked by restraint or dignity, shows that they are regarded more seriously by the leaders of the party. It was really unfortunate that the party, within a few months of its formation,

and before it had time to settle down to a considered programme, should have been rushed into office under reforms that had been secured by a movement in which Brahmins had held the helm in Southern India. A few years spent on the opposition benches would have enabled it to throw off its crudities, to base itself on principles rather than on accidents, and to evolve a constructive programme of national regeneration. What is the right course and wise course to adopt for those who wish that South India should come into line with the true national movement? There are two other political parties in that part of India. One of them, the Liberals, consists mostly of Brahmins with a more lively feeling for the maintenance of caste exclusiveness than for the advancement of nationalism. They are really responsible to a large extent by their hostility past and present to social reforms, for the evolution of the non-Brahmin party, and they are the sole justification for its existence. The other, the Congress party, reckons among its adherents Brahmins and non-Brahmins inspired by a higher and broader outlook than the Brahmin or non-Brahmin party. The basic principles of this party are truly democratic in political and social life. The elevation of the status of women to one on equal terms with men and the removal of the invidious rule of caste which more than any other has directly led to the degradation of the depressed classes, are first principles with it. But this party is hampered by the Non-Co-operation prohibitions. When—we hope it will be soon—the Congress removes its ban on the Legislative Councils, its adherents in Madras should decide that the largest proportion of seats possible should be given to non-Brahmin nationalists not as a matter of tactics, but as of right, inasmuch as non-Brahmins are the most numerous section of the community. Brahmin Congressmen in the South, from what we know of them, will rejoice to do so, and that will be the end of the present non-Brahmin party which, having served its purpose, will have no further reason for its existence. Even if some Brahmin Congressmen object, the weight of all-India nationalism will be too strong for them. Mr. Kandaswami seems to suggest that Brahmins and the depressed classes should ask for special representation in the Councils. That is the way to perpetuate and strengthen the present disruptive tendencies.

Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association: We have received the report for 1921 of this Association to be submitted to the General body on Sunday the 8th October at a meeting to be held at the Servants of India Society, Bombay, at 5 p.m. Among the institutions maintained by the Association, is the Hindu Ladies' Hostel, opened in June 1918, to meet the great need felt to provide suitable boarding and lodging accommodation for lady students hailing from the mofussil and studying in colleges and high schools in Bombay. It is working successfully under the superintendence of Mrs. Laxmibai Moghe. On the 31st December 1921 there were on the roll of the Hostel 13 lady students all of whom were studying in colleges. Each boarder is charged Rs. 20 per mensem for boarding and lodging expenses; while the Association has to spend an average of Rs. 40 a month for each boarder. The Hostel is situated in a rented house belonging to Dr. V. G. Rele at Parekh Street in Girgaon and the demand for admission is great and growing. The Council feels greatly the need of greater accommodation and also of housing the Hostel in an independent building of its own and strongly hopes that the generous public of Bombay will enable it soon to do so.

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

London, Sept. 21st, 1922.

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

The Trade Union Congress commenced its sittings on September 6. About 700 delegates were present. As the President made the opening speech under the shadow of a very painful colliery disaster, the note of sombre despondency running through it was understandable. But the colliery disaster was not alone responsible for the despondency. The large reduction in numbers in the strength of Trade Unionism during the last twelve months was responsible for much also. A great part of the Chairman's speech was the old-time tirade against Capitalism and the bogey was trotted out that Capital had a widespread conspiracy to deny the worker every measure of control and freedom, and of course, the speech ended with a call to the people to unite and fight Capitalism to the death. That there is something very rotten in a system which has over a million of its workers idle and living on doles is true, but there is an enormous tribute to be paid to a State or community which realises the bonds of humanity sufficiently to pay for the upkeep of this same million people, who in return do not and cannot, of their own initiative contribute anything to the State that supports them. The *Westminster Gazette* is right in its criticism of the presidential address when it says that Labour would be well advised to turn its attention from the fighting with Capital which the President called it to, and concentrate upon the larger statesmanship of getting the world's industrial machinery to work properly.

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

Another Congress that has called for a good deal of attention from thinking men and women has been that of the British Association which commenced its sittings about the same time as the Trade Union Congress. At the British Association meetings, many men bearing names well-known in the world of science were present, and many countries were represented. Most of the papers read before it were of a close scientific nature and would fail to convey much to the lay mind, yet the members of an intelligent public must have been sufficient to allow for columns and columns of material called from the British Association papers to be published in daily press, such a paper as "Mind and Matter" occupying nearly three columns of the *Times* in small type. Beside the invective and show of human passions in the Trade Conference, the slow, calm-reasoning and super-physical atmosphere that surrounded and emanated from the British Association was welcome. It is a relief to turn from the concrete physical matters to the intellectual plane of speculative philosophy and feel the coolness of a larger stream of thought bathing one in its waters.

THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

After frequent postponements, the Irish Parliament has at last met and this week enters upon its real

and principal task, that of passing the Constitution of the Irish Free State. The Bill to enact the Free State Constitution and implement the Treaty was presented by Mr. Cosgrave, the Dail Eireann President. Mr. Kevin O'Higgin, Minister for Home Affairs, who formally seconded the motion that leave be granted for the introduction of the Constitution said that the latter was one which he held to be distinctly fair. Later on he said that "the law and practice of constitutional usage governing the relations between the Crown and Canada should be those governing the relations between the British Government and the Parliament of the Irish people. You come up against that peculiar thing known as the British Constitution which is largely a bundle of fictions, largely a collection of things which have a theoretical existence and which have no existence in fact, and it is only when that is thoroughly grasped that one can read in cold blood without any particular tremor some of the things which are set out in the Irish Free State Constitution. An examination of the Constitution in working will convince the people that we are in supreme authority here. We did not drive the British out of the country and there was little prospect that we should ever be able to do so. They had abandoned some of the inscriptions that were written on their battle standards because it was the best thing that could be done for the Irish people in the circumstances."

Dail Eireann has had to acknowledge that, for the present, the only means of obtaining order is by the military. But in the places where comparative quiet reigns, the Civic Guard is to take control and with the establishment of the Civic Guard will come the newly-appointed stipendiary magistrates. The Irish postal strike is complicating matters very seriously at the present moment in that country and the New Irish Parliament has its hands full of more than one grave difficulty.

A TERRIBLE EXAMPLE OF "MOB-JUSTICE."

Whenever mob-rule breaks loose humanity seems to rush back to barbarism. Such a case, fortunately rare in present-day Britain, occurred just over a week ago in Scotland. A sea-cook had adopted a little orphaned boy of seven years of age, and placed him in the hands of some people to be cared for during his absence at sea. On his return from a long voyage he called for his adopted son, and found the people in whose charge the child had been left absent and the boy dirty and looking uncared for playing with other children in the road. He thereupon took possession of him and boarded a tram-car. The boy was recognised as belonging to the neighbourhood by some people in the tram, and seeing him in the company of a decently-clad man, it was suggested that the man was kidnapping the child. Soon matters became serious in the car, and the man alighted from it leaving the boy in the care of the people who were threatening him. But for some unknown reason the people went mad, the man was hounded down, and stoned and kicked to death ere the police could get the mob in

hand. Several arrests were made, but the affair remains a sordid, brutal tragedy and a terrible example of mob "justice."

THE NEAR EAST DISPUTE—BRITON'S DEFECTIVE STATESMANSHIP.

Perhaps the less said of the morality of any of the parties affected by the Near East dispute the better. In all the controversy little if anything is heard about international brotherhood. It is scandalous to think how near we are or have been to a new war without, apparently, the slightest necessity and simply, if the truth were known, to cover up the tragic diplomatic errors of a group of politicians whose claims to statesmanship appear to be singularly defective. These errors ought to put an early end to the present Ministry and its conflicting policies. Coalition can be bought at too high a price. We may not like the Turks; but what right have we to back the Greeks against them, leave our proteges in the lurch in a crisis, and then involve all the world in a dispute that will set the nations by the ears and end in nothing but disaster and misery to vast populations, besides breeding racial and religious hatreds that must inevitably bring forth in their turn fresh wars? When the present crisis is past and we count the cost, we shall have to take a severe reckoning of those responsible for it.

"GURU-KA-BAGH" AND "KURUKSHETRA."

(By MR. S. SADANAND.)

"Kurukshetra" has a religious significance to every student of Indian thought. This is apart from its historical importance as the place where the war of Mahabharata was fought. Each age has its special Message which supplies the spiritual needs of the hour. "Kurukshetra"—the place and the hour of battle saw the birth of the Message of Sri Krishna. The Gita is the bible of millions of Indians. It offers to myriads of souls, an active principle of life. That principle can be summarised in one sentence: Action is thy care and not the fruits thereof. It is immaterial that translated into action, at that time, the advice led to a violent war.

The principal teaching of the Gita is not about a particular act as of the attitude of mind. Arjuna, to whom the advice of the Gita was given, was torn by a conflict between attachment and duty. He wished to subordinate duty to attachment. But Krishna killed the illusion of the attachments. They are the trappings which hold mankind in mock bondage. The soul transcends them. Only duty in service of righteousness matters. The only true relationship of the soul is towards God. Believe in God and Do the Right. That was the Message of Krishna to the distressed Arjun. Arjun's distress was but the culminating effect of the doubts and despair that were shaking his contemporary Humanity.

The Message of Krishna was the message of Freedom for his age. 'Kurukshetra' saw the birth of that message, with the further assurance that whenever Evil grew and Righteousness waned, the Divine Teacher would be reborn and carry the torchlight of

Truth again and again as the occasions arose. Thus 'Kurukshetra' stands for the birth-place of Hope and Freedom. The sway of Pagan Rome starved Mankind spiritually. Charity, Faith and Love waned. As Evil predominated, the world grew ripe to receive the Divine Teacher, and Jesus came with His Message of Love.

The Calvary that saw the crucifixion of Christ is but another "Kurukshetra." So is the Buddha Gays that gave the world Buddha. Even in the times of Buddha and Jesus, Duty gave place to Rights which degenerated into the enthronement of Passions. Strength—Power became an instrument of oppression instead of an instrument of service. The result we know. Righteousness was dethroned. There was no Right apart from Might. Force became the arbiter of Destinies. Love that was enshrined under the shelter of Duty was discarded. Love and Duty no longer supplied the motive force.

The supreme need of the hour was complete self-abnegation in the service of Love and Charity. Jesus Christ offered it in His own person. He underwent crucifixion to redeem Mankind. The Truth was dimly perceived. But His message of Universal Love got restricted in its application, to individuals. Political, social and economic organisms continued to be founded on the basis of Force. Individual souls received the Message and attained realisation, but Mankind went on in organised communities in its own way. What happened to the Message of Christ happened to the Message of Buddha. The way of emancipation pointed out by Buddha and Christ became narrowed to individuals in practice, with lip-homage through Churches and Monasteries. That is the lesson History has to teach. In the name of Religion the Catholic Inquisitions were held. In the name of Liberty the horrors of the French Revolution were perpetrated. In the defence of Religion, Crusades were fought. In the name of Civilisation a ruthless colour war has been carried into all countries occupied by the non-whites. The Evil has gathered momentum from century to century that today, even after undergoing the horrors of the great War, the calamities of the Bolshevik Revolution and with famine stalking abroad in Europe, Force still sways the realms of the world. We are far away from any lasting peace.

The terrorism of the oppressor has been succeeded by the fratricidal wars of the oppressed in Ireland and Russia. *Qua Vadis*—Whither are we drifting? Mankind has no answer but to stare at the next war on the brink of which it stands. At an hour like this, a 'Kurukshetra,' the place, hour and message is wanted. Mankind is eagerly expectant of the promised message and freedom. Certainly Evil has overgrown itself. The hour for the Message of Hope and Freedom has come. But where, when and how? The answer is still in the womb of the future. In a world of darkness, there is just one gleam of hope, one ray of light, that is of great Promise. That is Mr. Gandhi, the person and his teaching of Love or active Non-violence. Have we in Mr. Gandhi's teachings, the real message that the present age needs? There is no conflict as to what Mankind wants. Humanity wants a world

where peace and goodwill will reign. How can it be established? Christ and Buddha preached the way but we have rejected it as only the way to individual emancipation. Can societies and Governments be organised on that basis? Is not Love or active Non-violence, the refuge of the weak? Is really Love a greater force than the brute force? Can Love dethrone Force as the final arbiter of Destinies and rule in its stead? It is these doubts of humanity that Guru-ka-Bagh is answering. Bardoli which was chosen for the scene of a great Non-violent combat was to have offered the proof. But Fate has willed it otherwise. The great leader is in prison. The scene has shifted to Guru-ka-Bagh. The Sikh veterans of the war, the violent brave, have succeeded the veterans of the South African Passive Resistance at Bardoli. The issue has also changed. It is not the right of Swaraj, the heroes of Guru-ka-Bagh are fighting for, but the right of religious autonomy. There were many that were sceptical of the success of Mr. Gandhi's contemplated offensive at Bardoli, if it ever materialised. "Guru-ka-Bagh" has vindicated Mr. Gandhi beyond cavil. It is a revolution, more far-reaching than the Revolutions of France or Russia that Guru-ka-Bagh is giving birth to. This great moral revolution is born not like the world convulsions in the midst of fratricidal rapine, plunder and violence, but in the midst of prayer, free from anger, and excitement. Today Guru-ka-Bagh is the Kurukshetra of the world. May we have the wisdom to know the Message and follow it!

SACRAMENT OR SALE?

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Something is certainly grievously wrong with Hindu Society. It has great traditions of Brahmacharya, Grihastha and Vanaprastha ashramas of life but it does not live up to them. The true Brahmacharya life in which the young man seeks for knowledge as the way to Truth and an instrument of service has disappeared. All education has become purely utilitarian and a bread-winning problem. Education has even become a cloak with many to extort prohibitive dowries or *Sri Dhan* from hapless parents of girls in the marriage market. Still the Hindu Society is unconcerned. Education has lost its cultural aspect and marriage its sacramental character. Whatever advantages early marriage might have had, in the Hindu scheme of life, it has become meaningless and an instrument of extortion at the hands of calculating young men. I know of several cases in which parents have been stampeded into marrying their daughters to any good, bad or indifferent young man, because the arbitrary age limit of 12 or 18 for marriage of girls has been reached.

In one case, the father of a girl, who could have afforded to pay the usual dowry for a graduate husband, running to a couple of thousands of rupees, refused to purchase a husband on principle. The poor father continued his searches for a decent-minded young man that would marry his daughter for her own sake and not for her money. He searched in vain for two years and could not succeed. In the meanwhile the girl attained puberty. The ladies of the household were considerably upset and an ultimatum was given to the grandfather by a grandmother of the girl that, if he did not secure a husband for the girl within a week's time, she would marry the girl to the first poor Brahmachari that came abegging. The father was nonplussed. He tried to persuade his daughter to be courageous enough to flout the tyranny of society and remain unmarried and go for higher education. The daughter had not the courage to follow the advice. The re-

sult was that an unscrupulous family which knows the father's weakness not to give dowries as such came forward to give one of their sons in marriage, without *Vara-dakshina*. The young man was holding a nominal Government post which he gave up soon after marriage. The post was obviously only a catch for unwary prospective fathers-in-law. The young man had no healthy constitution. The moment, the marriage was celebrated, the son-in-law and his people revealed themselves in their true colours. Every kind of exorbitant demand for money, and presents of jewelleries were made. What was most objectionable was the way in which the demands were made. The father refused and defied the son-in-law and his people to do their worst which they did. The girl was badly ill-treated and once when she had an attack of typhoid and the girl lay hovering between life and death, the father was informed that he could see the girl if he came with some jewelleries as a present. The father elected not to see his daughter on these terms. To make a long story short, after eleven years of married life, the girl met with a premature death at the age of 24, leaving three children motherless behind. The husband has married again.

This happened in my own personal experience. I have not the least doubt that if the girl had chosen to remain unmarried and pursued her higher studies, she would have lived to an old age and been a greatly useful member of Society. The father of the girl above referred has two more daughters yet to be married. In spite of his past experience and his own liberal outlook, I have no doubt he will once again be stampeded into marrying his daughters as he did in the case of his first daughter. I have never been able to forget the tragedy of the early death of the girl and have entered my complaint of wilful murder against the husband. I have now adopted non-violence as a creed. Otherwise, I should have no hesitation in recommending the forcible elimination from the community of those young men who disgrace the womanhood of our race by their shameless barter.

But the responsibility is not theirs only. It is that of the parents also. The evil of commercialisation of marriage is deep-rooted in the community. Since the *Reformer* drew pointed attention to this evil, I have discussed with many friends, the problem of this social pest. Everybody recognises the evil. But there is a general apathy to any practical action on the ground that it is too chronic to be remedied. This is to be deplored. There is much scope for an organisation of young men and women and of parents, members of which would primarily pledge themselves to actively combat the social evil in their respective individual spheres. The organisation can also carry on an active propaganda on the subject. Many great organisations have had small beginnings. Let not, therefore, a poor beginning stand in the way. A famine or an epidemic disease has less disastrous effects on the healthy growth of a society than the degeneration of marriage into commercial barter involving the soul suicide of countless women who are the mothers of future generations. I would suggest that all people who would co-operate in a practical attempt to prevent an abuse of the institution of marriage should communicate their names to the Editor of the *Reformer*.

Bombay.

A HINDU.

"A WOMAN'S APPEAL."

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

It is really most gratifying that you should have referred in your editorial columns, in the *Reformer* of the 24th instant, to the memorial submitted by Mrs. Sunderbai Palshikar of Indore, now residing at Cawnpore, to His Excel-

lenoy the Viceroy, appealing to the latter to restore to her her husband, who is a hereditary Sardar in the Indore State. My object in writing to you is merely to point out that it would be dangerous to carry the doctrine of non-interference in the affairs of the Indian States too far—especially in the present stage of their development. I for one would equally support with you, on theoretical grounds, the doctrine that as a general rule it would be unfair and perhaps iniquitable on the part of the Government of India to interfere in the internal affairs of Indian States. But one has at the same time to remember that there is no constitutional government in the Indian States—barring a few exceptions—and that everything depends on the mere whim or caprice of the Ruler. So long, therefore, as the Indian Rulers refrain from associating themselves with their people in the government of their States and thereby giving them a practical voice in the administration, some sort of guidance—if we may not use the word interference—from the Paramount Power, which is as much responsible for the welfare of the people residing in the Indian States as of those residing in British India proper, is obviously necessary and desirable. As regards the actual form which such guidance (or interference) should take, opinions may vary. But those who like myself are residents of Indian States feel that the Government of India can do a lot of good on account of their intimate relations with the Indian Princes, provided only that they are careful not to infringe upon their fundamental rights and status as sovereign Indian Princes.

2. Apart from this, as Sardar Palshikar holds a position in British India as well and has got property there, the Government of India have a responsibility of their own as regards the Sardar's welfare, and in any case the Maharajah has certainly no right to restrict his personal liberties in any way. I, therefore, conclude in the hope that the memorial submitted by the unfortunate and harassed lady will receive sympathetic consideration at the hands of the Government, and justice surely demands that they should advise the Indore Darbar at least to remove the fetters placed on the person of the Sardar and give him full scope to follow his own inclinations and wishes.

KESHAVA B. BIDWAI, B.A., B.L.
Senior Branch,
Dewas C. I.

Dewas (Senior), C. I.
The 26th September, 1922.

THE CASHEW AND ITS USES.

Our valued correspondent whose notes on the subject we published in the *Reformer* of the 26th February writes to us as follows with reference to Mr. A. J. Turner's note which we published in our last issue:—

I read the note by Mr. A. J. Turner on the Cashew as published in your issue of the 1st instant. I must state at once that it does not disclose any very serious attempt on the part of the Bombay Industries Department to help and encourage industries. It speaks of the export of nuts, but it does not show that any attempt was made to find out how in the best possible manner these nuts would be utilised in industries in this country itself. The report admits that the nuts do not always reach England or Europe in proper condition. Then, was there any attempt made about seeing whether there is any market there for Cashew Butter? The demand noted in the note with reference to vegetarians for this nut is surely not for chocolate. It is well-known that these vegetarians do not use milk-butter but go in for fruit-butter and in the West an industry for such fruit-butter has been started. Has any attempt been made by the Industries Department to encourage this industry there? No one can deny that there is a very large scope for this

Industry. There are so many edible nuts which could with advantage be utilized for manufacturing butter. Coconut, Cashew and Ground-nut would be the principal.

The report is quite silent about the usefulness of the bitter pericarp oil. It notes that it is used for sprinkling the nuts with before exporting them. Even to a layman it seems to contain large potentiality for paints and dyes.

As regards the juice of the fruit, the note does not show that full justice has been done to it. This juice has a history of its own. Large quantity of liquor is manufactured from this juice in Goa and that liquor is very popular there. It is supposed to contain some medicinal properties also. However, in British India it is an offence to manufacture the liquor as also to import it or even to possess it. In order to prevent its being imported into British India, a strict watch is maintained in the ports in British India, and ships and passengers passing through Goa are put to an amount of inconvenience in these places by the preventive staff of the Customs department. The only justification for all this, including legislation against possession of Cashew liquor, is that it is a deleterious drug containing too much of alcohol. If that is so—and in this matter it is obviously Government alone that can give the real state of affairs—we should expect that such liquor would have great commercial potentialities. The newspapers contain articles giving the potentialities of Mhowra liquor as a substitute for motor petrol. Mhowra liquor is allowed to be manufactured as a drink and so it must be less strong in alcohol. When that is so, Cashew liquor that is banned as containing more alcohol would be better suited as a substitute for motor petrol.

In conclusion one cannot but complain of the working of the Industries Department. Why is it working in *parade*? Is it proper that the department should divulge the results of its investigations to one or two firms only? Is it not in the interests of the public that it should publish these results for the benefit of one and all, so that new openings would be made for young men with ideas? The right to collect silk, cotton, myrabolams, catechu and other forest products are sold by auction by the Forest Department. Why should the same procedure be not followed regarding Cashew gum? In the first few years no high price would be fetched; but, when the public will begin to realise the value of this commodity, they would surely pay more price. This method should be followed not only in this matter but as regards several other articles like honey and bees-wax. Of course, the public should first be informed where the market for these things is and this is the business of the Industries Department.

UTKAL SOCIAL REFORMERS' LEAGUE.

The present age calls every son of India to reconstruct the modern society on the basis of ancient Indian ideals. This is a tremendous task, no doubt. Still the problem has to be faced. Hence we propose to start a society called the "Social Reformers' League" with a view to bring our present society in consonance with the dictates of the highest reason consistent with the spirit of the times.

Persons, who are earnestly desirous of becoming members of the society, shall have to subscribe to its creed and follow it in spirit and letter. In other words, the society enjoins every one to do his duty. Mutual good-will and co-operation among the members is to be evinced throughout. The strength of the society will entirely depend on the character of its individual members and the work turned out by them

in due course of time. "Action and not words" shall be the watch-word of the society.

The tenets of the creed are as follows:—

- i To remove untouchability.
- ii To effect inter-dining.
- iii To allow inter-marriage.
- iv To discontinue early marriage.
- v To allow early widow-remarriage.
- vi To promote female education.
- vii To discourage "Purdah-system".

To discuss and decide upon the creed a meeting will be convened at a convenient place and date which will be published later on.

N. B.—All correspondence in the matter should be addressed to Sriman Sribatsa Panda Mahasaya "Swadeshi Press" Russellkonda, (Ganjam).

- (1) (Sd.) Srivatsa Panda, B. A. Russellkonda.
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- (3) (Sd.) Jaymangal Rath, Congress Worker.
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- (7) (Sd.) Kishorimohan Joardar M. A. Head master, Town Victoria High School, Cuttack.
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- (12) (Sd.) Mahendra Pattanik, Brahma Mission Worker.
- (13) (Sd.) Kesheframohan Sahu, Superintendent, Utkal Orphanage, Cuttack.

NATIONAL PERSONALITY.

H. H. THE POPE AND AN INDIAN CHRISTIAN LADY.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Does the world know what great importance even the West attaches to convention? It deserves to be known, at least by the Indian, who believes the tearing off of one's conventional personality consisting of one's dress, customs, manners &c is modernization, which is another word for progress. No real Indian reformer standing as he does for real social reform, would stand for this vandalistic spirit.

The occasion for this letter, Sir, is an account sent by a Fredericton correspondent to the *Hindu* of Madras of Miss Lazarus, a Christian lady pledged to wearing only her own Native costume, asking for an audience with the Pope and being told in reply that she "must be dressed in the conventional European dress or an audience would not be granted. Her reply was that under those circumstances she would have to forego that audience." A most refreshing thing to hear. And righteous result was, as it must be of all honest self-respecting endeavours, the objection withdrawn and audience granted.

Now, I ask, would the Indian seek audience with the European and at the same time make it plain to him that he would visit him, be he ever so high, in the same costume as he would visit an Indian friend?

With the new national movement of Mahatma Gandhi, the Indian has been fast ceasing to be ashamed of himself, his dress, his religion, his customs and his manners. Strong mentality shown by Miss Lazarus is a token of true national re-awakening. Sir William Vincent, in his speech at the Council of State the other day on the Premier's famous pronouncement, said that the greatest enemy of political progress, industrial progress and every progress in this country is Gandhi. If by progress is meant progress in national enslavement leading to national effacement, Gandhi is emphatically an enemy to progress. But that by the way.

S. V. SARMA.

What Mr. Andrews Saw: In the second of a series of articles in the *Hindu* of Madras of the 23rd September on the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, Mr. C. F. Andrews describes what he personally witnessed in the following terms: "There were four Akali Sikhs with their

black turbans facing a band of about a dozen police including two English officers. They had walked slowly up to the line of the police just before I had arrived and they were standing silently in front of them at about a yard's distance. They were perfectly still and did not move further forward. Their hands were placed together in prayer and it was clear that they were praying. Then, without the slightest provocation on their part, an Englishman lunged forward the head of his lathi which was bound with brass. He lunged it forward in such a way that his fist which held the staff struck the Akali Sikh, who was praying just at the collar bone with great force. The blow which I saw was sufficient to fell the Akali Sikh and send him to the ground. He rolled over, and slowly got up once more, and faced the same punishment over again. Time after time one of the four who had gone forward was laid prostrate by repeated blows, now from the English officer and now from the police who were under control. The others were knocked out more quickly. On this and on subsequent occasions the police committed certain acts which were brutal in the extreme. I saw with my own eyes one of the police kick in the stomach a Sikh who stood helplessly before him. When one of the Akali Sikhs had been hurled to the ground and was lying prostrate, a police sepoy stamped with his foot upon him, using his full weight; the foot struck the prostrate man between the neck and the shoulder. A third blow almost equally foul, was struck at an Akali when he was standing at the side of his fallen companion. This blow hurled him across the body of the fallen man, who was unconscious, at the very time when he was being taken up by two ambulance workers. The intention of such a blow was so brutally insolent, that I watched for the Englishman in command, in this case,—as also in other cases,—to rebuke the police sepoy who did the deed, but as far as I could see, he did nothing to check or rebuke his men. I told all these things that I had seen to the Governor and to every officer whom I met the next day. The brutality and inhumanity of the whole scene was indescribably increased by the fact that the men who were hit were praying to God and had already taken a vow that they would remain silent and peaceful in word and deed. The Akali Sikhs who had taken his vow, both at the Golden Temple before starting and also at the shrine of Guru-Ka-Bagh, were, as I have already stated, largely from the army. They had served in many campaigns in Flanders, in France, in Mesopotamia, and East Africa."

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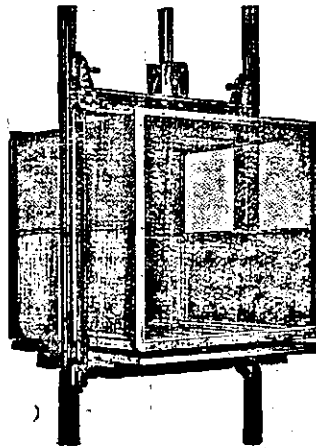
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the Liberator.

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NOTES.

The Conscience Clause in Schools: The question of a conscience clause in schools and colleges in which religious instruction is regularly provided, has been variously solved in several provinces. In Madras, the Legislative Council threw out a resolution to insert a conscience clause in the grant-in-aid code. The *Indian Witness* (Lucknow) of the 27th September prints a letter from the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the Minister for Education in the United Provinces, to the Bishop of Lucknow, in which he gives the text of the conscience clause, as finally approved by Government, as below:

(a) No one shall be compelled to attend any religious instruction or observance, as a condition of his admission into, or continuance in, an aided educational institution, if he, or his parent or guardian if he is a minor, objects to it and informs the authorities of the institution of his objection in writing.

(b) The time or times during which any religious observance is practised, or instruction in religious subjects is given at any meeting of an aided educational institution, shall be in the beginning or at the end, or at the beginning and end of such meeting.

NOTE.—Exemption from religious instruction or observance shall take effect from the commencement of a school or college term. Applications for exemptions should, therefore, be made at the commencement of a term. But with the sanction of the headmaster or principal, exemption may take effect at any time during the currency of a term.

This clause will come into operation from 1st April 1924. At the last Session of the Bombay Legislative Council, the following resolution was passed, the portion italicised being moved as an amendment by the Hon. Dr. Paranjpye, the Minister of Education, and accepted by Mr. Bhate who moved the original proposition:

This Council recommends that the Government should see its way to introduce the following rule in the Grant-in-Aid Code: "That in all schools and colleges, which are the only institutions of their kind in the neighbouring area, which are not purely denominational in the sense of refusing admission to pupils not belonging to any particular denomination, and

which receive Government aid in any form whatsoever, the attendance by students at any class of special religious instruction which the parents or guardians of such students shall not have sanctioned, should be perfectly voluntary and that no payment of grant-in-aid should be made to any institution which will contravene the provisions of this rule.

The resolution is clumsily worded. The *Dnyanodaya* which is the organ of the seven important Christian Missions working in the area of the Bombay Representative Council of Missions, observes with regard to the Bombay resolution that it believes every missionary could vote for it.

The Meaning of the Difference: The different ways in which this important question has been dealt with in the three important provinces, represent with rough accuracy the educational and other conditions in them. In Madras where Christian mission schools have been longest in existence, there has been a mutual adaptation between the people and the educational missions, which makes a conscience clause of no practical urgency in that Presidency. In the United Provinces, the influential American Missions, with their traditional ideas of religious freedom, have facilitated the introduction of a full conscience clause which was also demanded by the fact that the Provinces contain many strongholds of Hindu and Mahomedan orthodoxy. The conscience clause, as adopted in the Bombay Council, is characteristically a compromise, not very logical, but sufficient, we trust, for working purposes. For our own part, we hold that the innate nobility and beauty of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ—not the Churchianity that goes by His name—are such as to commend them the more to men of all religions the less there is of compulsion in the methods of their propagation. Professor Deussen speaking of the Vedanta, has observed:

The Gospels fix quite correctly as the highest law of morality: "Love your neighbour as yourself." But why should I do so, since by the order of nature I feel pain and pleasure only in myself, not in my neighbour? The answer is not in the Bible, but it is in the Veda, in the great formula *tat tvam asi* (that thou art), which gives in three words metaphysics and morals altogether. You shall love your neighbour as yourself—because you are your neighbour, and mere illusion makes you believe that your neighbour is something different from yourself."

Other devout Christian students of Hinduism have similarly acknowledged that they have derived from it light enabling them the better to understand their own religion. In the same way, Hindu students of Christ's life and teachings have found in them, summed up so that the least instructed may readily understand, the net conclusions of the ethics and metaphysics of their own religious culture, enforced by a character and personality for which there has been no parallel in human history except for our own gracious Lord Buddha. The more Christian Missions concentrate upon Christ the less will they find compulsion helpful to their mission in this land.

Misplaced Retrenchment: Although the President of the Bombay Legislative Council discovered practically after the debate had closed, that the motion to restore the grants to secondary schools to their normal scale, was not in order and could not be put to the vote, this extremely unusual lapse on the part of the most alert member of the Council, afforded Government the opportunity of gauging the strong public feeling against their ill-advised raid upon the grants to aided schools and colleges which are hard put to make both ends meet in these days of high prices. No more absurd argument could have been advanced than that advanced from the Government benches—but not by the Education Minister—that as Government had to reduce their expenditure by a certain amount, they could do so only by making a proportionate cut from every department. This overlooks the fact that the departments differ in their incidence on the life of the people, and that commonsense, not to say, political prudence would dictate some discrimination between them in effecting retrenchments. If the income of a family shows a sudden decrease, the head of the house, if he is not born a bureaucrat, will not think of reducing the expenditure on the food, clothing and education of his children in the same proportion as that on his own food, clothing, and comforts. The reason is that while even a sharp reduction in his own case would result only in a present and temporary deprivation and discomfort, in the case of children it would permanently retard their development and prove detrimental to the future of the family. The same sort of principle should be observed in a State and is observed in every State to which the future of its people is as much an object of concern as its own present comfort and convenience. Education is the last department that should be brought under the retrenching scissors, and every other department should show that it has done its utmost, before education is touched. Even in the most extreme case, retrenchment in education should be made in the most sparing fashion and in the most cautious way, remembering that while the tree of national life could stand, and even thrive better for, some pruning and lopping off if its over-ground manifestations, it would be irretrievably destroyed if the knife be applied to its hidden roots in health, education and industry. But these are the things that appeal least to our rulers who have more faith in the big stick than the large head and heart as an instrument of good government. Open a school and close a jail, is an old saying. Close an old high school, and curtail as much as possible the others, though you may have to open more jails, is our present policy.

Ill-judged Criticism: Our Travancore correspondent is a publicist of long experience, but we do not agree with him in his condemnation of the action of the public meeting presided over, promoted and attended by Ezhava leaders, in passing a resolution to the effect that members of that caste who continue to tap palm trees for toddy, should not be socially associated with, as an effective way of weaning their community from a traditional occupation that has degraded it in the eyes of other castes, because it is accessory to the drink evil which degrades all who indulge in it. Wherever a caste still enjoys certain disciplinary powers, we cannot think of a better or more legitimate use of them than in such a case, and if all castes had used their influence in the same judicious manner and to similar wholesome ends, the caste system would not have become so discredited as it is at the present day. We offer whole-hearted support to the Ezhava and Shanar leaders who are striving to divert the energies of their caste people to more wholesome and reputable

occupations. We do not share our correspondent's fear that if they cease to tap for toddy, they will not be able to find other remunerative occupations. Even if that be the case, it is far better for themselves and for the people at large that they should desist from an evil occupation. An occupation whose profits arise out of the degradation of one's fellow-men is not a legitimately remunerative one, but one essentially predatory. But no man or caste or nation ever starved or suffered by ceasing to do wrong. Our correspondent says drink must be first abolished. By whom? The refusal to produce the poison is one of the most effective ways open to a people, especially one which has no responsible Government through which to operate, to abolish drink. It has been a growing conviction with us that the future of India rests largely with the despised "untouchables," and we rejoice to see such evidences of the awakening of these classes as this great movement among an important section of them to renounce a degrading, though ancestral, occupation. If the "higher" castes cannot help in such movements, for God's sake let them not hamper and obstruct them by ill-judged and often ill-informed and prejudiced criticism.

Mysore Constitutional Reforms: We print to-day the main features of the constitutional reforms which the Dewan of Mysore announced on the 7th instant at a meeting of the Representative Assembly. These are, first, that the District Boards are to have their functions enlarged and local subjects relegated to them. The Representative Assembly is also to be enlarged both as to numbers and functions, the former being increased to 200 and the latter to include previous consultation with regard to the levying of any new tax and all important legislative measures, the right to move resolutions on administrative matters and also on the Budget. The Legislative Council is also to be enlarged in a similar manner, the number of members being raised from 40 to 50, and given power to vote on the Budget by major heads. The resolutions of both bodies will have effect only as recommendations to Government. A Committee of official and non-official members has been appointed to work out the details of this scheme. The Committee has practically everything to do. We trust that, for the elections to the Representative Assembly, a trial will be given to Lord Morley's original plan of electoral colleges which provided automatically for the representation of minorities. The Committee has also got to consider what the functions of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council are to be in respect of Legislation. There is no hint of any approach to responsible Government. The scheme seems to lay little store by the emphatic condemnation by constitutional authorities, and not least in the Montague-Chelmsford report, of popular bodies possessing powers of criticism without responsibility. And yet, Mysore is in some respects in a better position even than British India to take a substantial step in responsible Government.

The Public Library, Bangalore: We attach very great importance to the establishment of public libraries all over the country. In no part of India, has the importance of public libraries been better realised and more organized effort made to propagate them than in Baroda where the library movement has attained conspicuous success. We are glad to see that in Mysore also the matter is being earnestly taken up. The latest report of the Bangalore Public Library that has been sent to us, is a record of gratifying growth and is creditable to those concerned in its management.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 15, 1922.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND THE PRINCES' PRESS BILL.

Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, the distinguished Sindhi member of the Legislative Assembly, has written a well-reasoned letter to the daily papers on the action of that Assembly in refusing leave to the introduction of the Government Bill relating to criticisms in the Press on Indian Princes and their administration. On the day after the rejection it was officially announced that the Viceroy would use his certification powers to pass the Bill with the help of the Council of State. Mr. Ranga Chari, a Madras member of the Legislative Assembly, moved thereupon the adjournment of the House to consider the contemplated action of His Excellency. The adjournment was ruled out of order but, acting on a suggestion thrown out by the Home Member, four members, representing two conventional Parties in the Assembly, had an interview with the Viceroy. His Excellency, it is understood, asked for a guarantee that the Assembly would pass the Bill, and as it was not possible for the four members to give it, Government adhered to their intention to get the Bill through the Council of State, as the Indian second Chamber is called, on the Viceroy's certificate, and to pass it into law over the head of the Legislative Assembly, the Lower House. The motion for adjournment and the interview of the four members of the Assembly with His Excellency the Viceroy, have been represented in some quarters as showing that the Assembly repented of its action and tried to find a way out of it. Mr. Harchandrai denies that the Assembly repented of its refusal of leave and gives reasons to show that under the circumstances it could have acted only thus and in no other way.

In order to appraise correctly the significance of the Viceroy's action, it is necessary to point out that the procedure about moving for leave to introduce a Bill, is not obligatory in the case of Government Bills, publication in the official *Gazette* being sufficient to dispense with this stage in their career through the Legislature. Government frequently avail themselves of this alternative which has the advantage, in the case of important measures, of making available to them and the members of the Legislature at the time of introducing the Bill, the trend of public opinion on the proposals contained in them. It has been suggested that the reason why Government did not publish this Bill in the *Gazette* beforehand, which would have saved them the preliminary stage in a short and crowded Session, was that the volume of public criticism provoked by it would have been so large that the chances of the Legislature accepting the Bill would have been remote. This suggestion derives some colour from the fact that Government brought in their motion for leave when there was hardly four

days left of the Session. The President of the Council of State in allowing the introduction of the Bill after its rejection by the Assembly, reiterated his view that there should be no rush of legislation at the end of a Session. It may be urged that Government themselves had not made up their minds as to whether they should introduce this Bill at the last Session, and that they had to do so at the last moment. But against this there is the Viceroy's definite statement in his opening speech on the 5th September that a Bill would be brought before the Legislature in that Session.

Nobody who knows the feeling in the country regarding this so-called Protection of Princes Bill, which might be more aptly called the Persecution of the Press Bill, can have the least difficulty in accepting Mr. Harchandrai's plea that the Assembly could not possibly have acted otherwise than it did in refusing leave for its introduction. In the last issue we gave our own reasons for regarding this measure less as one of protection to the Princes than as a fresh illustration of Lord Ripon's observation in a letter to Lord Hartington that "the Indian official regards the Press as an evil, necessary perhaps, but to be kept within as narrow limits as possible; he has no real feelings of the benefits of free discussion." The bureaucracy is jealous of the increasing influence of the Press and its sensitiveness has been aggravated by its fear, more pretended than real, that its power and prospects are fast waning as the result of the Reforms. The Prime Minister's egregious speech was avowedly made to allay this fear, and the poor Princes have been made the pretext for a measure which is calculated less to protect them than to make the Indian-conducted Press feel that the bureaucracy, although the old Press Act has been repealed, has succeeded in forging a new one which, besides its penal provisions, has the additional effect of suggesting to the world at large, and to some of the Princes at any rate, that the Indian Press is their inveterate enemy and the Political Department of the Governments in India their traditional protectors. The Services, and especially the Indian Civil Service, have been loudly complaining of the attitude of the Indian Press, though that attitude today is one rather of indifference than antagonism, to them, and if this new Press Law reassures them that the Indian Press is to have no freedom as a part of the Reforms, it will only be in consonance with the Prime Minister's declarations regarding the limitations of the Reforms. The Council of State, in consenting to the Bill with scarcely a day's debate, showed little consideration for the Legislative Assembly which in every constitution, is the more important, because more representative, Chamber, apart from the total disregard displayed to the feeling in the country. We had from the first insisted on the need of a second chamber of the Legislature differing herein from some Liberal Indian politicians of the most conservative complexion. We still believe in the value of a second chamber though the action of the Council of State in this case lends considerable force to the objections urged against it in this country.

In view of the fact that the Government of India are under no obligation to ask the leave of the Assembly for introducing their Bills and that they would have given the public an opportunity of expressing its views on the measure if they had adopted the alternative course open to them, and which they often use, of publishing Bills in the *Gazette* before introduction, the charge that the Legislative Assembly was guilty of gross discourtesy to Government in voting out the motion for leave has very little substance. The motion for leave has some meaning or it is a meaningless waste of valuable time. If it be the latter, why did Government choose it in preference to the one open to them? In the House of Commons, "the motion for leave" has been practically dispensed with in the case of Government as well as of private members since 1902. In India, it is still a serious affair for a private member who is required to give one month's notice of the motion for leave, submitting at the same time—what in the House of Commons is not needed even at the first reading—a copy of his Bill and a full statement of Objects and Reasons. Acceptance of a motion for leave, in such circumstances, would obviously have committed the Assembly in some way to the principle of the Bill, which is not accepted by any responsible body of public opinion in the country. It has been said that by refusing leave, the Assembly tore up the Bill without giving Government the opportunity to bring its contents to its notice and to explain why they wanted to pass it. As a matter of fact, the contents of the Bill were well known to the members, and Sir William Vincent in his speech on his motion for leave, explained at length why Government wanted to pass it. Further, the Viceroy's power of certification is not confined to the case of one of the Chambers of the Legislature refusing leave to introduce a Bill, but also when it "fails to pass (the Bill) in a form recommended by the Governor General." The passing of the motion for leave would thus have made no difference so far as the Viceroy's right of certification is concerned, and the rejection or substantial modification of the Bill at a later stage, would not have saved the Assembly from the criticism of those who criticise its refusal of leave. The Assembly by the course it adopted, saved public time and has secured the public confidence.

Then, we are told that solemn pledges had been made by Queen Victoria and her successors and that they had entered into written agreements which required that a Bill of this kind should be passed. Her Majesty Queen Victoria died in 1901, and Lord Reading stated in his opening speech on the 5th September to the two Houses that "this protection to the Princes was first given by the Act of 1910." Did Her late Majesty pledge herself to have introduced, ten years after her demise, a Bill to afford the promised protection to the Princes of India? Where were these treaties and pledges when the Sapru-Vincent Committee but a few months ago recommended that no legislation was needed to afford special protection to the Indian princes? His Excellency said: "We have decided that we are bound by agreements and in

honour to afford the Princes the same measure of protection as they previously enjoyed under the Press Act." That shows that the question has had to be discussed, that there had been differences of opinion, but that that is the conclusion at which Government have finally arrived. So that there is no question of definitive pledges as has been sought to be made out. If tomorrow the Government of India decide, on the same reasoning, that they are bound in honour, owing to pledges as to non-interference in religion, to pass a law restoring to every Hindu husband the immemorial privilege, which he enjoyed prior to the Widow Marriage Act, of his widow or widows being consigned to perpetual widowhood or even to the funeral pile on his death, should the Assembly be bound to give leave to introduce it? The pledges as to religious neutrality, it can be argued with far more plausibility, were violated by the Remarriage Act than the pledge to the Princes by the repeal of the Press Act. The repeal of the Remarriage Act would rally to the side of Government the orthodox community including some shining lights of the Assembly and the Council of State. The Viceroy can, with at least as clear a conscience as in the case of the Princes' Act, certify that a Bill to repeal the Widow Marriage Act is essential to the security of British India in these non-co-operation days. If His Excellency does not know it, we may mention for his information that the Widow Remarriage Act was held responsible by, among others, no less a person than Mr. Benjamin Disraeli for the Indian Mutiny. The protection likely to be afforded to Indian Princes by this Act is as illusory as the satisfaction supposed to be enjoyed by defunct husbands at the perpetual widowhood of their relicts. But the affront and the humiliation to the Press are very real and they are such as to place an intolerable obstacle in the way of an honourable collaboration between the Press and Government which is so desirable in the best interests of both.

THE FISCAL COMMISSION'S REPORT—I.

We dealt last week with the main recommendation of the majority* of members of the Indian Fiscal Commission, from the summary of their Report supplied by the Associated Press. Since then we have procured a copy of the Report. The Commission was appointed in October last year with Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola as President, and Mr. J. M. Keynes as Vice President. Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, Sir Edgar Holberton and Sir Montagu Webb, and Messrs. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, Ganshyamdas Birla, J. C. Coyajee, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Narottamdas Morarjee, C. W. Rhodes and R. A. Mant, were the other members. The President, Mr. Mant, Mr. Coyajee and the Secretary, Mr. H. G. Haig, were officials and the rest were non-officials. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, before he became a member of the Bombay Government four years ago, was one of the leading figures in Bombay business and Indian politics. Mr. Keynes, of course, is the well-known Cambridge Professor, who was the first to expose the financial

* The Majority is made up of all the European and the two Parsi members.

futilities of the Treaty of Versailles. Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar is a retired Judge of the Madras High Court and a nominated member of the Indian Legislative Assembly. Mr. Birla belongs to the firm of Birla Brothers of Calcutta, Mr. Coyajee is Professor of Economics in the Calcutta Presidency College. Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, though officially described as a Barrister-at Law, Nagpur, has been, we believe, more concerned for many years with the management of mills and collieries than with the practice of law; Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas is the leading Besantine politician of Bombay, Sir Edgar Holberton is the Chairman of the Burma Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Mant is a Secretary to the Government of India, Mr. Narottam Morarjee is a leading Mill-owner of Bombay, Mr. Rhodes is a prominent Anglo-Indian merchant of Calcutta, and Sir Montagu Webb is an Anglo-Sindhi merchant and publicist with pronounced views on many subjects. For the benefit of those who are interested in communal affiliations and are not sufficiently familiar with Indian names, it may be added that Sir Ibrahim is a Mahomedan, Messrs. Aiyar, Birla, Jamnadas and Narottamdas are Hindus, Sir Maneckjee and Professor Coyajee are Parsis, and the rest Britishers. The terms of reference to the Commission were "to examine with reference to all the interests concerned the Tariff policy of the Government of India, including the question of the desirability of adopting the principle of Imperial Preference, and to make recommendations."

The Commission was not the most competent or the most representative in respect of Indian opinion that could have been appointed. The withdrawal of Mr. Keynes before the Commission began its work, left Professor Coyajee of the principal Government College at Calcutta, as the sole exponent of fiscal theory on the Commission. Those who know how very orthodox Indian Universities are in their economic studies, will easily realise the disadvantage to the Commission of having no economist on it of the nationalist, non-official school. Mr. Coyajee has, of course, tried his best to supply the omission but that best cannot but be a weak substitute for the convinced and convincing presentation by an unofficial professor of the fiscal science, lending colour to the complaint of the Minority that the language of the Majority in recommending Protection is half-hearted and apologetic. As a fact, what the Majority advocate is not Protection at all, but rank Free Trade artfully painted to look like Protection. Three of the Indian members are Bombay men to whom India is merely a patch upon the first city in the Empire. There should have been a strong Minority report instead of a halting, scrappy, incoherent minute of dissent, and there would most probably have been one, had their opposition not been hamstrung by the concession about the repeal of the excise duty on Indian mill-made cloth by the Majority—in itself an absolutely indisputable factor of a just fiscal policy. The Minority declare that the outlook of the Majority is different from theirs. If so, the right course for them would clearly have been to develop their views from their own point of view in a sepa-

rate report. Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar's judicial training must be of much value in almost any public enquiry but this was one of the few exceptions where it could have advantageously given place to a grasp of and training in the science and art of political economy. Mr. Birla from all accounts is a successful business man, while what the Minority lacked was a statesman who could formulate a national fiscal policy from an all-India stand-point. It was expected all along that the British members would stand together.

The appointment of this Commission last October was an attempt to snatch a verdict for Imperial Preference, in the first flush of the introduction of the Reforms, before their actual scope was understood in their limitations, from those who had accepted them as meaning much more than what subsequent developments have shown them really to mean. The narration in the introductory chapter of the report of what are represented as the several stages leading up to the appointment of the Commission, are neither logically nor chronologically convincing. After an irrelevant reference, as a compliment no doubt to the President, to an ancient and, so far as fiscal policy is concerned, infructuous resolution moved by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola in 1916 when he was a member of the old Indian Legislative Council, a non-committal passage is quoted from the Montagu-Chelmsford Report recommending that Indian opinion should decide what Indian fiscal policy should be. Then follows the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill of 1919, that "India should have the same liberty in framing a fiscal policy to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa" and that "the Secretary of State should as far as possible avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its Legislature are in agreement," and that "his intervention, when it does take place, should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party." No careful student of the course of Indian politics can fail to see that this recommendation purporting to recommend complete fiscal autonomy in one sentence completely takes it away by the right of interference it concedes to the Secretary of State in phrases which cover every possible and impossible contingency where he may feel called upon to do so. Furthermore, the condition about the Government of India and its Legislature being in agreement, as we all know and none, perhaps, more than the present Government of India, cannot in practice eventuate except when the Secretary of State does not prohibit such agreement, as he has ample power and opportunity to do, as illustrated repeatedly in the ordering of Indian fiscal policy. Still, weak as its recommendation was, the Joint Select Committee would not embody it in the statute on the paradoxical ground that it could not be done "without limiting the ultimate power of Parliament to control the administration of India, and without limiting the power of veto which rests in the Crown." It added that "neither of these limitations finds a

place in any of the statutes in the British Empire"—which, even if correct, is not a right reason since none of the statutes in the British Empire vest the Government of a Dominion in a member of the British Cabinet.

Next follows a reference to a resolution proposed by the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas in the Council of State in February 1921, asking that the Government of India should be granted full fiscal autonomy. This was amended at the instance of Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, who has all along felt an ineffable complacency in and a special responsibility for the Reform Act, by the addition of words which reduced it to an absurdity. There can be no fiscal autonomy "subject to the provisions of the Government of India Act" because for the paradoxical reason given by the Joint Select Committee it could not be, and was not, embodied in that Act. The resolution so emasculated was sent to the Secretary of State, and Mr. Montagu, who in the episodes of the Reverse Councils, the 7 per cent. loan, and others had himself paid slight heed to India's fiscal autonomy, no doubt on the grounds provided by the Joint Committee for intervention, replied quite honestly that His Majesty's Government had accepted the principle recommended by the Joint Committee, which, as we have shown, meant little. It is pathetic to see the hard-headed businessmen who form the Minority deduce from these recommendations, resolutions and despatches that "India has now attained fiscal autonomy," and that the appointment of their Commission is the result of such freedom! Whatever excuse there might have been in October 1921 for this complacent conclusion—and there was very little then—there was none at all on the 5th September 1922 when the Minority report is dated, after Mr. Montagu's fall, the Indian Budget, Lord Winterton's reply to the Lancashire Deputation and the Prime Minister's "steel-frame" speech which strictly defines the conditions under which India is allowed to jingle the small change of Diarchy in her pocket—the principal of them being that she shall spend them strictly according to the instructions given to her by the perpetual trustee in London. To return to the Introductory chapter. In 1920, on the motion of Government, the old Legislative Council recommended to the Government that a Committee should be appointed to consider the question of Imperial Preference. An amendment was accepted adding to the terms of reference the words "the best method of considering the future fiscal policy of India." The Committee was appointed and made its report containing "provisional conclusions" on the subject of Imperial Preference. With regard to the best method of considering the future fiscal policy, it recommended of course, the appointment of another Committee. One Committee always leads to another as cause to consequence! This is the genesis of the Fiscal Commission as given by itself.

THE STATUS OF CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES.

(FOREIGN PRESS SERVICE).

Washington.

The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court to the effect that the Federal child labor law of the United States was unconstitutional, and the consequent movement to supplement existing state laws,

of more or less stringency, with a federal amendment or law that will survive the constitutional test, has increased the natural interest in the status of child labour in the United States. As a result the authoritative interpretation of the census figures on this subject, by Raymond Fuller, associate director of the National Child Labor Committee, within a week of the publication of the official figures, is being carefully studied and widely commented on. On the face of the census returns for 1920, child labor in the United States was cut almost in half during the decennial period since the census of 1910. But though the recently published figures for children from ten to fifteen years of age engaged in gainful occupations show improvement, valid conclusions can be drawn from these figures only after careful consideration of some important facts in addition to the figures, Mr. Fuller says, and points out that census statistics and the nature of child labor stand rather far apart. Child labor is the work that interferes with the life of childhood and the best preparation for adulthood. Neither ages nor wages are proper criterion of child labor, he says. "The economic value of a working child—his present, immediate earning power—small though it is—is what gets him into the census classification of gainful employment. His future value, his future earning power, is not considered. It is well to emphasize that the earning of wages does not of itself make a child a child laborer—other factors are the factors that count. There may be child labor without any wages at all." In the census data 'children spending more than half their time at school are not classified as gainfully employed.' It happens that thousands of children whose work outside school interferes seriously with their school attendance and school progress are excluded from the census returns. Many of these children, with their school work and outside work, have a working day of ten to twelve or fourteen hours. In agriculture children on the home farm are reckoned as gainfully employed only if their work constitutes a material addition to the labor income, but for an adequate picture of the extent to which farm work interferes with schooling we should have to look elsewhere than to the occupational census. In rural regions generally the farm work of children is one of the chief causes of the shorter school term, the more irregular attendance, and the greater retardation of pupils compared with urban communities.

Children under ten are not included in the occupational returns. Hundreds of boys and girls below that age are suffering irreparable injury in one way or another from tenement home work and from labor in the cotton and sugar beet fields. The census takers learn of few children of higher ages engaged in tenement home work; The number of children in tenement home work nobody knows, because there is no way of finding out; but it is very large. Information given by parents to the census takers leaves the number of children engaged in other occupations underestimated—street trades, for example. The seasonality of certain occupations affects the census returns. The census of 1920 was taken in

January, when agricultural operations are practically at a standstill, the same being true also of canneries. The census of 1910 was taken in April, when there is much more activity in these occupations. But neither month gives adequate returns for seasonal work. A host of children who work in the beet fields, the onion fields, the melon fields, the cotton fields, the tobacco fields, the berry patches, the truck gardens, the fruit and vegetable canneries, do not appear in the census returns. Despite the limitations of the census figures as a measure of child labor in the United States, they are not without significance from the child labor standpoint. It is worth while to compare the figures for 1920 with those for 1910. In 1910 the number of children ten to fifteen years old engaged in gainful occupations was, according to the census, 1,990,275. In 1920 the number was 1,060,858. The percentage of decrease was 46.7. In the same period the total population of these ages increased 15.5 per cent. The proportion of children in this age group was 18.4 per cent in 1910 and 18.5 per cent in 1920. The number of working boys in 1910 was 1,353,189; of working girls, 637,086. The corresponding figures for 1920 are 714,248 and 346,610.

Most of the statistical decrease of working children from 1910 to 1920 was found in agriculture, animal husbandry and kindred occupations. In these occupations 1,432,580 boys and girls ten to fifteen years old were engaged in 1910; 647,309 in 1920. Largely, this decrease was due to the fact that the census of 1920 was taken in January instead of April. Child labor law, by the way, does not apply to the agricultural group of occupations. Agriculture is either omitted from the language of the statutes or specifically exempted. In 1910 the juvenile farm workers constituted seventy-two per cent of the total number of working children; in 1920, sixty-one per cent. In 1910, more than a quarter of a million of them, or 259,813, 'were working out' (i. e., not on the home farm); in 1920, 63,990. Decreases in other groups of occupations must be noted. In 1910 the number of children ten to fifteen in manufacturing and mechanical industries was 281,947; in 1920 it was 185,337. Mining and quarrying industries, showed a decrease from 18,699 to 7,191. All other occupations (including stores, street trades, transportation, domestic service, ect.) a decrease from 255,003 to 221,021. The decrease in all pursuits outside of the agricultural group of occupations is from 557,644 in 1910 to 413,549 in 1920. Of special interest are the figures for children under fourteen. In 1910 the working children ten to thirteen years of age, inclusive, numbered 895,976. In 1920 the number was 278,063. Of these 378,063 children 328,958 were in agriculture and 49,105 in non-agricultural occupations. The number in non-agricultural occupations in 1910 was 95,832.

THE BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

(By MR. G. B. TRIVEDI, M.L.C.)

The third session of the current year was remarkable in many ways. It was for the first time that the Governor addressed from the "throne" his Reformed Council. The President was approached by a leading M. L. C. with a request that he might allow discussion on the address as was done in the House of

Commons. But the request was disallowed on the ground that there was neither provision nor precedent for it. The address did not create any enthusiasm in the House and was soon forgotten amidst the heavy official work which lasted for full eleven days. There were two non-contentious bills which were passed for all the three readings at once; there were four bills put down for second reading of which one was withdrawn by Government as the Government were not satisfied with the Select Committee's report, one was non-contentious, one passed the second reading with some opposition and passed the third reading without a murmur; but the fourth that for control of transactions in cotton was well contested both at the second and third reading and passed by a small margin of votes.

Of the four remaining new bills, one for Taxation on Entertainments was discussed not on its merits but on its utility as a source of revenue for Primary compulsory Education. The Bill for the amendment of the Rent Acts evoked the sympathy of the House for the tenant class while only two or three members pleaded for house-owners.

But the most important bills of the session were one for the expansion of Local Boards and the other for providing a machinery for compulsory Primary Education. Both of them were discussed for three long days each. The first evoked much opposition on account of the extension of the principle of communal representation to rural areas. But the two Mahomedan members of Government with the help of their co-religionists, and of the non-Brahmins who have but taken a leaf out of the book of the Mahomedans in this matter, carried their point; and the Minister in his anxiety to secure this, refused to take in his Select Committee, members who have worked on Local Boards but were opposed to his new fad. A question is asked in some quarters whether the Khilafat leaders approve of this step of their co-religionist co-operators. If they do not, is it not their duty to raise their protest against this step which is antagonistic to their professed faith in Hindu-Mahomedan unity?

The bill was welcomed as a measure for training rural people in local self-Government on account of the wide franchise it proposes. But the machinery was pronounced expensive and, even with extended powers of taxation, grave doubts were felt by the Presidents of Local Boards sitting in the Council as to their being able to find money for education, medical relief, roads, sanitation &c. unless Government gave a fixed share of Provincial revenue or allowed powers to levy cesses on Forest, Salt, Income Tax &c.

But the more momentous measure was the Bill for Compulsory Education. It was admitted by the Minister in charge as well as by his supporters that it did not introduce compulsory Education at once. It moved cautiously. It merely provided a made road. The rails, rolling stock and the engine can be brought in as money came, and as people showed their desire and readiness. This disappointed those who thought that the Minister was going to give them compulsory Education at once. The Minister's speech, both open-

ing and closing, showed clearly that the Reserved Government was applying the brake too tightly. They would not admit the State's whole responsibility to provide Education as they provide Police protection. The Municipalities are to find half the money and the Local Boards 1/3 to 1/4 and the burden of the speeches of the non-officials was that the Local bodies would find it difficult to find their share and so the bill would only give a paper constitution and the Act would not be better than Patel's Act. Non-Brahmin members showed their disappointment by asking for its withdrawal but refrained from going to a division.

Both these bills are now in the hands of Select Committees and would come up for second reading in December. In the mean time, if public agitation is carried on, the hands of the Progressives in the Council will be strengthened. Supplementary grants were uncontested and even so Government work took full eleven days.

The next three days were given to non-official work. One non-official bill was granted leave for introduction while the other—for taxing the Race Course—was disallowed much to the disappointment of the non-officials who were eager to give Government new sinews of war. But Government desiring to do the operation with their own tender hands, refused the help of non-official surgeons.

There were 50 non-official resolutions of which only 11 got the chance of being discussed. Of these 5 were withdrawn after Government assurances were given, two were negatived, two were amended and passed, one was disallowed after being discussed for an hour and a half, and only one was passed as it was. The non-officials feel very strongly that unless they are given fixed days in the middle of official work and are given more than 3 days, they have no chance of influencing Government by their resolutions. The obstructionist attitude taken up by official members and one or two non-officials to break up, by purposely reducing the quorum, was severely criticised by the President and the Leader of the House who complained openly of certain officials who would not respect him when he entreated them to come in. The complaint of the official members was that the term was unnecessarily lengthened by non-officials taking 6 days on two bills. Looking to the importance of these bills the complaint is unjustified and if anybody had a right to complain, it was the President who had to sit on, continuously without breaks which members enjoy. When the complaint was made to the President informally, he did not support it. On the contrary he gave his tribute to the excellence of the debates which, in his opinion, were of a high level and quite satisfactory.

Some members of the Legislative Assembly who watched our debate from the Gallery, endorsed the President's opinion. They, however, regretted the absence of organisation amongst the non-officials. They recognised that there were groups amongst us but they said that even groups could be organised.

The one thing that causes anxiety to thoughtful members in the Council is the growing annoyance of

the non-Brahmin Members who are developing their communal instinct on quite unhealthy lines. The House is prepared to support their claims for special consideration as in the case of Mahomedans in the old Councils, but when they develop an anti-Brahmin spirit to such an extent as to shut the door of help to all but themselves they overstep the limits. They are now becoming fanatics and unless wise men of the party check and regulate their activities in the Council, they would hamper the progress of this progressive Presidency. They are already driving some of us to pessimism but let us hope that wiser counsels will prevail and that they will keep their fanaticism within bounds.

MYSORE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

On the 7th instant, the Dewan of Mysore speaking in the Representative Assembly, said:

His Highness the Maharaja feels that the time has now come for taking a further definite step in the policy of associating the people more and more with the Government, and increasing the popular element in the administration. He has accordingly been graciously pleased to sanction the reconstitution of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council with enlarged functions and has commanded me to communicate to you the main features of the contemplated developments. After further examination and elaboration of the details, these developments will be promulgated in due course by a Proclamation under His Highness' Sign Manual.

THE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY.

- (1) The Representative Assembly will be given a definite place in the Constitution.
- (2) The qualifications prescribed for voters will be substantially reduced, so as to extend the franchise to a considerable extent. The sex disqualification for voters will be removed.
- (3) No new tax will be levied without previously consulting the Representative Assembly.
- (4) The Representative Assembly will be given the right to move resolutions on matters relating to the public administration, and also on the annual State budget.
- (5) It will be consulted in regard to all important legislative measures. The legislative programme of the year will be placed before the Representative Assembly in the Dasara session and the general principles of the bills will be discussed there. In cases where legislation is introduced in the Legislative Council before discussion in the Assembly, His Highness the Maharaja will ordinarily (*i. e.*, except in urgent cases) reserve his assent until the close of the next session of the Representative Assembly.
- (6) The strength of the Assembly will be fixed at about 200, provision being also made for the representation, if necessary by nomination, of minorities and special interests. The Dewan will continue to be the President of the Assembly, and the Members of Council will be Vice-Presidents.
- (7) Details as to the constitution of the Assembly, the electorates, whether all the elected members should be chosen by primary or direct election or partly primary and partly secondary as is now the case, the length and frequency of the sessions, the procedure of the House, and the order of business will be worked out and submitted for the consideration of Government by a small mixed committee of official and non-official members.

(8) Local subjects will not, as a rule, be allowed to be brought up before the Representative Assembly, but will be relegated to the District Boards whose functions will be enlarged.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

(1) Its strength will be increased and fixed at not less than 40 and not more than 50 members. The number of members elected from the Representative Assembly to this body will be substantially increased. Provision will be made for the representation of special interests, such as industries and commerce, planting, educational, and of minorities. The details of the constitution of the Council will be worked out by the mixed Committee referred to above.

(2) The number of interpellations and resolutions that may be brought forward at a session will be substantially increased.

(3) The Legislative Council will be given the power of voting on the annual State budget by major heads in respect of all items of expenditure, except those affecting the Palace, the Military, pensions of public servants, and the relations of the State with the British Government under the Treaty. In any case where the Council refuses its assent to a provision in the Budget or reduces it, it will be competent to Government to restore the provision, if they consider it necessary for the carrying on of any department.

GENERAL.

(1) The present list of subjects that are excluded from the purview of the Legislative Council and the Representative Assembly will be curtailed so as to admit of the discussion of all matters relating to the administration of the State, the only subjects to be excluded being those relating to the Palace, the relations of His Highness the Maharaja with the Paramount Power or with other States, and matters governed by treaties, conventions and agreements now in force or hereafter to be made by His Highness the Maharaja with the Paramount Power.

(2) The functions of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council in respect of legislation will be subject to the provisions embodied in the existing Legislative Council Regulation regarding emergency regulations.

(3) Resolutions of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council will have effect only as recommendations to Government.

(4) In order to enlarge the opportunities of non-official representatives of the people to influence the everyday administration, one or more Standing Committees consisting of members of the Legislative Council and the Representative Assembly will be appointed in an advisory capacity on the model of the Standing Committees of the Indian Legislature recently constituted. The members will be selected from a panel to be elected by the members of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council respectively from among themselves. Meetings of the Standing Committee will be held under the Chairmanship of a Member of Government and summoned at such times and as frequently as may be decided by the Dewan. All major questions of general policy on which the Member in charge of the department concerned desires the advice of the Committee will be placed before the Committee. The present Budget Finance Committee consisting of officials and non-officials will be abolished.

Gentlemen, these are the general lines of constitutional advance decided upon, which His Highness commands me to communicate for your information. The mixed Committee will be appointed immediately to go into the details and

submit a report by the 1st December next so that the new Representative Assembly and the new Legislative Council may be constituted in time for the discussion of the budget of the next year.

In regard to the administrative machinery of the Central Government, representations have been made in this Assembly and elsewhere for the introduction of the non-official element into the Executive Council of His Highness the Maharaja. With reference to this, I am commanded by His Highness to say that there is nothing in the announcement I have made to you to-day giving enlarged powers to the constitutional assemblies of the State, that need stand in the way of the appointment, at His Highness' pleasure and when circumstances permit, of any member of this Assembly or of the Legislative Council to a seat in the Executive Council; but such appointment must always be left to His Highness' unfettered judgment and selection.

TRAVANCORE LETTER.

(From our Correspondent.)

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION.

I am glad to report that the Temperance movement has caught on here. The drink evil is no doubt present here as in other parts of India, and the fact that the license liquor shops are increasing in numbers in towns and that they are made more and more attractive by the licenses by the provision of every sort of convenience to the worshipper Bacchus is conclusive proof of enormous proportions to which the evil has grown. It is, therefore, a very welcome sign of the times that some earnest attention has begun to be bestowed on the question. The other day a large public meeting attended by more than 3,000 people was held at Karthigupalli with Mr. N. Kumaran, a Member of the Travancore Legislative Council, in the Chair for the morning session, and Mr. M. R. Madhava Warier, another Member of our Legislative Council as President for the afternoon session. Both these gentlemen are prominent citizens and are valuable acquisitions to the sacred cause of temperance. It is also worthy of mention that several Ezhava gentlemen, including Mr. Kumaran, were the prime movers of the big meeting and the leader Alumtil Channar, a wealthy man of the Ezhava community, met the whole of the expenditure, including the feeding of those who were present. But the meeting went the wrong way in proceeding with the business. The meeting passed a resolution concerning tappers and recommending their boycott from the society. It is no doubt true that Ezhavas form the mainstay of the tapping industry and that has been their ancestral profession. That they should be condemned as poison to the society and their boycott should be recommended for adoption is a most misguided step which is sure to lead them to an economic distress of great magnitude. If all of a sudden tapping is to be stopped and the tappers turned out of society, what are they to do to find a living? Again, labour—whatever form it may take—has its own reward. It is strange that two well-known and educated gentlemen who are High Court Vakils should have encouraged this idea. Such a large and well-attended meeting of the masses should have been utilised to create an opinion in favour of the abolition of drink in the first instance. The well-intentioned workers will do well to think over this aspect of their work.

RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY.

Last week the members of the local branch of the Y. M. C. A. celebrated the anniversary of the death of that great patriot of India, Raja Ram Mohan Roy. A large and dis-

tinguished gathering was present and it was a cosmopolitan meeting of gentlemen from different classes and communities of His Highness the Maharaja's subjects. Mr. K. G. Sessa Iyer, High Court Judge and a scholar of wide culture and erudition and a lawyer of eminence, well known in South India presided. Messrs. E. J. John, leader of the High Court Bar and Parameswara Iyer, Secretary to Government and a distinguished scholar of eminent literary abilities, delivered speeches on the life of the great Indian reformer.

A CHILD'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION.

(By PARRIE ATHERTON DICKEY.)

The writer of this article in the *World Tomorrow* (New York) for September, is a thirteen-years-old boy who, on seeing in his home several new volumes on child development, one day handed his mother a typewritten sheet, with the following comment: "I see you have been reading on child training. Here are the ideas of a child on the subject." We know our readers will agree that they are interesting and worth while:—

Much has been written, much has been read, on so called child development. These books have been written by parents for parents, and I believe that it is advisable to get another's point of view, but what I think is more expedient is to make a careful study of the child's personality. A child is an individual, so much so that what others say of their children is not so important for a parent as a careful study of the child's individual character. I proffer a paper written by the child himself, the really important object of all this ado. He should be the guide, and his opinions are of more value than strange pamphlets. As Agassiz says, "Study nature, not books."

A great deal has been said about stimulating environments. I think that a stimulating environment is a necessity in the correct bringing up of the older child, but not only a stimulating environment is needed; a little sauce, a little pepper, should be added. It seems to me that a right stimulant is responsibility. Put the child on his own responsibility and he will work wonders. Make him responsible for something and he will hold to it to the last gasp. One of the most forcible threats to an older child is to tell him that he is an example to other children. This is one of the few arguments that can never be overworked. If he fails in his responsibility his grief is terrible. Many poets have written of the joys of children, but few have sung of their grief. This is probably because their joy bubbles over but their grief they always hide. I have known of one instance when the parent painted in most vivid tones the effect of a neglect, and then she sent the child to bed. In time for the evening chores she woke him and when he looked down-hearted she accused him of sulkiness. The problem before most parents is that of conduct. This use of responsibility will help to remedy that. Responsibility is most properly made the watchword of one of the most progressive schools in the United States—the Francis Parker School in Chicago.

Another problem is that of obedience. I say here that no parent should ever let his child argue with him. That, if anything will spoil a child's obedience. This, however, should not be overdone. A child's side should always be heard to the end, and then a quick *obviously impartial* verdict should be spoken. Forcing a child to the wall in an argument and holding so that if he answers in one way or the other he should be convicted, is what we schoolboys call a "dirty trick" and should never be resorted to. If a

child disobeys, the order should be repeated until he goes and does it. This may not sound possible but it is so. But there is nothing a child resents so much as being ordered around like a little child, so beware of overdoing.

Confidence and trust placed in your child will do more to make him love and respect you than any terrorisms, scoldings or punishments. Treat him like your fellowman and he will treat you the way a parent ought to be treated. A young child will bring a toy or work in his hands and show it to his parent, who is writing or engrossed in some other occupation. The mother will say "Oh? how splendid!" without taking either her eyes or her mind off her work, and the child will depart contented and pleased. The older child works hard on a piece of real work and then brings it to his mother for her to inspect and she also says, "Mother thinks it's just fine," without paying any real attention. The child goes away feeling terribly hurt. He notices every mood or temper and he can see by your face what you think. He would a lot rather that you say to him, if you are very busy, "I shall look at it later if I have time," and that you treat him like a man.

Conduct is the greatest and most serious problem of child life. Unselfishness is at the base of all good conduct, selfishness is at the base of all bad. And since these qualities come from the heart nothing but the heart can change them. And you parents know, almost better than anyone, how hard a child's heart is for a grown person to get at. Punishment will change the outward aspect for a time but it only embitters. An appeal to the higher emotions, such as responsibility and joy, will usually improve the conduct by opening the heart to unselfish motives. But far be it from me to pretend any knowledge where so many great scholars have failed.

As I said before, give him a share in your occupations, consult him in important things and he will be radiant, and no end of a comfort.

My object in writing this is not to tell how to raise a child, not to be presuming or impudent or fault finding, not even to tell how I would like to be raised. But just to set down my opinions on the great business of supplying the world with its next generation.

SOUTH INDIAN NAMES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Will you kindly allow me to put forward, through your column, a suggestion for the consideration of your readers, especially in South India? A year ago, an enthusiastic social reformer from Malabar and myself were discussing a scheme, at the house of a distinguished Indian leader of Madras, for starting a league with a view to bring about a reformation in the matter of pronouncing Indian names. I shall explain more clearly what I mean. The idea was that all South Indian names must be pronounced without their suffixes. For instance, we must call Ramasami, Subramanian, Srinivasan, Govindan etc. omitting the suffix Pilai, or Ayer or Ayengar or Nair etc. At first, there will be some prejudice against this move but one of its advantages would be to promote caste unity to some extent. At least a good deal of surface difference would be removed and there would be no such thing as prejudice or prepossession even before considering a man's work, or worth. Those only can realise the need for this small reform who know how much mischief the application of these suffixes causes in South India. If people begin to adopt this reform, it would not be difficult eventually to persuade Government to follow a similar line in all their publications.

Nagpur,
9th October, 1922.

V. S. V.

[We think this is a good suggestion. Ed.—I. S. R.]

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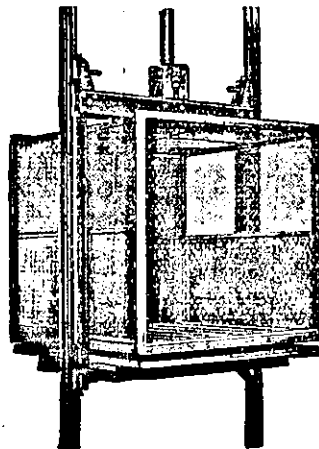
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Vol. XXXIII. BOMBAY—SUNDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1922. No. 8

"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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NOTES.

Mr. Lloyd George's Manchester Speech: It is impossible to understand what purpose Mr. Lloyd George could have had in mind in making the speech which he made at Manchester, on the eve of a Conference for concluding peace with Angora. There was not a single word in the whole of the lengthy speech to indicate that the Prime Minister remembered that there was such a part of the Empire as India and that the people and Government of India held very strong views on the question of his policy with regard to Turkey. He also attacked France and, inferentially, Italy. In fact, politically speaking, Mr. Lloyd George ran a Malayan muck against all and sundry who dared to disagree with him. Statesmen in responsible positions at times commit indiscretions with a calculated purpose, but such indiscretions are carefully confined to the particular issue which they wish to raise. Mr. Lloyd George raised no issue except it be that of his own continuance in the Premiership. His concluding observations are those of a man who has made up his mind that his position has become untenable. Friday's morning papers announce that Mr. Lloyd George's Government is resigning on account of the decision of the Conservatives (there are no Unionists now) to act separately. The General Election is expected to take place on the 11th November. Lord Reading's resignation, we think, can no longer be postponed.

The Punjab Government and Congress Amenities: The Punjab Government sought to score off the Committee appointed by the Congress Working Committee to enquire into the happenings at Guru-ka-Bagh, which, through its Secretary, invited that Government to depute any official or the Public Prosecutor to cross-examine the witnesses to be examined by the Committee. No reply was, we believe, vouchsafed to a similar invitation issued by the Congress Enquiry Committee in 1919, but this time, perhaps because Government saw a good opportunity of turning the tables on the Committee, a polite reply was sent pointing out that as the Congress Working Committee had, in their resolution, condemned beforehand the brutality per-

petrated by the Police and congratulated the Akalis on their self-restraint, Government regretted their inability to accept the invitation. The Congress Enquiry Committee on its part, has returned the compliment by its refusal of the invitation to give evidence before the official Committee of Enquiry on nearly the same ground as that taken by Government on the Congress enquiry.

Non-Brahmin Politics in the Bombay Legislative Council: We call attention to the earnest words of remonstrance which Mr. G. B. Trivedi felt constrained, in his article on the last Session of the Bombay Legislative Council which we printed last week, to address to his Non-Brahmin colleagues regarding the increasing tendency among them to view every administrative question through a coloured communal medium. There are, of course, non-Brahmin members who take a larger view, but they find themselves overwhelmed by the tide of communalistic politics. Special importance attaches to Mr. Trivedi's earnest exhortation, because, though himself a Brahmin, he belongs to Gujarat where there is no Brahmin-non-Brahmin antagonism, and even more because as a practical social and religious reformer he, in his own personal life, sets little store by caste distinctions. His sympathies are all with the classes which are at a disadvantage in the social scale of Hinduism, and in the Council and outside his support may always be relied upon for measures for the benefit of such classes. It should not be difficult to have an informal conference between Brahmin and non-Brahmin members to decide upon a common course of policy on broad national lines.

Mr. Bhabha's Convocation Address: The veteran educationist, Mr. H. J. Bhabha, delivered the annual convocation address at the Mysore University. Having served in the Educational Service of the State for many years in various capacities including that of the Inspector General of Education, he knows Mysore educational problems intimately and from the inside, and the several suggestions he threw out in his address merit and will, we are sure, receive careful consideration. If we may venture, however, to differ from one so experienced as Mr. Bhabha, we would deprecate any immediate changes in the system of the University. The older Universities have developed a certain conservatism which resists precipitous innovations, but a new University like that of Mysore is exposed to the danger of attempting to run too fast. Further, owing to the comparatively small area of the State, it is desirable as far as possible for the Mysore University, at least for some years to come, not to deviate widely from the systems prevailing in Bombay or Madras. Much difficulty, for instance, has been felt about the status of those who pass the Mysore School Leaving Examination in relation to the University courses in Bombay, which might have been avoided with a little adjustment. We hope, however, that Mr. Bha-

bha's suggestion that a Medical Faculty should at once be added to the Mysore University will be carried out. The Medical colleges in British India are not able to admit students from outside, and an enlightened State like Mysore should not lag behind in contributing its share to the limited professional education available.

Marriage and Citizenship: A communication from the American Foreign Press Service says: "American women will no longer lose their citizenship rights through marriage to foreigners if President Harding signs the bill recently passed by a large majority in the United States Senate. This Equal Citizenship bill provides also that "the right of any woman to become a naturalized citizen of the United States shall not be denied or abridged because of her sex or because she is a married woman." It stipulates that a foreign woman who marries a citizen does not, as heretofore, become a citizen merely by such marriage, but must comply with the naturalization laws. The five-year residence required of foreign men is however reduced to one year in the case of foreign women married to citizens. The passage of this bill was brought about largely through the efforts of the National Women's Party which has been investigating and carrying on an active campaign to remove the discriminations against women as citizens. War conditions were particularly effective in calling attention to the fact that a woman's loss of American citizenship through marriage often brought about a situation palpably unjust, as in the case of the Countess Szecheny, who, though of American birth, lost large estates under the Alien Property Act because married to an Austrian. Under the old regulations women teachers in the public schools became ineligible to teach if they married a foreigner, since this caused the loss of their American citizenship. While the new law may, in the first years of its application, cause a few difficulties in matter of property adjustment, it is a logical sequence of the Suffrage Amendment."

The Bombay Entertainments Bill: The Director of Information writes: "I notice in a recent issue of the *Indian Social Reformer* in a note dealing with the Entertainments Bill that you refer to the action of Government in bringing forward the Bill as an astonishingly unconstitutional procedure, the suggestion being that at least twelve months should have elapsed from the time it was rejected. May I point out that under the Standing Orders of the Legislative Council (Part VIII, Order III) a Bill which has been rejected may be introduced after six months have elapsed from the date of its rejection? The procedure of Government, therefore, was not unconstitutional. Moreover, the Bill is not likely to become law before the end of the year and, without being certain on this point, I do not think that the revenue to be derived from it will start coming in to any extent until the next financial year. Having regard to the Compulsory Education Bill and the necessity for finding funds to finance the proposals made therein, it was necessary to bring in the Bill as soon as it was constitutionally possible, so that the money to be derived from it might be available when the Education Bill was passed into law. That, I believe, was the reason why Government brought forward the Bill this September rather than next February when the Budget will be discussed." The procedure adopted by Government was not illegal. But it was unconstitutional in that it violated the constitutional principle that new taxation should, except in sudden emergencies, be undertaken only at the time of the Budget. There is a difference between what is legal and what is constitutional. The English system furnishes examples of this at every step.

English Translation of Professor Deussen's Upanishads: Mr. Arnold Eilort, Meadley Down, Hants, England, writes in *New India* that, by arrangement with the German publisher of the late Professor Deussen's *Sechzig Upanishads des Veda*, he is preparing an English edition of that great work. In order, he writes, that this edition may have as wide an appeal as possible, it will differ from the original in two important points. (1) Among the many valuable notes contained in the original, many are of interest only to the scholar. They will be omitted and only those notes retained which illuminate the text and make it of more vivid interest to all enlightened readers. (2) The original does not give the Upanishads in chronological order. Now that this order has been established by the labours of Deussen himself, this knowledge will be utilised to present the Upanishads in the order in which they came into being.

Caste in College Hostels: Mr. V. V. Oak, 2026, Center Street, Berkeley, California, U. S. A., sends us a copy of a letter which he has addressed to Principal Balkrishna of the Rajaram College, Kolhapur, deprecating the provision of separate Lodges for Marathas, Lingayats and other castes as a direct encouragement to caste prejudices. The University Inspection Committee has in its last inspection report drawn attention to this undesirable feature of the Rajaram College. They observed: "There is no College Hostel as such; there are Hostels managed by the state and the various communities spread over the town meant both for college and High School students. There is not that free intercourse of students belonging to various communities which obtains in college Hostels elsewhere." Mr. Oak writes:

It is time now that we should be awake to the evils which this caste system is causing. Even the Fergusson College does not foster such spirit though it is mainly managed by Brahmins. People blame the Brahmins because they generally keep themselves aloof from other castes but if the Marathas and others also follow the same policy and keep down the people who are next to their rank they have no reason whatsoever to complain of the aristocracy of Brahmins. A time there was when the Caste system had its advantages but its days are numbered. Under the circumstances it passes my imagination to believe that you need to accommodate the Marathas, the Prabhus and what not, separately even for lodging, let alone Boarding. It is this fostering of castes and sub-castes, it is the unbecoming way in which we the Brahmins, the Marathas and the Prabhus treat the so-called untouchables that prevents us to feel, to think and to act as a nation.

The Gauthami Library, Rajahmundry: We have received an appeal influentially signed by leading gentlemen of all parties for contributions towards the building and otherwise for the Gauthami Library, Rajahmundry. We referred some time ago to the magnitude of the services rendered by this important library in the Madras Presidency and we commend the appeal to the generous public. Contributions may be sent to Mr. Nayapati Subbarao Pantalu, B. A., B. L., Rajahmundry or to Mr. K. Nageshwar Rao, Editor, the *Andhra Patrika*, Madras or to Mr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah, Editor, the *Jannabhumi*, Masilipatam.

To our Readers. As the Press is closed on Saturday on account of Divali holiday, we are printing this issue on Friday and posting the copies a day earlier.

Manager's Notice: The Manager begs to request subscribers whose subscription has fallen in arrears to be so good as to remit their dues promptly, as much inconvenience is caused, besides expense owing to the enhanced postage, by having to send frequent reminders.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 22, 1922.

THE INDIAN STATES BILL.

A well-attended public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held, under the auspices of the Press Association of India, on Wednesday, to protest against the Indian States Bill. Mr. M. A. Jinnah presided. At the outset of his observations, the chairman made it clear that the protest against the Bill and the manner in which it has been passed through the Council of State, did not imply any antagonism to the rulers of Indian States, many of whom cherished the same aspirations for the country as the people of British India. Mr. Jinnah struck a timely note of warning to the Princes on the one hand and Indian publicists, on the other, that they should be on their guard against the policy of causing a division between them. The people of the Indian States, so far as they have expressed themselves, view the passing of the Indian States Bill with consternation as closing the only avenue open to them to call public attention to their grievances.

THE PRESS COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATION.

The official reports of the proceedings in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State were received last week, and it is even more clear from them than from the summaries of the debates in the daily papers that the Bill was brought in and pressed forward without any valid or serious justification. The speech of the Home Member, Sir William Vincent, in moving for leave to introduce the Bill was not that of a convinced supporter of it. He began by explaining why, although he signed only a few months ago the Press Committee's recommendation declaring that such a measure was unnecessary, he had come forward with the motion for leave to introduce the present Bill. He said :

The point is that very few instances were brought to the notice of the Committee in which the Press had excited disaffection against, or had attempted to bring into hatred, Princes or chiefs of States in India. We had before us a witness from the Political Department who was cross-examined by various members of the Assembly, including myself, on this subject, but he did not adduce evidence of a satisfactory character in our opinion on that point; we were, therefore, not convinced that there was every justification for such a law.

Sir William Vincent had since been told, and he accepted it, that the case had not been fully put before the Press Committee, and there had been a number of cases in which protection of this character had been justly required and demanded.

MR. THOMPSON AND SIR WILLIAM VINCENT.

Mr. J. P. Thompson, who has succeeded Sir John Wood (who gave evidence before the Committee) as Political Secretary, introduced the Bill for consideration in the Council of State after it had been rejected by the Lower House. This is the Mr. Thompson who had come into unpleasant prominence in the Punjab Martial Law regime, and had been

promoted to the Government of India by Lord Reading in view of the clamour against his continuance in that province! As might have been expected, his advocacy of the measure lacked nothing in warmth and vigour. The officiating Political Secretary repudiated the statement of the Press Committee, and of the Viceroy in his opening speech, that protection to Princes was first given by the Act of 1910. He maintained that it was given so long ago as 1823 by a Regulation—a position which the Home Member demolished in a stinging speech in which he censured Mr. Thompson for his attack on the Assembly. Sir William observed :

I had little thought that any one would have referred to the old Press regulation of 1823 to refute the statement that we (the Press Committee) made. The Press Regulation of 1823 itself contained no reference to Indian Princes at all, though they were protected by rules made under that Regulation. I cannot regard the Regulation of 1823, which was in fact repealed in 1885, as affording any support for the proposition that legislation of the present kind was needed at the time the Committee reported.

Sir William Vincent might have added that many of the States, whose rulers were protected by the Regulation of 1823, had been since annexed on various grounds, misgovernment being the most common one alleged!

THE PRESS ACT AND INDIAN PRINCES.

Mr. Thompson also said that the Press Committee's statement that the Press Act of 1910 had only been used on three occasions with reference to attacks made on Princes in the Press, was incorrect. That Committee, no doubt, took that figure from Sir John Wood who appeared before it for the Political Department. Since then Mr. Thompson had made enquiries from Local Governments and he found that, during the 12 years that the Press Act was in force, "no less than 13 newspapers were warned for attacks of this nature, one of them on several occasions; one press was put on the maximum security and the security of another press was confiscated." That does not seem a formidable number, considering that there were 847 newspapers, besides 2988 periodicals, in 1914-15, which may be taken as the average during the Press Act period. About one newspaper in a year called for a warning during the twelve years. Mr. Thompson also mentioned that "in the year ending May 1922 there were not less than 170 attacks made on Princes and their Administration in the public press." The Press Act remained in force during the greater part of that year, and if these "attacks" were such as to need the protection of a special law, there should have been at least 130 warnings in the twelve months, instead of only 13 in twelve years! The inference is obvious. Mr. Thompson had raked up for the purposes of bolstering up the Bill a large number of "attacks" which could not be brought even under the infinite sweep of the Press Act of 1910.

THE TWO WORST "ATTACKS."

This is borne out by the specimens of "attacks" cited in the Assembly and the Council of State. Sir William Vincent in the Assembly cited four, as

articles which "transcend all the limits of decency and are a dangerous source of disaffection to the Governments of the States which are attacked in this manner." "It is against such insults, it is against the fomenting of such disaffection," he said, that the Princes were to be protected by the Indian States Bill. Mr. Thompson, rummaging more zealously in the garbage—for we have our gutter press, to be sure—presented eight samples to the Council of State, including two out of Sir William's four. We may reasonably assume that the two which both the Home Member and the officiating Political Secretary selected, were the worst, and that the remaining six were the second worst, specimens. One of the two said that "the people will see to it that the present system of administration is smashed to pieces within five years," if things do not improve. It is a perfectly innocent observation—the people of every State have an undoubted right to change a bad system and secure a good system of administration for themselves. Whether the word to use is "smash" as in the sentence quoted, or "scrap" as in the Montagu Chelmsford report, is merely a matter of temperament. There can be no better proof of the danger of the proposed legislation than that this should have been selected by both the Home Member and the Political Secretary as a crowning specimen of calumny of Indian Princes. The other is more offensive, but is scarcely more "indecent" "dangerous," or "insulting" than the first. One editor, evidently a raw young man fond of airing the editorial "we," wrote: "We call upon the 700 odd gilded puppets in India to put their house in order, to liberalize their administration, lest the flame of the popular movement should gut the old and moth-eaten fabric of indigenous but autocratic rule in India." Puppets, whether gilded or plain, cannot renovate a moth-eaten fabric, and the invocation shows that the writer in calling the Princes "gilded puppets" merely wanted to sting them out of their acquiescence in the moth-eaten fabric. The idea of sending an editor to jail for five years for what at most is a tactless reference to Princes whom he wants to do well and save themselves and their States from a cataclysm which he foresees, will strike all reasonable men as monstrous. Sir William Vincent found one newspaper "suggesting that Indian States are cursed by absentee despots." That the rulers of most Indian States answer to no political category so nearly as to despotism, is a palpable fact, for stating which it is absurd to punish any writer. When some Chiefs habitually live in foreign countries and draw upon the resources of their often not very affluent subjects to maintain them there in costly extravagance, it is, of course, a curse to the States concerned. Lord Curzon, as Viceroy, established a wholesome rule about absentee princes, and we are sure that his lordship would not have considered this particular criticism very heinous. Sir William Vincent's fourth instance was a reference to another Maharaja, "a man of great weight", as "an impatient new-fledged detective in search of sedition and is worth no more than an ordinary detective who is a traitor to *swaraj*." This, whether said of a Maharaja of much weight or of a

citizen of a few maunds only, is undoubtedly vicious, especially the last clause, and the Maharaja, if he cared to take notice of it, would have been justified in preventing that journal from entering his territory.

MR. THOMPSON'S INSTANCES.

Now for Mr. Thompson's instances. The inhabitants of a well-known State in Southern India were invited to imitate their predecessor who 200 years before 'packed away' an oppressive Dewan, "whatever" added the Political Secretary, "that euphemism may mean." Why call it 'euphemism' if you do not know for certain that it meant something horrible or outrageous? Is a man to be sent to jail on such presumptions? A Prince is charged with having married a foreign lady "from among those whites, unfit even to clean an earthen pot." This criticism only gives expression to the general feeling in India that women of the highest European families as a rule do not marry Indians, and that the Indian Prince demeaned himself by raising a woman of inferior social status to the rank of a Princess. The lady concerned might have brought an action for libel against the newspaper if she felt aggrieved by the criticism. A well-known Prince, said Mr. Thompson, is told that his heart is as black as his skin and that his "rotten brain" cannot see that the bureaucracy think him a fool. The "rotten brain" of the writer of such stuff deserves pity more than punishment. We say again that the Prince referred to would be justified in excluding the paper from his territory, and no one elsewhere would be interested in such sorry trash. States in India, continued Mr. Thompson, are described as boils on the body politic of India. A general statement of the kind can hardly be made a reason for recasting the Criminal Law. It is a matter of opinion what exactly is the place and function of the States in India at the present and in the future. A Prince, said Mr. Thompson, who was suspected of an intention to arrest a prominent agitator was warned that "the man who is not afraid to twist the lion's tail will certainly not mind the bark of the dog." This is in execrable taste, but the Prince was certainly not deterred, we hope, by it to give up his intention, and no part of the affection of his subjects that he previously enjoyed could have been taken away by it. To imprison the writer would be to emphasize his view of the Prince in relation to the Government of India. One of the principal Indian rulers, said Mr. Thompson, is given a year's notice that if he does not set up responsible Government he will be ejected. We should much like to know in which newspaper this notice was given. In another case, he said, a whole pamphlet was devoted to a largely imaginary account of the action taken to suppress what might have been a dangerous rising. We cannot take on trust Mr. Thompson's opinion as to the imaginary character of the account given in the pamphlet.

TREATY RIGHTS.

There remains the argument of Treaty Rights. This argument was fully placed before the Press Committee on which sat the Law Member of the Government

of India (as Chairman) and also the Home Member. That Committee unanimously reported as follows on the point :

It has been argued that the Government of India is under an obligation to protect Indian Princes from such attacks, that the Press Act alone affords them such protection and if it is repealed it is unfair, having regard to the constitutional position of the Government of India *vis a vis* the Indian States, that the Press in British India should be allowed to foment disaffection against the ruler of an Indian State. On the other hand, various witnesses have protested in the strongest terms against any such protection being afforded to the Princes. It is alleged that the effect of any such provision in the law would be to stifle all legitimate criticism and deprive the subjects of such States of any opportunity of ventilating their grievances and protesting against mal-administration or oppression. We understood that before the Press Act (1910) became law it was not found necessary to protect Indian Princes from such attacks.

No new treaties have been made since July 1921 when the Press Committee report was signed. Sir William Vincent stated in the Assembly that, except for the number of cases in which the Press Act was used, he could not say that in any other respect the material in support of the proposal had substantially increased since the report of the Committee. Mr. Thompson in his speech in the Council of State gave a complete conspectus of the treaties and pledges which, in the view of Government, required the passing of this measure, but none of them is later than July 1921.

SOME TREATY PROVISIONS.

A group of 20 States, including some of the most important in the country, said Mr. Thompson, had treaties, some of them of very old standing, which provide that "there shall be perpetual friendship, alliance and unity of interests between the two parties between generation to generation, and the friends and enemies of the one shall be the friends and enemies of both." Another important State has a treaty, also of old standing, which provides that "the honour and rank and dignity of the Raja shall be estimated by the British Government in the same degree as that in which they were estimated by the former Emperors of Hindustan." Another important group of States in Northern India have Sanads dating from 1860 which provide that the British Government "will likewise continue to uphold their honour, respect, rank and dignity in the manner it is done at present." There are some small States in Central India which have a century-old assurance that "if any person shall be convicted of calumniating them, he shall be treated as he deserves." More than 80 years ago a treaty was concluded with one of the great Princes of Rajasthan, which provided that "the British Government would permit no diminution of the honour and reputation of the Maharaja at the hands of others, "and it becomes guarantee for the same." Then Mr. Thompson quoted Royal pledges from the time of Queen Victoria to King George V, declaring that they would uphold the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes of India. The fact that till 1910 nobody understood

these treaties and pledges to mean that the Government of India undertook to send to jail any writer whose writings were resented by Indian Princes, must convince every impartial observer as it convinced the Press Committee, that they were not and could not be so understood. We have already quoted Sir William Vincent's reply to Mr. Thompson's claim that the Princes have been protected by a Press law so early as 1823. In the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, the Sovereign declared that she would respect the rights, dignity and honour of native Princes as her own, but it did not occur to any one that this required that the Indian Penal Code should be amended so as to make it seditious to criticise Indian Princes.

MISRULE IN INDIAN STATES.

In that same Proclamation, Her Majesty expected that there will be good government in Indian States. What is Mr. Thompson's testimony on the point? He said :

I believe that much of the feeling which exists against this Bill is due to a conviction on the part of the members of the Legislature that there is a good deal of oppression and misrule in some of the Indian States. That feeling is a feeling which is based on humanity and it is a feeling which I honour and respect. I regret that I cannot deny the charge and I do not think that Ruling Princes themselves would deny it. It is true too that Government cannot always intervene even in the cases which come to its notice.

Sir William Lee-Warner in his Life of Lord Dalhousie remarks that he, Dalhousie, saw clearly enough that "the principle of non-interference, combined with a guarantee of protection, entailed a responsibility for misrule which no civilised power could accept." Mr. Thompson admits that the Government of India is unable to prevent misrule in Indian States. The present measure, in shutting down the only means open at present of bringing public opinion to bear upon the affairs of Indian States, perpetrates a great wrong to the subject of these States.

THE FISCAL COMMISSION'S REPORT—II.

The second chapter of the Report is entitled "The History of the Tariff in India." In the tenth chapter dealing with the Indian Cotton Excise, there is a more detailed narrative of the circumstances in which import duties come to be abolished altogether in 1882. Readers of Datt's books, "Economic History of British India" and "Economic History of India in the Victorian Age", will find but a faint suggestion in the Report of the injustice and political immorality of the fiscal policy which culminated in the abolition of the customs duties. But for one or two casual words, the Report would seem to regard the history of the Tariff in India as evolved in consonance with the economic needs of the country. In paragraph 16, we read that the cotton duties controversy had cast "its ill-omened shadow over the tariff policy of India." Again, in

paragraph 159, we read that the Secretary of State had mainly pressed upon the Government of India the desirability of removing the duty for political reasons. Except for these two, there is, so far as we can see, hardly any sentence in the Majority report to show that they appreciate the fact that the Free Trade policy in India was not conceived in the interests of her economic well-being. Our reason for making a point of this is that the Majority accounts for the "sentiment," in favour of Protection in India, partly as fostered by old traveller's tales about the pre-British wealth of India, based upon superficial impressions of Courts and Capitals without reference to the state of the general population, and partly by the new spirit of national pride, and, in either case, without any clear conception of its economic incidents. As a matter of fact, the Indian conviction, not sentiment, in favour of protection, is rooted in the circumstances in which Free Trade was forced upon India, the consequences of that policy on our industrial life, the fact that every free country in the world—except Great Britain and not even that consistently of late years—has adopted Protection as the only policy under which their industries could prosper, and the obvious reasons which support that belief. The report of the Industrial Commission of 1916-18 was by its terms of reference precluded from making any recommendation contravening the present policy, but that report at many points provides the most effective criticism of several of the positions taken up by the Majority of the Fiscal Commission.

Any body of responsible men who are called upon to examine the fiscal policy of a country, would first ask themselves whether and how far the prevailing policy had been a success or failure. The Majority report—and the minute of dissent by the Minority is no better—hardly touches upon this important aspect of the question. The results of the policy of Free Trade in India may be tested in two ways. The first by its absolute consequences to the industrial and economic life of the people. The several Famine Commission reports bear testimony to the dire consequences of the congestion on land caused by the destruction of the village industries of India. The Industrial Commission Report, and even, unconsciously, the Fiscal Commission's Report, furnish evidence of the industrial set-back to the country coincident with the regime of Free Trade. The one exception of the Cotton Mill industry if carefully analysed, shows that it is, in spite of Free Trade, and owing to the enormous natural advantages which India possesses for cotton manufactures, that this industry has been able to lift its head above the waters of unrestricted outside competition. But the crowning proof of the unsuitability to this country of a system in which there is no place for customs duties, is the fact that in spite of Lancashire, in spite of the political subservience of the English political parties, these duties had to be restored within fifteen years of their abolition and that they have had repeatedly to be raised, until to-day we have a system which has the advantages

neither of Free Trade nor of Protection and only the disadvantages of both. The Fiscal Commission observe:

Since 1913 the tariff has become less and less consistent with purely free trade principles. It gives protection, but it gives it in the least convenient and the least beneficial way. The protection is not calculated on the needs of the industry, nor does it carry any assurance of permanent policy. It is casual and haphazard.

No one would extend an existing industry or establishing a new one depending for protection on duties which are liable to vary from year to year and according to the political proclivities of different Secretaries of State. There is no such thing as "casual and haphazard" protection. The present system can only lead to profiteering and encourage gambling, and we hold that the orgies of speculation that we have been witnessing are directly traceable, in part at least, to the policy of drift without any principle of the Government of India. Free Trade has thus become a social and moral danger, and is no longer merely a drag on Indian economic progress.

The Majority damn Protection with faint praise. One of their fears is that it will lead to political corruption. The kind of Protection they recommend undoubtedly will. If every person who wants to start an industry has to appear before a Tariff Board, in which, of course, communal, provincial, Indian States and imperial interests will be represented, to show that his project satisfies the three abstract conditions laid down in the Majority report, in order to obtain a modicum of protection for it, it is easy to see that there must be an enormous amount of log-rolling, graft, personal and family influence and all the other incidents of direct and indirect corruption. For this very reason, it may be said, the Majority recommend that no protection should be given to new industries! According to them, protection should be given only to industries which have established themselves without any protection! This is indeed Free Trade with a vengeance. Even Mill did not go so far. The Majority say that they endorse the policy advocated by Lala Harkishen Lal, "Nurse the baby, protect the child, and free the adult." Mr. Harkishen Lal certainly meant by "Nurse the baby", that something more than the protection which was sufficient for the child, was needed for the baby; whereas the Majority deny even that protection to the baby! This is typical of the Majority report which uses protectionist catchwords to cover anti-protectionist recommendations much to the bewilderment of the Minority who feel that all is not right but are unable to localise what is amiss. The Majority report, even for the trained economist, is an elusive document. Positions ostentatiously taken in the mass are quietly abandoned in detail. There is not a word about the evil effects of forced Free Trade in India, while the disadvantages of Protection are meticulously catalogued, indexed and emphasised in the Report. The Majority recommends Protection in capitals, while in small type and in brackets, it adds in effect, but not to any industry which cannot show that it can do without it!

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

London, Sept. 28th, 1922.

THE PREMIER AND THE NEAR EAST QUESTION.

The trouble in the Near East has put, for the immediate present, the problem of the Near West in the shade. Yet the problem there remains as acute as ever. The threatened break last week in the negotiations between Belgium and Germany was only averted at the twelfth hour by the Bank of England going to the rescue of the German Reichsbank and giving guarantees. But that only puts off the day of reckoning; the reparations problem remains. The great value, however, of the present moment's pause, is that it may give time to settle the trouble in the Near East and also, will allow America again to think well over her position in the world's commerce ere the Allies meet again in Conference over their joint financial trouble.

Apart from South Africa, the Dominions seem almost more excited about the war in the Near East than Great Britain herself. The people of these islands say they are opposed to any more war of any kind with anybody; but it is somewhat different in some of the Dominions, especially Australia and New Zealand, who are still desperately conscious of their losses at Gallipoli during the Great War and would like to assuage the feeling of consuming anger against the Turks from which they still suffer. The Labour leaders here, in stirring bursts of oratory, say "No more War". But one wonders what would happen should men again be called for. Mr. J. H. Thomas M. P., at a meeting of railway-men a few days ago, declaimed loudly against the Premier's appeal to the Colonies for support, and expressed the hope that the Government was sincere when it said that it desired that the Straits should be open and controlled by some super-authority such as the League of Nations. The Miners' Federation also, on behalf of the Miners of Great Britain, declares it will oppose by every possible means any step taken to involve British workmen in further bloodshed. Rumours have been about that Mr. Lloyd George has been responsible for the furnishing of the Greeks with arms, equipment and advice. This rumour was of sufficient importance to call for a reply from the Premier, and this morning an emphatic official denial was published in the Press. The Premier says "there is no foundation for the suggestion that this country has assisted either the Kemalists forces or the Greek forces by the provision of arms, equipment or advice. The British Government has maintained an attitude of strict impartiality between the two combatants since the declaration of neutrality issued by the Allied Powers in March 1921 and has not helped either in any way to continue hostilities." The unfortunate thing is that few people today attach any value to any affirmation or denial by the present Government.

EFFECTS OF THE FALL IN THE PRICE OF PETROL.

When all the world seems crumbling up in its present form, to be remade in some other form, it is astonishing how much comfort people find in lesser

things. The announcement that petrol has dropped 5d. a gallon has given rise to long articles in the papers showing how tremendously such a drop will affect every thing. Trade, according to the general view, should immediately show a great increase, transport should become cheaper, and as the cost of transport means about 20 per cent. of the cost of goods, lowering the rates of transport means lowering the selling price of articles and produce not only in this country but also overseas. Travelling will be cheaper, and engines can be run more cheaply. Municipalities will be able to economise at least on their large motors, and this means the lowering of rates, perhaps. Altogether, the effect of a decrease in the price of petrol seems as though it might save Europe from disaster, but no doubt the plain man in the street will look in vain either this week or this year for the benefits that are supposed to be coming to him. Yet hope is worth something, and if his share in the general rejoicing is only that, it is nevertheless worth while.

THE NEW AMERICAN TARIFF LAW.

The discussions between Great Britain and the United States regarding the provisions of the new American Tariff Law, authorising search of foreign vessels suspected of being rum-runners outside the three-mile limit and extending the American jurisdiction fourteen miles into the high seas, continue. The outcome of the discussions will be important, as Canada may be tremendously affected by them. Hitherto discussions concerning the three-mile limit have taken place because of Canadian fishing rights and the present discussions may affect many important rights that Canada now claims she possesses in waters near America. The unfortunate thing is America believes she has definite proof of a tremendous amount of illicit liquor traffic taking place from the Canadian side of the water and the difficulty of dealing with this situation has produced something in the nature of a minor crisis in the relationship between the two peoples.

THE GEDDES' AXE AND WOMEN TEACHERS.

A little while ago the Education Board of the London County Council, acting on suggestions made in the report of the Geddes Committee, determined to engage 100 women, not qualified teachers, to take charge of the infant classes in schools, these classes to consist only of children under six years of age. The 100 women engaged were to undergo a three months' intensive course of instruction, and the candidates for this work had to be between the ages of 18 and 30. They were to be on a 7 years' time limit, with a salary not to exceed £155, and with no retiring pension. The headmistresses and staffs at present in schools were asked to co-operate in the scheme and to assist in the training of the new selected candidates. At the time of the proposal no special protest was voiced by the National Union of Women Teachers. But later on the National Union of Women Teachers advised its members not to accede to the Education Authorities' request and not to render any assistance to the people presented to them. The result was that when the 100 young women presented themselves at the beginning of the week

at their respective centres, they were boycotted and they were refused assistance altogether. The next day a deputation from the National Union of Women Teachers waited upon Sir Robert Blair, the Education Officer, to protest against recruits for infant teaching. The deputation was with Sir Robert for nearly three hours and it was announced at the end that the National Union of Women Teachers would withdraw their advice to the headmistresses and staff for the present. A crowded meeting of those engaged in teaching was held in the London Halls and further deputations are to wait upon the London County Council and the Board of Education, but the latter have not signified yet their willingness to receive any further deputations. Were it not serious it would be amusing to note how loudly each body protests as soon as the Geddes' axe touches it. It is useless to cry out for economy and then for everyone to refuse to have economies made in his direction. Of course some sacrifices have to be made, and these must be made with the view that they shall hurt the least number of people and that not in fundamentals or permanently.

MISS ROYDEN ON THE MISSION OF WOMEN.

The Annual Conference of the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland was opened on September 26th at Cambridge. There were over 600 delegates present. The Bishop of Ely approved of Miss Mand Royden being allowed to preach in the Church where a special service for the Conference was held. The preacher said that to men in the mass the use of force seemed to be inevitable in human affairs and that they could not imagine any other means of governing. The true mission of women was to substitute moral power for material force in the Governments of the world. A few rather important resolutions were put forward on the opening day and carried. Two of these could be emphasised in nearly every public meeting with benefit to the people assembled, the first being that the people themselves are responsible for the open conduct of international affairs, and the maintenance of a peace policy by their governments; the second being the need for an organised system of impressing on children the vital necessity of the maintenance of peaceful relations between nations.

MARRIAGE AND SACRAMENT.

(COMMUNICATED.)

A conversational meeting of the members of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood, was held on the evening of Sunday the 15th instant, at its premises. Mr. Burjorji Framji Bharucha was the principal guest of the evening. Over 80 members were present. Light Refreshments were also served. The conversation turned on the subject of Marriage and Sacrament. Mr. S. Sadanand started the discussion by summarising for the benefit of the members, what had appeared in the *Reformer* on the subject and drawing attention to the paper's advocacy of practical action. He said that in Southern India, where the arbitrary age limit of 12 or 13 for marriage of girls, and insistence was laid on the celebration of pre-arranged marriages, the system of Dowry or *Stri-Dhan* had to-day we

greatly degenerated into an instrument of extortion and reduced marriages to affairs of convenience and in some cases, of pure barter. A member stated that the conditions in Deccan also were no better.

Mr. R. S. Parbidri enquired if the Editor of the *Reformer* had suggested any practical action. It was the duty of veteran social reformers to give a lead in such matters. If they did, it showed that the problem was so complicated that it was difficult to suggest a suitable remedy. Later in the course of discussion, he gave the instances of a girl of 10 or 11, who looked not older than 8 years, being given in marriage, in tears because she could not bear the weight of the ornaments and garlands on her body. This was performed by a father of professed social reform views. He also cited a case of an aged gentleman of 50 years, holding a high responsible Government post, marrying as his third wife, a girl of 14 years. Mr. Parbidri said that in cases of such outrageous marriages, the least that a person could do, was by signifying one's disapproval and resentment by abstaining from attending any of the ceremonies or functions connected with them. This suggestion was warmly approved by the members present, although an objection was raised to the use of the word of 'boycott' in that connection.

Mr. S. A. Dange said that economic causes were at the root of the social evils. Until the root cause was removed, no effective reform can be carried out.

Mr. Bharucha said that he considered one of the chief contributory causes to the wide prevalence of Dowry system in India was the costly system of education and the utter dependence of young men on parents or fathers-in-law for completing their studies or starting on any professional career. In the West, a young man received an education that made him self-dependent in however small a way, at the age of 16 and 17. Mr. Bharucha also suggested as one of the essential reforms in Indian marriage customs, the practice of economy and simplicity in the celebration of marriages. Now-a-days, it was the practice to incur ruinous expenditure to perform marriages amidst great pomp and show.

It was then pointed out that from as early a period as 1906, attempts have been made to fight the dowry system and child-marriage but only very little progress has been made. That progress will continue to be made with the growth of female education, without an active organisation to combat the evils of dowry and child marriage.

But the general consensus of opinion was that the fact of the failure of earlier organisations in the same direction was no reason for not renewing the attempt, however small the beginning may be, especially as there was an unanimity of opinion about the existence of the evil.

It was then put to the meeting that each member should pledge to fight the anachronism of the Hindu Marriage customs in all possible ways by individual precept and practice, and particularly (1) by not giving or accepting any dowry in connection with any marriage (2) not to encourage, assist or participate in marriages in which the age of the girl was less than 14 and the age of the boy under 21, dowries were extorted, or in any other way reprehensible, (3) to encourage removal of inter-caste restrictions.

Mr. Sadanand suggested that the age limit for girls may be fixed at 16.

General approval was given but as it was getting late, further consideration of the practical action was postponed to the next meeting.

THE SCOUT MOVEMENT IN MYSORE.

His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore delivered a speech on the occasion of the presentation of the Maharaja's flag to the Prabhada Troop of the Mysore Scouts on 2nd October 1922, in the course of which he said:

The rapid growth of the Scout movement in the Mysore State has been one of the healthiest and most encouraging events of the time. The movement has shown already of what excellent stuff Mysore boys are made. They have shown steadiness as well as eagerness, and their scouting has brought out the best that was in them. But many boys who would make excellent Scouts have not yet enrolled. Every school boy should be a Scout if he wants to make the most of himself, and no doubt all Scouts realise that it is a very important part of their duty to bring in others—not only the active popular boys, but also those who are shy and retiring, and perhaps rather weak physically, for these are the very boys who are most in need of the friendliness and the strenuous training that are to be found in the troop.

Deep gratitude is due to all those who have instructed and led the Scouts during these early stages of the movement—to the past and present Scout Commissioners, and to all those who have worked under them. No praise is too high for the Scoutmasters, usually hard-working men with but little leisure, which they have cheerfully devoted first to their own training and then to the training of the boys in the troops which they have formed.

I do not wish to give you any advice, for you do not need it. All the best advice in the world is contained in the Scout Law, which, no doubt, you all know by heart. It is very simple, yet as you grow older, you will ever find new and deeper meaning in it. In fact, life itself is the best interpreter of the Scout Law, and it is through trying hard to obey it in all we do that we find out how much it means and how much happiness it brings. Two general points in that Law seem specially noteworthy. The first is that it is nearly all about *doing*, and contains hardly anything about talking. This shows what an admirable Law it is. A Scout is a person who does things instead of talking about them. He has to make a promise when he becomes a Scout; after that he never makes any more promises, but spends all his energy in active service. We must not, of course, disparage speech, and there are many whose wise speech is true service, but in the case of the average man it is no bad plan to speak as little as possible and act as much as possible. It is the Scout's duty to speak words of helpfulness and good cheer, but nearly all the stress of his law falls upon strenuous action.

The second point (which is connected with the first) is that the Scout Law does not trouble much about telling you what not to do, but keeps telling you, instead, what to do. An English Scout Commissioner was writing in the spirit of this Law when he said to the Scoutmasters:—"Let the root idea of your discipline be positive rather than negative, in other words, to influence the boys to do right rather than to prohibit them from wrong doing." A boy, or a man for that matter, who is taught and stimulated to do good will instinctively avoid what is bad. The Scout who devotes himself to helping other people, as the Scout Law demands, will not do evil either to himself, or to others. And the Scout doctrine is that even an innocent life is not a good life if it fails to do positive service to a neighbour, and to the State.

I suppose that no Scout in this assembly will be satisfied until he has passed the first class tests, and also secured

the Ambulance badge. These certificates mean that a boy is a fine all-round citizen, a really useful person. But it is rather interesting to find that when a Scout has gone so far as this he has really just begun his studies. The Boy Scout movement has adopted the much-maligned examination system, though in this case at least there seems no cause to grumble. No doubt you have all looked through the list of tests which it is open to a Boy Scout to pass. They are all practical. I find that Scouts may obtain badges for passing tests in nearly every handicraft, and as to the friend to animals badge, I think this might well come first in the studies of our young enthusiasts. Every one of these studies means knowledge and a new sense of worth and power. The Scout movement is, of course, still in its infancy in the State, it may be some time before this test idea is adopted in its completeness, but meanwhile the official volume on "Boy Scouts Tests", which gives all the necessary instructions for each of them, ought to be in the hands of all Senior Scouts.

It only remains for me to wish you all continued success in your laudable desire to improve yourselves and to further the well-being of your fellow-citizens.

THE POONA SEVA SADAN.

A correspondent, intimately acquainted with the educational activities in Poona, writes:

I am sure none can have a thorough idea of the work, which the Poona Seva Sadan Society—that institution, established in Poona by Mrs. Ranade and Mr. G. K. Devadhar, in the year 1909—has been carrying on against heavy odds. I recommend every sympathiser with the cause of women's education and their general elevation to embrace every opportunity of paying a prolonged visit—for, it is not now possible to gather any genuine impressions within an hour or a half—whenever he or she happens to be in Poona, and satisfy himself or herself by seeing and watching the work on the spot. The vast expansion of the work and the great practical utility of the various instructional branches of the institution will greatly impress any visitor. The women themselves have not been slow in appreciating the opportunity afforded them by the Society and they have been utilizing the same in ever-increasing number—a testimony, if indeed one were needed, that goes to prove the success of the endeavours that are being made for their elevation by the Society. Thus the number of women students, which was only about 15 at the starting has now gone over 1000, including about 200 duplications. The Society has begun to establish its branches in out-side places—urban as well as rural—and two have already been opened, one at Satara and the other at Baramati, both named after Lady Thackersey. This extension of work outside Poona is made possible only by the generosity of that great departed champion of the cause of education in general and that of women's education in particular—I mean the late Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey. "The Nurses Settlement" of the Poona Seva Sadan Society, recently established in Bombay itself, bears eloquent testimony to the Society's solicitude for the spread of medical relief amongst women and children. The Settlement has been doing splendid work in the matter of maternity and infant-welfare amongst the Bhatia community of Bombay, thus helping to reduce the high death-rate amongst them.

Amongst the recent distinguished visitors may be mentioned Sir Hormusji Wadia, the Hon'ble Sir Narayan Chandavarker, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. Lory, the Director of Public Instruction, and the great post-patriot of Bengal Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. All of them speak of the work of

the Society in most eulogistic terms. Mr. Lory confesses himself to be a "profound admirer" of the work and says: "What the institution has done is stupendous. But the movement it has set on foot will need continually expanding funds and it is to be hoped that the public will realise the enormous value of the work that is being done and will generously support the Seva Sadan in its endeavours to extend the scope of its usefulness."

It is worth mentioning that nearly the whole instruction in the various branches is being imparted without charging any fees. Moreover, in cases of extreme helplessness, women-students, nearly 70 per cent. of whom are widows, are even fed and lodged at the expense of the Society. One can, therefore, easily imagine what a heavy financial responsibility the Society has to shoulder from year to year; and it is to be hoped that the earnest appeal for monetary help, which the Society has issued with a view to "collection" during the Devali Holidays and the following few days, will receive a ready and liberal response from the general public.

A PRINCE'S WAYS.

(The Servant of India.)

Some years ago the following facts relating to a very well known Indian Prince in Western India were related to us by a person of unimpeachable authority. They are only a few out of many actions of that description. A sirdar of his State happened to marry with the full consent of her parents, a girl who belonged to a slightly higher caste than himself. The Prince who considered himself the special guardian of the girl's caste, arbitrarily declared the marriage void, forced the girl to marry a creature of his own and drove the sirdar out of the State, confiscating all his property. The sirdar had submitted a petition to the Political Agent, but at the time the incident was related to us, had not succeeded in obtaining justice. The same Prince coveted a beautiful house built in his capital by a subject who had made money in Bombay. As the owner was not willing to part with it, one fine day he was suddenly arrested on some pretext and imprisoned in a cell without trial for several months; and was released only after pressure was brought to bear on the Prince from high political quarters. The prisoner's health was so shattered that he died shortly afterwards. His widow wanted to give away the coveted property in charity, but the Prince stepped in to prevent it and passed a rule that no properties should be devoted to charitable purposes in his State without his sanction. Yet another achievement of this enlightened Prince—he has had British university education—was when his State was in the grip of a famine. He called a meeting of the citizens for organising relief and promised to contribute a sum equal to the amount subscribed by them and became their treasurer. About Rs. 25,000 was collected and passed on to the treasurer, but it never again saw the light of day. And the citizens dare not complain, though the famine naturally was most severe in the territory of that Prince. A system of government under which such misrule is possible is certainly rotten to the core. But in saying so and in giving publicity to these incidents, shall we not be bringing the administration of that Prince in contempt and would thus come under the new law?

TEMPERANCE CONTESTS.

Instructions for temperance contests have been drawn up for students, teachers and others desiring to write essays, stories or songs on any subject pertaining to intoxicating

drinks and drugs. The object of these contests is "to promote a study of the harmful effects of intoxicating drinks, and drugs, encourage active interest in the temperance cause, and secure useful material for the preparation of temperance literature. Provision is made for a young people's contest calling for essays and stories in either Marathi or Gujarati, an adult contest calling for Gujarati or Marathi essays and stories, and for an English contest, calling for temperance essays and stories written in English, also original temperance songs in either Gujarati or Marathi are desired. Prizes amounting to a total of nearly Rs. 100 will be given to the various winners. Full particulars in Marathi, Gujarati or English are available by writing to the Rev. A. J. HOFFERT, Bulsar.

NEW BOMBAY MUNICIPAL ELECTORAL ROLL.

We are requested to state that a complete set of the Municipal Electoral Roll has been placed in the Office of the Social Service League, Sandhurst Road, Girgaum, Bombay for the information of the public. Those who are entitled to vote should see whether their names have been duly registered. If they are not registered, they should inform the Secretary, Social Service League, who will make arrangements to get them duly enlisted, or they should directly communicate with the Municipal Commissioner before the 1st of Nov. 1922.

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BOOKS FOR SALE.

REFORMER PUBLICATIONS.

Three Readings of a Palm: An original Indian Story written by Mr. Oscar S. Surjia Paude, late Inspector of Schools of the Jhalawar State in Rajaputana and Private Secretary of His Highness the Maharaja Rana of the same State and also the winner of the first of the two prizes awarded for the essay on the "Unrest in India and its remedies". Price Rs. 2-0-0.

A Human Document. By Mr. V. S. Sohoni, Superintendent of the D. O. Mission Bombay. Reprinted from the *Indian Social Reformer*. A touching narrative of the sad experiences of a Dhed in Bombay city. Price Annas 4.

Unification or Federation? Summary of a paper read by Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* in Vasanta Vakhyan Mala series in Poona on 22nd May 1921. Price Annas 4.

REPORT OF THE BOMBAY REPRESENTATIVE CONFERENCE.

Complete proceedings of the Representative Conference held in Bombay on the 14th and 15th January 1922, with appendices containing the Congress Working Committee's resolutions at Bombay and Bardoli, the resolutions of the Representative Conference Committee on the Bardoli resolutions and the correspondence between the Secretaries of the Conference and the Government and also those passed between them and Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Gandhi's ultimatum to the Viceroy, etc. etc. Price Rs. 1-0-0 (postage 2 annas extra.)

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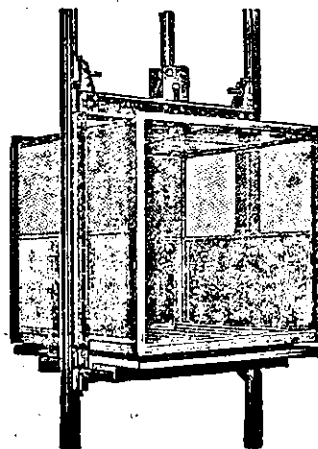
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"I will be as hard as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Bonar Law Ministry: The British Coalition Cabinet has ceased to exist and a Conservative Ministry has been formed with Mr. Bonar Law as Premier. Parliament has been dissolved and the General Election will take place in the middle of November. Whether the Bonar Law Cabinet will survive the General Election does not seem to be certain. The new Prime Minister as well as his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, are Tariff Reformers, and Mr. Bonar Law had expressed the opinion several years ago that the relinquishment of Free Trade by Great Britain would not be a reason against its continued imposition on India for the benefit of the Lancashire manufacturer. Viscount Peel continues at the India Office. So far as India is concerned, the only difference between the Lloyd George and the Bonar Law Ministries, is that, while it was impossible to say what the former would do, it is possible to say that the latter will do nothing to increase the freedom or the prosperity of India. It is always well to know the worst, and this is likely to be the new Ministry's best service to this country. She will not be long left to dream in a Fools' Paradise.

The Government of India: A London newspaper says that Lord Reading will lay down his office shortly, not because of the change of Ministry but because of an understanding when he came out that he will serve only two years as Viceroy of India. If there was such an understanding, there will be no difficulty in giving effect to it on account of Lord Peel's insistence upon His Excellency continuing to guide the destinies of this country. The job has been too big for him. We are sure that Lord Reading meant to do his best for the Indian people. But the Indian people no longer wish things to be done for them. They want to do things themselves. If His Excellency had grasped this fact, his short course in India would not have been marked by such violent zigzags as they have been. Lord Reading's resignation will mean a considerable change in the personnel of the Indian Government two other Members of which are also due to go out in the next few weeks. It seems to be settled that Sir Malcolm Hailey, the

present Finance Member, will take the Home Department from Sir William Vincent. If, as stated, an English economist is to be appointed to the Finance portfolio, the next Law Member will have to be found from among persons who have served ten years under the Crown in India. Sir Asutosh Mukerji, in that case, would probably, it is stated, have the best chance for the post, if the Calcutta University can spare him, or rather if he can spare the Calcutta University.

The Indian States Bill: We print the memorial addressed by the Kathiawar Hitavardak Sabha to Parliament praying that the Indian States Bill may not be approved. We hope the prayer will be listened to. But we must point out that the stress laid in the memorial upon the prevalence of autocracy or even misrule in Indian States is not relevant or necessary to justify the opposition to the present measure. As a fact, it is incorrect to say that all States without exception, or even as a general rule, are autocratically misgoverned. There are a few States which are quite well governed and some others of which it would be incorrect to say that they are actually misgoverned. The Press Bill is objectionable because it is an attack on the liberty of the Press. We showed last week that the arguments advanced by Mr. Thompson in the Council of State on behalf of Government were unsubstantial. The liberty of the press is an essential of all good and civilised Government whether that Government is an autocracy or democracy. While on this point, we should like to repudiate the pretension that the Indian Press Act of 1910 was repealed as an act of grace by the Government of India. That Act would have stained any statute-book in which it found a place, and it would have been an act of gross political indecency to keep it side by side with an Act professing to initiate India in responsible Government. This Bill is no better, indeed it is much worse. The journals which make a business of Indian States will not be affected by it. It is independent and honest criticism that will be hampered by this hasty and ill-considered measure.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu: We are glad that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has recovered from her recent illness. She has been delivering addresses to large audiences in Ceylon and Southern India, and has been unsparingly using her woman's privilege of speaking home-truths without giving offence. We need hardly say that we entirely agree with her in holding that without reconstructing the social life of the people there can be no Swaraj. This is the fundamental principle of the Bardoli programme the four broad items of which are but hints of the vast amount of social spade-work that remains to be effected. Mrs. Naidu quite realises this. That is why we find it difficult to follow her when she speaks of the Legislative Councils as Temples of Maya and entry into them as soul-destroying. Is not the Congress itself a temple of Maya? Is not Non-Co-operation a grand illusion—seeing that the whole Universe is

interwoven together and that every part is in sure co-operation with every other part? Consciously or unconsciously, we needs must co-operate with each other either in sympathy or in revulsion. Hate, says the poet, is but the mask of love. Non-Co-operationists have unconsciously co-operated with those with whom they profess to non-co-operate to much greater effect than the Co-operators have consciously done. They may if they like stand aside, but the country is quite sick and tired of erecting inertia into a faith and a policy.

The Late Sir William Meyer: The last years of the life of Sir William Meyer, who fell dead in a London street the other day, were shot with tragedy. His son, his wife and his daughter died within a few years under painful circumstances. The triple calamity, to all outward seeming, did not affect at all the even tenour of his life. When this writer met him five years ago, Sir William told him that he looked forward when he retired to resuming his historical studies—this with reference to a striking address which he delivered several years ago in Madras comparing the Roman and the British Imperial systems. If he had carried out his intention—instead of breaking his heart over the purchase of stores for the India Office—he is sure to have left behind him some monumental work, or at any rate, the materials for one. For he was endowed with rare qualities as a scholar and writer. As Finance Minister, he fought conscientiously for the interests of India until he was overwhelmed by sheer authority. His attitude towards Indian political aspirations was described by an Indian colleague thus: "Sir William will admit Indians to the highest appointments under the Crown, even the Viceroyalty, but he is opposed to constitutional changes to transfer power to the people." The utter demoralisation of a certain section of our public life is shown by the fact that the end of a high-hearted career such as Sir William's, seems to interest some publicists chiefly as an opportunity for more or less intelligent or interested speculation about his probable successor. When one reads one of these, one is tempted to tell him: "Thou almost persuadest me to be a Non-Co-operationist."

Mr C. R. Reddy on the Reforms: Mr. Rama Linga Reddy in an address delivered last week at Poona claimed that the Reforms have been a success. In what way, he did not stay to answer. Is the country today better or at least more economically administered than before the Reforms? Has it more freedom? Have they brought more peace and harmony to the people? The answers to these questions must be in the negative. The huge deficit this year promises to be exceeded in the next. The ordinary criminal law has been stretched in many parts of the country to penalise actions to which it was never before applied. The Indian States Bill, as the *Indian Messenger*, the Calcutta Brahma organ, observes, is practically a revised edition of the Press Act of 1910. The manner in which it was enacted in the teeth of the Legislative Assembly, is the utter negation of constitutionalism, though, of course, it was sanctioned by a regulation. That, in our opinion, marks the final collapse of the Reforms so far as the Central Government is concerned. As for the Provinces, Mr. Reddy is a member of the Madras Legislative Council whose unanimous demand for a revision of its contribution to the Central Government, was unceremoniously rejected. What distinctive achievement of Ministers is there to support Mr. Reddy's claim that the Reforms have been a success? But we need not labour this point as he himself admitted that his experience of the Madras Council "awakened him to the obvious limitations of diarchy, whose cessation at the earliest opportunity should be demanded by all parties in the country." This

tribute to a scheme which he claims to be a success, is in the vein of Gilbert Chesterton with whom Mr. Reddy, we are sure, will not feel hurt to be compared. Non-Co-operation may be dead as Queen Anne as Mr. Reddy declared, but the Reforms are not much more alive. The only persons who have benefitted by them are the Ministers whom Mr. Reddy described not along ago as crawling forward on their bellies under cover of the Gandhian guns!

The Akalis at Guru-Ka-Bagh: The Akali Jathas continue to march to Guru-Ka-Bagh, but they are no longer beaten by the Police, but arrested. A very large number, nearly 3000, have thus been arrested, but the cry is "Still they come." The Government of the Punjab have issued an extraordinary statement to the effect that they have made arrangements to receive and accommodate 10,000 additional prisoners! This shows that they have lost confidence in their own capacity to deal with the situation which is developing seriously. One of the recent Jathas was composed entirely of retired Sikh Army men, officers and soldiers. We reprint a thrilling account of their march, contributed to the *Tribune* of Lahore, by Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni, late of the Government College, Lahore. The conversation between the Deputy Commissioner and the leader of the Jatha, is especially interesting. The *Tribune* account leaves off at the arrival of the Jatha at Guru-Ka-Bagh. An Associated Press message of the 26th states that the pensioners' Jatha, one hundred and one strong, were arrested on the previous afternoon. The Jathadar, Subadar Amar Singh, after arrest was offered a seat by Mr. Beatty, but he declined it saying that he preferred to remain with his men.

Depressed Classes in Cochin: There seems to have taken place a complete reversal of the policy of the late Dewan, Mr. Vijayaraghava Charya, of Cochin, of emancipating the depressed classes from degrading and servile restrictions. His successor, Mr. Narayana Menon, is reported in the *Swarajya* of Madras to have told a deputation of these classes at Cranganore, which asked for the removal of the prohibition on them to use a certain public road in that town, that personally he had no objection to their doing so, but as a Dewan he could not give them the required permission and that an executive order will not avail against a long-standing custom! He is further reported to have advised them to fight out the case in a court of law. It is stated that the prohibition to use certain public roads by the so-called unapproachables was enforced by "the local authorities." In that case, the Executive head of the Government is not the proper person to advise the Eshavas to fight the case in a law court.

The Rajasthan Patrika: This is the name of a new Anglo-Gujarati weekly, published at Rajkot, in the interests of Indian States, especially in Kathiawar. The policy of this journal seems to be based on the belief that if the Ruling Chiefs and their subjects be left to evolve their own political future independently of the British Indian Government, the prospects of good Government in the States will be assured. The *Rajasthan Patrika* is of opinion that the Bill for the Protection of Indian Princes will have consequences quite the opposite of those intended.

For the Inchcape Committee: The changed political conditions cannot but adversely affect the enquiry entrusted to the Inchcape Committee on Retrenchment. However, we pass on a suggestion from a correspondent who knows something of the matter, that the Committee should consider whether the Marine Department of the Government of India serves any useful purpose commensurate with its cost.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, OCTOBER 29, 1922.

POLITICS IN THE BOMBAY CENSUS REPORT.

Census Reports pertain to the literature of social science and those who write them should scrupulously observe the mental detachment and freedom from ulterior purposes of the scientist. Mr. L. J. Sedgwick, the Bombay Superintendent, however, would seem to have conceived his duty in a contrary spirit. He has thought it quite the right thing to bring his political prejudices, as a member of the Indian Civil Service, to the elucidation of the statistics of the Census. In his introduction, under the guise of answering some distinguished persons who questioned the value of the Census, he indulges in the following reflections the bearing of which on current politics is obvious:

The human mind leans ever to crank ideas; and the pleasantest form of crankhood is to start hurling epigrams at the nine-pins of civilisation. Abolitional crankhood is easier than constructional crankhood. There are people who advocate the abolition of intoxicants, the abolition of titles, the abolition of monarchies or *per contra* democracies, and a million other things. Why not the abolition of the Census? One can never argue with the crank. These remarks are, therefore, addressed to the possible waverers, who are still able to give intelligent consideration to the problem.

As the man who doubts the value of the Census is not likely to read Mr. Sedgwick's Report, he might have spared himself the trouble of reproducing such commonplace arguments to prove the utility of it. At the end of these, he triumphantly concludes that "so far from doing away with the Census it would be desirable to have one every year". After this promising exordium, calculated to convey the impression that in India the idea of a Census was unknown till Mr. Sedgwick appeared to expound it, the learned Superintendent refers to the complaint of the Industrial Commission that there was little information of economic value in the reports, and declares his intention to give such information in preference to ethnographic information, for which previous reports had been commended, for the profound reason that "it is impossible to please everybody." We agree with Mr. Sedgwick that the graphic method of representing figures has not been very happily used in this Report. It may be, as he says, the first time that graphs are used in Bombay Census Reports, but the method itself is by no means a novel or original one, and in any case their sole purpose is to present more and not less vividly than literary description the comparative significance of statistics. Some Provincial Census Reports have been admirable models of investigation and exposition—pure hard fact presented in all the fascination of consummate literary art. Neither this Bombay Census Report, nor the previous one which, however, was free from any pretentious padding, can be placed in this category.

A striking illustration of bureaucratic bias in the Report is the section headed "Attitude of the Public Towards Education" in the chapter on Literacy. In

this section it is sought to establish the thesis that "the idea entertained in some western countries that India is pining for learning, which its Government refuses to provide, is ridiculously wide of the mark." "Apart from all questions of finance," Mr. Sedgwick proceeds, "before there can be any marked advance towards general literacy there must be the will to learn. That will seems at present to be lacking among large bodies of men, and among the large majority of Indian females, and those who represent them". In support of this position, it is sought to be made out by a comparison of the literacy figures for Baroda and British Gujarat that, in spite of the existence of a system of compulsory education in Baroda for over 20 years, British Gujarat, where there is no such system, has a higher proportion of literates. Mr. Sedgwick rightly observes that, as the Baroda State is interspersed with one portion of the Presidency only, namely, Gujarat, the Baroda figures may fairly be compared with those of Gujarat only. He gives a table showing the progress of literacy in Baroda and in the rest of Gujarat from which it appears that, while the numbers of literates per 1000 of the population at the recent Census were 210 for males and 40 for females in Baroda, the corresponding figures in British Gujarat were 223 and 42 respectively. Even on the basis of these figures it is evident that the progress made in Baroda which had only 163 male and 8 female literates, as against 206 and 16 respectively in British Gujarat, at the Census of 1901, is proportionately greater. Starting with a heavy deficiency, Baroda has very nearly caught up British Gujarat in twenty years. One has only to turn to the literacy figures for these years to the other Gujarat States to see that without compulsory education Baroda could not have achieved this result. In Kathiawar the proportion has remained stationary for males at 186 in 1901 and 185 in 1921 per 1000, while that for females has risen from 13 in the former to 36 in the latter year. (The other Gujarat States are negligible for purposes of this comparison.) Mr. Sedgwick, nevertheless, will not allow that the educational administration of even the Kathiawar States is behind that of Baroda territory, though in the Baroda districts of Kathiawar there are 264 male and 63 female literates for 1000 of the population of over 5 years of age against 213 and 41 respectively in the rest of Kathiawar, "because a good deal depends on the character and composition of the population." "There is," he infers "some element in the population (of Dwarka and Okhamandal which constitute Baroda-Kathiawar) which lends itself specially to education," which element "may be less pronounced in the rest of Kathiawar." It may be similarly argued that when one place has a larger proportion of children in schools than another, it is because the former has a population more prone to go to school than the latter. The argument only shows that Mr. Sedgwick is resolved to show that a compulsory system of education does not do more for the spread of literacy than a voluntary, haphazard system such as we have in British Gujarat and such as they have in a more aggravated form in the Kathiawar States.

What is the actual fact? It is plainly that Baroda is fast overtaking British Gujarat in education and literacy as the direct effect of her compulsory system. Though compulsory education was first introduced tentatively on a small scale in Baroda so long ago as 1893, it was not till 1906 that it was nominally extended to the whole State, and even in 1911, it was stated that it had yet to be introduced in one-third of the villages of the State. We take these statements from Mr. Sedgwick's report. It follows that the only fair comparison as regards literacy is among persons of the ages covered by the compulsory scheme during the years it has been applied to the larger part of the State. If we take these ages to fall between 10 and 20, we find that the proportion of literates in Baroda in these ages is higher than in British Gujarat and much more so, of course, than in Kathiawar. The figures are: Baroda, male 281 and female 99 literate and British Gujarat 264 and 83 respectively per 1000 of the population between the ages 10 and 15. For the age period 15-20, Baroda has 355 and 105 against British Gujarat 342 and 94 per 1000 of the population. At ages of 20 and over the Baroda figures are 265 and 84, while those of British India are 299 and 39. But these ages, of course, are those of men and women most of whom were of school-going age before compulsory education was thought of in Baroda. Mr. Sedgwick has to admit—though he does so without enthusiasm—"that these figures show possibly a more progressive state of things in Baroda," but he contends—though he does not say why—that "the gradual approximation of Baroda to the Gujarat figures is not a phenomenon of so marked a character as to demonstrate satisfactorily the success of the compulsory system." Then, again, taking the figures by castes, Mr. Sedgwick is forced to admit that in Baroda "on the whole there is certainly a tendency for the lower social strata to be better educated than in British territory." It is much more than a tendency as will be seen from a comparison of the figures. There are per 1000 persons, 43 Bhanghis, 72 Dhodas, 58 Chodras—to take three typically backward castes—literate in Baroda as against 28, 21 and 27 respectively of these castes in British India. But nothing will satisfy Mr. Sedgwick. "The wide gap separating these strata from the higher (and educated) strata though possibly diminished," he writes, "still remains. And the diminution is too small to be regarded as a valid argument for the spread of education among the masses through making it compulsory." None is so blind as he who will not see. Even as regards general literacy, the Census figures fall somewhat short of the real position of Baroda. The Census Superintendent, Mr. S. Mokerjea, with a view to a severely accurate estimate of the effect of compulsory education on the general literacy, introduced a special column for persons who can read but cannot write, the definition prescribed by the Census Commissioner of India for "literate" being "those who were able to write a letter to a friend and read his reply." As Mr. Mokerjea observes there are in India "learners who have turned their instruction to some little account beyond signing their names, and adults who can

read and understand books usually of a semi-religious nature without being able to write." But such persons seldom regard themselves as illiterate, and are likely to return themselves as "literate" unless a middle place is found for them, as at the last Baroda Census, exactly describing their attainment. Nearly 20,000 persons were returned as being partially literate in this sense, and if this number is added to that of full literates, the proportion of general literacy in Baroda will, we think, be very little if at all less than that in this Presidency. It was no part of his duty to utilise the Census Report as a vehicle to propagate his antagonism to compulsory education which, Mr. Sedgwick well knows, is a question which is an acute one in present-day Indian politics. The whole section is a digression and not a very illuminating or informing one at that.

THE FISCAL COMMISSION'S REPORT—III.

In the two previous articles on the Fiscal Commission's Report, reasons were given for thinking that the policy of Protection recommended by the Majority was substantially the same as the policy now followed, with the added encumbrance of a costly Tariff Board. The differences of the Minority from the Majority view are fundamental, and a separate report would have afforded more scope for the reasoned exposition of the policy which the former wish to see adopted. A Minute of Dissent is suitable only when the differences which it is intended to express do not affect the main recommendations of a Report. No one, however, who reads the Minute of Dissent of the Chairman and four other members of the Commission, can fail to see that the differences between the Majority and the Minority are fundamental. The outlook of the former is altogether different from that of the latter. The goal to be aimed at is defined by the Minority in unmistakable language. "India should", they declare, "attain a position of one of the foremost industrial nations in the world, that instead of being a large importer of manufactured goods and exporter mainly of raw materials, she should so develop her industries as to enable her within a reasonable period of time in addition to supplying her own needs, to export her surplus manufactured goods." India, as they point out, has an abundant supply of raw materials, a plentiful supply of labour, adequate capital and a large home market. They accordingly insist upon "a policy of intense industrialisation" based upon a complete identification of Government with the people. It would have added to the value of the Minute if the policy thus recommended had been elaborated in some detail. What is evidently intended may be illustrated by a few concrete examples. Two-thirds of the cotton cloth used in India is produced in the country. There is no reason why the remaining one-third also should not be *swadeshi*. The Government and the people should resolve that within, say, the next five or six years, the country should completely supply its own needs as regards clothing. A plan should be thought out as to how this can be done. Protective duties will, of course, be one part of the plan and, in this case, there

may not be need for any other. But in the case of other industries such as sugar, iron and so on, the resources of the State should be applied to the creation of all the conditions the absence of which keeps India dependent on foreign countries for these commodities. A list of, say, ten or twelve such industries should be made out at once and it should be announced that the State will afford all facilities, including Protection from foreign competition, that may be needed for establishing them successfully in the country.

A cognate question on which there is a sharp difference of opinion between the Majority and the Minority is the place of foreign capital in the new regime. The Majority, in effect, would put foreign capital on substantially the same footing as Indian capital. Capital has no country, neither has it patriotism apart from the men who own it and employ it. The whole effect of the new policy will not only be nullified, but it would be turned into a most powerful engine for reducing Indian ability and skill to hewing wood and drawing water, if foreign capital is allowed to exploit the resources in the raw material and cheap, unorganised labour of the country. The whole country would become a huge plantation as in Assam or Champaran. Political pressure will come on the heels of financial exploitation as it has always done. The Minority would allow foreign capital to establish industries but under certain conditions, namely, that such companies should be incorporated and registered in India in rupee capital; there should be a reasonable proportion of Indian Directors on the Board; and reasonable facilities should be offered for the training of Indian apprentices. These conditions may be sufficient when India has attained the same self-governing status as Canada not on paper but in fact, but they will be utterly insufficient in India till then. The rupee capital is no guarantee so long as the currency policy can be manipulated by the Secretary of State; too many Indian Directors are easily dominated by their white-skinned colleagues, and some of them actually hold their countrymen in less estimation than Europeans; the position of Indian apprentices, in firms where they are not desired, can be made in insidious ways so utterly intolerable as to enable them to say that they were ready to take such apprentices, but that these men would not stick on. There have been so many piteous examples of the culpable indifference, if not worse, of Indian Directors and of the injustice done to Indian apprentices, that it is impossible to regard these conditions as in any way satisfactory. The Minority's hope that by these means they can keep in the country the profits of industries established by foreign capitalists, is likely to prove illusory. In order to keep the profits of industries in the country, it is necessary to limit the return on foreign capital to the interest at which it is raised. In the present circumstances of the country this can only be done by the State borrowing all the foreign capital needed and lending it to any industry whose prospects or national importance, justify that course. If this cannot be done it is more economical to pay a high rate of interest for Indian capital, than to

pay a nominally lower rate of interest for foreign capital with freedom to take away not only the profits of an industry, but the cost of management, skill, all, in fact, except the wages paid to unskilled labour.

Two other questions on which the Minority have recorded their dissent from the Majority, are the levying of excise duties on industries supplying mainly articles consumed in the country, and Imperial Preference. The Commission unanimously recommend that the excise duty on cotton cloth made in the Indian mills, levied originally to countervail the duty on imported cotton goods, should be repealed. The difference between Majority and Minority concerns the desirability or otherwise of the State taxing home industries generally for the purpose of revenue. The Majority would not prohibit such taxation, while holding that it should be confined as far as possible to articles like liquor and tobacco whose consumption should be controlled, while the Minority would lay down a hard and fast rule that excise should be strictly restricted to such articles only. The difference is mainly an academic one, and we incline to take the view of the Majority, which is sufficiently definite without being inelastic. As regards Imperial Preference, the Minority hit the nail on the head when they observe that the question can only become a matter of practical politics when India attains the full status of responsible Government in the Commonwealth. This, they rightly urge, is practically the unanimous view of the people of India. It would have been well if they had stopped there. They go on, however, to remark that "the Indian view would be favourably inclined to accept the immediate application the principle provided conditions are created to place India at once on the same footing as the self-Governing Dominions in this matter"! This, in their opinion, can be done by vesting by statute the power of determining questions relating to Preference exclusively in the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly! It does not seem to have occurred to the Minority that this is exposing the non-official members of the Assembly to influences and temptations the more powerful because of their greater insidiousness. No influence, whether official or other, is so dangerous as when it is exercised from behind the screen. To prevent officials from voting—to prevent them from speaking would be absurd, as they will have necessarily to supply the information required—is not to prevent them from using their influence on questions in which they feel a strong interest one way or another. No. The question of preference must wait till India is able freely to exercise her own judgment, that is, till a full responsible Government is established at Delhi. Another reason for postponement is that, owing to the total dislocation of pre-war conditions, it will be difficult to judge *a priori* how a protectionist policy in India will shape the course of her foreign trade. We can only do this from experience, and it is only when the new policy has had a free field for some ten or twelve years, that we shall have reliable data for judging of the effects of a Preferential Tariff on the country's fiscal policy.

MARRIAGE AND SACRAMENT.

(BY MR. S. SADANAND.)

The institution of Marriage has a honoured place in the Hindu scheme of life. It is an act of solemn obligation, an evasion of which, whether by man or woman, is considered to be a serious dereliction of duty. The offence is held to be aggravated when the evasion is by women. Marriage is enjoined on a Hindu as an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace. Marriage is the pivot on which Hinduism turns. According to Hinduism it is an essential experience through which every person must pass before reaching the height of spiritual knowledge and realisation. The theory of evolution and incarnation underlying the active principle of Hinduism has invested the Grihasthasrama, or the state of a householder, with a deep religious significance. The Ashramas of Brahmacharya, Grihastha, Vanaprastha, and Sannyasa have each their honoured place in Hinduism. The first Ashrama everybody necessarily passes through. The second stage everybody must pass through. Otherwise ordered progress is not assured. Even a stigma as guilty of a breach of solemn obligation attaches to its omission. The progress from a Grihastha stage to that of a Vanaprastha and ultimately to an ascetic stage is commended but not urged with the same gravity as the entrance into a Grihastha life from the state of a Brahmachari or Brahmacharini. Nor does any penalty attach to a failure to reach the Vanaprastha or ascetic stages of life. The claim of marriage upon every Hindu is further strengthened by the dictum that no domestic rite of worship is complete without the wife taking part in it.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, writing in the October issue of the *Modern Review*, on the Hindu and Buddhist ideals of marriage, says that three elementary and primary factors in traditional Hinduism, as practised by the common people and embodied in their religion, can be defined by the terms 'Marriage, Caste and Incarnation.' He also sums up the Hindu conception of marriage thus :—

The Hindu religion's genius, at a very early date indeed, came to regard marriage and the married life and the propagation of children as altogether sacred and sacramental. This to me is one of its very great achievements and also one of its noblest gifts to the world. It has made the women of India amongst the most devoted to their husbands and the most religious in their domestic life. It has enshrined religious worship in the centre of every Indian home and in every Hindu woman's heart. India can never lose its idealism and become materialistic, so long as the married life holds this place of worship among Hindu women and also among Hindu men.

Mr. Andrews is keenly alive to the aberrations of the Hindu ideal of marriage. He adds :—

I know that there have been penalties to pay, and that gross injustices are as yet unresolved. Child widowhood, enforced by social custom, where the boy-husband dies, is one of these ; and there are many others. I am not upholding these evil customs for a moment. As you know, my whole heart revolts against them. But all the same I can see that they are human exaggerations, which have grown up along with a great ideal.

Along with the institution of householder, grew that of caste, intimately connected with marriage. According to a modern writer, Sir Herbert Risley, "caste is marriage and marriage is caste." Mr. Andrews here observes :—

Caste offered a social life with a wider range than the family, but of one and the same texture as the marriage ideal itself, fortifying that ideal and keeping it religious. For caste became, as it were, a larger religious 'marriage family.' Within the caste marriage was possible and therefore blood relationship. That these boundaries of caste have to-day become far too narrow and from a eugenic point of view highly intolerable is generally admitted.

In his article Mr. Andrews has represented the Hindu ideal of marriage and he combats the ideal of celibacy commended by Mr. Gandhi as a desirable state in itself, if perfection were to be reached for the higher work of humanity. The immediate point before the Hindu Social Reformers is not the question of a choice between the ideals of celibacy and marriage but the preservation of its sacramental character for marriage. Celibacy may be, or it can be even admitted that it is, a necessary equipment "for the higher work of humanity." But the Hindu Society is today confronted with a deterioration of marriage into an affair of commercial barter. In many communities of the Hindu Society, the girls preponderate and the demand for eligible bridegrooms is greater than the supply. The narrow restrictions of caste are so inelastic and rigid in their incidence, that prohibitive prices rule the marriage market for brides and bridegrooms. The generality of a Hindu's experience is the payment of exorbitant dowries on the part of parents of girls, as an incentive to young men to marry their daughters. Then there is the superstition of the loss of the sacramental character of the marriage, if a girl is not married, before the attainment of puberty. An Indian girl ordinarily attains her maturity at the age of 12 and 13. The insistence laid on pre-puberty marriages is so great that a parent would get his daughter married within the arbitrary age-limit, at the cost of not only money but even the character or position of the prospective bridegroom. It is contended that, by insistence of marriage for every Hindu, especially the girls, and the emphasis on the need for marriage before maturity, Hindu society has secured for every woman in its fold an economic protection and also preserved the chastity of its womanhood. The first claim is partially true but the price paid is too great. It is forgotten that greater than the need for economic protection, the need of womanhood is for the protection and development of its soul. What happens is that a parent barter the soul of his daughter for an unstable economic protection, paying a premium to the so-called protector. If at all marriage is to be talked of in terms of economic law, it is desirable to admit that a Hindu wife is a great asset, in her discharge of the several functions that are assigned to her. If a Hindu woman would apply even half the energy and skill she applies in the domestic sphere, in other channels, she would not only assure her economic independence but also secure her self-development to a much greater extent, than she does as a wife. As to chastity, a purity that can be attain-

ed only by the enforcement of child-marriage before both the parties, or at least the girl, understood the full implications of wifehood and motherhood, can have no practical value. An enforced submission to the lustful desires of a man, even though he be a husband, involves an equal amount of unchastity, if not greater than what goes conventionally by that name. Judged by this standard, many have to regretfully admit that, in many cases, marriage has become synonymous with regulated or legalised prostitution. The language may appear to be harsh but none the less it is true. If one eliminates the imaginary economic protection and the insurance against unchastity of compulsory marriage for every Hindu woman and that at an early age, many evils of the Hindu marriage customs will disappear. Let not parents allow themselves to be stampeded by so-called social opinion into the marriage of their girls in obedience to the arbitrary injunctions about marriage and the age-limit. If eligible husbands, not considering themselves as commercial commodity are not available, let the girls remain unmarried, interest themselves in useful activities and follow their bent of mind, guided by the broad principles of Right and Wrong. The consecrated services of a Nightingale, an Edith Cavell, a Jane Addams are but the forerunners of what womanhood, unfettered, can independently achieve. The ideal of marriage as a sacrament must be upheld but not the superstition that the mere form of marriage under one condition however ignoble. In this connection Mr. Gandhi has said:—"Woman is the companion of man endowed with equal mental capacities. She has the right to participate, in very minutest detail, in the activities of man and she has an equal right of freedom and liberty with him. She is entitled to a supreme place in her own sphere of activity as man in his. Instead, by sheer force of a vicious custom even the most ignorant and worthless men have been enjoying a superiority over women which they do not deserve and ought not to have." Mr. Gandhi has appealed to the young men to take the lead in the matter. But the parents and young women also ought to bear their share.

All must unite together, and educate public opinion on right lines and boycott marriages of barter and otherwise reprehensible character. There is room for parents, young men and young women, married and unmarried, all to join in this work. The discussion, at the Bombay Students' Brotherhood, the other day, promises to materialise into practical action. If persons willing to join in the cause write to the Editor of the *Reformer*, it will be highly helpful.

MADRAS NOTES.

(From our Correspondent.)

Madras, 14th October 1925.

INTER-MARRIAGES IN CHETTINAD.

Chettinad which lies almost at the Southern end of this presidency is the last place where one would look to for any intensive effort at social reform, as the Nattukottai Chetties, who resemble the Marwaris in their wealth acquired through

long years of money-lending, also resemble the latter in their orthodoxy. But the *Dravidian*, the daily Tamil organ of the "Justice" party, has recently given prominence to an inter-marriage contracted in Chettinad between a Nattukottai Chetti and a Cholva Vellala girl. The most significant fact about this "social reform" marriage is that the parties thereto have publicly justified their conduct in the aforesaid newspaper by quoting as a precedent the fact that once before in the long past, the Chetti community took no less than 500 brides from the Cholva Vellala community, being driven to that step by the paucity of brides in their own community, and that, therefore, there is nothing new in what they have now done. Whether and how far this is historical, the present writer has no means of ascertaining at present but the example set by the parties in question has already emboldened another individual belonging to the Chetti caste to come forward publicly and appeal for a Cholva Vellala bride through the correspondence columns of the *Dravidian*. It is certainly a novel method of searching for a bride but its moral effect is bound to be stimulatingly healthy on the other members of the Chetty clan in particular and the Hindu community in general. It is claimed by the *Dravidian* that all this is proof of the efforts made by its party towards bringing about inter-caste marriages despite Rao Bahadur O. K. Chettiar's statements to the contrary. But such instances should become more general before its efforts in that direction could be characterised as being successful.

THE ADI-DRAVIDA PROBLEM.

Speaking of Mr. O. K. Chettiar's address, I am reminded of the revolt of a section of the Adi-Dravidas against the Non-Brahmin party which took place recently at Chidambaram and the subsequent quarrel between them and another section of the Adi-Dravidas who, as was seen at the Chingleput Conference, are against seceding from the Non-Brahmin party at least for the time being. The former are being led by Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, M. L. C., who was a prominent member of the Non-Brahmin party until recently. The latter have found a leader in Rao Saheb Madurai Pillai, M. L. C., who is becoming a prominent member of the "Justice" party and is in fact being vigorously pushed forward as the leader of the Adi-Dravidas by the Non-Brahmin leaders including the Ministers. With the prospects of the fratricidal strife before us, it may be said that the depressing problem of the Depressed Classes which was nowhere else so depressing as in this presidency has now reached its most depressing stage. The masses of the poor Adi-Dravidas themselves do not know who is their friend and who is their foe. The Chingleput Conference repudiated the Chidambaram Conference. Now, a local meeting of the Adi-Dravidas has no less emphatically repudiated the Chingleput Conference. Of course, in due course of time its proceedings will in turn be repudiated by another meeting of the local Adi-Dravidas. So, the ball of revolt started by Mr. M. C. Raja at Koilpatti and vigorously kicked forward by Mr. O. K. Chettiar at Chidambaram has met and is meeting with many ups and downs. The general opinion here among all classes of people regarding all this is that, if this kind of internecine strife is carried on for a long time within a community so weak, disunited, down-trodden and exploited as the Adi-Dravidas, its results will prove disastrous for them. In my humble opinion, Mr. Raja would have done well to have waited before deciding to unfurl the banner of revolt against the "Justice" party at Koilpatti and to have given the latter a chance to rectify their mistakes. He as well as Mr. O. K. Chettiar, if they had been sound party men, should in any case have appealed to

the next Non-Brahmin Confederation before raising the standard of secession. After all is said, the truth remains that no other political party as a party has done so much for the Adi-Dravidas as the "Justice" party especially in the political and civic spheres. The present dissensions in the Adi-Dravida Camp are, therefore, as unfortunate as their effects are bound to be injurious to that long-suffering community. It is to be hoped that the leaders of the rival sections will soon find a way out of this morass if indeed they love their people more than they love their own personal advancement.

DR. TAGORE AND MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

Dr. Tagore's recent lecturing tour in this presidency, I am reliably informed, was not so successful financially speaking as he expected. The visit was memorable for the number of engagements which the poet had to cancel owing to ill health. On one occasion, says rumour, a High Court Judge was turned away from his door although he had made an appointment to meet the poet at the time. The cancellation of his proposed visit to Alwayseems to have been a great disappointment to hundreds of people who had gone there from the surrounding villages to see him. The student population here and in the Mofussil are, however, the most disappointed people whom he has left behind. Not one of their numerous invitations to him to lecture or recite to them was acceded to. Besides his ill-health, another factor that contributed to the poet's unwillingness to see people is said to be the immersion of some of his lands which he had earmarked for his beloved Viswabharathi in the recent floods near Calcutta. Mr. C. F. Andrews' visit to us will be long remembered for the great and inspired sermon which he preached last Sunday in the Danish Mission Church taking as his text Christ's saying: "I have compassion upon the multitude." It was the most stirring, elevating and inspiring sermon preached in a Madras Church for a long time past. Although his theme (untouchability) and his manner of treating it were more secular than religious, his sermon was a living one which contrasted vividly with the dead formulae and pious inanities which we are accustomed to hear from the pulpits of our churches. Mr. Andrews hoped that at least one amongst his hearers—never was the Danish Mission Church so packed with an audience as on Sunday last—would be touched by what he said and go and live among the untouchables for their uplift. I feel sure more than one among his audience would have been stirred to his depths and inspired to follow his advice. One thing, however, Mr. Andrews did not make clear. He mentioned the fact that Mahatma Gandhi hated untouchability but he did not pause to explain how it was that Mahatmajee is a supporter of the hereditary caste system of which untouchability is only the extreme manifestation.

A WOMAN LECTURER.

Mrs. Mayadoss, a Punjabee Christian lady, has been lecturing to students and others in Travancore and Cochin for some days past. Judging from the brief reports of her lectures appearing in the local papers, she seems to lay special emphasis on the social side of national activity in all her speeches. She is also trying to inculcate the virtues of self-reliance and manliness into her student listeners. She told the students in Trivandrum in so many words that the Indian student, although the intellectual peer of his fellows in the other parts of the world, is inferior to the latter in physique, in frankness and in manliness. I do not know how her young hearers relished it, but it is good for all of us to have plain speaking once in a way and that too from a cultured country-woman of ours.

MILITARY PENSIONERS' JATHA.

Professor Ruchi Ram Sabni writes in the *Tribune* (Lahore) of October, 24th:—

The Akali struggle in connection with Guru-ka-Bagh continues with unabated vigour, and nobody can say what the end of it will be and when it will come. The Government has shown that it is in no mood to soften down, by announcing, quite unnecessarily and almost provokingly as many people think, that arrangements for the accommodation of ten thousand more Akali prisoners were being made. Similarly, there are no signs of weakening or wavering on the part of the Akalis. The tremendous enthusiasm created by yesterday's (Sunday 22nd October) military Jatha will certainly greatly add to the determination of the Shromani Committee and lend much strength and support to the Akali movement. It were much to be wished that a solution was found of the 'impasse' thus created, but, judging from the present temper of the parties, no solution is in sight.

To come to the retired soldiers' Jatha, I reached the Akal Takht when the vow of non-violence had been taken and the men were going, one by one, from the Akal Takht to the Golden Temple opposite to it to pay their homage to and ask for the blessings of the Guru Granth Sahib before forming the Jatha and marching on to Guru-ka-Bagh. The proceedings were watched by some ten to fifteen thousand persons who were not only packed on every inch of the open ground in front of the Akal Takht but who were also occupying every bit of space available on the buildings all round. All the men had a magnificent bearing. They were all calm and cheerful. In a Jatha of 100 men I counted 22 men who had a white beard, a somewhat smaller number had a grey beard, and the rest were men of 40—50 years with black beards. They all had two turbans tied on their heads, a small yellow turban underneath and a black turban tied over it. They wore a long black coat with only a Kachha for their loins. A bright yellow sash tied gracefully round their waist and a Kirpan hanging down from a yellow *Gatra* completed their uniform. Three or four had medals on. But, it should be added that, apart from the dress, each man wore a wreath of white jasmine flowers round his head much like the marriage wreath and a garland of fresh pink roses round the neck. The dress reminds one of the Akali Dal of Phoola Singh's times. Two scenes were very touching. There was one Akali Havaladar Charn Singh, with a wooden leg, as he had lost his own leg in the war. He was the recipient of additional garlands of flowers from the spectators as he walked down the narrow passage left through the crowds from the Akal Takht to the Darbar Sahib. The other scene, which was at least equally touching, was the sight of three ladies dressed in black 'eay a pie' slowly getting up from the squatting crowds and garlanding their dear ones, as they were leaving the Akal Takht. One of these ladies I could guess to be the mother, and another the daughter of the Akalis whom they garlanded. Coming out of the Golden Temple, they formed themselves into a Jatha in the rows of four and marched slowly headed by hand to the Clock Tower. Here they were photographed. A Muhammadan gentleman, who said he had travelled for four days to see the Akali Jatha, addressed them for a few minutes. It was a spirited speech, but, as I could not follow it closely I would not attempt to tell your readers what he said. Her again, some more Akali ladies, as was clear from their black dress, went up to the Jatha and garlanded each, her own dear one. The Jatha then started from the Clock Tower followed by not less than fifty thousand persons. It was headed by Subedar Amar Singh who was in the middle of the first row

and contained 58 non-commissioned officers and 46 sepoy and sowars. There was a surging sea of humanity as far as one could see before or behind, and in order to get ahead of them it was necessary to make a long detour through the side streets. As was to be expected, unlike the other Jathas, the retired soldiers marched in very good order in steps and even when they stopped, they were marking time with their feet. Of course, there was a good deal of showering of flowers from the balconies of houses. The band accompanied the *Jatha* throughout and played inspiring tunes every now and again. A black banner was carried in front of the *Jatha*.

Near the District Court, the *Jatha* was stopped on the road by the Deputy Commissioner who was accompanied by three or four other Europeans. About two hundred Indian Policemen with rifles, not *lathis*, were sitting behind the hedge in the Court compound. From their appearance I would take them to be Mussalmans from Jhelum, Shahpur and Rawalpindi Districts. Some European soldiers were also seen standing by the side of three motor lorries at a distance on a side road.

The Deputy Commissioner had an interesting conversation with the *Jathedar* (Subedar Amar Singh) in the vernacular, which Mr. Dunst spoke uncommonly well. He was very gentle in his attitude towards the *Jathedar* and argued with him more as a friend who was anxious for a settlement than as an officer. Perhaps it would be best to reproduce here the gist of the conversation, which was full of repetitions on both sides, in the direct form.

Deputy Commissioner:—The Sarkar and the Sikhs have been great friends for 70 years. Why are you now trying to break that friendship?

Jathedar:—Yes, we have been great friends for 70 years. We have given our lives freely for the Sarkar. We starved ourselves for ten days at Kut Amara, we lived on horse flesh in the war. We gave up our *dharma* and *aman* for the sake of the Sarkar. But the Sarkar rewarded our friendship by beating our brethren mercilessly.

Deputy Commissioner:—This is not correct. The Sarkar cannot allow the Sikhs to take illegal possession of the Mahant's land at Guru-ka-Bagh. If you want to go to the Gurdwara the Sarkar would not prevent you from doing so. But the Sarkar cannot allow you to go and take possession of another man's lands. What is your intention in going to Guru-ka-Bagh?

Jathedar:—Sahib, we do not want to take possession of any body's land, and we have no need to do. *Wahiguru* has given us enough for our needs. It is the Guru's land and the Guru is in possession. We are going there merely for service (*Seva*). We want to cut fuel from the Guru's land for the Guru's kitchen.

Deputy Commissioner:—The Sarkar is only against those who create disturbances.

Jathedar:—We have no arms with us. Have we? We cannot create disturbance, we are willing to be beaten as our brethren have been beaten before. We have never gone to your churches and interfered with your men. Why do you interfere with our *Seva*?

Deputy Commissioner: We can settle the dispute in one of three ways (1) through a court of law (2) arbitration (*Panchayat*) and (3) by means of a Gurdwara Bill. Which would you prefer?

Jathedar:—Sahib, we do not understand these things. You had better talk about these matters with the representatives of the Panth or the Committee (*Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee*). Our own part is to do our '*seva*' and we must do it.

Deputy Commissioner:—If you don't listen to me I will declare you an illegal assembly.

He then in a loud voice declared them an illegal assembly. A Sikh gentleman present there asked those who were not members of the *Jatha* to move away from the *Jatha*. The request was at once followed.

Most people understood that the *Jatha* had been arrested there and then, but as they still marched on with the band in front of them, followed by a smaller crowd than before, it was obvious that they were not under arrest. I could not follow the *Jatha* further and up to 8 p. m. no news had been received as to what had happened to them after leaving the Kacheri Road. (Later information shows that *Jatha* reached "Guru-ka-Bagh" without further difficulty and, as arranged previously, the men propose going forward for arrest after resting at "Guru-ka-Bagh" for two days. This has been the usual practice with previous *Jathas* also. The military *Jatha* will thus present themselves for arrest on the afternoon of 24th.)

INDIAN STATES BILL.

The Kathiawar Hitwardhak Sabha, has sent the following memorial to Parliament:

That the Province of Kathiawar contains Indian States large and small with powers varying from complete autonomy of internal administration to jurisdiction of trying only very petty criminal offences. These States are at present under the political supervision of the Government of Bombay. In the Presidency of Bombay there are other large and small States with similar varying powers. In the matter of internal administration, all these States are purely autocratic and arbitrary governments. In almost all of these States, the people have no voice in the administration. The laws, taxation etc. emanate from the arbitrary will of the Ruler and are administered or collected by a body of officials whose tenure of office depends upon the will of the Ruler. The people in these States have many grievances but are unable to give expression to them within the States owing to repression open or disguised. In many of these, public meetings are prohibited and in hardly any a newspaper worth the name exists. The only outlet open for criticism or expression of their grievances which is open to these States' subjects is the Press in British India. The people are now, by the Protection of Princes Bill passed by the Council of State at Simla, going to be deprived of even this outlet. The Sabha is respectfully of opinion that there is no necessity to pass this measure and that the ordinary law of British India is sufficient to give such protection to the Princes as they may require against seditious or other libels or any other offences which may be committed against them in the newspapers in British India. The Sabha requests you to bear in mind that in the present system of government under which the Indian States are governed, it is impossible for any independent newspaper to exist, nor is it possible to ventilate in writing grievances of the people regarding education, sanitation, medical relief, Development of Industries & trade, to which little attention is paid in these States. The action of His Excellency the Governor-General under the circumstances has the effect of stifling the voice and aspirations of nearly seventy millions of subjects of Indian States and to create distrust and misgiving regarding the attitude of the supreme Government towards their legitimate needs and aspirations. It is not the function of this Sabha to criticise the action of the Governor-General in granting a Certificate for the Bill under Section

67 B of the Government of India Act after the Legislative Assembly had considered it inadvisable to give leave to introduce the Bill in the Legislature. It concerns the public of British India who no doubt will represent their views before you. The Sabha wishes to bring prominently to your notice the great injustice that will be done to the millions of subjects of the Indian States if the Bill were sanctioned by Parliament.

The Sabha does not find in the treaties and engagements entered into by the British Government with the Rulers of Indian States and especially the engagements with the Kathiawar States, any warrant for protecting the Princes as contemplated by the Bill, much less protecting them against the interest of their subjects who are helpless and defenceless against the arbitrary will of their rulers. The Sabha also begs to state with all due deference that there is no ground to hold that the newspapers in British India have been used for any unjust, unlawful, violent or seditious criticisms of the Indian Rulers or their administrations.

The Sabha therefore humbly and earnestly prays that Parliament will be pleased to withhold their assent to the Bill.

(Sd). D. B. SHUKLA.

President,

Kathiawar Hitwardhak Sabha.

Rajkot, 22nd October 1922.

FORCED LABOUR IN JAWHAR STATE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I am trying to write this letter more from the point of view of a worker amongst the masses, in the spirit of the broad-minded humanity of Mr. Andrews, the great Christian, than from the point of view of a bona-fide State-subject, a tax-payer who has a right to ventilate his grievances. Jawhar State is the oldest state in the Deccan, with a population of 45,000 souls of whom not one out of a hundred can be called educated. The town, Jawhar, is about 40 miles from Dahann Road, on the B. B. & U. I. R. I generally walk this distance on foot six times a year and am in close touch with the farmers living in the villages on Dahann to Jawhar Road. The farmers are more frank with a *voyageur a pied* than with a man *en motor*. They have plainly told me that forced labour is more in the State than in the adjoining British territory.

First I will talk of forced labour used by the State. In and out of the busy seasons of harvest and transplantation, the farmers have to carry parcels and luggages from Kardoh, the Mahal Station of the State, to Jawhar a distance of 34 miles. And what are they paid for it? One pice per mile, i.e. 8 as. 6 pies for 34 miles, without any bread or water. The farmer must come back home, to his village. So, for 8 as. 6 pies he has to walk 68 miles. If he is caught at Talwada, another Mahal at 20 miles from Jawhar, he has to carry the load 20 miles for 5 annas; but again he must come back home. So, for 5 annas, he has to walk a distance of 50 miles on a road, muddy and full of sharp-pointed stones.

In the last month, i.e. September, I was at Jawhar. I saw with my own eyes nearly 40 farmers in the temple of Mahalaxmi where they came for shelter at night, engaged in erecting a "Mandap" for Ourus Festival! They brought the materials for the 'Mandap' that day, and next day they were to erect it. Now what are they paid for it? 2 Rs. So each man cannot get even an anna for his two days' labour. Equally low are the rates for grass cutting. These farmers pay all the taxes to the State. Why then should they be paid so low for their hard labour?

Now I will talk of forced labour used by the State servants under the name of "Sarkari." It is freely talked in Jawhar of some houses built on forced cheap labour, but I shall never be a party to such gossip. I shall only write what I have seen with my own eyes. In May, four of my own cultivators at 'Tadachimachi' were caught. When? At one or two o'clock at night. They were taken to the police-gate as if they were thieves. Next day I saw them at the gate. I was told they were brought for 'Sarkari' work. Two were employed on the work of Jawhar Municipality and sent home at 2 o'clock in the afternoon with one anna each. The very day I saw the other two cultivators at a Mahomedan's house who at my intervention (I believe so) paid them fully. The question is 'what right has this Mahomedan to use this forced labour? Oh, it is because the house was occupied by a big official. Thus a land-lord of an official gets this right of forced labour. The Secretary of the Municipality, whom I approached, being against this forced cheap labour promised to pay fully my other two cultivators.

Farmers have told me of this forced labour with tears in their eyes. I owe it to God to expose these facts. I have mentioned a few things only with the hope of drawing the attention of His Highness the Rajah Sahab of Jawhar. The population of the State is falling down and I honestly believe that forced labour is one of the reasons.

Yours &c.,

KARRABE K. G.

Deolali Camp
10th October 1922.

ANTI-DOWRY CAMPAIGN.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The Bombay Students' Brotherhood deserves to be congratulated upon its laudable action of launching a movement against the irreligious and inhumane custom of dowry. This association has given a lead and we hope other societies of students will not lag behind in taking up the matter for their causeries in their periodical meetings. We want every young man to put a gallant fight against this and other social evils. Such discussions will develop genuine healthy spirit of generosity and chivalry amongst us, which is the life and soul of every movement of regeneration. I don't attach so much importance to the oath of not accepting any dowry as to the spirit of gallantry and chivalry. I know one case wherein a young man pledged to non-acceptance of dowry had both dowry and the fulfillment of his oath by asking the other party to put on gold ornaments worth the amount of dowry on his would-be wife. The dowry, as I have said in my last letter, is the present from a father to his daughter at the time of her marriage. It is her property. The son-in-law, if he has any sense of honour, should neither dictate the amount nor claim it, but leave the matter to the girl and her father.

The question of dowry is partly dependent on the question of ornaments. In many cases fathers-in-law while giving dowries, dictate their own terms of ornaments, which equally deserves to be condemned. It is the duty of our educated women to set on foot a movement against ornaments amongst themselves if they want fair and just treatment for their sisters. Some women slaves to ornaments of gold and pearls get dazzled at the jewelry of the rich and readily consent to sell their daughters to old men (without) teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything but not sans wealth and jewelry.

Yours, etc.,

JAWHARIAN,

Deolali, 22nd Oct. 1922.

INDIAN STATES BILL.

(The Mysore Patriot.)

Mr. Raza Ali proposes in the Council of State to ask for the publication of the papers and communications in connection with the "Princes' Protection Bill." It is worth while knowing who are the Princes of such importance who require the protection. We had read somewhere that the bill is on account of two Indian Princes. We wish the member good luck.

PROHIBITION IN NATIVE STATES.

(The Akbari.)

We rejoice to learn from the "Indian Social Reformer" that Bhavnagar and one or two other Kathiawad States have endorsed the policy of total Prohibition. We read that "the people are contented and happy, and a notable reduction in crimes has already been observed during the past year." We observe, however, that foreign liquors are exempt from Prohibition—probably in deference to the powers claimed by the Supreme Government. We object to this differentiation, whether in the Native States or in British India, because it is evident that the purpose of Prohibition will be ultimately defeated if the importation of foreign liquors is allowed to continue. The consumption of the latter is bound to increase in such circumstances, as the well-to-do classes who have contracted the habit of drink will resort to the imported article irrespective of its cost.

THE PUNJAB VIDHYA VIVAH
SAHAIK SABHA.

The Hon'y Secretary of the above institution writes: Reports of 33 widow marriages have been received from the different branches and co-workers of the Vidhya Vivah Shaik Sabha, Lahore (Punjab) throughout India during the month of September 22. The total number of marriages held in the current year *i. e.* from 1st January to the end of September 22, has reached to 293, as detailed below: Brahman 60, Khatri. 77, Arora. 68, Aggarwal. 28, Kaisth 18, Rajput, 12, Sikh. 18, Miscellaneous. 27, Total, 293.

THE INDIAN PATRIOTS CALENDAR.

We have received a copy of the Indian Patriots Calendar for 1923 from Messrs. N. D. Sahgal and Sons, Lohari Gate, Lahore. The Calendar contains the portraits of Indian national leaders, men and women, and it will be found interesting.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

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Workers to popularize the cause of Hindu widow re-marriage in Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Pay according to qualifications between Rs. 50 and 60 per mensem with single Intermediate class Railway fare and third class where Inter class be not available. Apply to the undersigned, mentioning age, residence, education, and previous experience, with testimonials and references.

LALA LAJPAT RAI SAHNI,

*Hon. Secretary,*Vidhya Vivah Sahaik Sabha,
(Lodge Road) Lahore, (Punjab).THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION
COMPANY, LTD.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the THIRD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING of the above Company will be held at the Morarjee Gokuldas Hall, Kalbadevi, Bombay, on TUESDAY, the 31st day of October, 1922, at 3-30 p.m. (S.T.) to transact the following business:—

1. To adopt the Directors' Report and the Audited Statement of Accounts for the year ended 30th June, 1922.
2. To sanction the declaration of a dividend.
3. To confirm the appointment of Mr. Revashankar Jagjivan Zaveri as Director.
4. To elect a Director in place of Mr. Walchand Hirachand who retires by rotation, but being eligible, offer himself for re-election under Art. 97 of the Articles of the Association.
5. To elect a Director in place of Mr. C. A. Latif, who retires by rotation, but being eligible, offers himself for re-election under Art. 97 of the Articles of Association.
6. To elect Auditors for the ensuing year and to fix their remuneration.

The TRANSFER BOOKS of the Company will be CLOSED from the 25th October to 22nd November, 1922, both days inclusive.

By Order of the Board of Directors,

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.

Managing Agents.

Ismail Buildings, Fort,

Bombay, 16th October, 1922.

N. B.—The dividend, when sanctioned, will be made payable at the Office of the Company, Ismail Buildings, Fort, Bombay, on and after the 18th December, 1922 to those shareholders, whose names stand on the register of the Company on the 24th October, 1922, to whom dividend warrants will be posted.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION
COMPANY, LTD.

NOTICE.

NOTICE is hereby given that an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Scindia Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., will be held, at the Morarjee Gokuldas Hall, Kalbadevi, Bombay, on TUESDAY the 31st day of October 1922, just after the General Meeting of the Company which is convened at 3-30 p. m. (S. T.) the same day at the above place is over, when the subjoined Resolution will be proposed as Extraordinary Resolution, *viz*:—

"That in the Article 142, in the lines 4 and 5, instead of the words "not more than 4 months before the Meeting," the words "not more than 6 months before the Meeting" be substituted.

Should the above Resolution be passed by the required majority, it will be submitted for confirmation as a Special Resolution to a further Extraordinary General Meeting which will be held on Saturday the 18th day of November 1922, at the Morarjee Gokuldas Hall, Kalbadevi, Bombay, at 4 p. m. (S. T.).

By Order of the Board of Directors,

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.

Managing Agents,

Ismail Buildings, Fort

Bombay, 16th October 1922.

The New India Assurance Company Limited.

Head Office:—Wallace Street, Bombay.

SIR D. J. YATA, Kt. *Chairman.*

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| AUTHORISED CAPITAL Rs. ... | 20,00,00,000 |
| SUBSCRIBED " " ... | 11,86,84,250 |
| PAID UP " " ... | 1,18,68,425. |
| TOTAL FUNDS " " ... | 1,57,15,436 |

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| Reserve Fund | " 72,50,000 |

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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.

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16-1-23

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Gunajirao R. Nimbalkar, Esq., B.A., (Sur Subha, Baroda State).

Raj Ratna Sheth Maganbhai P. Haribhakti (Nagar Sheth, Baroda).

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Raoji Raghunath Shirgaokar, B.A., LL.B., (Naib Subha Baroda State).

Anant Narayan Datar, Esq., (Accountant-General, Baroda State).

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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.

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| PAID-UP ON 31-3-22 | Rs. 68,83,113-9-0. |

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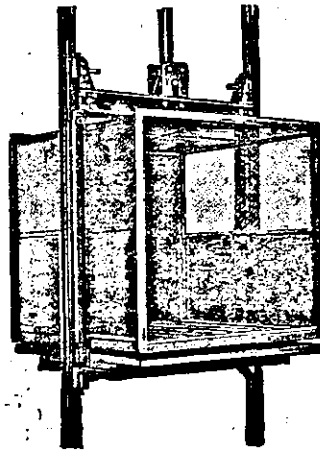
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not apologise, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Bloodless Revolutions: Two "bloodless revolutions" have been carried out in the course of the last few weeks: the Turkish by Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Italian by Signor Mussolini. The Sultan's Government at Constantinople voluntarily offered to resign in order not to embarrass the Angora Government's negotiations with the Allied Powers, and the King of Italy vetoed the martial law proclamation issued by his Ministers, and when they resigned, sent for the leader of the Fascisti, against whom the proclamation was directed, to form the Ministry. In both these revolutions, there was no violence, but the absence of violence was ensured not by vows of non-violence but by so organising the forces of violence as to impose non-violence on the existing systems as the sole remaining path of safety. As a practical demonstration as to the best way of securing absolute non-violence, without any possibility of incidents such as Malegaon and Chauri Chaura, this method has proved better and more effective than the non-violent Non-Co-operation method in India. In both, the importance of non-violence is recognised, but while in the one it is only a means to an end, in the other it is itself the end. Apart from this, there seems to be a close parallelism between the Turkish and Italian revolutions. They are both avowedly inspired by a race rather than a national consciousness, and in neither does religion appear as a prominent motive. The Italian Fascisti look back to the ancient Romans for inspiration. They are republicans at heart though they do not propose to deprive the King of his Crown. "How like he is to a Roman tribune" an officer is said to have exclaimed, as Mussolini stretched out his arm to the crowd, saluting the people in the Roman manner adopted by the Fascists. Kemal Pasha's attitude to the Sultan bears an obvious resemblance to the Italian leader's to the King. That accomplished scholar, Mr. G. K. Nariman, calls attention in the *Chronicle* to the Turanian tendencies of some of the Young Turk revolutionists. The tribal distinctions of ancient communities were obliterated by the great religions. Nationalism broke up the unity brought about by religion, and it seems that the world is now looking for a more workable formula in race. Locked at in

the light of its unforeseen consequences, the great war would appear to be a bursting of over-mastering forces which had accumulated behind the dams of Western civilisation rather than the outcome of the decisions of statesmen.

Church and State in Turkey: If, as foreshadowed by the telegrams from Constantinople, the Caliphate is to be relieved of its temporal powers as a step towards the new constitutional regime to be established by the Angora nationalists, both Turkey and Islam will be great gainers. Every modern State, as the result of the evil experience of an established Church primarily on the Church itself, has adopted the principle of neutrality in religion. All religions are free and no religion enjoys any special favour or protection from secular authority. England and Japan seem to be exceptions, but in practice they are not. The Roman Catholic Church is a standing example of the strength which accrues to a religion from freedom from State control and interference. Islam, will not suffer in the least by the Caliphate being left free to devote its whole energy to the offices of religion. As for the Turkish Government, the separation of the religions aspect of the Caliphate, will facilitate its functioning as a constitutional Government unhampered by medieval political principles. We are surprised that the Central Khilafat Committee in Bombay should have intimated to the Angora representatives that Indian Muslims are opposed to this wholesome change. Mustapha Kemal Pasha's immediate task, however, is to establish a constitutional Government in Turkey which will be in harmony with modern ideas, and will be recognised as such by the other Great Powers, and though, we are sure, he will not undervalue the good opinion of Mr. Chotani and his colleagues, he will expect them to realize his position and his responsibilities. In an interview, the great Pasha disclaimed any motive of Pan-Islamism and declared that he did not want to interfere with the new autonomous Arab States, and that he was a Turk and wished to see a strong national Government in Turkey. This is an object with which men of all races and religions can not but freely sympathise. So far as the Angora Government was concerned, Kemal told another interviewer, the Sultan had ceased to exist.

The Immigration Problem in Canada: The Rev. F. W. C. Kennedy contributes an illuminating article to the October number of *the East and the West*, the well-known quarterly review for the study of missionary problems. The population of Canada at present is about 8,769,489 and as the area approaches 3,620,000 square miles, there are only 2.4 people to every square mile in the Dominion. A country so thinly-peopled must have immigrants, and even if it will not, it cannot permanently close its doors to them. Mr. Kennedy, therefore, advises that a wise policy of selection should be adopted, and he insists that "the all-important thing for us to remember is that it is

not wealth nor power that determines our future, but the character of the citizens we create." Applying this test, he points out that statistics show that in New York, Italians lead in crimes of violence, kidnapping and blackmailing. The Russians and Poles are conspicuous in robbery, larceny and receiving stolen goods. The Hebrews are prominent in white slavery and prostitution. The Chinese are addicted to drugs and gambling. Now, these are the communities which supply the largest number of immigrants to Canada whereas the Japanese who make the best citizens from every point of view, are banned. During an interview with the authorities in Vancouver, writes Mr. Kennedy, the questions "which alien countries provided us with the fewest criminals? Which are most advanced from the stand-point of cleanliness? Which are most law-abiding and make the best citizens?" brought the answers, "Japan and the Japanese." Nearly 20,000 Japanese are now in Canada, and very seldom has a Japanese been found guilty of any crime. And yet, Mr. Kennedy remarks:

Australia has always kept her doors tight closed against the Japanese, and Californians are erecting insurmountable walls round themselves, and adopting a hide-bound policy of exclusion against them. And we, who are clamouring for more and more immigrants to fill the unoccupied places in our Dominion, bring in Mennonites and Doukhobors, and other peoples from Europe who cause no trouble and anxiety, and try to keep out a people which is spoken of in the highest terms by the authorities as being polite, thrifty and law-abiding.

Mr. Sastry, however, assures us that there is no racial prejudice, but only economic considerations, behind these prohibitions!

The Handloom Industry: From a statement in the compilation of the statistics of the Inland trade of India in 1920-21, it appears that there has been a marked decrease since 1913-14 in the import of cotton piece goods into the provinces from the seaports. In 1913-14, 241,000 tons were sent into the country from the sea-ports, while in 1920-21, the quantity was only 148,000 tons. The decrease was solely in foreign piece goods which declined from 208,000 tons in the pre-war year to 51,000 tons in 1920-21. During the same period, the quantity of Indian piece-goods passed inland from the sea-ports increased from 33,000 to 97,000 tons. The outstanding fact here is that the sea-ports sent inland 93,000 tons less in 1920-21 than in 1913-14, of foreign and Indian piece-goods taken together. Allowing for the effect of high prices and hard times on consumption, the decrease is too large to be explained without an increased production of cotton cloth in the interior. The increase in the output of power-looms in the whole country since 1913-14 is about 50,000 tons. Of this, more than one-half was in Bombay city which has more than 50 per cent of the power-looms in India. Assuming that the mills in the interior produced all the remaining 25,000 tons, there is still 68,000 tons to be accounted for. Supposing that owing to the hard times there was a real decrease of 18,000 tons in the consumption—a large allowance for a prime necessity—the conclusion seems to be inevitable that the remaining 50,000 tons was supplied by hand-looms. This is as much as the increase of the power-looms, and it brings out the fact that while there is a definite limit to the expansion of the power-loom industry, the hand-loom industry seems to be capable of practically indefinite expansion at a time of international crisis. If the hand-loom industry had been extinct in India as some of our more ardent advocates of modern industrialism would wish, large classes of the population during recent years should have gone without a rag to cover their nakedness. While, therefore, it is possible to overdo the cult of the charka, there is even more danger of

under-estimating its importance in this country. From the broad national stand-point, the Indian statesman should ever extend a protecting hand to the hand-loom weaver in his cottage home.

Hindu-Mahomedan Unity: A valued Mahomedan friend writes: "The problem of Hindu-Moslem unity has been always, as you know, one of the chief political problems that have exercised my mind. I feel that the present entente, an outcome as it is of temporary political conditions and feelings, has not the basis of permanence. Is it not possible to discover this permanent basis in directions somewhat like the following:—(a) The Hindus to bring the Mussalmans in their fold as Hindus in the same way as they have practically brought the Jains and Buddhists. This is possible, as really speaking "Hindu" is a term of ethnological and geographical rather than of credal content. I would therefore deprecate the attempts that are being made to give the term "Hindu" a religious significance. (b) The Mussalmans should consider their non-Moslem brethren in India among the followers of the Book and Krishna and Buddha as among their prophets. I do not know whether you are aware that there are already amongst the Musalmans important sects, especially the Mystic sects who honour these personalities as such, and it ought not to be difficult for men like Hakim Ajmal Khan, Moulana Abdul Bari and others in the present temper of Indian Moslems to bring about this feeling." The first suggestion of our correspondent is practically adopted in Canada, America and elsewhere where all Indians are known as Hindus. The Hindus can have no objection to the connotation of the term being extended as suggested by our correspondent. The greatest difficulty, however, is the Indian Census and other official publications in which differences and distinctions are emphasised, exaggerated, and even sometimes discovered when they have been forgotten or never existed. As regards the second, it is not quite clear how such a recognition would serve to bring about Hindu-Mahomedan unity. The Jews and Christians are recognised by Islam as people of the Book, but that has not brought about their unity with Mahomedans. The question is not a theological one except superficially. We agree with our correspondent that an *entente* based on the Kbilafat question does not contain in it the elements of permanence, but it should not be forgotten that behind it is the close common evolution of the two peoples together for centuries, of which our correspondent himself gives a striking illustration in the recognition by the mystic Mahomedan sects of the great seers of Hinduism. There is also the tremendous fact of racial identity which religion cannot and does not efface, and to which, indeed, it often finds it necessary to adapt itself.

Fifth Music Conference: We are asked to state that the Fifth Music Conference of the Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya will be held in Bombay from Wednesday 6th December 1922 to Tuesday 12th December in the Shri Ram Chowk of the Vidyalaya at Sandhurst Road. With the Conference the sixth Exhibition of Musical Instruments will also be held, which will be opened on Sunday the 3rd December and will remain open to the public till the close of the Conference. The programme of the Conference will consist of the reading of papers, lectures and discussions on the theory of Music, concerts of vocal and instrumental music by well-known musicians, a musical concert of amateurs and two competitive concerts of children. Those who wish to read papers or deliver lectures on any subject connected with music should correspond with the Secretary of the Conference up to 30th November 1922.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1922.

THE CONGRESS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The eagerly expected Report of the Committee appointed in pursuance of a resolution of the All-India Congress Committee in June last, is being issued on Sunday. By the courtesy of the General Secretary, we were supplied with an advance copy on Thursday, which enables us to comment upon the recommendations in this issue. The Committee, it will be remembered, was appointed in view of a widespread feeling that "in view of the extremely unfair manner in which the policy of repression is being carried out by the Government the country should be advised to resort to some form of civil disobedience to compel the Government to abandon their present policy." On this, the main issue committed to them, the Committee are unanimously of opinion that the country is not prepared at present to embark upon general Mass Civil Disobedience. But "in view of the fact that a situation may arise in any part of the country demanding an immediate resort to Mass Civil Disobedience of a limited character e.g. the breaking of a particular law or the non-payment of a particular tax for which the people are ready," they recommend that the Provincial Congress Committees be authorised to sanction such limited Mass Civil Disobedience "on their own responsibility if the conditions laid down by the All-India Congress Committee in that behalf are fulfilled." Stripped of ifs and but's, this means that a Provincial Congress Committee can ask the people to break an unpopular law or to refuse to pay an obnoxious tax, if it feels assured of success. Recent experience should have warned the Committee that an enterprise of this kind has absolutely no chance of success unless backed by the bulk of public opinion in the country. The recommendation is tantamount to the delegation by the Central Government of the power of declaring war on their own account to Provincial Governments. No arguments are necessary to show that such delegation must inevitably lead to disruption and defeat. If every province is entitled to start Mass Civil Disobedience on its own account, the declaration that the country is not prepared to embark on it, has no meaning. The limitation indicated, of a single law or a particular tax, is perfectly useless. So far as Government are concerned, one tax is as good as another, one law as valid as any other so long as they remain upon the statute-book. The proviso will be most likely to be utilised in protest against the by-laws and the cesses levied by Local Bodies which Congressmen everywhere are recommended to capture. The engineer should beware lest he be hoist on his own petard.

This recommendation is the more remarkable as the Committee unanimously recommend that all existing disqualifications on practising lawyers

in the Congress organisation should be removed. In view of the strong opinions expressed regarding the demoralisation caused by Law Courts by prominent members of the Enquiry Committee, the uncompromising condemnation in the body of the report of the "unpardonable discourtesy" with which practising lawyers have come to be generally treated in Congress circles, is as surprising as it is just. "There is no reason," observe the Committee, "why a wholesale importer of foreign cloth should be freely admitted into all Congress organisations and even to responsible offices under it, whilst respected practising lawyers, known for their special aptitude for public work, were studiously and sometimes offensively excluded. We trust that the All India Committee will pay immediate attention to this matter and make the *amende honorable* to a deserving class which in the past has furnished the backbone of public life." It is on this very reason, namely, that lawyers have had a longer training in public life while traders are, comparatively, newcomers into it, that Mahatma Gandhi justified his call to the former to boycott the Courts without calling upon the traders in foreign goods to desist from doing so. That was hardly a sound reason. We are glad that the Committee have put their feet so firmly down upon the insensate belittling of experienced lawyers by juvenile Congressmen who form so large a proportion of the personnel of the present provincial and district Committees. But we are unable to understand their observation in the same paragraph that "it should be clearly understood that we suggest no change in the boycott of Government educational institutions by students or of Courts by lawyers and litigants as it stands in the Congress resolution." In other words, the Committee, while recommending that the Congress resolution should be rendered practically obsolete, recommend also that it should nevertheless be left intact as a counsel of perfection on the Congress tablets. The main point which we wish to urge in regard to this and the resolution about Mass Civil Disobedience is this: The lawyer's duty is to uphold the law, and not to pull it down. No practising lawyer can possibly countenance the breaking of laws, even if only one particular law is involved. An importer of foreign cloth can go on importing it, while at the same time belonging to an organisation which has sanctioned and is engaged in an act of civil disobedience. Obviously, this course is not open to the lawyer who may find one morning that the practice of his profession has been rendered suddenly impossible to him by the decision of his Congress Committee to break a law!

The same lack of co-ordination is discernible in the recommendations regarding entry into the Councils. The Committee are equally divided on this question. Hakim Ajmal Khan, Pandit Motilal Nebrun and Mr. V. J. Patel favour entry with the set purpose of creating a deadlock. Dr. Ansari and Messrs. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and Rajagopala Charya are against entry on the ground that it is wrong, even if it be possible, to go to the Councils deliberately to break

them up. As between these two views, we unhesitatingly favour the latter, though we know that the idea of the former cannot in practice be carried out. It is more honest and more honourable to refrain from going into a public body which you are precluded by your policy or principles from assisting to function as it is intended to do, than to enter it with the declared purpose of preventing it from doing so. This is nothing more than to repeat in the Councils the rowdy's method of breaking up public meetings. The Hakim Sahib candidly remarks in a separate note that he consents to this recommendation only because, with the exception of a few provinces, not only is very little progress being made with the constructive programme, but "we are actually going backwards." He, therefore, recommends entry into the Councils "with the sole object of showing that the Reform scheme is useless, and with a view only to make its working impossible." With great respect for Hakim Sahib, we suggest that you cannot prove that the Reform scheme is useless by making its working impossible. You cannot prove that a certain medicine is useless by snatching it from the patient and throwing it into the gutter. The only way—and it is the sure way—to prove the worth or worthlessness of a scheme—is to give it a fair trial. We have never had a very great opinion of the Reforms, and recent developments have disillusioned even many determined believers in them. Our reasons for recommending entry into the Councils are simple: The first is that the constructive, social programme of Bardoli must be pushed forward by every means in our power, and the Councils can, we believe, be utilised effectively for doing so, in addition to outside propaganda which can, in no case, be dispensed with. Secondly, as Hakim Sahib, Pandit Motilal and Mr. Patel forcibly point out,

Measures affecting the daily life of the people are being enacted year after year, fresh taxation and huge liabilities are being imposed and will continue to be imposed and *volens volens* the people will have to submit to them.

These measures, we may add, cannot be stopped by mere obstruction. By going into the Councils, you can help to make good laws and to repeal or improve bad laws, so that there will be no need to consider the conditions in which they should be broken.

The report is a disappointing one. It does not give a clear lead to the country, which it was intended and expected to give. "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself to the battle?" We recognise that the Committee had a very difficult task before them, and very little time to do it in. It is no easy task to persuade thousands of people to whom no other argument is needed in favour of following the old Non-Co-operation programme than that it was drawn up by Mahatma Gandhi. The Committee rightly urge that if this view is to prevail, it means that for the next six years not a word or syllable should be changed in the Congress programme while the circumstances which gave it birth are rapidly changing. The Committee have tried to indicate how these conditions have changed, but they have not referred to one vital change—the most important of all. The Khilafat question is practically solved, and with it one of the tripods of the Non-Co-operation programme will soon disappear. Prominent Mahomedan publicists have told us that this is bound to have an important influence on the Moslem support to Non-Co-operation. As regards the Punjab martial law grievances, they will soon be raised in a definite form before a judicial tribunal. Swaraj cannot be attained by boycotting the Councils. Hakim Ajmal Khan and his two colleagues who are in favour of entering the Councils, realize that fewer voters can be persuaded to abstain from going to the polls at the next election than at

the last. Non-Co-operation has been a success in a general way, but in all the specific items it set before itself, it has failed. A complete change of programme alone can save the Congress movement from collapse and we regret that this Committee of which much was expected has darkened counsel by its uncertain and divided recommendations.

The day of publication of the Indian Social Reformer will be henceforth Saturday instead of Sunday. But in order not to forestall the publication, fixed for the 5th instant, of the Congress Civil Disobedience Committee's Report with which we deal in our leading article, this issue will not be posted to local and inland addresses till Saturday evening.

"INDIA IN 1921-22."

Prefixed to Mr. Rushbrook Williams' "India in 1921-22" is a note bearing the following legend. "Except where otherwise mentioned, the pound sterling is taken as the equivalent of ten Rupees." No one desiring to get a pound sterling would have got it for less than fifteen rupees in the period covered by Mr. Williams' book. This fictitious valuation is not restricted to rupees and pounds sterling. It pervades the whole book in which a grain of fact is embellished by half a grain of fancy. This production has taken the place of the "Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress of India" which used to be presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. According to the Statute, this "statement" must contain an account of the broad financial features of the year's administration, and this account "must be accompanied by a statement prepared from a detailed report from each province in British India in such form as best exhibits the moral and material progress and condition of British India in each such province." Mr. Rushbrook Williams' book is described on the title-page as "a Report" prepared for presentation to Parliament in accordance with this statutory requirement. What the Statute demands is "a statement" and not "a report." The difference is obvious. A "statement" is a document in which the personal equation is reduced to a minimum. Its purpose is to enable those who read it to form an impartial judgment of the matter treated of. A "report," on the other hand, allows and, indeed, requires the reporter to assist the reader with his own appreciation of the facts comprised in a "statement." Mr. Rushbrook Williams' is not a "statement" nor even a "report" but a review of India in 1921-22 in the interests of the Government of which he is a subordinate. We regard the devolution of this important duty, which the Statute lays upon the Secretary of State in Council, upon a irresponsible minor official in this country, as a flagrant violation of the intention of Parliament. No Secretary of State would have put his name to speculations of the kind scattered throughout this Report. If it is desired that the Statement should be in narrative form, and have a background, an independent writer of position should be specially requisitioned for the work.

We may cite a few instances to show how Mr. Rushbrook Williams' position has affected his "report" to its detriment as a fair and judicial "statement" of events in India, such as can convey to Parliament an adequately correct impression of their reaction on Indian life and sentiment, which is, after all, the most important object of the statement. In his section on "South Africa," Mr. Williams, extolling Sir Benjamin Robertson's able presentation of India's case before the Asiatic Enquiry Commission, omits even to mention his "Repatriation" idea, which was promptly taken up by the

Union Government. Hundreds of Indians domiciled in the Colony were induced by misrepresentations to come to India—which many of them only knew by name. The Government of India repudiated the misrepresentation, but the mischief had been done. The hardships suffered by the “repatriated” Indians, are well-known. Mr. Williams, so far as any reference to this disastrous incident is concerned, might have been an inhabitant of the moon. He mentions “as an augury of better things” in South Africa, “the recent veto” of two Natal Ordinances which seemed likely to endanger “still further the position of Indians.” The Imperial Citizenship Association has recently been informed by the Government of India that the Bills have not been vetoed. In regard to East Africa, again, Mr. Williams states that, owing to the representations of the Government of India, “certain interim measures beneficial to the Indian community have been introduced.” The following incident of which we heard only last week may throw some light on these beneficial measures. A few months ago, an important firm in Bombay, which has a branch at Mombasa, sent an Indian accountant of high standing in his profession, to audit the accounts of their Mombasa branch. The English manager of the branch had arranged to receive the visitor as his guest, but it was found that some clause of the lease of the house in which he lived, prohibited its occupation, even temporarily, by non-Whites. The Indian gentleman was obliged to find quarters during his brief professional stay in the Indian quarter. The friend who gave us this information, mentioned it as a grim comment upon the large sum of 25 lakhs which, in a year of unprecedented deficit, the Legislative Assembly voted for an Empire Exhibition. The Director of Information will have no difficulty in ascertaining the identity of the firm and the Indian accountant if he cares to have them. Though he has inclined to over-estimate the results of the efforts of the Government of India, Mr. Williams, it must be said, has, on the whole, succeeded in reflecting Indian opinion on the subject of Indians overseas with substantial accuracy.

The three chapters relating to Mr. Gandhi and the Non-Co-operation Movement may be smart political pamphleteering, but they are hardly a “statement” of moral and material progress such as the law requires. Mr. Williams has sought for and found recondite reasons to explain events which arose from causes too obvious to be missed. Mahatma Gandhi, we are sure, will be interested and amused by the elaborate analysis of his mentality by the Director of Information. But it is news to us that “leaving South Africa, he (Gandhi) returned to India with the intention of employing on a still larger scale, and for still more comprehensive ends, the device which he had tested in South Africa”, of passive resistance as a means of obtaining redress of the outstanding grievances of his domiciled countrymen. Parliament is further informed that “the late Mr. Gokhale went so far as to bind Mr. Gandhi by a solemn promise that he would refrain from launching his scheme until he had

thoroughly satisfied himself of its practicability” and that “accordingly, not until after Mr. Gokhale’s death, did Mr. Gandhi devote himself once more to exploring the chances of success which were offered by an enterprise so hazardous.” Mr. Williams leaves no room for mistake as to what he means. “The War supervened”, he continues; “Mr. Gandhi was engaged in many activities of a social character; and only with the coming of the year 1919 did he seriously *resume his interrupted project.*” Mr. Gokhale died in February 1915. Supposing, Mr. Gandhi felt bound by his solemn promise to him for a period of twelve months after his demise, Mr. Williams’ statement would suggest that the Mahatma began to lay the train for Non-Co-operation in 1916 or 1917. What is the fact? In his statement before the Court in March last, Mr. Gandhi summed up his activities in South Africa, for which he added, he was given by Lord Hardinge a Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal. In the following passage, he gave his own account of his attitude to Government and his public activities since he left South Africa :—

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 1917 by Lord Chelmsford for recruits, I struggled at the cost of my health to raise a Corps in Khera and the response was being made when the hostilities ceased. 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 intense agitation against it. Then the Punjab horrors, beginning with the massacre at Jallianwalla Bag, and culminating in crawling orders, public flogging and other indescribable humiliations. I discovered too that the plighted word of the Prime Minister to the Mussalmans of India, regarding the integrity of Turkey and the Holy places 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 1919, I fought for co-operation and working the Montagn-Chelmsford Reforms, hoping that the Prime Minister would redeem his promise to the Indian Mussalmans, 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.

The quotation is long but it has to be put against Mr. Williams’ extraordinary assertion that Mahatma Gandhi had a scheme of non-co-operation in his pocket when landed from South Africa, and that the late Mr. Gokhale kept him back from giving effect to it! Mr. Williams’ account is written for a Report which he was writing for the Government which employs him: Mr. Gandhi’s account was given from the prisoners’ dock where he pleaded guilty of exciting disaffection against that Government and asked the Judge that the severest sentence for the offence may be passed on him. The historian, even in the Historical School which Professor Williams has founded at Lucknow, will have no difficulty in appraising the relative value of these conflicting statements.

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

London, October 12th 1922.

THE DISCREDITED PREMIER.

Probably Mr. Lloyd George, at the summit of his fame was never more popular than to-day he is unpopular. The grave trouble in the Near East with all its Imperial ramifications, has brought into entire discredit a man who, even by his political opponents, was considered a clever if impulsive statesman. In 1918, Mr. Lloyd George obtained a victory in this country almost unprecedented in our Parliamentary history; there had been no other man considered able to carry the war to a successful issue. But to-day he stands discredited. The Great War ended in a victory for the Allies, but peace was not restored, constant war clouds continued to hover over Europe, until the climax was reached last week, when it seemed as though once again the world was to be bathed in blood and horror. For this last anxiety the country blames the Premier. Even Mr. Garvin of the *Observer*, who has always sought to deal fairly and pay tribute to his genius, says: "Mr. Lloyd George must now give his political life to save it, and any attempt to prolong the present system can only mean the maximum of friction abroad and of confusion and political disintegration at home." He was a great leader, and at a time of great crisis served his purpose, but that crisis over, he should have retired, for new conditions require new leaders. Perhaps had he resigned two years ago, this country, if not the Empire, would have considered him one of her greatest men: but he has overstayed his time and power, and to-day the country is heartily sick of Lloyd George and all its disappointed hopes. One thing is quite evident—the present Parliament is nearing its end. An overpowering unanimity of opinion is abroad that we want a new Parliament with new men in it. Several names have been put forward as the probable successors to the Premier, and it is possible the position may fall to the lot of Mr. Bonar Law. The latter is looked upon as the most likely man for the task, and he has himself, in the form of a letter recently published in the Press, practically put himself forward as a candidate. Should he be called upon, it is very evident that he would view much of Mr. Lloyd George's policy as something to be thrown upon the scrap-heap. Even a breach with France he seems to contemplate, and a reversion to a form of isolation appeals to him. There is certainly a growing school of thought that considers the possibility of binding the Empire closer together and of cutting itself off, whenever possible, from foreign entanglements.

PANEL DOCTORS.

Once again our system of panel doctors has come in for a great amount of adverse criticism. One big health insurance committee alleges grave neglect of duty against certain practitioners and is making representations to the Minister of Health, who, it is hoped, will take action. The lock-up surgery is

probably the worst evil complained about; it is claimed that a panel doctor should be compelled to reside at, or quite near to, his surgery or have a qualified assistant residing there. The amount of ill-feeling the absentee doctor produces, is quite understandable. Illnesses are often sudden, and to be debarred from calling in the medical man, to whom one is taught to look for help and succour, is a grave injustice to the hundreds of poor patients that come under this system. The fact is, most panel doctors have many more patients on their books than they can possibly attend to, so that most of these patients are scamped and neglected. Especially is this true where a panel doctor has also a private practice. The ideal of this system is good, the health of the individual is to the benefit of the whole community of which that individual forms a part, but the system needs reorganisation, and unless this is done the only people in the State who will benefit by its continuance in its present form will be the panel doctors themselves, for the public will refuse to go to them. All panel doctors are not equally callous to their poor patients; there are still many who take their work seriously and conscientiously, but the bad ones bring the whole system into disrepute and discredit upon the medical profession.

SITUATION IN IRELAND—ACUTE FINANCIAL CRISIS.

The new Irish Parliament has received its first big shock in domestic affairs. At the close of its financial debate last week, it was estimated that 27 millions sterling were required for the year, but as far as anyone can see at present, Ireland cannot produce such a sum. The largest item in the total is ten millions for compensation, and this huge figure only represents a part of the damage done, for President Cosgrave has made it clear that local resources must pay largely for local damage. The Army is to cost 7½ millions, this figure representing one equal to nearly 300 millions for Great Britain. To add to the seriousness of the situation, agriculture is in a very bad way, with prices extremely low and a large number of people still, for political reasons, refuse to pay income tax. Altogether, the position is none too happy, but President Cosgrave has courage and a large faith, and works steadily on. The relations between the Free State and Northern Ireland are much more friendly than they were a short while ago, and it is possible, on the next occasion that the North and South meet together, that the atmosphere will be less electrical and therefore productive of much good to Ireland as a whole. It has been suggested that a declaration made by General Richard Mulcahy, Commander-in-Chief, foreshadows the possibility of intention on the part of the authorities to bring forward at some time in the future a scheme of compulsory military service in Ireland, but the Irish newspapers are silent on the matter, and nothing at all definite by any statesman has been said to make such a proceeding likely. The Government has offered to transfer certain civil servants from Whitehall to the Irish Free State and though many Irishmen in the British Civil Service feel they

ought to be patriotic and return to their own corner of the earth to serve there, they are, nevertheless, very chary to send in applications for transfer. This diffidence is largely a question of money. Though the salaries in Southern Ireland may be on a level with that which they receive here, the questions of superannuation and pensions are still unsettled, and after a man has spent many years in the service here, he does not like to throw away his human certainty for something problematical. But no doubt, when this difficulty is settled, there will be a fairly large exodus from Whitehall, and this may ease the position there. The retrenching of large numbers of junior men, apart from low salaries, has given rise to a very discontented junior branch of the English Civil Service. But all the disabilities members of the Civil Service may suffer bring forth no sympathy from the general public. At the mass meeting that was held a few weeks ago by low-paid clerks, no enthusiasm or sympathy on the part of anybody else was shown, and the protest they wanted to raise fizzled out.

THE SCOUT MOVEMENT.

The big annual rally of the Boy Scouts took place last Saturday. It was a huge success. The Prince of Wales, wearing a Scout uniform, was present, and about 60,000 boy scouts took part in the celebration. Sir Robert Baden-Powell seemed very happy, and well he might be, for, as he said, no one took the movement seriously when he proposed it 14 years ago. Most people were mildly amused, and looked upon Sir Robert as a trifle with social experiments. Today there are 30 nations that proclaim him the "Chief Scout of all the World," and the followers number about 300,000. The Scout movement has no doubt done more to turn boys into decent self-respecting youths than any other scheme that has been brought into modern existence. It teaches a boy to be fearless, self-reliant, and to work for the common good. The Scout movement also being international, it can, if properly understood and worked, help to make for a feeling of international relationships, and may do much to help to solve the difficulties that the next generations will have to contend with.

THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

The Church Congress opened at Sheffield on Monday, the Archbishop of York, preaching an inaugural sermon. The spiritual heart of this present generation, he said, was restless not only because its nerves had been overstrained by the stress of the dark days of war, but because it was suffering from a sense of disillusionment. The war had shaken not nerves only, but ideals. It had broken the old confident faith in an ever-advancing social progress. The drinking of its dregs in these post-war confusions had left a taste of moral failure. Mists has clouded the vision, the hope of the better world, and there had come on all sides a reaction from the ideals, so prevalent in the 19th Century, of a merely material civilisation, an instinct that spiritual values were the only measure of true wealth, spiritual ideals the only power of true progress. But the instinct was vague and uncertain of itself. Men had come to yearn for religion not from motives of fear or superstition, but because

they needed the highest truth and power which it could give them. Men wanted a true religion as never before—that was the hope. They did not find it in the Church—that was the trouble. "To put the matter bluntly," the Archbishop said, "religion attracts; the Church repels. Let us face the fact honestly. That it is a fact can anyone doubt who knows what is passing through the minds of the men and women, especially the younger men and women, who eagerly desire a spiritual religion and yet stand apart from the Church? To these the Church is not a witness of the truth of its gospel, but it is, in its divisions, its dullness, its unreality, an obstacle, a stone of stumbling, an offence. If, therefore, the Church is to preach the eternal gospel to this generation, not in word only, but in power, it must evangelise itself. It must present a new reality of experience as its warrant to all men of the truth of its great assertion."

MR. SASTRI OPTIMISTIC.

Mr. Sastri will soon be back in India to make his statement to the country in the Council of State on the results of his tour in the Dominions. He never expected to do more than break the ground for others to cultivate after him, but he is sanguine that good results have followed and will follow his representations to public men in the Dominions and elsewhere, who will have less excuse than heretofore to forget their Imperial obligations to a state aspiring to early equal partnership in the British Commonwealth. Mr. Sastri indignantly repudiates the suggestion in certain quarters that he has given up a single legitimate Indian claim, or that anything that he has said or done has been injurious to his country. But besides being an idealist he is a realist, and he did not forget either what was the purpose and object of his mission or what they were not.

BOMBAY STUDENTS' BROTHERHOOD.

DISCUSSION ON MARRIAGE AND SACRAMENT.

A conversational meeting of the members of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood was held at its headquarters on Sunday the 22nd October. Light refreshments were served. The adjourned discussion on the subject of "Marriage and Sacrament" was resumed. Mr. S. Sadanand placed before the members draft proposals for the formation of a separate organisation for the purpose of carrying out the requisite reforms in the Hindu marriage customs for the preservation of the sacramental character of marriage. The discussion centred round the definition and place of Dowry in Hindu marriages, the need for amendment of the Hindu law of inheritance as to ensure the right of daughters to inheritance of ancestral properties along with sons and the place of civil marriages in any marriage reform movement. It was pointed out that there were several ways of evading pledges to refuse to accept or give dowries. Mr. J. Natarajan suggested that one way of minimising such evasions would be to introduce the custom of a public declaration on the occasion of the religious ceremonies by the parents of the bridegroom and the bride and also by the bridegroom that they have neither received nor given any dowries. Mr. S. V. Lalit suggested that in the case of all marriage reforms, the spirit of the Hindu Scriptures should be followed.

After much discussion, a committee consisting of Messrs S. V. Lalit, J. Natarajan, S. A. Dange, L. S. Bhandare, R. S.

Paddidri with Mr. S. Sadanand as convener, with powers to add, was appointed to consider in detail the proposals placed before the meeting and to submit its report at the next meeting of the Brotherhood on Sunday the 29th October. It was also decided to request Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the "Indian Social Reformer" to help the Committee in its deliberations with his advice and guidance.

As stated above, the adjourned discussion on "Marriage and Sacrament" was resumed at the conversational meeting of the members of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood at its premises on Sunday the 29th October when Mr. L. G. Khare was the chief guest. Light refreshments were served. Mr. S. Sadanand reported the findings of the sub-committee appointed at the previous meeting to examine the draft proposals for carrying out marriage reforms. The Committee in all sat for 5 hours and decided that the activities relating to the carrying out of marriage reform should, for the present, be carried on by the formation of a new Association to be called "The Hindu Marriage Reform Association." After a lengthy discussion, the Committee also resolved not to fight for the elimination of the system of Dowries wholly but to fight against the extortions only. The Committee debated the question of inter-caste marriages and agreed to restrict its advocacy to inter-sect marriages. The Committee also recommended that it should be made clear that the Association did not aim to advocate any reform that was contrary to the spirit of the Hindu Law. Mr. Sadanand next read out the proposals as finally proposed by the Committee.

At the outset, Mr. Khare put before the meeting the question as to whether the proposed activities should not be carried as part of the activities of the Brotherhood. It was pointed that there will be some practical technical difficulties in doing so. After discussion, the meeting unanimously resolved that a separate Association should be formed. Then the proposals were taken clause by clause and passed with changes wherever found necessary. Following are the proposals as finally accepted by the meeting :

(1) That an Association be formed for the elimination of anachronous customs of Hindu marriage, while strictly preserving its sacred character.

(2) That the Association be styled "The Hindu Marriage Reform Association."

(3) That admission to the Association be open to all members of the Hindu community, irrespective of sex, caste or sect, of the age of 16 and over, who subscribe to the objects and pledge themselves by personal example and influence to help in carrying out the objects in the manner enjoined in the following clauses.

(4) That it shall be considered essential

(a) to treat as reprehensible the extortion of dowries on the side of either one or both of the parties to the marriage, either on the occasion of the marriage or any other religious ceremony connected with it (e. g. the consummation ceremony).

(b) to encourage the marriage of boys and girls only after they have fully attained to manhood and womanhood and are capable of entering into Grihastha life with a full realisation of their duties, rights and responsibilities and to recognise as the age limit for marriage, 21 years for boys and 16 years for girls, as the indispensable minimum of age.

(c) to recognise the need and to encourage the removal of inter-sect restrictions on marriage.

(d) to recognise the institution of widow re-marriage and to encourage it especially in the case of child-widows.

(e) to eliminate the compulsory disfigurement of women on account of widowhood,

(f) to treat as reprehensible the second and third marriages of men involving great disparity in age of parties to the marriage.

(g) to refrain from participating or assisting in the conclusion or the celebration of or any religious ceremonies connected with marriages going contrary to the spirit of marriage as embodied in any of the above clauses.

(h) to recognise the need for and practice abstention from consummation of marriage in cases of child-marriages that have already happened and come within the definition of sub-clause B.

It shall be obligatory for persons wishing to join the Association to agree to the creed and to the above explanatory clauses and to sign a pledge which shall run as follows :

"Believing conscientiously that it is essential for the true well-being of Society, to eliminate anachronous customs of Hindu marriages, while preserving its sacred character, I accept the creed of the Association, as explained and defined in the undernoted clauses and solemnly pledge myself to do all in my power by my own personal example and influence for carrying out the objects of the Association in its letter and spirit."

Mr. S. Sadanand was appointed as Provisional Secretary of the Association, for carrying on the further activities of the Association. Several members joined the Association at the conclusion of the meeting. Persons who are in sympathy with the objects of the Association are requested to write to the Provisional Secretary, the Hindu Marriage Reform Association, care of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood, Settlement House, Girgaum Back Road, Bombay.

THE FASCIST MOVEMENT.

Mr. G. Rayner Ellis, writes in the *Challenge* (London):—

To most Englishmen the name of the Fascisti suggests a reactionary organisation in the nature of a white guard, formed to defend the interests of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, and as much a class organisation as a trade union. It is true that the Fascist movement is intensely nationalist, that it makes systematic use of reprisals, and that it has in many cases arrogated to itself the duties of the forces of the Crown. Neither can it be denied that up till now it has been engaged in conflict almost entirely with the communists and Unified Socialists. Yet it would not be correct to conclude from this that it is merely a violent movement on the part of a sort of *bloc national*, representing the possessing classes against the unpossessing. It is as much opposed to certain elements of the wealthy bourgeoisie as it is to the communists, and as it develops further is certain to come into conflict with them. Its theories have more in common with the socialism of Sorel than with bourgeois conservatism or liberalism.

It is not generally realised how greatly the Treaty of Versailles disappointed Italy. Unlike England and France, Italy had not entered the war by the practically unanimous desire of its people. The socialists, the catholics and the followers of Signor Giolitti were strenuous in their efforts to prevent Italian intervention. The interventionists had, therefore, to point to some positive gain in order to justify the cost in lives and money, and they were unable to do so.

Nationalism, and with it everything that had had to do with the war, was completely discredited. The prestige and morale of the army were at a low ebb, and the peculiar condition of Italian parliamentary life at this time added to the general discontent. For years it had been in the hands of political cliques, whose leaders set up and deposed ministries

from the background. But in November, 1919, the carefully erected system gave way before the popular feeling. A hundred and fifty-six socialists were returned, that is, nearly a third of the whole chamber; and, inebriated by the success, the socialists thought the realisation of their aims at hand. At this time, the Unified Socialists were affiliated to the Third International. Every step preliminary to the actual revolution was taken. Bombacci, one of the most prominent of the communist leaders, gave the bourgeoisie three months to hand over their property. Red guards were formed in industrial centres and revolutionary leagues exercised a pitiless despotism in the agricultural districts of Emilia, Romagna, and Tuscany by the murder of seigniorants or the destruction of their farms. Political strikes succeeded each other with growing frequency and diminishing excuse, even in the services of the State. In Milan, officers and those decorated for valour in the war were chased through the streets, beaten, and sometimes killed. Systematic boycotting made almost impossible for members of the bourgeoisie to obtain the necessities of life, and bomb outrages were committed daily with the object of paralysing industry and terrorising the bourgeois. The government took no steps to terminate so unsatisfactory a condition of affairs. Repeated amnesties protected the criminals after each outrage; everything was pardoned in the hope that things might settle down. Naturally they became worse. The culmination of this movement was the seizure of the factories by workers, who proceeded to run them by means of their own committees. Signor Giolitti, who was then Premier, chose, perhaps wisely, not to turn them out by force. They had fortified the factories, and the temper of the army was not at all certain. Besides, Signor Giolitti had other opponents to beat. By allowing the workers to remain in possession of the factories he forced the manufacturers to come to terms; then he arranged a compromise by which the factories were evacuated and the workmen given a share in the management of the works. The revolution, which had been promised to follow the occupation of the works, did not take place, and the communists thus threw away their best chance of success.

As early as 1919 the first *Fasci di Combattimento* were formed by Signor Benito Mussolini, editor of the *Popolo d'Italia*, and of the two or three great personalities of Italian political life. The *Fasci* were groups of young men organised in military fashion, determined to restore to the country the peace and order necessary for her prosperity. Greatly augmented in numbers after the occupation of the factories they decided to reduce the communists to parliamentary activity. Their method was one of retaliation; to violence they opposed violence, to killing killing. A system of punitive expeditions enabled the Fascisti of the big cities to counter the red power in the agricultural districts. For months a fierce struggle took place; ambushes and reprisals were of daily occurrence all over the north and centre of Italy, but gradually the Fascisti gained the upper hand. After a while the leaders of red organisations were to be seen asking the protection of the troops who had been an especial object of their hatred, and of the laws they proposed to overthrow. The peculiar organisation of the red forces contributed in a way to their downfall. The leaders had become surrounded by a band of extremists who pushed them forward and prevented communication between them and their followers. This extremist nucleus being defeated, more moderate counsels began to prevail. In the agricultural districts, where the Fascisti offered a solution of the land problem better than that of the communists, numbers of red leagues went over to them bag and baggage. Thus the red

dictature was destroyed, and with the restoration of order Mussolini saw it was time to embark on a more constructive policy. At the present time Fascism is easily the greatest power in Italy; its strength, in fact, is such as to give rise to the belief that it must inevitably take over the task of governing the country. It is certain, at any rate, that the party will capture a great number of seats at the next general election, and, owing to the change in public opinion, the present chamber is unrepresentative.

The strength of Fascism lies in the fact that it offers a solution, other than communism, to the large body of Italian opinion which is thoroughly dissatisfied with the capitalist regime as it exists at present, but realises the futility of attempting to force such a solution as communism on a country so obviously alien to its spirit as Italy. After all, Italy is one of the most individualist of countries, and any political system to succeed there must take this fact into account. The Fascisti reject as unnatural and utopian the idea of internationalism. The very basis of their theories is the conception of the nation, almost a personality. From Mazzini they have inherited certain moral and intellectual standards which, though they would be unacceptable to a great many people, yet give them a dynamic force such as has not existed in Italy since the *Risorgimento*. Their idea of the nation is not aggressive, in the French manner, but aims rather at the development than the expansion of the country. Private property is justified by its utilisation for the benefit of the community: when its owner ceases to use it for that purpose it should pass to other hands. All individual capacities should be used in the way which will bring most benefit to the community, that is to Italy. These conceptions of the nation would be dangerous in the hands of many nations, but it is unlikely that the Italians will pursue them to that point. The philosophy of the Fascisti like most Italian political philosophy is rather intuitive than strictly formal, and there are at the head of the movement men such as Mussolini whose energy is tempered by clear perception, men who have the national enthusiasm of Garibaldi but a greater political insight. Had it not been so, the Italian Government would have been overthrown, perhaps forcibly when it attacked d'Annunzio in Fiume. The Fascisti naturally sympathised with him, but their leaders restrained the tendency to violent action. When the party takes over the government of the country, its policy will probably be more constructive and economic than political. There will be no attempt to drive the workers from the position they have obtained, but energy will be concentrated on what may be called the modernisation of the country, all of whose resources will be developed as far as possible.

MILITARY JATHAS' STATEMENT.

The following is the written statement put in on the 27th October, by Subedar Amarsingh with the concurrence of the other members of the military pensioners' Jatha in the court of Mr. L. Amar Nath:—

"We avail of this opportunity to make it clear to the Government how the Sikh mind feels in regard to the Gurdwara reform movement generally and the Guru-ka-Bagh affair especially. The members of this Jatha are glad they rendered services to the Crown of which no loyal heart need feel ashamed. We fought on the battlefields of Tirah, Chitral, Afghanistan, Burma, China, East Africa, the Soudan, Egypt, Persia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Gallipoli, Russia, France and other fields less worthy of note. This service was done in extremes of climate, while in France thousands of Sikh soldiers stood entrenched for days together in icy

water. They also saw service at Rumades in Mesopotamia, where the thermometer stood at 135° and there were no fewer than 190 deaths from thirst in one single day. The world seriously doubts if the onrushing tide of the victorious German hordes would have been stemmed but for the hand to hand bayonet fight by the Sikhs at Nenvachapelle and Ypres. At Kut-el-Amara, we held out when all chances of help became entirely remote, when all communications were cut off and we had no provisions save the flesh of horses and mules to feed on.

Twenty-four of us were wounded in action and having been incapacitated for further military service retired on pension, while one lost his leg and two got their eye-sight injured by gas. Almost all of us possess medals of one distinction or other in addition to two I. O. M. S., I.D.S.M., and one M. S. M. Most of us belong to families who have seen continuous military services since the unhappy times of the Indian mutiny, when the British flag stood tottering on the soil of India. We did nothing more than what our duty to the Crown demanded and that we did to the utmost of our ability and strength.

But since the Gurdwara reform movement began, the official attitude towards it has given rise to painful misgivings in our mind, which as the days pass have acted severely on our feelings. We have witnessed the Nankana Sabib massacre, the official sympathy for the aggrieved party in the forms of jail and of unsullied lives and the justice of the High Court in an unparalleled case of most barbarous and cold blooded massacre. We have seen the Government's solicitude for inviolability of their solemn pledges not to interfere in the religious liberties of their subjects in the matter of Kirpan, black turbans and the Golden Temple keys affair. All this we have seen, heard and felt like a Sikh, felt like a friend rudely disillusioned from his loving and blind faith in the honesty of others.

On the top of all comes the Guru-ka-bagh affair. During the two months or so since this struggle began, we have seen our brothers beaten most brutally and illegally. We have seen their beards and hair pulled by sacrilegious hands, beard of our holy Gurus being spoken of in terms most insulting and provoking, seen things done by the Police in the name of "law," in a manner most lawless and all this anxious concern for law and order having no real basis for it. Our patience having thus been tried to the utmost, we have come forward to prove our devotion to the Guru and the Panth as if to give a true idea of the humiliation to which our brothers are subjected. The Police were good enough to give us a taste of it. We were first searched naked like the meanest criminals, then kept under such severe and close guard as not to allow us to answer calls of nature from 11 in the night to 6 in the morning the next day.

We shall now be pleased to see handcuffs fastened on our wrists by those whom we have been considering our friends for so long and in whose service we have been so little calculating of our own interests. To-day we consider ourselves doubly fortunate in having been arrested for going out to cut wood from the Sat Guru's land for the Sat Guru's langer and having been put into jail for the liberation of our religious shrines and the Gurdwara Reform.

ALL BUT ONE CONVICTED.

The Military Pensioners' *Jatha* was yesterday convicted of an offence under section 45 of continuing to be members of an unlawful assembly after order to disperse and all the 100 men were sentenced, 26 men by reason of old age to 6 months' simple imprisonment and Rs. 100 fine or in default to 3 months' further simple imprisonment and the remaining,

to 74 to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 100 fine or in default to 6 months' further rigorous imprisonment. Detailed proceedings follow. Subedar Sirdar Amar Singh, the Jathadar, was, because of his position, directed to be treated in jail as a special class prisoner. The trial took place in the court of Lala Amar Nath, Magistrate. The case against one Sepoy, Chatar Singh, was withdrawn as he had lost one leg in the war.

A HINDU MISSIONARY SOCIETY MARRIAGE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The *Hindu Missionary* of the 16th October devotes two and a half columns to describe "A Hindu Marriage" performed in Bombay, under the auspices of the Hindu Missionary Society, on the 8th instant, according to the revised ritual of the Hindu Missionary Society. The parties to this marriage were Mr. Dayandeo Lahoo Kaotekar, a member of the Mahar community of Kurla and the bride Shrimati Madhumalini, a born Christian, who about two months ago renounced Christianity and embraced Hinduism. Mr. Kaotekar was an inmate of the Hostel for boys conducted by the Bombay Branch of the Depressed Classes Mission when I was its Superintendent. This young man was then already married, and from enquiries made, I learn that his first wife is still living. She could hardly be 15 years of age and Mr. Kaotekar has not divorced her nor has she left him. I do not know the circumstances under which the present marriage was settled. The *Hindu Missionary* says: "Mr. Dnyandeo settled his marriage with Shrimati Madhumalini and came to us to solemnize the same. We settled Sunday as the most convenient day to celebrate the marriage and printed invitations and distributed them among the friends and relations of Mr. Dnyacadeva." What I would like to know is if the "Hindu Missionary" made enquiries before issuing the invitations as to whether Mr. Kaotekar was already married and whether his wife was living or dead. I know the "Hindu Missionary" defends bigamous marriages and has no scruples to solemnize them. But the excuses advanced for solemnizing a bigamous marriage before, do not hold good in this case, and after the chorus of condemnation of that marriage one would have expected the "Hindu Missionary" to refrain from solemnizing such marriages in future. Among the Depressed Classes a man can go in for any number of marriages in the life time of one or more of his wives. But should not we expect persons like the educated Editor of the *Hindu Missionary* who acted the fire warden and Mr. L. B. Raje who officiated as minister to set a better example to these people by refusing to solemnize such marriages? I am afraid the Hindu Missionary Society which has such a bright future before it, is marring the cause to which every one would wish prosperity, by solemnizing bigamous marriages.

Bandra,
24th Oct. 1922.

Yours etc,
V. S. SONONI.

THE LATE MR. GADKARI.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I should like to offer my grateful tribute of sincere appreciation to the departed and valued soul of Mr. Gadkari for making a valuable addition to the poor Marathi literature by the writing of a marvellous play by name "Raja Sanyas." It is a history of Sambheji's misrule, his misdeeds and misconduct, written in most chaste and beautiful Marathi. During 1½

short space of a decade, Gadkari wrote out five wonderful Marathi plays, of which this is the only historical, the rest being all quite original social plays of rare merit in Marathi or any other literature. He has surpassed all the old as well as new writers and eclipsed all Maharashtra writers by his luminous writings, prose and poetry. All the plays of Gadkari are full of wit and humour and his character sketches are quite exhaustive and well developed. He was a most consummate playwright, a star of first magnitude, eclipsing the glory of all the rest by his transcendental lustre dominating the dramatic firmament with unique brilliancy. He swam into the ken of discoverers almost after his death. Though all his plays are full of human, there is not a single wit, which his low, obscure or dirty. Had such a man been born in appreciative England or inquisitive America, they might have been resounded with his praise. It was ever either England or America that discovered our Vivekanand, Tagore or Bose and it redounds greatly to their glory. When we begin to inquire into the causes of the inert state of the public mind in India, we cannot but be astounded at the vast extent to which a sort of inertia holds sway over the lethargic state of the public mind and must have from time immemorial paralysed the germs of greatness and lopped the wings of ambition. We lament over the scarcity of master-minds in the field of Science and literature, but are not conscious of the fact that it is owing to the absence of an appreciative public.

At last we have a worthy play, published in attractive form, one of the greatest monument of dramatic literature. This play conclusively proves the merit of Mr. Gadkari and that his death was a national loss. For years, dramatic literature in Marathi was the despair of the stage and the public. Throughout this marvellous play are discernible the traces of a powerful and independent mind, emancipated from the influence of authority and devoted to the search of truth. The corrupt habits and dirty practices of the clerical line are most vividly brought to light in the character of "Jiwaji" and they are held forth to the ridicule and hatred of the public. The divine love and devotion of "Shiwaganga" has been skilfully depicted. The fiery patriotism and deep loyalty of the old Sardars "Jiwaba Mohite" and "Hiroji Farjand" has been nicely delineated. Gadkari not only revolutionised but evolved and purified the stage as none other had done before.

It was by his poetry and humorous writings that Gadkari was first known to the public. His articles "Thakiohan Laguna" and poem "Rajahames Maaza Nijala" have been immortalised. By the general suffrage of the educated youths his place has been assigned among the greatest masters of the dramatic art. There are many critics, who extol his works and deery the writer. The works, they acknowledge, considered in themselves may be classed among the noblest productions of human mind, but they would not allow the author to rank with great writers. Gadkari, it is said, inherited what his predecessors like Agarkar, Keshava Suta, and Kolhatkar created; he lived in an enlightened age, received good education (I mean dramatic education) and we must, therefore, if we form a just estimate of his powers, make large deductions in consideration of these advantages. But I say, there are for the present many young men possessing all these advantages and a longer life than of Gadkari to boot, yet why are they not enabled to write equally good plays? At the time of his death Mr. Gadkari was only 35. Was it not a positive disadvantage, counterbalancing all the other petty advantages?

G. K. SHIRSAT,

CASTE IN COLLEGE HOSTELS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

My attention has been drawn only today to Mr. Oak's letter and your comment thereon in your issue of October 22. It is undoubtedly a deplorable fact that an old institution of forty years' standing like the Rajaram College should not have a hostel attached to it, but it does not follow that the institution fosters caste distinctions.

There are several denominational hostels in Kolhapur for providing boarding and educational facilities to the sons of the various communities and they are serving that purpose very admirably. I find that in many of these boarding houses even college students can get accommodation, furniture, light and food by the payment of such a ludicrously small sum as ten rupees per month. This has been possible on account of the large amounts donated by the communities to which these hostels belong. But for these charities and institutions, I am sure, scores of students would have been deprived of higher education. There is deep poverty in these parts and it is impossible for the sons of the middle classes even to go in for secondary and college education.

It is well-known that the backward classes have been deprived of higher education in all the Western countries even. It is, however, highly gratifying to see that here the State is following a very enlightened policy in providing educational and boarding facilities for the backward classes. In the Rajaram School and College, more than 20 per cent of the students are being educated free of charge. May I ask whether there is any other college in British India affiliated to the Government Universities which has popularized higher education among the poverty-stricken masses to the extent that the Rajaram College has done through the liberal policy of the State? Can anyone deny that His Late Highness Shri Shahu Chhatrapati of Kolhapur devoted himself heart and soul to the amelioration of the backward and depressed classes and to the removal of caste prejudices? Is the same rational policy not being followed by the present Maharaja? In the face of these facts, how can the State be charged of fostering caste divisions?

Then the Rajaram College has been managed by the Arya Samaj for the last three years. This body is universally known to be the most fanatical iconoclast of all castes. It has been preaching the doctrines of the equality and fraternity of all men and women and working in earnest to remove the untouchability of the sixty millions of the depressed classes by raising them to a higher standard of education, character and economic life. *The Samaj is pledged to break down all barriers of caste and is working on these lines in Kolhapur too.*

In short, the State and the Samaj are dead against castes and communal divisions, but the latter can not be obliterated in a day. We are anxious to have a college hostel. In these days of financial stress and retrenchment, a new building worth more than a lack of rupees can not be begun off hand. Still arrangements are being made. I am positively sure that the Rajaram College will have a decent hostel from the beginning of the next session.

BAI. KRISHNA,
Principal, Rajaram College.

Kolhapur, 30-10-22.

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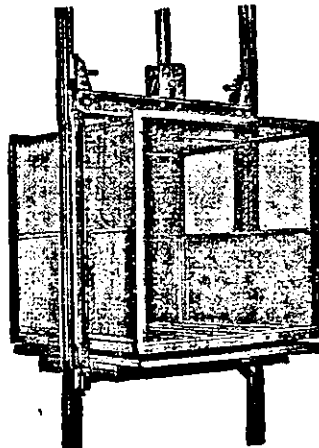
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Non-Co-operation and the Legislative Councils: Mr. Sadanand's article on "The Way to Freedom," which we publish to-day, was written before the publication of the report of the Congress Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee. But its arguments are not affected by the fact that, not the whole Committee, but only one-half of it, recommend the entry of Non-Co-operators into the Legislative Councils, or that they do so solely for purposes of obstruction. To be consistent, however, Mr. Sadanand must object as much to Non-Co-operators entering Municipal and Local Boards, which are creations of the Legislature, as to their entering the Legislature. It is now a settled policy with Non-Co-operators that they should obtain control of these civic institutions by getting themselves elected to them in large numbers. Apart from all other considerations, this alone renders untenable the position of those who would continue the boycott of the Legislative Councils. It is like the position of a man who finds enjoyment in contemplating the heavens from the top of a tree, while his opponent is vigorously wielding the axe on its stem with a view to bring him and it to the ground. The real difficulty in the way of self-Government, whether independence or of the Dominion model, is the absence of unity and combination among the Indian people. In the Punjab, educated Hindus and Mahomedans are quarrelling as bitterly over Government inspectorships of schools, as their illiterate co-religionists over *tasias*. In the United Provinces, a pitched battle was fought in the Legislative Council the other day between Hindu and Mahomedan members, Ministers and Members of Council joining in the fray, over the reservation of seats in Local Boards. In Madras and in Maharashtra, the non-Brahmins, that is, the bulk of the population, regard the Brahmins as more foreigners than the British, and the Brahmins themselves are divided in the rival camps not only of Co-operators and Non-cooperators, but, now, as between absolute Non-Co-operators and qualified Non-Co-operators. Bengal never showed more than a platonic love for Non-Co-operation. It is obvious that the first task of Indian statesmen is to bring about a composition of these distracting differences.

This is the central idea of the constructive social programme of Bardoli. The Legislative Councils and the civic bodies offer a field where all castes and creeds may work together for the common good to promote which is to promote unity. The British connection with India is not altruistic, and was never so, but all the same many Englishmen have been altruistic in the past and are so now in regard to Indian well-being; and it is worth an effort to get as many of them as possible behind our work of national reconstruction. There is ample field outside the Councils too for national work and, in fact, the fruitfulness of the Councils is entirely dependent upon the public life without them. All that is asked is that there should be harmony and continuity between the work in the Councils and outside, which there cannot be if entry into the Councils is regarded as a sin against the country.

Secondary Education in the Central Provinces: We print to-day a considered criticism by Mr. T. R. Gadre of the provisions of the Central Provinces Secondary Education Bill. Mr. Gadre dwells rather more upon the constitution than upon the functions of the proposed Board as factors in the efficiency and success of the scheme. While we quite realise the importance of remedying the defects which he points out in the proposed constitution of the Board, we think it is even more important that the functions and powers of the Board should be wide enough to ensure its control of secondary education, not only at its final, but in its initial stages also. Mr. Gadre refers to the Joint Board in Bombay for conducting the combined Matriculation and School Leaving Examinations. That Board was called into existence, tentatively for five years, in circumstances totally different from those of the Central Provinces where the University as well as the Secondary School Board is yet to be started. During the five experimental years, the Bombay Board has been able to do little more than carry on the routine of holding the combined examination, owing to lack of resources commensurate with the functions entrusted to it. The Department distributes grants, inspects the schools, and in fact runs the whole show; while the Board, besides prescribing text-books and appointing examiners, is able to do very little. Unless the Board is placed in effective charge of secondary education by the administration of secondary education, including grants-in-aid, being handed over to it, it is likely to be an encumbrance rather than a help to the University as well as the Department. We understand from Mr. Gadre's article that the Central Provinces Bill provides for such a transfer, though he is not very clear on the point. This, we think, is the most vital part of the proposed scheme, and the Legislative Council should see that this is secured effectively. As for the proportion of officials and non-officials on the Board, while every effort should be made to give the largest field for non-official co-operation, it has to be recognised at the same time that non-official persons who are able to take a sustained and detailed interest in educational questions, are nowhere very plentiful.

The Bombay Compulsory Education Bill: With reference to the letter which we print to-day on the Bombay Compulsory Education Bill, we do not agree with our correspondent that the present Bill should have asked the Municipalities and Local Boards to introduce compulsory education, leaving the change of machinery to be introduced later. So far as the Municipalities are concerned, they had sufficient time to prove their desire and their willingness to introduce compulsory education under the Patel Act, and very few of them have taken advantage of it. The Local Boards are likely to be no more enthusiastic in the matter. Moreover, it is necessary in order to give the scheme a good start that it should be started under the most favourable auspices. The new machinery of School Boards is quite a simple one to work. Our correspondent himself admits that the present administration of primary education is by no means efficient, and the sooner it is handed over to more efficient hands the better. The question of the pay of teachers has nothing to do with the compulsory scheme. It is one purely of finance, and we daresay that Government are fully alive to their duty to this important and deserving class of its servants. It is our earnest hope that the scheme will be rendered so elastic as to admit of all agencies working together in the non-political cause of national education. A child receiving education in a school managed by Non-Co-operationists, cannot be said to be receiving no education, and would be exempted from the compulsory provisions, as a matter of course.

Church and State in Turkey: His Highness the Aga Khan has voiced the opinion of enlightened Indian Mahomedans in justifying the action of the Angora National Assembly in relieving the Caliphate of its temporal powers. A valued Mahomedan friend writes to us to the same effect. He says: "With regard to your note upon Church and State in Turkey, I wonder if Mr. Chotani realises that Kemal Pasha's attitude is the only possible one consistent with the rights of other Muslim States and the paramountcy of the Khilafat. Kemal Pasha does not want Turkey to go beyond the boundaries which it can administer with efficiency nor to sink large sums of Turkish money for ruling over Yemen, in which the holy places are situated. He, therefore, desires to live in amity with the Arab kingdom which holds now these places. The only logical and possible way open to him, therefore, is to make the Khilafat independent of actual political tenure of those places and yet to make the Khilafat paramount over those places as well as over all Muslim countries. This can be done only by dissociating the Khilafat from the temporal power at Angora and Constantinople in the same way as it is disassociated from the temporal power ruling in Kabul, Isphahan, Khiva, etc. Of course what I have said about Kemal Pasha's justification is my own reading of his intentions. I have not seen them anywhere stated in that form. It would be worth while ascertaining the pros and cons from the point of view I have sketched out."

The Indian States Bill: Following the example of the Kathiawar Hitavardhak Sabha, the Dakshini Sansthan Hitavardhak Sabha, has addressed a representation to Parliament against sanctioning the Indian States Bill passed by the Council of State on the certificate of the Viceroy after its rejection by the Legislative Assembly. The Dakshini Sabha quotes from the evidence of Mr. Rushbrook Williams, the Director of the Central Bureau of Information, to the effect that the criticisms in the Indian Press of the affairs of Indian States are rarely of a seditious nature. We give below an extract from his evidence.

Question:—Now as regards the prevention of disaffection concerning Indian States?

Answer:—I can only base my statement on my personal experience. During the course of my study I have not come across anything which in its substance went beyond the grounds of legitimate criticism.

Question:—You have not seen anything beyond legitimate criticism and therefore you did not think any protection necessary?

Answer:—Yes.

Question:—You have said something about the protection of Indian Princes. If any very strong and virulent article was written in the vernacular Press about the Indian States do you think it is likely that it would be brought to your notice in your official capacity?

Answer:—Yes. I certainly think so. The major portion of the more important newspapers passes through my office.

Question:—May I take it that you have not come across any article so far written against the Indian States which in your opinion would justify the introduction of any provision in the ordinary law of the land?

Answer:—So far as my experience goes, Sir, that is so I should be inclined to say that while the tone of some of the criticisms which have been directed against the Indian Princes can only be described as regrettable, the subject matter of the articles has been, to the extent of my knowledge, as a rule unobjectionable.

Control of Sikh Gurdwaras: The Government of the Punjab has introduced into the local Legislative Council a Bill to help in the reform of Sikh Gurdwaras. It was prepared in accordance with the wishes of the Sikh members of the Council expressed in July last. Under this Bill there will be a Board of three Sikhs, one appointed by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, one by the Sikh members of the Legislative Council and one by the Government. This Board will have power to take possession of disputed Gurdwaras and to provide for the conduct of religious or charitable duties, ceremonies and observances. The members of the Board will hold office for two years only: but all arrangements made by the Board will continue in force until altered by the consent of parties or by the order of a Court. Under this Bill, when it becomes law, it will be possible to remove bad Mahants and to provide for the proper use of Gurdwara properties and funds. Thus the Government Press Note. An Associated Press message, however, states that four Sikh members of the Punjab Legislative Council have issued a statement recording their "strong repudiation of the Punjab Government communique, dated the 6th instant, stating that the Third Gurdwara Bill has been introduced in the Legislative Council with the consent of the Sikh members." They disown all responsibility for the measure and urge that it should be withdrawn.

Social Reform in Andhra: A correspondent writes with reference to the statistics of civil condition at the recent Madras Census: "I think that ten years have done practically no good in the matter of social reform. In Andhra districts the number of child widows has been steadily increasing. Among the Kalingis, for every 1000 children under 10 years of age about 664 are married. There is an increase of 50 per cent. in the number of infant marriages and girl widows. These figures speak volumes for the work of the social reformers in Andhradesa which is clamouring for political rights in the face of such a scandalous state of things!"

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1922.

THE AWAKENING OF ASIAN WOMANHOOD.*

Is there an Asian womanhood? Has it been asleep all these centuries? These are the questions which one asks oneself on reading the title of Mrs. Margaret Cousins' little book with the above heading. Lord Curzon in his "Problems of the Far East", declared that Asia, in spite of her differences, had a certain homogeneity. After visiting almost every part of Asia, he observed "a certain homogeneity of expression, a certain similarity of character, certain common features of political and still more of social organisation, certain identical strains in the composition of man, that differentiate her structure from anything in Europe or even in America, and invest her with a distinction peculiarly her own." The sensation is strengthened, he went on to say, by the impression left upon most minds since the days of childhood by "the two best books that have ever been written upon the East",—viz. the Old Testament and the Arabian Nights! Further analysing his impressions, he wrote:

In scenery the dominant note of Asian individuality is contrast, in character a general indifference to truth and respect for successful wile, in deportment dignity, in society the rigid maintenance of the family union, in government the mute acquiescence of the governed, in administration and justice the open corruption of administrators and judges, and in everyday life a statuesque and inexhaustible patience, which attaches no value to time and wages unappeasable warfare against hurry.

Lord Curzon was wrong in stating that the Old Testament and the Arabian Nights confirmed the impressions formed by him during his travels in Asia. He had doubtless read these books long before he started on his travels, and took with him his impressions gathered from them. He noted or distorted all that he saw to confirm these impressions and did not note or merely ignore others. The mind sees, it has been truly said, what it brings with it the means of seeing. The young Imperialist was out to find in Asia, as a justification of the unchecked European domination and exploitation of his early years, qualities which marked her out as the natural and legitimate inferior of the people of Europe. And he found or discovered or invented them, of course. Neither the Old Testament nor the Arabian Nights, by the way, had any relation to India or the Far East to which Curzon's book relates.

The corrective to this tendency to assign qualities to people according to geographical limits, is the historical method which sees the whole human race following one long line of evolution, some branches of it being at stages left by some others of it at a longer or shorter distance behind. Mrs. Cousins, notwithstanding the title which she has given to her book, realizes that there is no hard and fast line dividing the Asian from the European or the American. "Generally speaking," she sums up, "the status of the Indian woman of to-day is very similar to

that of the woman of early Victorian times in England. She has better rights of property, however, more respect from her religion for her sex, a greater reverence shown her for her motherhood, and no man-made legal barriers to her public activities under Hindu law whose principle seems to have been—*She may do what she can do.*" Some years ago we read a book by a Japanese artist who had spent many years in England. As the result of his observations, he came to the conclusion that there was practically little or no difference between the actual position of the average English and the average Japanese woman. He summed up his views in one of those epigrammatic sentences which stick to the mind like a burr. The Englishman, he wrote, kisses his wife in public and kicks her in the privacy of his home; while the Japanese kicks her in public and kisses her at home. This, no doubt, is merely a rhetorical way of saying that things are not quite what they seem either in England or Japan. Mrs. Cousins' book has much value as showing how women inhabiting the countries of Asia are reacting to the impact of Western ideas. But the characteristics which she mentions as marking off the Asian as a distinctive type from the Western woman, are hardly fundamental. There are even greater differences between women of different Western countries and even between women of different classes in the same country. "The Eastern woman," writes Mrs. Cousins, "is unaccustomed to any form of individual initiative." And yet John Stuart Mill, from his many years of experience of the affairs of the Indian States at the India Office, bore testimony to the high administrative capacity of Indian women in a letter to Mrs. Manning in 1870. He said:

You ask me for information respecting the administrative capacity shown by so many ladies of ruling families in India, and especially whether these ladies are Hindoos or Mahomedans. They are almost all Hindoos..... One of the most remarkable, however, of these ladies, the late Sekunder Begum of Bhopal, was a Mahomedan.... Her own mother, too, was a remarkable woman. As the Native States were in my department in the India House, I had opportunities of knowing all that was known about the manner in which they were governed, and during many years, by far the greater number of instances of vigorous, forceful, and skillful administration which came to my knowledge were by Ranees and Ranees as regents for minor chiefs.

In the humbler sphere of their households, Indian women exhibit the same qualities of management as those noted by J. S. Mill in their administration of their States.

It would be more correct to speak of the widening of the horizon than of the awakening of Indian or Asian Womanhood, because that womanhood had never gone to sleep. Whatever its hands found to do that it has always done with all its might. What Indian and Asian women have lacked is literary education which enables one to get to know what is happening in the world outside of that which they see or hear about. While we deprecate the comparison of the ideals of Western womanhood with the crudest realities about Asian womanhood, we cannot but admit that there is much—too much—in Mrs. Cousins' criticisms of

* Messrs. Ganesan & Co. Madras. Price, Rs. 2.

the existing marriage and other conditions in India, that is just and true, and requires to be promptly remedied. We agree with her when she suggests the starting of an organisation to support young men and women who are penalised for their protest against the evil effects of some prevailing marriage customs. Mrs. Cousins, who belongs to the Theosophical Society, gives proof of her fairness of mind in bearing testimony to the large part which the Non-co-operation movement is playing in the awakening of Indian women. The Liberals have entirely neglected them, and Indian women reciprocate the compliment. The weakness of present-day Liberals lies, in fact, in their perfect indifference to the great social problems which, and not constitutional screws and bolts, constitute true politics. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee as a member of the Southborough Committee vehemently opposed the enfranchisement of women, and another great Liberal leader, Mr. Sastry, acquiesced in his opposition. No wonder that few women find anything to attract them in the Liberal programme!

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES' HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION BILL.

(BY MR. T. R. GADRE.)

This Bill provides for the establishment of a Board of High School Education. It is in keeping with the Sadler Commission's recommendation that Secondary education should be excluded from University control. To achieve this object, the Bill proposes to organise instruction preparatory to admission to Universities, to certain employments and to educational institutions other than universities. We further learn from the preamble of the Bill that the proposed Board is to be established "to regulate and supervise the system of High School Education in the Central Provinces, to prescribe courses for Middle School classes and to examine and award certificates to those pupils who have completed a High School course." Apparently the Bill in hand is drafted on the model of the recent Allahabad enactment in the matter, which includes the Intermediate instruction as well. Our C. P. Bill, however, restricts itself to Secondary education only.

We believe that the Calcutta University Commission must have suggested this exclusion of Secondary education from University control with a view to relieve the University from this burden, and thus enable it to devote all its attention and energy to the higher collegiate instruction. But we submit that the Universities should be given a large voice in the Board sought to be created to control the High School and Intermediate instruction, and that to achieve this end they should be allowed to send an adequate number of their representatives on such a Board. If we examine the composition of the proposed Board under the Bill, we find that the Board is to consist of a very large number of official and Government nominated members. The Director of Public Instruction, three or five Heads of High Schools chosen by the Government, five more nominees of the

Government, besides the members representing—to a maximum of three—the minorities who are to be nominated by Government: these are the members belonging to the official or nominated class without any assurance of a certain fixed non-official element. As against these members we have four representatives of the University two-thirds of whom are again required to be from the teachers, as well as two members to be elected by the non-official members of the Legislative Council. Thus there is going to be a clear and overwhelming Government majority on this Board with a small voice left for the representatives of the University and the Legislative Council. We emphatically protest against this over-officialisation of this new Board and we very strongly urge that the chief underlying principle of the constitution of this Board should be that the non-official members should always be in a clear majority. The Bill under the disguise of a democratic and high-sounding form proposes to make the Local Government absolute masters of the new Board by vesting in the former the power to compel the latter to adopt any action proposed by them. Clause 8 of the Bill lends support to our remark and we hope it will be modified to such an extent as to remove the complaint stated above.

We may profitably examine here the composition of the Bombay Board which has been established by an executive action of the Government to control and regulate the School Leaving examination in the Bombay Presidency. This Joint Board consists of ten members only. Of these, five including the Chairman are elected by the University, three members are nominated by the Government and two more are co-opted by the above eight members. The course of studies is prescribed by the Bombay University and if any change is required in it, previous sanction in the matter has to be obtained from the University. On the other hand, our proposed Board covers a more extensive area as already pointed out in the beginning of this note. As regards the composition of the C. P. Board also, it differs materially from that of the Bombay Joint Board which gives a dominant voice to the University of Bombay.

We are, therefore, going to submit here some important changes in the various provisions of the proposed measure in order to bring it under non-official control. And to realise this aim we suggest that the constitution as provided in clause 3 should be very largely liberalised by providing a distinct non-official majority of members on the proposed Board. The Head Masters of High Schools should also be allowed to send their elected representatives in proportion to the respective numbers of Government and private institutions. The proposed Nagpur University should be allowed to send 40 or 50 per cent of the number of members on the Board. Clause 3 sub-clause (h) provides that two thirds of these representatives should be teachers in the University or in Colleges affiliated to the University. We strongly urge the entire removal of this sub-clause (h) and allow the University a free choice in the election of its members on this Board. The Board so constituted

will consist of twenty three or twenty six members including the Director of Public Instruction, three or five Heads of High Schools, two members elected by the non-official members of the Legislative Council, about nine representatives elected by the Court of the Nagpur University, one to two members elected by the Local Bodies and Registered Societies maintaining High Schools, and a representative of each of the Training College, Engineering, Agriculture, Commerce and Industries, and Medicine and Public Health nominated by the Local Government.

As regards the Chairman of the Board, we submit that he should be one who is a non-official and who does not belong to the teaching profession. The first Chairman, satisfying the above conditions, should be nominated by the Local Government for a period of four years. As regards the representatives to be nominated by the Local Government from amongst the minorities, we submit we fail to see any justification for the same. The Local Government can nominate any such member from among the several groups already mentioned. We further submit that the Secretary of this Board should be called a Registrar and that the Director of Public Instruction should hold this office ex-officio.

Regarding the powers of the Chairman, we submit that he should be authorized to take speedy measures in urgent circumstances. Of course, such measures will have to be ratified by the Board at its subsequent meetings provided that such measures do not violate the express directions of the Board. Suitable changes therefore should be made in clause 10 (3). Clause 12 (1) also requires modification in order to enable the Board to organise local advisory committees to help forward and to co-operate with the working of the proposed Board.

We have to bring to the notice of the Educational authorities of C. P. one or two more points of vital importance. According to the Sadler Commission's recommendations, the High School Department should be run by such a Board. (Vide, in this connection, paras 31—39 of chapter 31 of the Sadler Committee's Report). From clause 7 (9) of our Bill we gather that the High School Department is going to work with the new Board somewhat in the above spirit. But sub-clause 13 of the same clause 7 gives rise to a doubt in this connection. We, therefore, hope that the Hon'ble the Minister of Education will make this point clear. The wording of the preamble and that of clause 7 (B) will have to be suitably modified if the recommendations of the Sadler Commission in this matter are to be followed. We submit that the ideal pointed out by the Sadler Commission should be placed before our Board in the discharge of its duties. We have also to suggest that clause 8 sub-sections 1, 2, 3 should undergo drastic changes and we submit that the power of the Local Government under these sub-clauses should be strictly restricted to the remedying of any gross mismanagement or omission of duty discovered or reported.

Lastly we hope the Member in charge of the Bill will take notice of the friendly suggestions made by us and suitably amend it. In case such changes which

are of vital importance are not accepted by the Local Government, we would rather like the Bill to be rejected by the Legislative Council. We strongly hope that the members of the C. P. Legislative Council will be alive to the grave responsibilities in this connection and make up their mind to throw it out altogether if the Local Government is not prepared to modify the Bill. It merely makes a show of bringing the Secondary education under non-official control and it further pretends to carry out the recommendations of the Sadler Commission on the point by trying to create by a legislative act a Board wholly under departmental control. Better not to have any such Board than to have it of a such a character of doubtful utility as proposed under the C. P. Bill.

MARRIAGE. I.

(By Mr. G. A. SUNDARAM).

I have carefully read and thought over the article dealing with the Hindu view of Marriage contributed by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the *Modern Review* of October. I have also read Mr. S. Sadanand's article on the subject in the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 29th October. Mr. Andrews is right when he maintains that traditional Hinduism regards married life as a very necessary experience. In this it has steered clear of the insurmountable difficulties against which Buddhism and Roman Catholic Christianity knocked and continued to knock ineffectually. Flesh is weak and a high resolve taken at a time of exaltation may prove much too severe later on. Under the scheme of life as planned by Roman Catholic Christianity a man or a woman renounces the world at a very early age or continues to lead a worldly life till old age. Traditional Hinduism has emphatically set its face against such an ordering and insists on a man gaining a good experience of the world as a householder before renouncing the worldly life.

But I am not sure that the view of traditional Hinduism is the same as that of the Shastras. No doubt, as Mr. Sadanand points out, there are several passages in the *Smritis* and the *Itihasas* speaking highly of Grihasta Dharma. But it is not safe to conclude from this that the Shastras consider Grihasta life as obligatory especially when it is remembered that the *Smritis* and *Itihasas* have a way of emphasising the particular aspect upon which they dwell at a particular place. The Shastraic viewpoint is ably considered in a judgment of the Madras High Court by Justice Sadasiva Iyer. I am not just now able to give the citation but I can give the conclusions arrived at by him. The question before the Court was whether marriage is a sacrament in case of men and whether consequently money spent on a younger brother's marriage is "necessary" expense binding on the other members of the coparcenary. Sir (then Mr.) T. Sadasiva Iyer examines the Shastras and answers the question in the negative. He maintains that the Shastras speak of married life as a lower state, as "Jhaghanya

Ashrama." The higher path according to Shastras, he says, is the life of a "Naishtika Brahmachari" i. e. a life-long bachelor. He further contends that even in the case of women, marriage was originally not a necessary *samskara* as according to him women too had to undergo Upanayana. But he admits that in the case of women it is now too late to maintain that marriage is not a sacrament as undoubtedly nowadays marriage is regarded as standing in the place of Upanayana. But he has no doubt in saying that the ideal life according to the Shastras is that of life-long celibacy, for women as well as for men. I may, therefore, conclude that while traditional Hinduism, as understood by the average Hindu, undoubtedly regards married life as obligatory it is not safe to say that the Shastras take the same view.

In my view all the disquisition as to whether marriage is a sacrament or not is not of much practical value. The upper and the middle classes marry largely because of the force of tradition. To the larger mass of lower classes marriage has a value predominantly economic. A husband or a wife is a valuable economic asset to the agricultural labourer. Learned men do dabble in talk about "Samskara." But that talk has not prevented inhuman abuses. I know an instance of a widower holding the office of a Subordinate Judge marrying a child of 10 when he was over 53 years old "because the Agni must be kept up." I know more than one instance of men with a bewildering learning about Samskara remarrying on the 13th day of widowhood. In one case a member of the Bar, over 35 years old, lost his wife and was seen discussing the eligible brides for himself on his way back from the burning ghat after the cremation of his first wife. Even the haggling about *varasulkam* commenced then. This man also indulges in the talk that marriage is a sacrament. The innumerable cases of people pretending to hold marriage sacred but making lists of compulsory presents to the bridegroom weighing and testing the "presented" vessels etc. with all the nicety of a Bania, I need not pause to dwell on here. Nor is it necessary to refer to the well-known facts about the alleged original of the hero of the story entitled "Santamoorthi Esq. B.A., B. L, High Court Vakil" in Kusika's short stories (Second Series.) He too swears by the sacrament cant. While on the one hand the talk of "sacrament" has not guarded marriage against a host of abuses, it is responsible for what can only be described as the worst abuse—I mean compulsory widowhood. Children of 10 and 12 are condemned to lead a life of misery and positive humiliation, being considered 'bad omen' because they went through the Samskara of a doll's marriage with some male beings (even in cases where on the day of the Samskara the males were widowers of over 60 and nearer to the final Samskara) and then lost their husbands.

More than 15 years ago when I was a student, I shocked the bulk of my audience in a meeting at Madras when I said that I could see nothing religious in marriage, using the word religious in its stricter

sense. Speaker after speaker followed me and spoke in terms of horror at my heterodoxy and flung at me text after text from our sacred books. The president of the meeting, the Rt. Hon. (then Mr.) V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, after listening to the whole debate, quietly summed it up saying that he was not convinced that my view was erroneous and that he too could see nothing religious in marriage. I repeat the statement now and I do not find any ground to revise the view I expressed then, making it clear once again that here I use the word 'religious' in its stricter sense. I am aware that I am in a bad minority and that a larger number of people do in some way or other believe that marriage is a religious "sacrament." But the fact remains that the mere consciousness that it is a sacrament is insufficient for practical purposes. As I stated above the peasants marry because marriage secures certain economic advantages. To them the "samskara" idea is more or less unintelligible though they have a vague notion that marriage is a quasi-religious act. Can any one assert that the abuses of the marriage institution are more prevalent among them than among the middle classes? On the other hand, is it not even possible that on the whole happy marriages are more common among peasants? I suggest that the "samskara" idea has not been of any help in raising aloft the ideal of purity in married life and in marriage itself. I suggest that all appeal to Shastras and Shastraic ideals which are no longer live ideals are waste of effort. The wiser plan is to emphasise the social and human aspects of marriage and endeavour to lift it to its proper level.

THE WAY TO FREEDOM.

(BY MR. S. SADANAND.)

Great interest attaches to the forthcoming meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Calcutta on the 20th November, to consider the report of the Civil Disobedience Inquiry Committee. Civil Disobedience has been long looked forward to as the ultimate weapon in the armoury of Mr. Gandhi's programme of Non-co-operation, that will wrest freedom for the country, from the willing or unwilling hands of British Imperialism. It emphasised the militant aspect of Non-co-operation. It represented the supreme act in the moral non-violent revolt of spiritual East against material West. Civil Disobedience and Non-co-operation became interchangeable terms. The seeker after Indian freedom sought in ultimate Mass Civil Disobedience, the panacea for all evils. The collection of a crore of rupees, the introduction of 20 lakhs of charkhas, the enlistment of lakhs of volunteers willing to suffer imprisonment, became the essential conditions of success. A fulfilment of them was expected to secure to the Nation the requisite strength to deliver the supreme blow which would bring down the bureaucratic citadel as even a house of cards.

To Mr. Gandhi formerly Civil Disobedience was not so all-important, as Truth and Non-violence. To

him, the spiritual background underlying the movement was the only phase that mattered. The war-cry was only incidental and an essential part. But as it happens, in all great movements, the formulas were understood more than the deep Truth underlying them. The crore was collected. The twenty lakhs of charkhas were introduced. The challenge to Civil Disobedience in proclaiming Congress volunteers was taken up successfully and the jails were filled. The tragedy of Chanri Chaura showed that the essence of the movement has not been well understood. The onward march of the movement was brought to a standstill. Mr. Gandhi sacrificed all objective triumphs that were within his reach, for the vindication of Truth and Non-violence as the essential characteristics of his philosophy of action. Finally Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment followed. The Civil Disobedience Inquiry Committee was appointed at the first meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held after Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment. It started with the declared intention of surveying the conditions in the country and deciding if they permitted the inauguration of the aggressive part of the movement. After months of dilatoriness, unpardonable in the midst of a National crisis of the present magnitude, the Committee are reported to have advocated Council entry. It is tried to lay the unction to the soul by claiming that Congressmen are to enter the Councils, for purposes of Non-co-operation from within. It ought to be very pleasing to a Non-co-operator's vanity to think that he can be true to his leader's creed and still be within the Council Chamber. The Calcutta meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and the Gaya Congress will put to test the Nation's loyalty to Mr. Gandhi's principles. The question of Council entry is the pivot on which Non-co-operation hangs. The true essence of Non-co-operation, when denuded of its war-cries and objective shibboleths is the acquisition of the self-discipline, unity, and sacrifice necessary to make either a foreign or despotic rule impossible, the requisite strength to be attained by all means not inconsistent with Truth and Non-violence. A study of all movements for freedom will show that discipline, unity and sacrifice are the minimum indispensable conditions of success. The triumph of the Sinn-feiners and the Kemalists and the Fascisti, to take events within recent times, bear ample testimony to this. Only, Non-violence is not necessarily a concomitant of triumph. But the history of what has followed in Russia and Ireland, the triumph of organised force, even in righteous causes ought to warn us against the abandonment of the condition of Non-violence in any programme that may be planned for Indian freedom. There can, however, be no compromise on the indispensable conditions of discipline, unity and sacrifice. These conditions can never be fulfilled by any plan of action within the Councils. There is room for Indians in the Councils only if they accept either that the character of the British rule in India is really altruistic in spirit or that freedom can be won only as a free gift, in such instalments and on such terms as it

may please the British Imperialists. Mr. Lloyd George has given us an idea of the pace and conditions of the gift of freedom Britain may make, in case of India's good behaviour. There is no illusion about the altruistic spirit of British rule. There ought to be no illusion about the latter part also. However, it is for each individual to choose and to answer according to his conscience. Let there be no confusion between Power and Freedom and what India wants. The country wants freedom first and foremost and cannot barter it for power, entrusted to a few Indian hands. Indian Ministerships and Governorships have their place in the scheme of Indian National life but only with Freedom, in its fullest sense and not as a substitute for it. Then there is another familiar cry, that the required discipline, unity and sacrifice coupled with Non-violence cannot be achieved in the immediate future. There is nothing that a Nation with a will cannot achieve. But even granting that it will take time, the choice will then be, between achieving freedom by discipline, unity and sacrifice, with violence or without it but not within the Councils as 'boons.' India may achieve freedom without Non-violence in short time or in some distant time with Non-violence.

MADRAS NOTES.

(From Our Correspondent.)

Madras, 4th November.

MADRAS SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE.

The Madras Social Service League celebrated its eighth anniversary on the 30th ultimo. It is the premier Society of the kind in this city, having been started by Mr. A. Ranganatham Naidu, a then member of the local branch of the Servants of India Society, in 1913 and has been steadily growing in members and usefulness ever since. The League which had long been a kind of appendage to the Madras branch of the Servants of India Society is at present quite an independent body. This is not wholly an advantage to the League in as much as it has thereby lost the services of enthusiastic whole-time workers such as Mr. A. Ranganatham Naidu and Mr. D. Hanumantha Rao who were its secretaries while they were of the order of the Servants of India. But its present Secretary, Rao Bahadur T. Varadarajulu Naidu, a retired Sessions Judge, makes up by his energy and his influence for what the League may have lost in enthusiasm and devotion as a result of the resignation of the two gentlemen above mentioned. So also Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, M.L.A., a retired High Court Judge of Madras, who has now been re-elected President of the League, (for the second time, I believe) is maintaining the tradition of active work handed down to him by his predecessor in that office, Mrs. Whitehead, wife of the well-known Dr. Whitehead, a former Anglican Bishop of Madras. I see that besides Mr. Seshagiri Iyer, Messrs Varadarajulu Naidu and D. Dandapani Iyer have also been re-elected Secretaries of the League. Re-elections of this kind, no doubt, are necessary and even advisable in the public interest at times, but there is always the danger that if they are persisted in year after year they tend to make of any League or Society (even for charitable purposes,) a sort of monopoly. It is not in a carping spirit that I say this but I am only giving expression to the fears entertained by the general public in this connection. So far, I am glad to be able to say, these fears have proved groundless. In Mr. Vara-

darajulu Naidu, especially, the League possesses a Secretary whose passion for Social Service particularly in respect of making elementary education free and compulsory in this city fully justifies his re-election. The finances of the League were never in a flourishing condition nor are they so now, judging from the annual Report presented at the anniversary meeting. Mr. Seshagiri Iyer stated in his speech that, so long as he was a High Court Judge, the League was receiving much assistance from the members of the legal profession but this assistance had automatically stopped after his retirement! The League has always been dependant on donation from public-spirited rich men but we all know a Society cannot successfully be for long maintained on such a slender and precarious financial basis. The Secretaries of the League will, therefore, do well if they devote the next year (or at least a great part of it) to the work of creating a permanent fund for the League such as the Bombay Social Service League, I believe, possesses, thanks to the exertions of its indefatigable Secretary, Mr. N. M. Joshi of the Bombay Branch of the Servants of India Society. Unless and until the League has such a fund of its own, its future will always remain uncertain. As a preliminary step they should labour to bring about a union and an amalgamation with their Society of similar small Leagues and Brotherhoods and Unions which are scattered in various parts of this city at present. Such a consolidation will prevent dissipation of energy and overlapping of work besides paving the way for the financial strengthening of the parent League. Some such attempt was, I think, made by Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer in the early days of his presidentship and I do not know why it has not been persisted in. Of course, it is no easy thing to persuade similar bodies to amalgamate with the premier League, but if it is persevered in, it will of a certainty yield satisfactory results in the long run to some extent at least.

There is one danger ever lurking in all Social Service against which the Madras Social Service League will, it is to be hoped, guard itself always. Social Service should never be allowed by its members to take the place of Religion or to act as a handy substitute for the wider work of Social Reform in their lives. It has been pointed out by more than one observer of civic and social movements that very often social service is the last resort of the social reactionaries. By a species of patch-work charity it acts as a safety-valve for social discontent and delays the work of social reconstruction wherever and whenever it cannot effectively prevent its being carried out, thus illustrating the old maxim that small reforms are the enemies of great ones. I hope the Madras Social Service League will not harbour such reactionaries and enemies of Society in its midst in the guise of "social service." What is wanted in India more than in all other countries in the world is not mere social service but thorough-going Social Reconstruction. Root and branch Reform alone will save us as a social or national unit and not mere patch-work philanthropy. The Madras Social Service League and every other League of its kind in India will do well always to remember this vital truth.

THE RAMAKRISHNA HOME.

Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon visited the Madras Ramakrishna Vivekananda Mission Home in Mysore to which a High School for boys was attached on the 30th ultimo and expressed their delight in everything they saw there. His Excellency was good enough to say that it was the best Home of the kind he had ever come across either in India or in England. From very small beginnings it has grown to be one of the best public institutions in the whole Presidency owing to the devoted labour of a little band of Sanyasces who are members of the Ramakrishna Vivek-

ananda Mission. It is gratifying to note that its present financial position is secure, although it requires more in the way of financial support if it is to achieve all that it can achieve for the good of the youths of our province. Their Home may be described as a blend of Dr. Tagore's Bolpur School, the Gurukul at Haridwar and a modern Anglo-Vernacular High School recognised by the Government and receiving grant-in-aid. Here a number of our young men (and it is a growing number) are given up-to-date education, are enjoying the benefits of a residential school, living in communion with nature and brought up in the good old tradition of Bramacharaya. May it ever grow in strength and usefulness!

BACHAMMAL WIDOWS HOME ASSOCIATION.

AN APPEAL FOR FUNDS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

It is a known fact to many in Bangalore and elsewhere that the late Mrs. Bachammal Balasundaram Mudaliar had been for some years sheltering young widows in her house, giving them elementary education and arranging for their remarriage. Since her unfortunate and premature death in November 1921, her beneficent work has come to a stop, as there is none to take up and pursue it further. In order to fill up the gap left by her untimely death and provide for a much-needed institution for the relief of helpless widows in Southern India, in an organised manner, it has been proposed to open an association in Bangalore after her blessed name. The Memorandum and Articles of Association relating thereto have been drawn up and registered under Act XXI of 1860. According to these Rules, the objects of the Association shall be (1) to maintain a Home for sheltering, and promoting marriages of, young widows belonging to those castes that do not by custom allow remarriage of widows, (2) to create and maintain a class of Sisters of Charity and Mercy, (3) to afford shelter and protection to such widows who having remarried find themselves in helpless condition or destitution, and (4) to do generally all such things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects or any one of them.

Separate action is being taken to collect the necessary money to form a "Permanent Fund" for the maintenance of the Association, by enlisting members who shall consist of four classes, viz., (1) Patrons who give a donation of Rs. 1,000/- in a lump or in four instalments, (2) Supporters who give a donation of Rs. 500/- in a lump or in five instalments, (3) Life Members who give a donation of Rs. 100/- in a lump or in ten instalments, and (4) Ordinary Members who pay a subscription of Rs. 12/- annually or in twelve instalments.

In the meantime, this appeal is issued for the collection of the necessary money to form a "Building Fund" as provided for in the Rules. It is needless to say that a building is very necessary in order to give a permanent habitation to the proposed Home and to relieve the current or recurring expenses from the heavy charge of a house rent. About Rs. 10,000/- will be required to purchase or construct a building to start with. In view of the usefulness of the proposed institution, the undersigned hope that a generous response will be made to this Appeal. The rules and regulations of the Association will be printed and issued shortly.

Mr. T. P. Neelakanta Mudaliar, Municipal Commissioner, Civil and Military Station, Bangalore, has consented to give a plot of land measuring 100 feet by 80 feet near Cox Town, worth about Rs. 1,500, for the construction of the proposed building.

The donations will be thankfully received and acknowledged by the Secretary, Mr. E. Subbukrishnaiya.

M. Mahadeva Mudaliar, M.A.,

Extra Asst. Supt., Survey of India,
(President of the Association.)

T. P. Neelakanta Mudaliar,

Muni, Comr., C. & M. Station, Bangalore.

E. Subbukrishnaiya,

Brahmo Missionary,

(Secretary of the Association.)

and others.

Bangalore,
18th October, 1922.

SACRAMENT OR SALE?

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

मनुः भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च मय एवा वनाः सृताः ।

From the above it is clear why Hindu Law, all over India excepting Bengal where Dayabhaga has been generous enough to interpret it somewhat in favour of women, has left her little right of the absolute use of property, if by good fortune or misfortune any falls to her share. How can property possess property and manage it too?

As a matter of course, the only thing left to her who is fortunately admitted to possess mind and intellect, is to learn from her girlhood, with the help of her natural charms, by submitting her will to that of her guardians and by several other devices, the art of winning their favour which is the source of all her happiness in this world as well as the next. Taking advantage of the same favour and knowing that gifts especially in the form of jewels are recognised as her absolute property, she tries to secure for herself as many jewels as she can. Thus she has learnt to love jewels not only as ornaments but for their use too. But whatever height of perfection her art might have reached, having been left in the dark long, she has not been able to see that the law is only man-made and hence it can either be interpreted in her favour as regards her rights of property or it can even be reformed to suit the times. With the advance of education, her craving for unnecessary jewels, both as ornaments or as property must disappear. But before that, her rights of property as daughter, as sister as wife and as mother will have to be secured.

A SISTER.

THE PANDHARPUR ORPHANAGE AND
FOUNDLING ASYLUM.The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

The Pandharpur Orphanage and Foundling Asylum are two old institutions, well known to the public. They were started as far back as 1877, the year when a famine of unprecedented severity devastated Maharashtra. Since then, these institutions have been quietly doing the work of saving the lives of foundlings and orphans of whom hundreds have been brought up and settled in life. The present number of inmates for whose feeding and upbringing the institutions are responsible is 75 infants under one year and 45 over that age. For a number of years the foundlings were fed on fresh cow's milk. The experiment of feeding them direct from the goat was also tried. But both these methods, inspite of the best care taken, did not prove quite satisfactory. For the last two years, the infants are being brought up entirely on a patent food and this has yielded excellent results. This, however, is much more costly than cow's milk and the institutions have to spend rupees 400 per month on it alone. The Orphanage and Asylum are both dependent on public charity for their maintenance and the charitable public of Bombay have nobly supported them so long. The needs of the institutions are growing and funds are urgently needed now. The Committee of the Orphanage and the Asylum most humbly appeals to the public of Bombay to assist them. The institutions also require warm and cotton clothing for the inmates. The Committee appeals for that also. Help in kind such as cloth, grain, ghee and money, however small, will be most gratefully accepted and acknowledged by the undersigned. The need of the institutions is acute and urgent and this appeal, it is hoped, will be promptly and liberally responded to. Help should be sent and communications addressed to the undersigned C/o The Prarthana Samaj, Girgaum, Bombay.

D. G. VAIDYA,
Hon. Treasurer,
Orphanage and Foundling Asylum,
Pandharpur.

THE INDIAN STATES BILL.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

As a State Subject, allow me to express my feelings of gratitude to you and to others who have out of humanity championed our cause. From the population point of view, the problem of Indian States subjects is as important as the question of the removal of untouchability. It affects nearly seventy millions of souls. The lot of a State subject is exactly the lot of a girl in the higher class Hindu Society. If she gets a sensible and kind husband, it is all well and good, but if otherwise, there is no power on earth to whom she can appeal. She has no freedom to give out a word of sorrow to her neighbours. In her agony of grief there comes that *tom tom* of irreligious religion to sting her. It says "you suffer for the sins of the past life!" In our helpless condition here comes the Bill to gag and smother us. The British Government who have in their own territory started a kind of responsible government, seem to be out to gag us instead of giving a solid advice to these princes to follow their example. This reminds me of those Hindu leaders who, though at home educate their girls, come out in public to oppose a resolution on Female Education.

The administration in many States is half the imitation of the British, and half of our old ancient rule. Let our princes follow the old way of their ancestors, who were certainly kind to us and respected public opinion which can be clearly seen in the case of Rama. Let them follow either the old rule of Rama Rajya or the whole constitution of the British Rajya.

In the great war, the princes helped the British with money and men, because the subjects were ever willing to do so. But after the war the subjects in British India get a kind of Responsible Government and we get this Bill! I am inclined to say 'we cry for bread but they give us stones'.

Yours etc,

A STATE SUBJECT.

THE ADI DRAVIDA SCHOOLS, BANGALORE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

The Young Men's Brotherhood of Bangalore which is a registered Association, with its offices at "Brahmo Mandir," 7, Gangathara Chetty Road, has taken over the management of the Adi Dravida Schools in Bangalore.

These schools, till now known as D. C. M. Schools, were originally started by Mr. K. N. Dewal, a member of the Brahma Samaj, and were subsequently taken over by the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India. The Mission had to cease work in Bangalore on account of paucity of funds and workers. For a few months, Mr. G. Virupaksha of the Mysore Hindu Depressed Classes Mission undertook the responsibility and has had to give it up for the same reason. The Young Men's Brotherhood, consisting as it does, of men living mostly in the locality and interested in the uplift of the community, have considered it their duty to undertake the management of these schools in the firm belief that the public of Bangalore would contribute generously and liberally for the support of the schools.

There are at present two day-schools and four night-schools with a total strength of about 300 pupils. The annual expenditure on the schools, excluding grants from Government, amounts to about Rs. 1,000. As funds permit, it is proposed to start more schools for the Adi Dravida community. The educational uplift of the Adi Dravidas being a matter of great importance, the Brotherhood is issuing this appeal with the full confidence that it would meet with a hearty response from the public of Bangalore. Donations and monthly subscriptions for these Schools will be thankfully received and acknowledged by the Treasurer Mr. M. Kothandaram or the Secretary, Mr. E. Subbukrishnaia.

Res Sahab B. V. Venkataswamy Naidu.
K. Chandy, B.A., Excise Commissioner in
Mysore; and others,

Bangalore,
15th October, 1922.

THE COMPULSORY EDUCATION BILL.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

SIR,

The compulsory education bill, if successfully piloted through the Legislative Council, will earn for its author the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye, the everlasting gratitude of the people of this presidency. Such a bill was sorely needed for the uplift and the amelioration of the condition of the ignorant masses of this presidency.

It would have, however, been much better had the present bill been merely confined to the question of the introduction of compulsory education in the presidency. But the bill also proposes to bring about some changes in the existing machinery of the administration of primary schools. The proposed changes in the machinery of administration, though necessary, were by no means so imperative, and they could have been made to wait for some time. The present bill ought to have asked the present administrative agencies to introduce compulsory education. The change in the administrative machinery could have been brought about only after the scheme of compulsory education had worked for some time under the guidance and supervision of the existing machinery. The effort to bring about both the reforms simultaneously will have the only effect of delaying the introduction of compulsory education for some time. The new machinery will take some time to be familiar with and fully grasp the details of administration. It is only after they have fully settled down that they can devote their attention to the question of introducing compulsory education. Moreover, the present administration of primary education, at least on this side of the Presidency, is by no means, in too efficient a condition. Complaints from teachers from various places, that they do not get their pay according to the prescribed scales and from some places that they do not get any pay at all for months and months together, are daily pouring in. At certain places there are even occasional strikes. It is but natural that under such an unsatisfactory state of affairs, supervision over schools must be very slack and the efficiency of schools must suffer to a very great extent. It is not fair to transfer the administration of primary schools to new and inexperienced agencies at the time of such crisis. Again the Non-co-operation movement has greatly upset and disorganized Primary Schools in three of the most important major Municipalities of Gujarat. An unhealthy and undignified rivalry for pupils is going on in these towns between the Municipal and National Schools. So long as Schools are conducted merely with a view to advertise success for a particular party propaganda and the number of pupils is the only thing cared for, education is bound to suffer and no far-reaching educational reform has any chances of success. It is, therefore, mainly in the interest of education, that I take this opportunity of appealing to the Director of Public Instruction and the Honourable the Minister of Education to make earnest efforts to bring about an honourable reconciliation with the organizers of National Schools in these towns. I think such a reconciliation can easily be brought about if the National Schools be amalgamated with the Schools under the educational boards to be created newly and the teachers in the National Schools be taken up in the service of the new boards. Such an act of conciliation will be a graceful commencement of a new regime. Far from lowering the prestige of the Government, such an act of grace will highly enhance their reputation. I also appeal to the organizers

of National Schools that they should join hands with the newly-created educational boards and whole-heartedly co-operate with them to bring about the expansion of mass education in our country. I am not one of those who are enamoured with state-aided and state-controlled education. I would welcome any new experiments in education. But I firmly believe that primary education is such a huge problem that in a vast and varied country like India it is impossible to solve it without substantial financial assistance from the State. There is ample scope for all sorts of new experiments without state-aid and state-control in the spheres of secondary and higher education; why not then leave the question of Primary education in the hands of those agencies who have no objection to conduct Primary Schools with state-aid?

Yours faithfully

One interested in Education.

Ahmedabad, 14th Sept. 1922.

SALVATION ARMY TESTIMONY.

(*New York Times*)

Evangeline Booth, Commander of the Salvation Army in the United States, in a statement issued yesterday declared that since the enactment of the Volstead Act, drunkenness among the poor has almost entirely disappeared. The announcement, she said, was based on facts reported by secretaries of the Salvation Army in all parts of the country to whom she sent a questionnaire regarding their observations in Salvation Army headquarters, shelters and hotels.

"Our social-secretaries replied that cases of drunkenness are now the exception among men who frequent our hostels, shelters and industrial homes", the announcement said. "More than two-million beds were supplied by the Salvation Army last year, and it is on these two million cases that our secretaries base their answers. In one hostelry it was reported that 120 men who have never been known to keep a dollar more than twenty-four hours now have banking accounts of considerable size. In another hotel twenty-five men of the sort who before prohibition could not keep a dime now have deposits ranging from \$100 to \$500. These are unusually bright instances, but everywhere the workers of the Salvation Army have found a marked increase in thrift and prosperity and a decrease in drunkenness. In refutation of the charge that drunkenness has increased since prohibition, Commander Booth cites the fact that the Salvation Army's annual 'Boozers' Day,' when drunken men and women were collected from the streets, fed, clothed and prayed with, has been abandoned and the day given over to entertaining the new boys and poor youngsters of the city. Because prohibition has cleared our park benches of drunkards, we are able to entertain 5,000 boys under 14 years old in New York City on this day, these boys being benefited because one of the greatest curses of humanity has been placed beyond the reach of men and women."

PUNJAB VIDVA VIVAH SAHAIK SABHA.

Reports of 47 widow marriages have been received from the different branches and co-workers of the Vidva Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore (Punjab) throughout India, during the month of October, 1922. The total number of marriages held in the current year, viz from 1st January to the end of October 1922, has reached to 840, as detailed below:—

Brahman 70, Khatri 86, Arora 78, Aggarwal 81, Kaisth 14, Rajput 14, Sikhs 18, Miscellaneous 29.

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Workers to popularize the cause of Hindu widow re-marriage in Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Pay according to qualifications between Rs. 50 and 60 per mensem with single Intermediate class Railway fare and third class where Inter class be not available. Apply to the undersigned, mentioning age, residence, education, and previous experience, with testimonials and references.

LALA LAJPAT RAI SAHNI,
Hon. Secretary,
Vidhya Vivah Sahaik Sabha,
(Lodge Road) Lahore, (Punjab).

BOOKS FOR SALE.

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A Human Document. By Mr. V. S. Sohoni, Superintendent of the D. O. Mission Bombay. A touching narrative of the sad experiences of a Dhed in Bombay city. Price Annas 4.

Unification or Federation? Summary of a paper read by Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* in Vasanta Vakhyan Mala series in Poona on 22nd May 1921. Price Annas 4.

REPORT OF THE BOMBAY REPRESENTATIVE CONFERENCE.

Complete proceedings of the Representative Conference held in Bombay on the 14th and 15th January 1922 with appendices containing the Congress Working Committee's resolutions at Bombay and Bardoli, the resolutions of the Representative Conference Committee on the Bardoli resolutions and other connected papers. Price Rs. 1-0-0 (postage 2 annas extra.)

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**THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.****NOTICE.**

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the Poll on the Resolution *viz.*

"That in the Article 142, in the lines 4 and 5, instead of the words "not more than 4 months before the Meeting," the words "not more than 6 months before the Meeting" be substituted."

Moved at the Extraordinary General Meeting of the Company held on the 31st October 1922 will, as declared by the Chairman at the Meeting, be taken at the Registered Office of the Company, Ismail Buildings, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay, on TUESDAY the 14th November 1922 between 12 noon and 5 p. m. (S. T.)

NAROTTAM MORARJEE,
Chairman,
Extraordinary General Meeting.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.**NOTICE.**

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the Poll on the Resolutions and amendment specified below moved at the Third Ordinary General Meeting of the Company will, as declared by the Chairman at the Meeting, be taken at the Registered Office of the Company, Ismail Buildings, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay, on TUESDAY, the 14th November 1922 between 12 noon and 5 p. m. (S. T.)

- (a) On the Resolution to confirm the appointment of Mr. Govashankar Jagjivan Zaveri as Director of the Company.
- (b) On the amendment to elect Mr. Chotalal Ishwarlal Parekh as Director of the Company in place of Mr. Walchand Hirachand who retired by rotation.
- and (c) On the Resolution to elect Mr. Hirala Dabyabhai Nanavati as Director of the Company in place of Mr. C. A. Latif who retired by rotation.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE,
Chairman,
Third Ordinary General Meeting.

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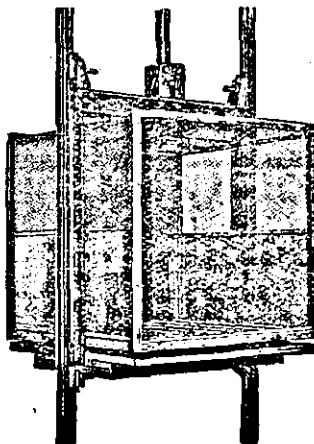
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

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Vol. XXXIII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1922. No. 12

"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 Vedanta and Christianity: In the issue of October 15, writing on the question of a conscience clause in the educational grant-in-aid codes, we incidentally quoted Professor Deussen's observation that the Gospel precept regarding love of neighbours, was explained by the Vedantic doctrine of the unity of Being. In a contributed article in the *Dnyanodaya* of the 9th November, this is treated in a spirit of controversy on the ground that "in the minds of some of our partially educated Christian people we have come across this tendency to confuse the thought of the Vedanta with that of the solidarity of the human race in Jesus Christ." We do not wish to enter into a theological dispute, and we do not question the claim of the writer that Professor Deussen could have found the reason for the love of neighbour in Kant and in the Bible itself. But there are two points which call for remark. The writer in the *Dnyanodaya* suggests that Professor Deussen was lacking in experience of living India when he said that the Vedantic text inculcated the love of neighbours. Venturing into deeper waters, he says that he sees no incentive to morality in the formula *sat tvam asi*. As for the first, we would like to ask if the experience of living Europe impresses any one today with the neighbourly love of Christian peoples? And yet would any one be justified in doubting that Christ's teaching does inculcate love of neighbours? As for the second point, Professor Deussen in the lecture from which we quoted expressly gave his reasons for holding very strongly that the Vedanta is the strongest incentive to morality. "People have often reproached the Vedanta," he said, "with being defective in morals, and, indeed, the Indian genius is too contemplative to speak much of deeds; but the fact is, nevertheless, that the highest and purest morality is the immediate consequence of the Vedanta." And his parting exhortation was: "And so the Vedanta, in its pure and unfalsified form, is the strongest support of pure morality, is the greatest consolation in the sufferings of life and death—Indians, keep to it!" Morality is incidental to all true religion—it follows it as the night the day. But religion does not end with morality, or it will be no more than a sort of moral police, a glorified Penal Code. The end of religion

is Truth in all its fulness. The doctrine of the identity of the Brahman, the Cosmic Soul, with the Atman, the individual Soul, is admitted to be the mightiest achievement of human thought, and it is the central doctrine of the Vedanta, whether of Shankara or Ramanuja. We are glad that Indian Christians are coming to see that they can be true to Christ without turning their backs on their own great national heritage. The article which we print to-day from Mr. T. Rathnam, headed "The Eternal Quest," shows how the Indian Christian mind is working out the synthesis.

The Turkish Sultan and Angora Nationalists: The telegrams which convey the impression that there is acute antagonism between the Sultan of Turkey and the Angora Nationalists must be taken with more than a grain of salt. The current number of *Asia*, "the American magazine on the Orient," commences a series of articles headed "How the Turks feel," to which General Townshend and other European and American experts are announced to contribute. The first article is by Mufty-Zade Zia, son of Reshid Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador in London, and nephew of a former Turkish Ambassador in Washington. He has other near relatives occupying high official positions in the Angora Government. He is thus in a position to know both sides of the Turkish question, and the impression left on reading his article is that there is a perfect understanding between Constantinople and Angora. The Government of Turkey, he says, endorses the National Pact as well as the Government of Angora. The Turkish Crown Prince, Medjid Effendi, despite his delicate position as heir to the throne of the Sultan, openly sided with the Nationalists by declaring that "the Treaty of Sevres is as fragile as the porcelain of the same city." Zia Bey speaks of the position of the Sultan at Constantinople as being dictated by a high sense of duty to the Turkish nation. "If he had left his capital," he writes, "this act would have entailed on new Turkey the added burden of reconquering Constantinople as well as Smyrna and Adrianople." He cites the case of the Sultan as illustrating how, under certain circumstances, it takes greater strength of character to hold a position than to give it up. He writes:

The strain imposed on him (the Sultan) has literally bent him. Week after week, I have seen him, pensive and stooped, prematurely grey and aged, attending the regular Friday prayers in the small Mosque of Yildiz. By his mere presence, he holds Constantinople for Turkey.

His Majesty, it should be explained, moved his abode to the hills of Yildiz to avoid the affront of a Greek warship which was permitted by the Allied authorities to come close to the windows of the Imperial Palace of Dolma Baghcheh. The message that the Sultan attended the usual Friday prayers in an open carriage last week shows that he has returned to the Imperial Palace, thus showing his revived confidence in the new order of things. Zia Bey states that Italy has already given up entirely her

imperialistic dreams in the Near East, and is on most friendly terms with Turkey—this was written before the Fascisti revolution—and that the Turko-French *entente*, concluded by M. Franklin Bouillon, is based on community of interests and has, in addition, a sentimental basis—its historic roots. He earnestly pleads for an understanding with Great Britain.

Reform Apologists: The *Servant of India* remarks with reference to certain tests that we suggested to determine the result of the Montagu reforms: "These questions should be addressed to the supporters of Non-Co-operation, not to those of the reforms. Self-government is not synonymous with either good or economical government. It could be either or both but everything depends upon the people themselves." Which is the party in power? Non-co-operators or supporters of the reforms? We venture to suggest to our contemporary that a party which holds and enjoys offices and power has to justify its tenure by proving that it possesses administrative capacity and public confidence in a larger measure than others. No one heard of a Liberal government laying the blame of its failure on Conservatives or a Conservative one on the Liberals. The *Servant of India's* plea comes simply to this: if all parties will help, the party in power will have no objection to be credited with the results! Even the bureaucracy can justify itself on this easy ground. Another Liberal apologist, the *Leader of Allahabad*, observes: "Let the *Reformer* calmly and impartially consider how a political situation such as that which has existed in India during the last three years, would have been handled by the unreformed Governments. Let it compare the conduct of martial law in the Punjab in 1919 and in Malabar in 1921 and 1922. If the Reforms have not been to India all that they could have been a portion of the blame must go to those who refused to co-operate in their working and tried to destroy them." The unreformed Government could not have handled worse the situation during the last three years. In the worst days of the Partition Agitation when bombs and bullets were much in evidence, there was not a tenth as many persons cast into jail as during a period when, even Mr. Rushbrook Williams admits (India in 1921-22, page 272.) anarchical crime had practically ceased, the violence party of the Partition days, having been largely captured by the idealism of Mr. Gandhi's movement. We do not yet know enough of the operation of the Martial law in Malabar to institute a comparison of it with the Punjab episode in 1919. There are those who maintain that it was not in any way an improvement, though the *Leader* may not agree that the Mopla waggon tragedy was in its way quite as good an exhibition of callousness as Jallia-wala. The Madras Ministers will not thank our contemporary for ascribing to them by implication a leading share of responsibility for the martial law Administration in Malabar.

Bombay and its Suburbs: For nearly thirty years now, since the outbreak of plague, persistent efforts have been made to induce people to settle down in the suburbs to relieve the congestion in Bombay City. The policy of Government, in fact, had been to regard the growth of suburbs along both the railways as the natural line of Bombay development. For this purpose cheap and quick railway communication is, of course, essential, and it is admitted that for forty years there has been no increase in the cost of the season tickets issued for suburban traffic, though the through traffic fares have been repeatedly raised. Now, however, Government, against the opinion of a very large section of the public, have resolved that the development of Bombay should be

mainly through reclamation from the sea, and crores of rupees are being spent upon the project. The policy of suburban development has become a side-issue. Perhaps as a reflex of this change of policy, within the last few weeks, it was announced that the price of season tickets will be raised by 25 per cent. Coming on the top of high prices and hard money, the announcement has created, as the Railway Company admits, much natural dissatisfaction, and meetings are being held to protest against the increase. One argument advanced is that the development of the suburbs has all along been a part of Bombay development, and that the action of the Railway Companies is calculated to cut across that policy. It has been suggested, therefore, that the Development Department should, in the last resort, take over the suburban traffic in its hands, crediting the gain or loss thereon to the Development scheme. We are surprised to see the *Times of India's* comment upon this suggestion. There is no objection to its calling it a plea for "subsidising" the suburban pass-holders. What is the Development Department doing except to subsidise various agencies in the hope that it will be ultimately repaid, if not in money, in the improved health and sanitation of the city? As for two Companies running trains over the same lines, there are not wanting cases of this being done without inconvenience, especially in the vicinity of great cities. Moreover, in the G. I. P. the suburban traffic is already carried on separate lines, and in the B. B. C. I. also this is being done to some extent on the section that has been quadrupled. As for the repayment of the capital and interest on the sums that the Development department may have to invest, there is at least as much chance of their being recouped by the extension of the suburbs as by the conversion of the sea into land.

The Marriage Problem in Gujarat: The *Praja Bandhu* of Ahmedabad states that several castes in Gujarat are suffering from a terrible paucity of brides. "During every marriage season," writes our contemporary, "harrowing tales of sales and exchange of brides are brought to light, and yet no remedy is found to check the evil which is growing with alarming rapidity." The *Praja Bandhu* calls attention to the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Fresckow after making some investigations during the War, as offering a solution for the problem. "Lowered vitality on the part of the mother," says the Professor, "has a tendency to increase the number of male births." This is no new discovery. The phenomenon was noted during the siege of Paris by the Germans in 1871. It is seen in every famine year. "If we examine the statistical figures which some of the castes have made," continues the *Praja Bandhu*, "we shall find the truth of this theory. In the castes which complain of paucity of brides there is a slight excess of male over female births as well as a heavy mortality of young mothers. Early marriages, insanitary surroundings, domestic discord and several other health-destroying factors lower the vitality of our females which increases their deaths and decreases their births. This produces that paucity of brides of which everybody complains but nobody finds remedies. But now the remedy is clear. We must increase the vitality of our women by providing for them means of recreation and rejuvenation. The city-life has proved a veritable death-trap for them. We must improve if not destroy it if we want to avert the racial extinction that threatens us." All this is very good, but a simpler remedy is at hand. There are parts of India where the bridegroom problem is as acute as that of brides in Gujarat. Intermarriage offers an immediate solution. What stands in the way but caste and custom?

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1922.

GREATER INDIA.*

In the Commemorative volume published by the London University Press on the sixcentenary last year of Dante, there is an essay entitled "the Italy of Dante and the Italy of Virgil," by Mr. J. W. Mackay, which is of profound interest to Indian readers. Geographically, India like Italy is one of the most striking instances of a country with natural boundaries. They both lie, to use Mr. Mackay's description, with but one gap, within a ring-fence of sea and mountain wall. That gap, in the case of Italy, is the open gateway on the North-eastern frontier through which from time immemorial the peninsula has again and again been invaded and repopulated. These words apply equally to India, with the single difference that the open gateway in our case is on the North-Western frontier. The analogy does not end here. Notwithstanding her distinctive geographical unity, Italy was not a single nation or a single state until the unification of the last century.

"Italy, throughout history," writes Mr. Mackay, "has been the seat of kingdoms, republics, principalities, confederacies, which were all local and partial, and generally in acute conflict, racial and cultural, as well as political, among one another. When it approached unity most nearly, it was not as a self-developed and independent state but as a portion or province of a larger empire."

The dawn of history finds Italy divided between four large ethnically distinct groups, besides many smaller ones among whom there was no trace and no sense of unity. In Dante's time, that is the 14th century, there were fourteen distinct regional dialects, while the local sub-dialects ran to not less than a thousand. Italy as one country and one nation was the dream, first, of Virgil and then of Dante. And that dream came to fruition after many vicissitudes many centuries after the dreamers who in their poems laid the firm foundations of that unity. Mr. Mackay observes that the immense power of words over human affairs is nowhere shown more remarkably than in the influence exercised on later history by their great and glorious poetry.

India, too, has had her dreamers who dreamed to good purpose of her fundamental unity. Following her special line of evolution, this unity was first worked out in the sphere of religion and philosophy. In a little book entitled "the Fundamental Unity of India," Mr. Mokerji, whose historical researches have helped so much the Indian renaissance, has shown how the different places of pilgrimage seem designed to impress this great fact of Indian unity on the minds of the people. Buddhism from the North brought on the revival of Hinduism from the South. Political evolution also tended steadily to enlarge the sphere of unity. The Mahomedan and Moghul empires but carried forward this ancient impulse which in the British Empire reached its fullest consummation. On the first shock of Mahomedan

conquest, the movement towards political unity was severed from the movement towards cultural unity. As Mahomedan rule tended to become national the gap was in the way of being closed. British rule re-opened it, and owing to the fact that British rule has persisted so long in remaining foreign, while at the same time reaching out deeper into the national life than the previous Governments, the task of bringing up cultural unity to the level of the present political unity has become unprecedentedly complex. The mere politician with his limited vision cannot help us much. The poet with a large vision alone can show us the way to the goal. We have before us a little volume of four essays written by Rabindranath Tagore in connexion with the *Swadeshi* movement in Bengal during the years 1905 to 1910. Since then the Poet has written much on national problems, but in these four essays are enunciated with all the force of his simple directness the essential aims which the national movement should keep in view. In the very first essay, entitled "Our Swadeshi Samaj," he strikes the key-note of his Indian ideal. He writes:

The realisation of unity in diversity, the establishment of a synthesis amidst variety—that is the inherent, the Sanatan dharma of India. India does not admit difference to be conflict, nor does she spy an enemy in every stranger. So she repels none, destroys none, she abjures no methods, recognises the greatness of ideals, and she seeks to bring them all into one grand harmony.

The Poet shows how, under the most unpromising conditions, the genius of India for synthesis never deserted her. These reactions have even now not ceased to work. The Poet remarks on the fact of all the great religions being together in India as evidence that she is destined to be the home of a supreme religious synthesis. That is also our belief. The Poet puts Christianity as the last to come to India. As a fact, it was one of the first. Syrian Christianity in Malabar came earlier than any other great non-Indian religion excepting perhaps the Hebrew.

The leading idea of the second essay, "The Way to get it done," is that the motive of foreign rule—in our case, British rule—has little abiding effect on its actual consequences to the people ruled. "In a disunited country", the Poet says, "foreign domination is a unifying agency. This process of unification will go on even though England does not like it." Nay, the more it is opposed, the greater will be its momentum. "May I make a personal confession?" writes the Poet. "I do not worry myself over much about what the Government does, or does not, do for us. I count it silly to be a-tremble every time there is a rumbling in the clouds." Lest our Non-Co-operationist friends understand this to support them, we hasten to quote another sentence from the essay. "Let no one think," writes the Poet, "that I am advocating a policy of sullen aloofness. That would be another form of sulking, which may have its place in a lover's quarrel, but not here." When we said something to a like effect the other day by way of showing that the Non-Co-operators were really co-operating with Government more than many avowed Co-operators, a contemporary sneered at the remark as being too

* Mr. S. Ganesan, Madras. Price Rs. 3-8-0.

profound for it. The Poet's words may explain it to our contemporary: "We must not", he writes, "found our political work on dislike of, or dependence upon, others. This dislike and dependence may seem to be opposite states of mind, but they are really two branches of the same tree of impotence—" This was written more than fifteen years ago. The last essay, to our mind, is the most important. In it the Poet impresses upon us the fact that India does not belong to any caste or creed, but to all who have made their homes here. He writes:

In the evolving History of India, the principle at work is not the ultimate glorification of the Hindu or any other race. In India, the history of humanity is seeking to elaborate a specific ideal to give to general perfection a special form which shall be for the gain of all humanity; nothing less than this is its end and aim. And in the creation of this ideal type, if Hindu, Moslem or Christian should have to submerge the aggressive part of their individuality, that may hurt their sectarian pride, but will not be accounted a loss by the standard of Truth and Right.

The Poet's ideal is the same as that of Raja Ram Mohan Roy who, he says, "did not assist India to repair her barriers, or to keep cowering behind them,—he led her out into the freedom of Space and Time, and built for her a bridge between the East and the West."

THE ETERNAL QUEST.

(BY MR. T. RATHNAM.)

Man's belief in God is as old as humanity but his quest of truth is comparatively of recent evolution. The idea of God and the truth about God, although correlated, are two distinct concepts. Every man instinctively believes in the existence of a Creator but that belief alone has not been sufficient to gratify the craving of the soul. It is the truth about God, His creation and the ultimate goal of humanity that the human soul is in quest of. There is a spiritual kinship between what is human and what is divine and it is this kinship that agitates the soul to raise it to a higher plane of divinity. It is in the endeavour of the soul to rise to that plane of divinity that religions came into existence and that indeed is a natural evolution. Great souls in the history of man endeavoured to express themselves intelligibly to those around them but the generality of human beings, being incapable of comprehending matters spiritual, fell victims to superstitions, and by imitation lost the original. All religions, therefore, are superstructures built on the strata of superstitions, and even Christianity is not an exception to this rule. Although many of us profess to know all about the ultimate goal of the soul, yet when it comes to be stated, what definite conception of the life beyond death have we, except give out unverified scriptural quotations couched in borrowed phraseology? The fact is, the truth is as far away from the average man as it ever was.

Judaism, Christianity and Islam as religious systems have dispensed with the quest of the eternal truth as unnecessary in the erroneous belief that God

had finally revealed Himself to man through their respective founders and there is nothing more to go in quest of. In Christianity, owing to the primitive idea of God of the people nineteen centuries ago, the revelation of truth has been miscomprehended resulting in superstitious belief obtaining the so-called first truths on which Christian theology is built up much in detriment to the independent thought of the individual man. At the risk of incurring the displeasure of the learned churchmen, it must be stated, in the interests of the religion of Christ, that the western clergy are labouring under an impressed psychology having been predestined to conform to the religion they are born into. Religion was forced into them when they neither needed it nor were capable of understanding it. This infusion of religion goes on from childhood to manhood, through school and college and they naturally never at any time suspected either their parents or their teachers as to the genuineness of the religion that was being forced into them. Then, a few years of theological course argues out some seeming doubts, although, probably, such doubts had never occurred to the students, and reasons out the religion for them in which the students receive the wooden cross without the crucifix-sacrifices. With this blank wooden cross, the clergymen go out, not to learn of Christ, but to teach, nothing of their own knowledge and experience of Christ, but something of their parents, their teachers and book-makers—the theological Christianity—a compromise between things earthly and things Godly.

But in India, amidst a maze of grossest superstitions, diverse religious beliefs and idolatry, the quest is alive as it ever was, for the religions in this country are not confined to a code of ethics to bind men in the harmonies of social and domestic intercourse only, but on philosophy, however speculative, and metaphysics, which obtain the freedom of the individual soul to discover for itself the eternal truth. To theological minds, this soaring of the soul in the higher realms of God-idea appears as a chaotic state of the mind, but a deeper study of it would reveal that it is fundamentally the Christ-idea in all its essential bearings. If training is essential for proficiency in all natural sciences, both physical and mental, the development of spiritual capacity is also dependent on training peculiar to the soul. The academic and theological training develops only the intellectual capacity of man and even that only to a certain extent, which while enlightening the soul, does not affect the soul-capacity. The body or the physical power and the soul or the spiritual power in the average man are more or less balanced; and one power is naturally developed at the expense of the other. If man consciously refuses to indulge in the physical cravings of nature and represses the animal in him, the body suffers while the soul gains. But if he represses the dictates of his conscience and indulges in the animal cravings, the soul suffers while the body gains. The soul is a distinct entity from the body, and attains its individuality when completely detached from the body, and while encased in

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its individuality is proportionate to the assistance it offers to the cravings natural to the body. On this is based the celibacy and asceticism which are indispensable in the cultivation and development of the soul-capacity and Jesus Christ Himself passed through these essentials expounding the science to His disciples in quite an explicit and literal manner.

A careful study of the Gospels would convince us that Christ has revealed nothing except *the way* to the realization of the eternal truth. "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation", He said, "for behold, the Kingdom of God is within you." It is to the soul that Christ here refers; self-realization is therefore essential for the realization of the truth involving quickening of the soul, for, "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." Again, He has not revealed God, but only revealed the spiritual capacity requisite for obtaining that revelation. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." The purification of the heart again involves the development of the soul-capacity, to realize the "kingdom" within. The doctrine that Christ propounded to His disciples is that which when practised will purify the soul, develop its capacity and elevate it to the plane where humanity meets divinity. "If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed, and ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." One has to continue in His word to know the truth. "I am the door"; at the entrance of this door is also the cross; "take up my cross and follow me" and, "take my yoke upon you and learn of me." Accordingly, learning is under his yoke for the discovery of the eternal truth. "I am the way, the truth and the life, and no man cometh unto the Father but by me." He is the way; His followers must go by that strait way through which He Himself had passed; He is the truth, for in that way He is, and where He is, there is *Life* also. "My doctrine is not mine," said Jesus, "but His that sent me; If any man do His will, he shall know the doctrine." This statement made 2,000 years ago remains to this day, unchallenged, unbelieved and unverified. All this teaching of Jesus should be enough to convince us beyond all doubt that the realization of the truth involves the course of training through which Christ Himself had passed. He set us an example in terms: "He that wishes to train up his child in the way it should walk, must walk in the way he would train up his child." Without such a training no man can pretend to know either the mysteries of the Gospel or the mysteries of the soul or the mysteries of the doctrine of Christ or the will of the Father.

THE DOWRY QUESTION FROM A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW.

(By A HINDU LADY.)

In accordance with our joint family system, a bridegroom being under the protection of his father or older male relations, has no voice in the question of dowry. And according to Hindu law the father of a bride is under an obligation to get his daughter married. Hence whatever is given by her affection-

ate father is only a present in the form of dowry to the bridegroom's family perhaps for their life long care of her and kind treatment to be meted out to her.

But our society having lost its sense of dignity on account of costly education, growing economic strain, the rigidity of castes and their splitting up into several subcastes, the preponderance of the number of women over men in certain communities, and the complications of horoscopes, the bridegroom's father goes to the length of demanding dowry from a needy bride's father, some times not only to cover the cost of University education in India, but also in foreign countries or even to cover the cost of marriage expenses of a bridegroom's sister. The bride's father too lowering himself to the same level as the bridegroom's father, does not hesitate in his turn to demand jewels equal in value to the amount of dowry, God only knowing whether the bride gets possession of the jewels under adverse circumstances. Thus the bride's father fearing social as well as religious ostracism succeeds in unburdening himself of his economic responsibility with the help of money and throwing it upon the bridegroom or his party. To speak plainly he purchases a bridegroom from the marriage market and the bridegroom quietly allows himself to be sold.

Now if a middle class bride's father has to bear the expenses of his grown-up daughter's education to suit the times as well as his position, and if the question of dowry is left to be settled, as is suggested by some, between the father and his daughter, naturally he will shirk bestowing the same amount of dowry upon his daughter and his sons will thank him for saving that amount for themselves. The daughter too out of modesty as well as being conscious of the fact that whatever is done for her is only a favour, will not dare to claim much. This dowry question will perhaps settle itself when her rights of property as daughter, sister, wife and as mother are recognized by law. But till then a fair amount of dowry fixed by both parties, without endangering mutual kindly relations, may be allowed to be settled upon the bride in addition to the jewels given her as *stridhan* instead of allowing it to be added to the common property of the bridegroom's party or spent over the joint family.

Now as regards educated, young, enthusiastic students, whether rich or poor, it will really be highly creditable on their part if, rising to their sense of dignity, they take vows of not accepting dowries, whenever it is left to them to decide, and thus to put a stop to the bartering that goes on freely every year in marriage markets.

But when the question is not left to them entirely, they may take vows to use their influence with their affectionate parents either not to demand dowry or if it is demanded or offered, to get it settled on their brides in addition to their jewels as their absolute property. And if they fail in this they should take vows, making it their first duty, when they get settled in life to bestow the same amount upon their brides. Nay, they may even go so far, if their means allow them, as to return the demanded dowry, as has been done in one instance.

Since according to our old custom गृहस्थाश्रम can follow only after ब्रह्मचर्य that is, the period of education, every parent is in duty bound to educate his or her children. It is unjust on the part of a bridegroom or his parents, to burden the bride's parents with the cost of education, or make money out of the disadvantageous position of the bride and her parents. The best jewel that a bride can get for herself is a husband who is fully alive to the sacredness of the marriage tie and the responsibilities of a married life. The best dowry that a bridegroom can get is a bride who in her turn is alive to the same sacredness of her union with her husband and the responsibilities of married life and not a helpless creature falling a prey to adverse circumstances.

In Southern India things seem to be getting still worse although there is not so much talk of dowry. Often times the sense of dignity of the middle class and poor parents is deadened to the extent of allowing a bridegroom to go somewhat under the control of his bride's parents after marriage, the bride's parents offering to bear the cost of his further education. The bridegroom proudly accepts this condition. Thus, instead of demanding dowry after education, such men demand education itself after marriage. Under such circumstances the bride's party succeeds in keeping both the bride and the bridegroom under their own control. While in the Deccan it is the bridegroom's party that keeps both under their control after marriage.

But if bridegrooms (or their parents) in easy circumstances do not lay claim to huge dowries at the time of marriage, or are not required to accept the control of bride's parents for their education, they can make exorbitant demands at the time of the consummation ceremony before which a bride does not go legally to her husband's roof. Readers can only imagine in what an awkward position a bride's parents are placed if they ever think of not fulfilling the unjust demands of the other party. To be plain, a bridegroom can drive a bride's parent to a corner by threatening to go in for a second marriage, while a betrothed bride will have to occupy a position more pitiable than that of a widow.

But are not women, the inspirers and shapers of manhood above domestic animals or inanimate objects of comfort, the market value of which can go on fluctuating and in the barter of even which—higgling and gigling is looked down upon? How can matrimonial happiness be secured or hearts be united when the union is based upon hard cash payments? How can cash unite hearts where we are conscious of the fact that the same medium has got power of separating hearts and bringing about discord in families?

THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

[By MR. RAMAGYAN DWIVEDI, B.A., (HONS.)]

It was early in July last that I gave the readers of the *Reformer* a brief account of the activities at the Hindu University of Benares. It was satisfying to note that the Editor wanted for publication in his columns, a fuller account of the Engineering College of the University, for it bespoke a general interest of our coun-

trymen in the welfare of the great institution and the good repute for efficient work that it has already acquired. But before entering into details of the College of Engineering, it is desirable to give a short sketch of the Science College and its establishment.

Besides over several hundred students taking up Science courses for their undergraduate careers, the majority of the Post-graduate students in the C. H. College—about 60 in all—belong to the Science side; post-graduate study is carried on in over half a dozen different scientific subjects. There are about a dozen research scholars, besides the researchers in Mathematics. The two Chemical and Physical laboratories, besides that for Industrial Chemistry, were very highly spoken of by a European visitor early in this term. On the staff are Professors N. K. Sethi, M.A., D.Sc., K. R. Gunjekar, M.A. (Cantab) and P. Dutt, M.A. (Cantab) for Physics, Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar, M.A., D.Sc. (London) and K. K. Mathur, B.Sc., A.R.S.M. for Chemistry, Prof. R. S. Inamdar, B.A. (Cantab) for Botany and Prof. N. P. Gandhi, M.A., A.R.S.M., D.I.C., F.G.S., A.I.M.I.M. for Geo-mine-metallurgy. The two laboratories are very well-fitted and there is a good Museum attached to them and containing a large number of fine botanical and biological collections. Students are also trained in Industrial Chemistry the head of which department is Prof. N. N. Godbole, M.A., B.Sc., a young enthusiastic man of much experience in Japan and several parts of India. This department has already been manufacturing Ink, Soaps, Candles etc. We hope there will be more improvement in all these directions in the near future.

The Engineering College recently sent over a dozen of its students to the City and Guilds Examination of London. It is happy to learn that one of the students from our Engineering College, Mr. Nishit K. Bhattacharya, has stood first at that in the whole of the British Empire; the College on the whole also ranks very high in the list, showing a result of over 70 per cent. successes and standing third therein. The College is under the able principalship of Prof. C. A. King, B.Sc. (Hons.), A.R.C.Sc., A.M.I.M.E., M.E.I. etc., who was formerly in the Sibpur College. Besides being an expert at his subject Principal King takes an enthusiastic interest in the private social life of the students and is a true well-wisher of the University. Amongst the many efficient professors are Professors L. D. Coneslant, B.Sc., (Hons.), A.M.I.M.E., B. C. Chatterjee, M.A., A.M.I.E.E. and R. S. Jain, B.Sc. (U. S. A.), A.M.A.I.E.E. For proper guidance of the Engineering studies there is an Advisory Board consisting of a number of experts in India as well as in other parts of the world.

Besides mining and motoring, the special branches of engineering taught here are Electrical, Mechanical and Civil Engineering. Here are three degrees of classes also; *Artisan* classes being meant for boys knowing a little of elementary mathematics and Vernacular as well as English, *Diploma* classes which admit students who have passed the Matriculation, and the *Degree* classes meant for advanced students who have passed their I.Sc. or B.Sc. examinations with Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics. The sub-

jects taught in all these classes are the same, the difference being only of grade. All the three run for a period of 5 years, for four years of which a man has to undergo training in the college, the last year being devoted to, practical work somewhere in the country. It is only after a student has secured a testimony of his successful practical work that his degree is given to him.

In the College itself they have to do fitting, carpentry and blacksmithery, besides the theoretical class-work. Although they have not been able to compete with the market outside, the College manufactures small machinery pieces, motor-car instruments and lathes too. They manage to supply electric light to the city of Benares, which will bring an income to the University. In spite of all possible difficulties, we hope the College will go on improving and enlarging its sphere of work.

We have immense possibilities before us and practically every day the University adds to the number of its members and working institutions. It was very recently that a University Seva Samiti was organized and a Post-graduates' Association and Hindi Sahitya Sabha were established. We regret to record the sad and sudden death of Prof. C. Guleri, B.A., Principal of the Oriental College, whose deep learning and scholarship was a pride to most Indians. He was only about 40 years and we are afraid the place vacated by his demise will hardly be filled. However, we have had additions to the staff, the most recent of them being the appointment of Prof. R. D. Gulethi, B.Sc (Manchester) to the Engineering College and of Prof. E. H. Solomon, B.A. (Cantab) to the Economics department of the C. H. College.

Recently their Highnesses the Maharajas of Mysore and Alwar resigned their offices of Chancellorship and Pro-Chancellorship respectively in order to give other able people their chances. We must thank their Highnesses very heartily for their long services to the University and hope they will continue to take the same lively interest in the affairs of the institution. The two offices have fallen into the able hands of their Highnesses the Maharajas of Baroda and of Bikaner respectively. We hope that the University will continue to grow and flourish without losing sight of the ideals before it, placed as its destinies are under the guidance of such eminent men. The Ayurvedic, Law, and Agriculture Colleges are yet to be started, and it is hoped that in their term of office their Highnesses will try their best to bring them into existence and thus fulfil the hopes of the University and the country at large.

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

London, October 26th, 1922.

THE END OF THE COALITION.

The Coalition is dead. The news that startled London last Thursday must have echoed throughout the world, and a Ministry that saw Great Britain through the last years of the terrible War and the few years of turmoil and intense struggle that succeeded it is now at an end. It was a great experiment in the Parliamentary history of Great Britain, whose people are said, and with much truth, to hate a Coalition. The Coalition, however, undoubtedly, for some time

served its purpose, even if, to-day, it is un mourned. Its end came with dramatic suddenness. One day negotiations were being carried on in connexion with the Near East peace and the Reparation problem. The next, there was no longer a representative Cabinet to carry on the King's Government or foreign negotiations. A curtain of finality seems to have fallen upon the events of the past, and a new era has opened, with the blessing of all except the staunchest supporters of the Coalition. With its death has come the retirement from office of Mr. Lloyd George, of whom the future historian may speak in epic terms but of whom now the whole country seems very tired, in spite of flashes here and there. Immediately it was known that he was to retire, the eyes of all England were turned towards Mr. Bonar Law, the soon-acknowledged head of the Conservative Party, in view of the allegiance to the ex-Prime Minister declared by those stalwart Conservatives, Lord Birkenhead, Lord Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Robert Horne, and the other Coalition Conservative leaders. Scarcely any other name occurred to men's minds as the successor of the doughty Welshman. But Mr. Bonar Law himself, having scarcely regained his health, and remembering that only eighteen months ago he was next in command to Mr. Lloyd George at the head of the Coalition Cabinet, held back. He was by no means anxious to take up the burden of office that his predecessor was just laying down. However, after much pressure, he finally decided that it was his duty to prevent the smashing of his Party and to accept the high office to which the King had invited him, and on Monday His Majesty appointed him Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury. He at once advised the dissolution of Parliament, and the proclamation will be issued to-day. From now onwards events will march rapidly towards the General Election which will be held on November 15th. The new Parliament will probably assemble on the 20th, so all parties are now hard at work to get their candidates in. Labour, against which Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Chamberlain, from different points of view have wished to save the country, will, with its 400 candidates, make the most strenuous efforts to capture the constituencies, but though some optimistic Labour men predict a sweeping Labour victory, more moderate observers do not anticipate that Labour will capture the seats of the mighty just yet. Moreover, the best of the Labour leaders realise that the country is not ready for a Labour Government yet, with its full programme of taxation and reform, and they realise the present immaturity of the Party itself. For the first time the women's vote is going to be a decisive factor at the elections. The 1918 elections gave little indication how women would vote. It is expected that the women's vote will be rather conservative than otherwise. In some divisions there are practically as many women voters as men, and in one London constituency, the women voters outnumber the men. This being the case, it is quite understood how eagerly the women will be canvassed. Several women, too, will be standing as candidates. Of these, two are fairly well-known in India, one of them being Miss Alison Garland, who some years ago undertook a

lecture tour in India and afterwards raised a large sum for famine relief, the other being Mrs. Annie Swan, the novelist, who has given to Westerners some beautiful ideas regarding Indian life, before that country was as well-known to the West as it is, by comparison, to-day.

The Liberal fight is to be on the platform of economy and an end to all military adventures. The Liberals intend earnestly to support the League of Nations and to work for real disarmament.

MR. BONAR LAW.

Mr. Bonar Law is, at the moment of assuming office, threatened with a miners' strike. On the evening of Mr. Lloyd George's retirement, a miners' deputation waited upon him at Downing Street, and were, of course, refused an interview. Strike notices, however, have not received the unqualified support of the people mainly concerned, as was apparently expected. It is being made increasingly clear that a strike just now will not be very popular with the miners themselves. Probably the early advent of winter, the continued heavy unemployment roll, and the low funds of all the trades union organizations, are all factors in postponing a strike that will effect not only the mining industry, but the many others that rely upon coal for their very existence. Anyway, the new Premier may have to come to grips at an early date with a labour crisis of some magnitude, and we shall see how he handles it.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

So far, about 370 schemes for the relief of unemployment for the winter have been approved by the Committee specially set up to deal with unemployment. These schemes involve large sums of money, but at least there is some return somewhere by the working of them, and respectable workers are spared the demoralization of receiving doles without work.

THE IRISH SITUATION.

With the expiry of the Act of Amnesty and the opening of the military courts in Ireland last week, an important new phase has been reached in the conflict between the Irish Free State and the followers of Mr. De Valera. From letters written by him and captured by the Free State authorities, it is clear that the Republican leader finds that the situation has slipped out of his control. He admits that he finds it impossible to set up a rival Government, because he has no force to control or maintain it. He also admits that the Republican cause has not sufficient adherents to do anything constructive. Ireland seems very undisturbed over the political changes taking place here. Nobody seems afraid that the Treaty or its results will be endangered by the change of Government and this sense of being outside our affairs is probably the biggest tribute yet paid to the Treaty by the Irish people themselves, for it proves their claim to an independent life, and their belief that they have now got it. In the late Premier's speech at Leeds, last week-end, he made special reference to the work that the Coalition had done in making peace with the Irish people. It was one of the things, he said, of which he was most proud, for it had been one of the most difficult things to do.

CONDITION OF BRITISH AGRICULTURE.

The present condition of British agriculture is extremely precarious, and it looks as though that great industry were in danger. The fact that the majority of the population never thinks seriously about the conditions of food-raising in this country does not alter the equally important fact that these are giving cause for most serious concern in thoughtful quarters, for, the cost of living is largely affected by them. Farmers in all districts and of all classes are in severe financial straits, and those whose available capital was small have no alternative but to sink further and further into debt. The cost of producing any of the standard rotation crops is out of all proportion to their realised value. The farmers admit that they cannot see how the labourers can accept a lower wage unless the whole cost of living drops considerably, but they declare that present prices for farm produce cannot be reconciled with existing rates of wages.

LANDLORD vs. TENANT.

The termination of the Rent Restriction Acts, that was to take place next year, has been postponed. There has been a strong and widespread feeling of anxiety concerning the future of these Acts and the thousands whose homes depend upon the goodwill of their landlords have a respite, for they will not be turned out of their houses arbitrarily, nor will their rents be enhanced unconscionably. That in not a few cases the continuance of the Acts will operate adversely to the interests of the house-owner has to be recognized, and many people who invested their small savings in house-property, in order to provide a secure income against old age, now find themselves in the position of having the responsibility of the upkeep of their property at enhanced charges and yet to receive no real profit upon their labour or their investment, for the rents received are only too often completely absorbed in rates, taxes, and repairs. One of the greatest objections to the retention of their Acts, however is not this. It is that it prevents the speculative builder from building and providing houses for the enormous number of folk, especially newly-married people, who are at present compelled to live in the most cramped and expensive circumstances. Moreover, it acts as a preventive of marriage. Thus, in so many ways, we have still to pay for the cost of the Great War that was to advance social progress and improve economic conditions.

THE LATE SIR WILLIAM MEYER.

The sudden death of Sir William Meyer, the High Commissioner for India, at the time that the mail was closing last week, came as a great shock to all who had known the excellent work that he had done during his incumbency of the office which was one of the most tangible signs of the reality of the Reforms. Sir William heartily believed in the Reforms, and, to the best of his ability, he advanced them. His personal qualities and intellectual gifts were appreciated most by those who had the amplest opportunities of knowing him. His high character and sense of personal responsibility, in spite of overwhelming domestic losses that would have broken most men, increased the respect in which he was held. It was a singular coincidence that, simultaneously at the week-end, there were no High Commissioner for India, no Secretary of State for India, and no Parliamentary Under Secretary of State. The first and third offices are still vacant, but Mr. Bonar Law has reappointed Lord Peel as Secretary of State.

"The very existence of this factory at Ghazipur," says the report, "is an insult to all true medical science. In the face of all the light that has been poured on this question during the past century and a quarter it should be immediately closed." The example of the British Government in India has been fatally bad on the rest of India, and the report quotes a statement made by Sir Havelock Charles, President of the Medical Board for India at the Third Session of the League of Nations Provisional Health Committee in Paris last May, as reported in the League's White Paper C. 866 M. 217 to the effect that in the whole of India "only 9,000 tons of opium is produced" or ten times that of the Ghazipur Factory. On page 10 of this report Sir Havelock Charles says: "Opium is taken in India as tea and tobacco are taken in other countries. It is a stimulant for workers engaged in arduous labours, for soldiers who have to take long marches, and even for animals. No Government has more at heart a struggle against the abuse of opium than the Government of India." Regarding this the Friends' report comments: "The pigeon holes of the India Office are filled with answers to these misleading statements of Sir Havelock Charles. Habitués of opium are not only bright and active whilst under the influences of increasing quantities of the drug. Without it they collapse in India as everywhere else, and it is the cruelest of disgraces to our country that we should still be mixed up in this central way in the world's traffic in this drug."

The report concludes:—"The conscience against the use of this drug except for medical purposes is more or less keen in most parts of the world, and the League of Nations documents reflect this fact. That the League should have given way to the representative of the India Office in the manner indicated is a grievous calamity, and we should concentrate on any practical efforts that may be made on the India Office itself, through the usual Parliamentary channels."

THE U. P. PROVINCIAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE

A very largely attended United Provinces Provincial Social Conference was held at Debra Dun on the 31st October. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided. The following resolutions were passed.

(1) a. This conference proposes that efforts should be made to educate and qualify our women folk so that in the reform of the Hindu community and the service of our country they may be able to partake equally with men.

b. This conference proposes that in order to give a practical shape to resolution No. 1, female education should be spread in all the cities and towns in proportion to the requirements of the community, and that the *pardah* system, as it is in vogue among the higher classes, be abandoned.

(2) This conference proposes that practical steps should be taken to educate and uplift the depressed classes so that they may be able to work for the betterment of the country equally

with the higher classes and that the present treatment accorded to the depressed classes by the higher ones by reason of mere accident of birth be totally abandoned in view of our social advancement.

(3) This conference is of opinion that in order to put a stop to the increase in the number of widows, the practice of child marriage prevalent among the various communities contrary to the direction of the shastras be abandoned.

(4) a. This conference is of opinion that the widows of marriageable age be induced to remarry and institutions for the remarriage be encouraged.

b. This conference is of opinion that widows who may not wish to remarry should be maintained in widow homes so that their lives may prove useful for the advancement of the community.

(5) This conference puts on record its approval of the practice of intercasts marriage that prevails in certain communities and invites the attention of other communities among whom this practice does not yet prevail to the advantages of intermarriage.

(6) This conference proposes that efforts should be made to induce those communities in which the custom of drink prevails to put a stop to that custom altogether and that the good work done by temperance societies in this direction be encouraged.

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| SUBSCRIBED " " ... | 11,86,84,250 |
| PAID UP " " ... | 1,18,68,425 |
| TOTAL FUNDS " " ... | 1,57,15,436 |

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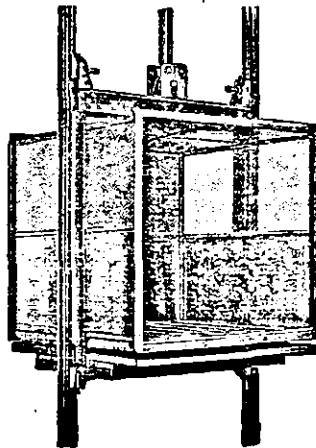
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Church Freedom Bill: Those who are inclined to think that the separation of religion from the State, is an act of irreligion, should note the movement in the Church of England, in India to free it from the shackles of official control. We take the following from the *Dnyanodaya*: In the August number of the *Bombay Diocesan Magazine* the Bishop in Tinnevely gives an account of the proposed Bill to secure the freedom of the Church of England in India. He shows how the necessity for some reconstruction of the Church has become more and more apparent with the passage of time. Conditions, he points out, would be anomalous enough if they applied only to British-born members of the Church. "When it is further added that the majority of the members of the Church of England in India are converts and the descendants of converts from among the Indians themselves, the anomaly becomes a scandal. Whatever view may be held about political self-government, a man's religion is his, and a system which imposes on an indigenous Church Bishops, appointed in an office in London, laws framed for a totally different set of conditions in a country, six thousands miles away, and a liturgy and articles framed nearly 400 years ago.....is clearly in need of some modification." Further "reconstruction has become a vital problem because the vast number of Indian members of the Church are filled with national self-consciousness and an earnest desire to use their powers and give their best to the Church of Christ in their own land and throughout the world." The crucial points in the new Bill as set forth by the Bishop are as follows:—(1) It secures to the Church in India the freedom it desires: to elect its Bishops: to its synods to determine its statements of belief and methods of worship: and generally to manage its own affairs. (2) The Bishop and Archdeacons of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay cease, after the death or resignation of the holders at the time of the passing of the Bill, to be appointed or to be necessarily paid by Government. (3) It is contemplated that Government will continue to appoint Chaplains to "provided" Churches, i. e. Churches over which they retain control.

The Fascisti Movement: The Catholic Leader (Madras) has an informing article on the constitution and character of the Fascisti party which has attained such a dramatic victory in Italy. The Fascisti party was formed to combat the tyranny of the Socialists who were the strongest and best organised party in the Italian Parliament where the Fascisti had only an insignificant twenty out of five hundred members. The triumph of the Fascisti is entirely the result of their powerful outside organisation which includes the higher and the middle classes, soldiers and especially students. "Socialists so far," writes the *Catholic Leader*, "had found only intellectual adversaries—the street was their own dominion and every one who was opposed to them had either to fight or to hide." In the Fascisti, however, they met their match.

They met the Reds in the street, not with orations and debates, but with stick, dagger and revolver. They met force with force, violence with violence. For such tactics the Socialists were not prepared, especially when they saw that the Fascisti were determined and stopped at nothing. Red Labour organizations were attacked, fired, their registers destroyed. Red Municipal Councils were deposed, their chairmen exiled after having tasted sufficient punishment to make them think twice before returning. Socialist papers were suppressed, their presses destroyed, their editorial offices confiscated. The Fascisti might come anywhere, by day or by night. Their concentration was astounding. All of a sudden motor busses and trucks full of well-armed young men, appeared from all sides—and the Reds were crushed. The black "fex" black shirt, grey trousers and puttees, revolver and dagger in belt—the uniform of the Fasci—were awe-inspiring to the populace wherever they appeared.

And the result? "The tyranny of the Socialists has been permanently destroyed," ruefully remarks the *Catholic Leader*, "but now the tyranny of the Fascisti is equally unbearable." The Socialist—Fascisti reaction has a moral for all parties in India. Violence provokes violence, whether it is the violence of Government or that of the people. The Fascisti, by the way, called themselves so, after the "fasci," bundles of scourges and axes, which the victors of ancient Rome carried before the prefects of the city as the emblems of criminal justice. In other words, they proclaimed themselves to be the party of physical force to meet and put down physical force.

Lord Reading and an Italian Journalist: The *Swarajya*, the intrepid Non-Co-operationist daily of Madras, called attention in its issue of the 6th instant to certain personally offensive references to Mr. Gandhi, which the Italian journal, *La Stampa*, published as having been made to its representative by the Viceroy. His Excellency was represented as saying that the Punjabees regarded the Mahatma with contempt. "They expected a god," Lord Reading was reported to have said, "and received

instead a scrawny, shrinking little fellow, who advocated passive resistance instead of force and who then departed on one of the railways that he bitterly denounced in his exhortation." A Government of India Press *communiqué* dated Delhi, November 12, states that they (the Government) have ascertained that no regular interview was given to Major Arnolde Cippola, the journalist in question, though he lunched at the Viceregal Lodge and afterwards had a short conversation with his Excellency. "The observations about Mr. Gandhi attributed in those articles to his Excellency," it says, "are entirely without any foundation and no such remarks were made and on many other matters, and especially those relating to the early life of Lord Reading, the alleged account gives a wholly misleading and inaccurate version of the conversation." The representative of *La Stampa* spoke of the Viceroy as a broad-minded man who "although a Jew, he attends the Christian service every Sunday, believing that all great religions are equally good for the souls of those who believe in them." Is there no Synagogue in Simla? Major Cippola's errors may be forgiven as he confesses at the outset that "this country (India) has a trick of utterly confusing the mind of even the most experienced observer."

The Viceroy's Exhortation to Indian Rulers: We are sure that Lord Reading meant his words for others besides the Maharaja of Rewa when, on the occasion of investing him with ruling powers at Indore, His Excellency in grave words impressed upon His Highness the necessity of giving heed to the spirit of the times. The Viceroy said:

Events in the world have given birth to new ideas. Forces are at work which have awakened a new consciousness every where among the masses. New aspirations have been engendered. New standards are being created. New tests are being applied to the old order of things. These forces cannot be ignored or excluded from consideration. They must be faced and dealt with. You have the priceless heritage of the devotion of your subjects. In these times of change and difficulty, they will look to you for guidance and for sympathetic insight into those new influences which cannot fail to stir them. The best advice which I can give you in these difficult circumstances is to hold the welfare of your subjects constantly in your thoughts, keep in touch with their hopes, try to understand and meet their difficulties attempt to win their confidence and take them into yours. When you are convinced that in any direction a reasonable desire for advance has been established and expressed, let a wise hand guide wholesome and reasonable development on lines best suited to your local need.

The Bombay Census Report: A valued correspondent writes: "I wish to bring to your notice a remark made by the Census Superintendent of the Presidency concerning the educated classes in the Karnatak. It is at page 121, paragraph 348. "In the Karnatak," writes Mr. Sedgwick, "where sexual relations are very lax and a large proportion of the educated classes keep a concubine either alone or in addition to a wife, the danger of this error is considerable." The error referred to is that of enumerating unmarried or widowed women living with men, as married. I don't know whence the Superintendent got his information and what justification he had for making such a sweeping generalization, selecting one particular Division. And as regards the educated classes it is an insult to which they should not meekly submit. The remark only reveals the prejudices of the writer." We may add that, though in the sentence quoted, the Census Superintendent observes

that the danger of the error is considerable, in the next sentence he says it is not likely to be large "since some of the concubines, if widows, will be correctly returned as such, and others will be actually married women who have deserted their husbands or been deserted by them." It is clear that the remark about the laxity of educated classes in the Karnatak has been brought in merely to air the writer's pretended knowledge of the Karnatak, and not to clear up any real statistical difficulty.

The New British Cabinet: The General Election have resulted in the Conservatives getting a clear majority over the Labour and Liberal parties of 80 in the House of Commons. This majority, however, does not represent a majority of voters. It has been pointed out that the total number of votes cast for Conservatives was only two-fifths of the total polled, and that for the first time since the Reform Act, the majority in Parliament has been returned by a minority of voters. The new Government, if it uses its majority in the Commons without regard to the majority against them in the country, would imperil the Parliamentary system. Its task, therefore, will be to convert the Conservative minority in the country into a majority by making judicious use of its majority in Parliament. The policy of tranquillity announced by the Prime Minister, Mr. Bonar Law, will, therefore, suit him best. Among the new members returned are some old friends of India. Special interest attaches to the election of Mr. Shapurji Saklatvala as a Labour member by a large majority by Battersea. Mr. Shapurji is said to be an advanced Socialist, but whatever his political views, Indians of all shades of opinion cannot but be gratified at the success achieved by him by sheer force of character. In some ways, Mr. Shapurji's election is an event of even greater significance than that of Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir Muncherji Bhavnagaree.

Mr. Sastry's Return: The Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastry returned yesterday from his tour in Australia and Canada. That it has done some good, goes without saying. Whether that good is commensurate with the loss to the country from the absence during six eventful months of a leader of his capacity, is a doubtful point. There will be much curiosity felt as to what he has to say in his presidential address at the forthcoming Liberal Conference at Nagpur, as regards the position of Indians in the Dominions.

The Bombay Industrial Housing Scheme: The Director of Information writes: "The programme for the construction of 50,000 one-roomed tenements for the poorer classes, which was commenced by the Development Directorate in April 1921, has now made considerable progress, and a large number of tenements will be available for occupation in December. The buildings are being constructed at Naigaum, DeLisle Road and Worli, and His Excellency Sir George Lloyd has consented to inaugurate the scheme on Wednesday the 6th Dec. The ceremony will take place at Worli at 4.15 p. m. (S. T.) on that date. After the ceremony, guests will have an opportunity of inspecting the completed buildings and also a museum which is being prepared to illustrate other activities of the Directorate."

Manager's Notice: The Manager begs to request subscribers whose subscription has fallen in arrears to be so good as to remit their dues promptly, as much inconvenience is caused, besides expense owing to the enhanced postage, by having to send frequent reminders.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1922.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME AND THE COUNCILS.

It is unfortunate that the members of the Congress Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee and the witnesses who favoured the removal of the ban on Congressmen to enter the Legislative Councils, have mostly supported their opinion either by alleging the failure of the Bardoli programme or their own disbeliever in it to set India politically upon her feet. When Hakim Ajmal Khan said in Bombay that the Bardoli programme would not bring us Swaraj but Swaraj would knock at our doors if we carry it out thoroughly and whole-heartedly, we felt that he at any rate had grasped the full profound significance of that programme. Hakim Sahib, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. V. J. Patel say that the solid fact cannot be ignored that the Bardoli-Delhi resolution and the subsequent incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi were followed by general depression throughout the country. They add: "We have carefully investigated the causes of this apparent (?) setback and have unhesitatingly arrived at the conclusion that it was due almost entirely to a want of adequate faith in the constructive programme on the part of a large number of workers whose business it was to carry it out." They themselves do not expressly state anywhere what the amount of their own faith in the Bardoli programme is, and it does not seem to be much seeing that they speak of it as "the wet-blanket thrown upon most of the workers." They seem to forget that it was intended as a wet-pack to bring down the fever temperature of politics. We do not care to make this or any other question depend upon an interpretation of what the Mahatma said or wrote, and we rather regret the publication at this juncture of a collection of his writings in *Young India*, as it is likely to aggravate the existing tendency to split hairs over his most casual remarks as scholiasts over ancient texts. But it is quite clear that he fully anticipated that the sudden calling-off of mass civil disobedience would have a chilling effect upon those who were counting upon a big spectacular exhibition of Non-Co-operation at its greatest intensity. Even apart from what the Mahatma thought, only persons totally unconversant with the workings of the human mind, can think it possible to embark upon a policy of high tension unattended by the danger of depression. Even in individuals, moods of exaltation are succeeded by moods of depression and, unless safe-guarded by previous training, the man who ventures rashly on the heights of being is sure to be hurled down to its depths without hope of redemption. In crowds and masses, the danger is terribly greater. The present depression is largely a natural reaction which in its turn will lead to its own reaction. What these three gentlemen now recommend is that this dramatic exhibition which was put off by Bardoli should now be reproduced, since mass civil disobedience is clearly impossible, in the Legislative Councils for the purpose of inspiring "enthusiasm" in the

people. The Hakim Sahib was never a Council man, and Pandit Motilal Nehru, we understand, has no intention himself of seeking election to the Legislative bodies, Provincial or Central. On Mr. Patel alone of the three signatories will fall the responsibility of showing in practice how to give effect to the recommendation to enter the Councils with the set purpose of obstruction.

The most important reason advanced by Dr. Ansari, and Messrs Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and Rajagopalacharya against seeking entry into the Legislative Councils, is based upon their great concern that the Bardoli programme should receive the concentrated attention of the country without the distraction of the Councils. "The constructive programme of the Congress," they observe, "has received insufficient attention and requires intensive effort, especially on the part of the leaders, to bring up the country to the level of preparedness for undertaking civil disobedience. A campaign of entry into Councils at the present time would have the certain effect of relegating the constructive programme in the cold shade of neglect." We may pass by the shibboleth of preparedness for civil disobedience as the goal of the constructive programme. The Mahatma himself used it in order to give a semblance of continuity to the Bardoli programme. Really, however, the result of a whole-hearted working of the constructive programme will make civil disobedience superfluous. It will not bring *Swaraj*, to use the Hakim Sahib's present phrase, but *Swaraj* will knock at our doors as its consequence. The British connection with India will cease to function as an alien domination the moment that Hindu society sets about seriously to re-organise itself on the basis of brotherhood, to which the conception of "untouchableness" as applied to certain classes is the root obstacle; and that there is perfect unity between Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Parsis, and other creeds domiciled in this country. "The moment India began really to show herself what we so idly imagine her to be, a conquered nation, that moment we should recognise perforce the impossibility of retaining her." Thus wrote Seeley half a century ago. "If the feeling of a common nationality began to exist there only feebly, if, without inspiring any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it was shameful to assist him in maintaining his dominion—from that moment almost our Empire would cease to exist." The constructive Bardoli programme, with its roots in non-violence, was designed and is the best yet devised for creating this sense of national unity. So long as men do not hold it wrong to think in communal terms on national issues, going into the Councils will but aggravate their differences, as it is already doing. "Refuse to give expression to a passion," says the psychologist, William James, "and it dies." On the other hand, increasing the ways of giving expression to a deep-rooted sentiment, only helps to endow it with greater strength and power. Seeking election to the Councils as a short cut to *Swaraj* is destined to be futile. It must aggravate caste and communal differences and thus postpone

to an indefinite future the attainment of full responsible Government. It will create controversies and schisms among Congressmen and destroy whatever unity there is among them at present.

But—and this is what Dr. Ansari and his two colleagues have not adequately considered—going into the Councils with the object of advancing the constructive programme and of preventing measures detrimental to that programme, seems to us to be the plain duty of all who believe in its infinite potentialities for national unification. Those who believe in it have no right to leave any avenue unexplored in their efforts to give effect to it. So long as there was but a negative programme of 'leave this' and 'give up that', it was perhaps a necessity to act upon the principle that he who is not with us is against us. Now that there is a positive programme, which it is laid upon all those who have faith in it to carry out, the principle to go by is that he who is not against us is with us. Nothing can be plainer than that, say what official apologists may, the Mahatma's life and the non-violent principle have captured the imagination of many outside India who do not agree with the Non-Co-operation Programme. An English friend sent us two days ago a cutting from the *London Times* containing the report of the proceedings of a religious Congress at which Lord Astor spoke. One of the other speakers, the Rev. Garfield Williams, deploring the party spirit in English politics, remarked that the appearance of a man like Gandhi in India was a most hopeful sign. And no one contradicted him. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of men and women in all parts of the world to-day who have been brought to take a sympathetic interest in India by the refulgent personality of the weaver and farmer of Sabarmati. The proposal to go into the Councils with the object of wrecking them, is calculated to convey the impression that the Congress has fallen away from the great ideals of Gandhi. On the other hand, going into the Councils with the Bardoli programme as a mandate, will be the most natural and reasonable thing to do. If a thing is essentially right, we should not allow the consideration of what others may think of it, to deter us from doing it. But we fully agree with the Mr. Rajagopala and his colleagues when they say that, in their opinion, "entry into the Councils for the avowed purpose of obstructing all measures whether good or bad and of wrecking the reforms is obnoxious to the principle and the spirit of the movement as conceived by its great leader." Not only that but, as we have more than once stated, a politician who starts with wrecking as his ideal is almost certain in a short time to become absolutely unfitted for any constructive work. Cromwell is the type of a great political wrecker, and the people got so tired of his wrecking methods in a short time that they were glad to recall such a hopeless reprobate as Charles II and put him at the head of the State as a hereditary ruler. We agree with Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and his friends that if Congressmen enter the Councils with a wrecking programme, the effect would certainly be to relegate the constructive programme to the cold

shade of neglect. But there will not be the least danger of that, indeed the public interest in the Bardoli programme will be greatly enhanced, if Congressmen seek election with that programme emblazoned on their banner.

GERMANY'S FINANCIAL POSITION.

(By MR. A. S. VENKATARAMAN B. A., L. T.)

The problem that engages the attention of statesmen, bankers, economic thinkers, merchants and traders, in fact, a large section of the thinking public, is that of the German Reparations. Germany offers now a unique instance of a country, which by entering on the course of issuing large amounts of inconvertible paper, causes disturbance in the financial world by reason of the fact that the close relation between the economic conditions of various nations is becoming ever closer and closer under the influence of the growth of commerce. The manner in which one great nation attends to its economic interests may have important results for many other nations. There is no domain in which the truth is more clearly manifest than in that of currency.

Germany's capacity to pay foreign debts does not depend so much on her power to produce wealth as on her power to extend her export trade in such a way as to exceed the imports—after all this is the only means of payment—at a time when there is a corresponding increase in her imports and when the foreign nations are obliged to enter into a severe competition with Germany in the export of manufactured goods. The indispensable imports, say of food-stuffs and iron and coal—forming a first charge on the proceeds of the German foreign sales, the balance only is available for reparations. It remains to be seen whether such a balance is procurable.

The amount available for reparations may consist of interest received from foreign investments and payment for external services such as shipping, besides the balance of exports over imports. Most of Germany's foreign investments have disappeared, (not less than 5½ million dollars) either sold, or seized by the Allied governments or lost their intrinsic value. Hence the interest on foreign investments has become more or less a negligible factor, if not a vanishing quantity. Her shipping having been confiscated, payment on account of external services has shared a similar fate. Besides, Germany has been deprived of her most productive areas, eg, Alsace-Lorraine, the Saar Basin and the Polish provinces. Again in her payment of Reparations so far of the value of 2 billion dollars, the amount paid in cash has only been 375 million dollars. Even this small payment in cash has resulted in the decline of the Mark, in the excessive issue of inconvertible paper in order to avoid social unrest at home and in the depreciation of currency which has begun to affect the money-market of the world considerably. Germany's attempt at an extension of export trade has brought about a competition with other nations.

Now, two explanations have been offered for the present financial position in Germany. The French government or public opinion favours the view that

the situation has been the result of a deliberate and adroit manoeuvre by Germany in order to escape payment of reparations while in other quarters it is regarded as having been caused by a lack of wisdom and firmness on the part of the German government.

It is however difficult to believe, whether any other government could have handled the situation with greater skill and tact. Admitted that Germany's only method of paying indemnity consists in increasing her exports, the question that crops up is trying, difficult and dangerous. Being purely a manufacturing nation, she must extend her sale of manufactured goods in the teeth of foreign competition, while foreign nations will not and can not acquiesce in a situation fraught with probable, and in some cases, actual disastrous consequences of growing unemployment and trade losses. The whole manufacturing interest of the rest of the world will be pitted against Germany, if it is desirous—as it should be, when the very breath of existence depends on foreign trade excepting perhaps the U.S.A. where internal trade is of greater importance than external trade—of retaining its hold on neutral markets. In addition to this, Germany has been reduced to the condition of importing her food-stuffs and iron and coal ore for consumption in her factories, as a result of her deprivation of productive areas.

In her present condition, Germany has found the means—the only means—of payment by the sale of Marks. The German exporter does not want marks, but dollars or pounds sterling to meet external obligations and he sells away the Marks offered by the Government. If we add to this, the further sale by Germans who mistrust the stability of their own currency and the large accumulations of Marks in the hands of foreign speculators, we are in a position to account for the tremendous fall in the value of the Mark. It will be seen, therefore, that in the form prescribed in the Treaty of Versailles and under the conditions imposed on her by the Allies, Germany is unable to pay the reparations and the question now is whether Germany can pay at all. Many Germans still own foreign assets in the shape of investments or balances in foreign banks. They can sell them or may be induced to sell them to the German Government which may in turn hand them over to the Reparations Commission. To a very large extent, these have been the proceeds of sales of Marks flung by the Germans on the foreign market, under the fear that the pressure of Reparation payments would bring about a depreciation in their value. Once this pressure is withdrawn, the Mark will immediately improve. If Germany is given breathing interval and when the fall in the Mark is arrested, the world, as a whole, would be a gainer in the matter of stabilisation of exchanges and Germany will subsequently be in a position to pay off the indemnity. The financial experts are going to Germany and there is no knowing what will be the further developments in her financial position. In all probability, the declaration of a moratorium will be the inevitable outcome and we understand it is being proposed.

TEMPLES AND SOCIAL PROPAGANDA.

(Contributed.)

“Even the commonest street is given order and beauty by the simply pillared ‘mantapam,’ with which its vista often terminates; or is raised to dignity, even to sublimity when it leads up to a mighty many-storied ‘gopuram,’ with its manifold exuberance of sculpture or towering dark behind its lofty, central lamp series, a light house of the night. The lofty walls running so straight and far on either side of these colossal pylon gateways, and with their plainness in perfect contrast with that enrichment, are in turn relieved by pillared palms, and their swaying crowns give life and brightness to the whole.”—Prof. Geddes on Indian Temple-cities.

Turning from this picture of our ancient cities to our great cities of more recent growth, what do we find? In the two great cities of Calcutta and Bombay—and they may be taken to be fairly typical of the rest—the great religion of Hinduism is represented by temples not remarkable for their size and setting. Small buildings whose only external claim to sanctity and distinction is based on miniature towers capping their stunted proportions—distributed at odd nooks and corners without the least attempt to set themselves off against the surroundings, are the representatives of Hindu religion and of Hindu architecture. Daily the crowds gather and stagnate about these centres at the Paja hour, overflow on to the pavement jostling and perspiring or shivering and half stuck in the slushy pavement In spite, however, devoutness is the order and nobody grumbles—except perhaps the priest. They are quite ready to ignore every defect in the general idea that it is a Hindu temple.

It is not the object of this article to put in a plea for the repetition of our mammoth temples in modern cities as has been done in Madras with the result that many parts of that city vie with the oldest towns in the province in point of a certain sleepy-hollowness. What is wanted is, not a multiplication without limit of such temples, but rather an emergence of a new type of temple both in style and organisation more suited to the surroundings and the life of restless progress that exists in modern cities. It is well-known from past experience, that we, Hindus, are peculiarly and intensely susceptible to religious influences—good or bad. The caste system was, in early days, foisted on us in the name of religion. Early marriage, the prohibition of widow re-marriage and several other rules intimately regulating daily life, were placed over us in the guise of religion. On the other side of the picture we have such virtues as charity, hospitality, cleanliness etc. which the Hindu practises to this day because they have all come down to him as part and parcel of his religion. Every civic and social virtue or duty—has been made to assume a religious garb for him, and it ought to be possible to do the same thing over again. It has often been said that Hinduism is not a missionary religion but there is no reason why it should not undertake missionary work among its own

following. It is an admitted fact that the influence of large temples—that are almost institutions—is exceptional to a degree, on the surrounding population. The Hindu Pantheon is sufficiently large and varied for many virtues—civic and social—to be able to be correlated to a deity. Is it wanted to spread education? Start a temple, then, say for Saraswati with appendages of numerous primary schools. Get hold of important and focal centres in the city for it. Let it depart as much as possible from the customary ideas of style and work—yet not so much as to make the lay mind see anything in it destructive of its creed—so as to suit itself to the new conditions. Organise the work of the temple so as to focus attention and devotion not so much on the daily 'pujas' or personal offerings as on the educative work being done. Let the atmosphere be made such that every Hindu feels it a point of religion to send his boy and girl to the schools; and—well, there are the masses grasping at education voluntarily and with eagerness.

Then take another instance. Suppose it is desired to spread sanitation. Instal then, in another temple—the supposedly deadly goddess of smallpox—though put thus in English it sounds ridiculous and absurd. But any Hindu whose training in the least has been what it is to millions of his co-religionists, can vouch for the fact that this particular goddess is, far from being held in fear, is actually loved in the same sense as a real—if somewhat stern—mother would be. The idea that cleanliness and sanitation are her specially favourite virtues is already present in the popular mind, and it will only be necessary to expand more on this to bring it more into line with modern and more scientific ideas on the same subject.

What now could be the objections to such a plan? The first to be made very obviously is that the old child-like faith in our countless deities is gone or largely going. The writer makes bold to assert that this is altogether a wrong estimate. It exists, at any rate among a large section of the people—that very section whose conservatism and suspicion of new innovations is altogether the despair of every reformer in India, it exists ever ready to take up anything that is brought to it in the old form.

Another and more serious objection would be that this is nothing but the introduction of fresh superstitions or the doing of evil that good may come of it. Not at all. With the wider spread of western education and the application of more scientific criteria, the old superstitions are bound to disintegrate—so far as their religious form is concerned. Those among them that really have a useful and scientific basis will only gain added strength by such a test. The new 'superstitions' proposed to be introduced will come under this latter category.

Leaving other and minor objections, here then is the opportunity—nay, the proper function of all those old sleepy but potentially influential institutions of Hinduism that lie thickly scattered in parts of the country. The Shankaracharyas of the various orders, the orthodox community in their various county

strongholds and last but not least their financial supporters, the Chetties, the Marwaris and others should shake off their state of old world sleepiness, and take up the work that modern India demands and Hinduism invites. It is of no use for the Hindu Liberals to take up this work, for rightly or wrongly they will be suspected of attempting to found another of those Samajas of which we have already too many. That way lies failure. For success, the orthodox must take the lead in this matter and start the new temples—not of God alone—but of godly service where their need is sorest—in the cities.

MARRIAGE—II.

(By MR. G. A. SUNDARAM.)

Though in this series of articles I confine my attention to the question of marriage reform, it is really only a part of the wider question of social reform. Hindu society has become rigid and lost much of its capacity to readjust itself readily to changing environments. That, in fact, lies at the root of all social evils. As it regains that power in other branches of social reform, it will automatically regain a correct attitude with respect to marriage reform. Many thinking men believe that till one century ago we had sufficient vitality to go on readjusting. In this connection I may be permitted to cite the thoughtful monograph by the late Justice Telang given as an appendix to Ranade's "History of the Marathas." One telling instance given in it may be reproduced here. Parasuram Bhanu, one of the commanders of the first rank under the Peshwa Baji Row II, during the Peshwa's minority was a Brahmin and an orthodox Brahmin. His daughter was widowed within a very short time after her marriage. Parsuram, who was a pillar of orthodoxy, made up his mind to get the girl remarried and sought the opinion of learned Pandits from Benares. It is said that the opinion given by the Benares Pandits was in favour of remarriage. The fact that an orthodox Brahmin of those days seriously thought of widow remarriage and that, at any rate, some Pandits gave their opinion in favour of the step shows that Hindu society was then far less rigid than now. Telang's position was that Hindus were rapidly changing many of their evil practices when the superimposition of British rule arrested that progress. Ranade also seems to agree with him. The suggestion is not that British administrators consciously stopped that progress. But the highly flexible customary law was replaced by rigid codes and rules of English common law and the result was to stop spontaneous growth. Such permissive legislation like the Widow Re-marriage Act could not stop the mischief. Very often well-intentioned efforts in social legislation lead to positively harmful results. An instance in point is Mr. Sastri's Post Puberty Marriage Bill. The introduction of that Bill gave rise to a furious controversy and the Bill had to be dropped. There is left a general impression that post-puberty marriages are against law.

It is not possible to say that there has been any advance in the matter of social reform within the last 10 years. On the other hand, there seems to have been a setback. This view is strongly supported by the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the question of raising the "age of consent." To a certain extent, perhaps this is a result of national revival. But to any thoughtful nationalist it will be clear that this is but a passing phase. For, with a better understanding of the real genius of Hindu culture, it will become amply clear that its true aim is synthesis rather than elimination. The non-Brahmin revolt is also found to exercise a healthy influence. Hitherto the non-Brahmins were under the belief that their advance consisted in adopting the practices of the Brahmins. Now they, or at least some of their leaders, have cast off the glamour of Brahmin ways and it may be expected that those classes among them who have adopted the customs of the Brahmins will find it easier for them to allow remarriages of widows and post-puberty marriages. A spirited protest on their part against Brahmin supremacy is bound to be wholesome to them and also to the Brahmin. For the non-Brahmin's imitation of Brahmin customs was and is a good plea for the Brahmin's belief in the superiority of his own customs. The non-Brahmin leaders have not yet turned their attention to large measures of social reform. But they may be expected to do so soon and when they do, their way must be easy.

My scheme is that marriage reform being but part of the entire social reform scheme, it is necessary to create a general atmosphere of tolerance towards necessary changes. This is best done by propaganda, practice and example. Resort to legislation is proved to be unwise.

THE MORAL EDUCATION CONGRESS.

A great concourse, representing some twenty nationalities, crowded the assembly hall of the University of London in September, 1908, under the presidency of Sir Michael Sadler. They had come to discuss the moral education of children and adolescents. Not only had they travelled from many countries; they belonged to many schools of thought and faith. The energetic secretary, Mr. Gustav Spiller, was a lecturer and writer on behalf of the Ethical Movement. There were Roman Catholics, Anglican Catholics, Free Churchmen, Unitarians, Jews, Moslems, Hindus, Rationalists, and others. Dr. Felix Adler, of New York, affirmed (and events have since proved) that interest in ethical education was keen, and likely in civilized countries to increase. Marked varieties of view were expressed. Mr. G. P. Gooch commended History as "a judge, juster and wiser than any one man." The Roman Catholic Father, Michael Maher, affirmed that the Doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the sacred character of Christ were of supreme importance. M. Buisson praised the French system of moral, of civic instruction. Professor Mackenzie considered it possible to lead the youths in the direction of social order, purity and beauty, without distinction of creed. These brief notes indicate that the desire of the Organizing Committee not to exclude "references to religious and philosophical points of view" was realized; and yet it may be truly maintained

that in all the eight sessions the debates were conducted in a spirit of frankness and mutual courtesy. The opening experiment had been successfully made, and the hope was general that another such assembly might be held four years later.

The Second Congress took place at the Hague in August, 1912, under the patronage of the Queen of the Netherlands, the president being Mr. R. A. Van Sandiek, and Miss Attie G. Dyscrinck secretary. The Object and Basis of the deliberations were now affirmed.

In the large hall of the Zoological Society were gathered delegates from nearly all the nations, including Argentine, Australia, Chili, China, Egypt, Hayti, India, Dutch Indies, Japan, Peru and Tunis. In allusion to the Eastern visitors, Dr. Moulton (deceased president, whom Mr. Van Sandiek succeeded) had observed: "These Congresses have come at a happy moment, on the eve of the advance of Oriental minds, which, confined for ages in the crystal vessel described in the *Thousand and One Nights*, are about to enter the open road, international, inter-creedal, and social." Point was given to this remark by the eloquent speeches by the Hindu representative, Dr. (now the Hon. Sir) D. P. Sarvardhikary. Diversities of thought were illustrated by the Roman Catholic Canon von Langendonck, the Rationalist Bruno Meyer of Berlin, the Positivist M. Corra of Paris, and the anarchist Domela Nieuwenhuis. The co-ordinating ideal, however, was stated in Mr. Fox Pitt's uncontroversial declaration that the formation of high character, so far from being a by-product of the educational process, should be recognized as the supreme aim. The number of papers presented to the Hague Congress was so immense that they not only filled a volume of a thousand printed pages, but overflowed into a special volume containing the papers contributed from the United States.

It was resolved to hold a third Congress at Paris in 1916. The Great War frustrated this intention, but also enforced the gravity of educational issues, and added a more intense value to the work of international co-operation. Under Sir Frederick Pollock's chairmanship the International Executive Council revived the work of the Congress after the conclusion of peace, and its pioneers in all parts of the world encouraged one another in a fresh effort.

At the suggestion of the Paris Committee, the seat of the next Congress was transferred to Geneva. The Third Congress assembled accordingly at the Aula of the University of Geneva, July 28 to August 1, 1922, under the presidency of Dr. Adolphe Ferriere (chief advocate on the European Continent of the bracing and creative methods of "Les Ecoles Nouvelles") with M. Henri Reverdin, Professor of Philosophy, as secretary. About five hundred names, from some thirty nationalities were enrolled in the Congress membership. No small proportion of the inspiration and success of the Congress was due to the service rendered by the staff of the famous Institute J.-J. Rousseau, of which Professor E. Claparede was the founder. One remarkable session was held at the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and the voices that addressed the eager audience were those of a Japanese, a Chinaman, a Hindu, a Pole, a German, a Spaniard, and an Englishman—all speaking on the need of a purer method of History-teaching, considered in its international and moral aspect. This topic and that of "Social Service" were the only subjects discussed in the eight sessions. Among those who took part in the proceedings were Professor Foerster of Zurich, Sir R. Baden-Powell, the Chief Scout (who spoke on "Education in Love in place of Fear"), and M. Albert Thomas, Director of the Labour Office of the League of Nations.

On the proposition of Francesco Orestano, Professor of Philosophy at Palermo, it has been decided to hold the Fourth Congress at Rome in 1926. The situation may now be summed up as follows: (1) About thirty groups of sympathisers (National Committees) were inaugurated, and the Geneva Congress resolved that these should combine in a Permanent Association, assisting to form a "universal conscience"; (2) an International Moral Education Bureau has been established in Holland (communications may be addressed to Mr. S. L. Veenstra, 196 Laan van N. O. Indie, the Hague); (3) the Geneva Congress resolved:—

To circulate in all the countries associated with the Congress the "Vœu de Genève" on the subject of the moral reform of History Teaching, conceived in an international spirit, that is to say, of justice and sympathy; to stimulate the best known historians in all countries to work in harmony with this ideal, and to prepare text-books for schools, for popular reading, or with a view to general culture, inspired by it; and to direct the International Executive Council to appoint a Permanent International Committee of Experts to co-operate with the International Moral Education Bureau at the Hague. This Committee will prepare a general plan, to be liberally interpreted, for historical works; judge history books submitted to them by authors or publishers; award prizes to the best, or select any for honourable recognition; and promote their translation and world-wide circulation.

From the preceding accounts, short and simple as it is, it should be evident that very fruitful and beneficent results may be expected if the work is supported by adequate means. For that purpose we appeal, and all the more confidently, since we rent no offices and pay no officials.

FREDERICK POLLOCK,
Chairman of the Int. Exec. Council.
FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND,
Vice-Chairman.
FREDERICK J. GOULD,
Hon. Secretary.

MADRAS NOTES.

(From Our Correspondent.)

Madras, 11th November.

TAMIL NADU CONFERENCE.

A provincial Social Reform Conference used to be held in the *pandal* of the provincial Political Conference in the good old days, but the practice seems to have been given up since the ill-fated Social Reform Conference was broken up by the advanced politicians of the orthodox School at Tinnevely three or four years ago. So, we in Madras who have the cause of Social Reform at heart and who wish to see our dear country advance along the path of social and political reform simultaneously were not a bit surprised when we learnt that no Social Conference was held along with the Tamil Nadu Political Conference which met at Tiruppur in Salem district on the 5th instant. But it is really a matter for deep sorrow as it tends to confirm the suspicion created in the minds of all social reformers here by the events of the last few years that our advanced politicians do not at all care for Social Reform wherever and whenever they are not bitterly determined to oppose it. Of course, the Tamil Nadu Conference passed a resolution on the political necessity of abolishing untouchability but it had apparently neither the time nor the inclination to discuss larger and deeper questions of social reform such as caste of which untouchability, as I have said in a former letter, is but the most extreme manifestation.

So long as a Social Conference was held alongside of the

political Conference the plea which some people used to indulge in that a political conference had nothing to do with caste and other social questions might have had a degree of justification but that plea does not hold good at the present time. It is to be hoped that the Tamil Nadu Conference will not rest satisfied with having passed a resolution on paper on the need for the removal of untouchability but that it will devote to the work of attempting to effect its removal at least a tenth part of the time, energy and money which it now spends on, say, Khaddar propaganda. So far as this presidency is concerned, the abolition of untouchability is a more pressing social and political need than the adoption of khaddar or any other reform.

A KHILAFAT CONFERENCE.

One would have thought that a Khilafat Conference in Madras when the Kemalists themselves had deposed their Sultan and deprived him of all temporal power in Turkey was quite a superfluous affair but, strange to say, the Tamil Nadu Khilafat Conference held its annual session as usual in the *pandal* of the political Conference above referred to on the 6th instant and, stranger still, passed a resolution congratulating Gazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the very man who had brought about the separation of the Khilafat and the Sultanate, praying for his long life and further triumphs and exhorting the Muslims of Madras to contribute liberally to enable the Central Khilafat Committee to present him with two aeroplanes and a sword of honour! If this is not an irony of fate, I should very much like to know what exactly is meant by that phrase. It is remarkable that this Khilafat Conference had no opinion of its own to offer on the mighty politico-religious changes that have recently taken place in Turkey although all of them had taken place long before the Conference met at Tiruppur. This fact, taken together with the views expressed by some leading Muslims of Madras in an interview published yesterday by the local *Daily Express*, tend to produce an impression that the Muslims of this presidency at any rate will gracefully acquiesce in the *fait accompli* reported from Stamboul and that this will mean the end of the Khilafat agitation so far as this province is concerned, unless our Khilafatists decide to direct their activities in future against Mustapha Kemal Pasha and to send the local limbs of the Angora Legion (if any) to fight against the forces of the Angora National Assembly! The Hindu Khilafat agitators in Madras and elsewhere who have often shown themselves in the past to be more Islamic than Islam will do well to ponder over these events calmly. Mustapha Kemal Pasha has proved that he is as great a statesman as a General and that he has his full share of the Time-Spirit which, ever since the dark ages were over, has tended towards the separation of the Church from the State and the establishment of a democratic form of Government in every country under the sun. And now the Time-Spirit has had its way in Turkey, despite the Ali brothers and a greater man than they, Mahatma Gandhi, and despite the hundreds of thousands of medieval-minded folks in India grievously misled by them (with the best of intentions no doubt) in this respect. The very fact that Kemal Pasha hitherto acclaimed by them as the "Savior of Islam," has been chosen by the Almighty as his instrument for the bringing about of this long over-due reform in Turkey will, I hope, provide them with some food for thought.

SADHUS IN CONCLAVE.

The increasing interest displayed by the Sadhus and the Snyasins in all parts of India in the political affairs of the country is no doubt a big portent but whether the portent is for good or for evil time alone will show. There are those

who view with alarm the growing association of the Sadhus with the extreme phase of the Indian political movement as likely to result in religious and social reaction in the long-run. Their fears are not altogether unfounded for those who have vested interests in Religion and Society are not likely to differ entirely from those who enjoy vested interests in other spheres and to subordinate their interests always to the true interests of the masses. But the present writer is optimistic enough to believe that so long as the Sadhus' movement is in the hands and under the direction of comparatively educated and enlightened Sadhus of the type of Sree Sankaracharya of Saradapeeth and Swami Arpudananda, the organiser and the guiding spirit of the South Indian Sadhus' Conference which met at Tiruppur on the 4th instant, there is no reason to despair. When I met him about three years ago, Swami Arpudananda impressed me as a man of liberal views in religious and social matters and if his fellow-Sadhus hold equally liberal views on these questions, they can, indeed, do much to help the country's real progress in all directions instead of helping to retard it as some of us fear. All the same, it must be said that the proceedings of the Tiruppur Sadhus' Conference were far too political. Why should these new Anandas of this modern Ananda Mutt—for most, if not all, of them call themselves some Ananda or other—bother themselves so much about Non-Co-operation and Swaraj when the social and religious life of the country in general and their own ancient order in particular is seething with corruption? While, therefore, they have done well in passing a number of resolutions for doing away with the foul and evil practices at present in vogue in the temples and Mutts of Southern India, truth compels me to say that they will do still better if they confine their attention and activities in the future mainly, though not exclusively, to religious reform and social service for, in my humble opinion, this ought to be the primary function of a religious order like theirs and not the fleeting political changes that come over the land. To them may be addressed the unforgettable words of the Prophet of Nazareth: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and all else shall be added unto you." As for any attempt they are likely to make to take India back to the Middle Ages, I am sure Modern India will know how to deal with it.

CONGRESS AND THE COUNCIL ENTRY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The C. D. Committee have ably and impartially reviewed the political situation of the country from the inception of the movement of purification down to its present day of depression and have suggested some sagacious additions and alterations in the present programme. The Maharashtra Party deserves its well-earned congratulations of our countrymen for advocating and at last gaining necessary changes in the programme in the best interests of the nation, hearing silently all the criticisms of the raw-recruits to political warfare and of the do-nothing and demented sponsors of the programme. The members of the Committee are one on many recommendations. The question of Council-entry has been the apple of discord. This question has been ably advocated refuting successfully all the arguments of its opponents by the Nehru-Party. The Committee has rightly reported that the present councillors are not the true representatives of the nation and the Councils are instrumentalized for the era of repression. So the Councils are responsible for injuring the cause rather than its promotion as its boycotters presumed. Mr. Rajgopalachar with his colleagues consider the writings of his master

as the hagiography to be followed like Casabianca irrespective of the on-rushing consuming fire, and consequently he has sounded a dissentient note to the call for the Council-entry. This question has called forth heated and acrimonious criticisms from various journals and persons. It must be said that leaders of great eminence and eloquence are in favour of this item. It would be lawful to discard the advice of these adepts in politics.

It is an experienced fact that the Councils have been made cheap instruments for defeating the successful working of the items of the constructive programme, so it would be very difficult to make the items of the constructive programme a success without entering the Councils.

I request the Maharashtrians to take action independently if the no-changewallas succeed in their canvassing exploitation. Even to-day there are two parties, viz., change and no-change. Why should the Maharashtrians make much of the divisions in the Congress Camp. It should not be forgotten that even Mahatma declared when he was enunciating his principles of N. C. O. that if the Congress will not accept his proposals he will start the movement without it. It would be better to work in the Councils according to your lights rather than waste the time in reading pious sermons to the people with these purified stick-to-it's.

I ardently appeal to all the independents to try their level best for this politic change and save the ship of the nation from being tossed about.

Let those who are disqualified to enter the Councils and those souls purified by the saintly movement who consider Council-entry a sin, work from without and let others do their best in the Councils.

SARABHAI DALAL.

Ahmedabad,
20-11-22.

WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT.

HOLIDAY HOUSE.

Some time ago an appeal was issued in the *Times of India* by the Women's University Settlement of Bombay for funds to build a Holiday House at Jahbordi-Gholvad and a permanent Settlement Hostel for women students in Bombay.

The first part of the programme has been accomplished and on Monday, November 6th, in the presence of some women students and a number of other friends, Miss Susie Sorabji, head of St. Helens's, Poona, unveiled the memorial tablet which bears the following inscription: "To the glory of God, this Holiday House was built by friends and supporters of the Women's University Settlement, Bombay in the years 1921-1922. The Sanad lease for the land was granted by the Government of Bombay in October 1920."

Professor Hamley of the Wilson College presided and after a Marathi hymn had been sung by the women students, Miss Gedge gave a short account of the building of the house. Mention was made of the generous help given by Chambers and Co., architects, and Richardson and Cruddas; and of the assistance rendered locally by Mr. Musale and other friends. Mr. Zack, the builder, was complimented on the success of his work.

Miss Sorabji congratulated the Settlement on the fulfilment of an idea and hoped that the house would be a meeting place for women of every community where a spirit of goodwill and friendship would prevail and many be benefited by the beautiful climate of Bordi.

She was asked to plant a chikkoo tree, which was presented by Mr. Masani, in memory of the occasion. The Holiday House is specially intended for the use of the women students of Bombay, and other ladies. All applications for the use of the bungalow should be made to the Secretary, Women's University Settlement, Rebeck Street, P. O. Jacob's Circle, Bombay.

THE LATE Mr. GADKARI.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

SIR,

I agree with your correspondent Mr. G. K. Shirsat in appreciating the brilliant services of the late Mr. Gadkari to the Marathi literature. I admit that he was a star of the first magnitude in the firmament of our Marathi literature. But whether he was the marvellous Sirius of dazzling brilliance is certainly a matter of controversy and taste. What I fail to appreciate is his peculiar way of writing. Let him extol his works as much as he can, that will be a service to the great departed soul. But in order to do that, is it necessary to disparage the works of other great Marathi writers and call the Marathi literature a poor one? This ill suits a man who laments over the lack of appreciation in others. If there is no appreciation in the public, how is it that according to his own testimony "his place has been assigned amongst the greatest masters of the dramatic art on the general suffrage of the educated youth"? How is it that "he swam into the ken of discoverers almost after his death"? How is it that in Bombay and in other places, theatres are packed, when his dramas are being played? The Marathi stage is well patronized by the princes and the people. And dramatic art is held in high esteem. But it requires only Mr. Shirsat to condemn us for our lack of appreciation and raise to the sky the spirit of appreciation amongst Englishmen and Americans! If England is the utopia of appreciation, how is it that some of its best writers had to live and die in garrets? How is it that Goldsmith had to part with his immortal novel, the "Vicar of Wakefield" for a paltry sum and to die in debts and agony? Does your correspondent know that it was the Raja of Ramnad who sent Vivekananda to the Chicago Conference? The Raja of Ramnad's liberality is to be forgotten and America is to be extolled to the sky for its spirit of inquisitiveness! If Vivekananda, Bose, and Tagore are known in those countries, they are known only amongst the intellectual classes, while in this country both the masses and classes honour them and love them.

In France, in the flag-nation of the world, Moliere, the God of Comedy had to flee before his creditors and to play a nomad comedian for 12 years before he got the patronage of Louis XIV. Corneille the founder of French Tragedy, had no better fate. English education which has no doubt done much good to us is partly responsible for this bad spirit amongst us. Some young men look upon England as the utopia of every virtue, while this country is mentioned only to be damned. Let them extol those countries, we have no objection, but why so much praise to them at our cost?

The late Mr. Gadkari possessed those natural gifts which immortalized Moliere. I believe he was his reader. The scene of quacks in his drama 'Ekach Pels' or 'only one glass' leads me to believe that. But he was in no way his imitator. He had his own originality, flash of genius and brilliant wit and humour. His death was a heavy loss to Maharashtra and Marathi literature. The question arises what made

him die so young at a time when his genius was blossoming. Let Maharashtra and the community which gave us this brilliant dramatist find out those causes. I believe Mr. Shirsat will not play Shelley and say that Adonia died of "the shaft which flies in darkness" or of the cold indifference of the people. Some say they are to be found in the above mentioned drama. Is it so?

Devlali Camp,
14-11-22

Yours Etc,
K. G. KARKARE.

AN APPEAL.

THE FREE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND AT SUTHAMALLI VILLAGE, (SOUTH INDIA.)

The undersigned P. Shanmugha Ratnam Pillai, a blind man who, by his industry and perseverance learned in Miss Askwith School for the blind at Palamecottah and passed the Primary Examination and after undergoing the training for the teachers obtained the required certificate. He also knows weaving and the art of making mats. After leaving Miss Askwith's School, he was engaged as a teacher for ten years under the C. M. S. Mission at several places. Since 1918 he has started for the blind a free Elementary School, in his native village of Suthamalli and it is working very satisfactorily. The strength of the school is nearly 20 poor blind boys and is maintained by subscriptions from time to time. The yearly grant from the Government is Rs. 150 (One hundred and fifty) and other income is Rs. 85 per month. The expenses are Rs. 100 per month. He has collected Rs. 2,000 upto this date. To place the school on a more permanent basis, the undersigned intends to raise substantial buildings and to secure a permanent fund. He has already purchased a suitable site for the building. The estimated cost of the building amounts to nearly Rs. 3,000 and the fund for the permanent establishment is Rs. 10,000. The undersigned therefore prays that the public will be pleased to help him to carry out the intended object.

Contributions specially marked for the above object may be addressed to the Manager, the *Indian Social Reformer*, Fort, Bombay, who will remit the amount to the proper authority.

P. SHANMUGHA RATNAM PILLAI.

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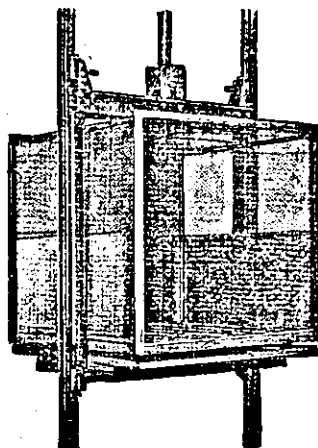
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Vol. XXXIII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1922. No. 14

"I will be as bare 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 Civil Disobedience Committee's Report: The All-India Congress Committee was unable to come to a decision on the recommendations of the Civil Disobedience Committee's report after a protracted discussion especially of the recommendation relating to entry into the Legislative Councils, and has postponed them all, except the one relating to Civil Disobedience, to be settled at the Congress session during Christmas week. We trust that these questions will be adequately discussed and satisfactorily settled at the Congress session at Gaya. Meanwhile, at the election of a new Maharashtra Provincial Committee, the pro-Council party has been routed; the new Committee being on the face of it a strong anti-change one. The advocates of Council-entry in the Civil Disobedience Committee gravely compromised the chances of their recommendation gaining acceptance by indicating "wrecking" as the main object of the change, though in the All-India Committee meeting, the "wrecking" policy would seem to have been kept as much as possible in the background.

Is there a Call for a New Party?: We invite attention to a weighty letter which we print today headed "Wanted a Swaraj Party." The feeling represented therein seems to be working in other parts of the country also, as evidenced by the following paragraph in the *Bengalee*, the Calcutta Liberal organ, of which Mr. Surendranath Banerji was editor till he accepted a Ministership:

We understand that, with the collapse of the non-co-operation party on the one hand and the fatuous ineptitude of the ministerial moderates on the other, an attempt is now being made in Bengal to gather the forces of independent nationalism and to organise their resources under a definite party. We think that the psychological moment for the establishment of such a party has now arrived—a party that will not betray national interests—and we hope it will come into being in time to send forth its candidates at the next general election both for the Provincial Council and the Indian Legislative Assembly.

For our own part, we feel that the point of view from which we support entry into the Councils has not been sufficiently pressed upon the consideration of Congressmen. The question of Council entry has so far been discussed as one only

of two alternatives: to go to the Councils to wreck them or not to go to them at all. The third alternative of entering the Councils as an additional avenue for prosecuting the constructive programme, has not been given sufficient consideration. This writer did his best in his written statement and in a five hours' oral examination before Hakimji's Committee to exhibit this view, but he seems to have failed to make any impression except, as remarked against his name in the analysis of evidence in their Report, that "he has a distinct scheme of his own." Now that the two alternatives of the Report are both unacceptable, there is a possibility that as a compromise at least all may accept the third alternative which but continues the constructive programme. Meanwhile, it would be advantageous to have our correspondent's well-thought-out scheme discussed from all points of view.

Progress Backward: The *Behar Herald* has written a thoughtful article headed "Back to Status" in its last issue. The modern movement had been defined as a movement from status to contract. As our contemporary points out, we seem to be going back again to status, if ever, indeed, we had reached the goal of society based upon complete freedom of contract. We do not think that any country had attained this limit. The recently appointed President of the Colgate University in the United States in his inaugural address, a summary of which is printed today, spoke of democracy as an unrealized ideal because of the glaring inequalities, moral, mental and material, which exist in every country. "The divine right of the people," he declared, "has no more foundation than the divine right of kings—and both are wrong. Manhood suffrage has been our greatest and most popular failure, and now we double it by granting universal adult suffrage". The four-anna franchise has made the Indian National Congress more popular, but has it made it more democratic than when A. O. Hume ruled it with a rod of iron?

Success and Failure: The Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastry in his address at the Liberal Conference in May last pronounced Gandhi's movement a failure. He claims now that his mission in the Dominions has been a success though not such a success as he would have wished it to be. It would be interesting to know what Mr. Sastry's tests of success and failure are. What has Mr. Sastry achieved? He has enabled Indians in Australia to engage in banana cultivation, to get the benefit of the irrigation system, and in Canada to get a wife and child admitted. Of this last, we are not sure, but we assume that it has been allowed. What has Gandhi done? According to Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, he has awakened the political consciousness of the people of India and created in them a sense of self-respect. According to Mr. Rushbrook Williams, Gandhi's idealism has captured minds given to political violence and put an end to anarchic crimes in India. Again, we ask: what is Mr. Sastry's test of success and failure? "Whether of the two did the will of the Father?"

The Guru-ka-bagh Muddle: It was stated some time back that Sir Ganga Ram, the philanthropic Punjab gentleman to whose munificent encouragement of the remarriage of Hindu widows we have referred more than once, had taken on a lease from the Mahant the land attached to the Guru-ka-Bagh shrine, and had allowed the Akalis to cut the trees thereon for the Gurudwara kitchen. The legal knot being thus untied, Government ceased to make arrests and withdrew the Police. The Mahant has since denied having executed any lease in favour of Sir Ganga Ram. He states that a subordinate revenue officer of Government obtained his signature to certain papers without his knowledge of their contents and that the announcement that they contained a lease has not been made by his permission. The *Leader* of Allahabad rightly observes: "The device adopted by Government to hide its surrender was very clumsy. The Mahant ought to have been advised from the very beginning either to concede the right claimed by Akalis, or to seek the aid of a law court to establish his right, the authorities taking every care, however, that there was no serious breach of the peace. But instead of doing so they mixed themselves up in a religious quarrel and resorted to shocking methods to protect the disputed land from trespass. While thousands of Akalis have suffered in various ways it is extremely doubtful if a single one of the responsible officials who mismanaged the whole thing and created a huge problem, and thereby estranged a most loyal section of the population of the Punjab, will be called to account." Sir Edward Maclagan has got the Punjab into a hopeless mess which requires a different type of Governor to clean up, and it would be well for the Province if His Excellency decides to retire upon a proportionate pension on the latest scale. But no English Indian Civilian is ever cashiered for incompetence. The legend about the greatest Civil Service in the world must be kept up at all costs, however outworn facts may show it to have become.

Railway Exploitation in India: The *Servant of India* writes as follows under the heading, "Socialist Propaganda": "The Chairman's speech at the Annual General Meeting of the Barsi Light Railway Co., Ltd., on the 10 October throws an interesting light on the exploitation of India by "Indian" railways. The gross earnings of the company for the year under review had only once been higher; the traffic receipts for the last half-year indeed had beaten all records; working expenses, though showing "a tendency to increase," could be balanced by "increases in the maxima rates for goods traffic sanctioned by Government with effect from April last." As a natural consequence, the company once more distribute a dividend of 12 per cent. to their shareholders—as indeed they had done for the previous two years: free of income tax, of course. In the face of all these facts, the Chairman not only is not ashamed to admit having applied to the Indian Government for permission to increase their passenger fares still further, but actually makes a grievance of it that the Government has so far not sanctioned it! The "nationalization of railways" may be a bugbear to some classes in England, but there is nobody in India anyhow who is not convinced of its necessity—and we thank the Chairman of the B. L. Ry. Co. for having so forcibly demonstrated that necessity." An analysis of the earnings and expenditure of some other railways which have raised their fares, will also reveal similar anomalies.

An Expensive School: Some months ago, the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma said in a speech that before he became a member of the Government of India he rather distrusted the motives and the capacity of

that body but since becoming one he had formed the highest opinion of both! In a similar vein, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad averred at an Engineer's dinner last week that during his membership of the Bombay Government in the last two years he had learnt a good deal about the great work that engineers were doing in this country though his mind was a blank in this respect before, and that the public scarcely realised its magnitude. Why not make the public "a member" of Government, thus giving it the same opportunity as Mr. Sarma and Sir Chimanlal have for learning to appreciate the worth and work of Government!

The Story of a Statue: The *Leader* of Allahabad tells an interesting story regarding a contribution of Rs. 50,000 for a statue to Sir Harcourt Butler, the retiring Governor of the United Provinces. The question of the contribution of Rs. 50,000 by the Balrampur estate for a statue of Sir Harcourt Butler, writes our contemporary, was the subject of interpellation in the local Council. "The Maharaja of Balrampur was not alive at the time the question of erecting a statue of His Excellency was decided or even discussed, but it appears that the deceased had with commendable foresight made a promise before his death, without any apparent occasion for it, that if at any time a statue was raised in honour of Sir Harcourt Butler, he would give Rs. 50,000. He forgot to make any provision about it in his will. Was the promise contained in any letter? Not at all. It was merely a verbal promise—To whom was it made? To the hon. the Home Member."

The Governor at Sangli: The Chief of Sangli well deserves the cordial tribute which His Excellency the Governor of Bombay recently paid to that State in the Southern Maratha country. The pomp associated with Oriental rulers is entirely absent in his case, and the cleanness and simplicity of his personal life are set off by the enlightened and progressive solicitude that he evinces for the well-being of his people. No wonder that his personal popularity among his subjects is great. The Chief Sahib is keenly interested in education and Sangli bids fair early to become a great educational centre in this Presidency.

A Poet's Poet: Mrs. Meynell, whose death was announced last week, was a poetess, but she inspired much greater poetry than what she wrote. She and her husband reclaimed the starving, opium-broken author of that glorious epic, "the Hound of Heaven," literally from the gutter, and his gratitude and admiration for her inspired all his later poetry. To her was dedicated the group of poems bearing the title "Love in Dian's Lap" of which an eminent critic wrote: "Was woman ever more exquisitely sung? I do not know in the whole realm of English poetry a more noble tribute to noble womanhood."

The Rev. M. T. Titus: We print today some interesting notes sent from Cairo by the Rev. M. T. Titus. Mr. Titus belongs to the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, and he was posted till he left for Egypt at Moradabad. His object in going to that country is to study and understand the Mahomedan point of view at such a great centre of Islamic learning and culture as the famous University of Cairo. Such enquiries cannot but be fruitful of good, as they must lead to a sympathetic understanding between the followers of the two great religions, which is sadly needed to-day. We are obliged to Mr. Titus for sending us these valuable notes.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 2, 1922.

THE POET ON THE PLATFORM.

There can be no more striking proof of the extent to which culture and wealth have become divorced in India than that a thinker and poet of the transcendental eminence of Rabindranath Tagore should have to undertake lecturing tours in order to raise funds for the noble University he is creating at Calcutta. It is impossible to appreciate adequately the spirit of utter self-abnegation to what is felt as a compelling national duty, which alone could have persuaded him to adopt the role of an itinerant lecturer. The incongruity is emphasised when his audiences are restricted to a single community or to persons who can pay a price for admission to them. The Poet belongs to all India, indeed to all the world; and when he speaks it must be to all without distinction of race or creed. The Poet, we are sure, would have winced when Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy introduced him to his audience on Monday as the Nobel prize-winner for poetry. His own address was not in tune with the universalism of his poetry and philosophy. Some of the general statements to which he committed himself in that address have no other reason for them except the psychic necessity which every speaker feels to get into sympathetic touch with his audience. Indeed, they represent lapses from the habitual thought of the Poet as it appears not only in his poems and stories, but also in his reasoned expositions of his view of human, and more particularly Indian, history. We refer especially to his references to the Indian climate as tropical and enervating, and as lending itself to the contemplative, introspective life that characterised India. Also, the number is increasing of Indian students of history who do not accept the theory—for it is no more than that—of the Aryan immigration or of the Aryans having been immigrants of a superior race and culture.

The enervating influence of a tropical climate is one of the many suggestions thrown out by a school of western historians of civilization, of which Buckle is the best known, to account for the subjection of tropical countries. Another, since disproved by the rise of Japan, is that rice-eating races are doomed to be dominated by wheat-eating and meat-eating ones. At a certain stage of English education in this country, we swallowed with avidity every generalization of Western writers that appeared to shift the responsibility for our condition from our character and capacity to climate and environment. We did not pause to consider that the data from which these generalizations were deduced, were mostly limited to a small area of the earth and to a small space of time and that, even within these limits, they were by no means extensive. Mahatma Gandhi's onslaught on English education as inducing slave-mentality, is largely misplaced, but it holds true of these debilitating suggestions which have had the

effect of making us think of ourselves as doomed by natural laws to a national life devoid of energy and initiative. It is not the tropical climate but such theories that are enervating. The Indian thinker and teacher has to wage unceasing and implacable war against them. Take the very case of Persia whose climate is not tropical and, therefore, according to this theory, not enervating. Arabia, on the other hand, is a land of tropical deserts. How is it that the Arabs, when they came under the influence of Islam, developed the energy and activity which conquered not only Persia but nearly half of Europe? The Sun is an energising, not an enervating, influence. The ancestors of the Parsis as well as of the Hindus did not worship the Sun from ignorance or superstition. The most vigorous growth in the vegetable and animal world is to be found in the tropics. Why should a tropical climate be an enervating influence on man alone? Further, history tells us that wealthy and powerful empires were founded in the tropics and great civilizations flourished there. On the other hand, people in temperate climates have not always been remarkable for energy and activity. Sir Henry Maine held that the idea of progress was born in Greece. "Except the blind forces of Nature," he wrote, "nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin." The climate of Greece is probably much the same as in classic days, but Progress has made her home elsewhere.

You have the Pyrrhic dance as yet,
Where's the Pyrrhic phalanx gone?
Of two such lessons why forget
The nobler and the manlier one?

So lamented Byron nearly a century ago. To-day Greece, betrayed by her own statesmen, turns savagely upon them and shoots six of them dead by order of a military tribunal! Yet the same Sun shines to-day on Greece as when Athens was the mother of Arts and Eloquence.

The fact is that it is not the climate which affects the body, but the ideals which inspire the mind, that make individuals and nations strong and great. Even Western thought is fast emerging from its nineteenth century opinion of the mind being subservient to the body. Contempt for metaphysics is affected only by men who have drifted out of the main stream of European life and thought into glittering and comfortable places in Asia and Africa. Medical science to-day is recognising Psychology as of at least equal importance to it as Physiology. The recognition of the influence of suggestions and auto-suggestions on capacity and character, is revolutionising our ideas of Education. Everyone can observe for himself that temperature and environment affect him most when his inner being is least sustained by ideals. The present depression of India is due not to the climate but to a falling off in faith and ideals. Our forefathers, while they did not court poverty, pain and death, did not stand in such abject terror of them as we, the so-called educated men of India, do to-day. They loved something, even were it a superstition, better than a comfortable life. They longed to live but not on

any terms imposed upon them. Even if the physical climate has a depressing influence, if the mental climate is maintained at its proper temperature, its effect can be prevented. The late Prof. William James wrote an essay on "the moral equivalent of war" in which he showed how the state of mind in which the martial virtues grow and thrive, can be cultivated without the devastating medium of war. Even so a temperate mental climate can be created and maintained in a torrid physical climate by a well-ordered social and national economy. The Poet seems to suggest that the metaphysical and contemplative life of India is the outcome of her enervating, tropical climate. On the contrary, we think that the truly contemplative life is the most intense form of human activity. It is impossible to persons in a depressed state of mind or body. A Tamil sage likens the state of absorbed contemplation to the top which seems to be at rest while at the height of its spin. India was great morally and materially when she was great in contemplation and produced metaphysicians whose thoughts sublime pierced the night like stars. And she will be great again when she casts aside her trammels of custom and caste and lets her free spirit soar as in the days of old when Death itself could not deter her from the high-hearted, fearless pursuit of Truth. No Indian thinker has inculcated this so persistently and consistently as the Poet, and it is because his words (as reported in the Press) seemed to imply some temporary deviation from his own teaching, that we have thought it our duty to make these observations.

FREE FEEDING OF BRAHMINS.

(By E. R. M.)

Free feeding of Brahmins in temples, irrespective of their health, wealth, profession or character, out of temple funds, is a custom prevailing in the southern districts of the Madras presidency. With the advance of rational ideas on religious matters and the consequent feeling that this custom is nothing short of a gross abuse of charity, it is gradually disappearing. In the good old days when the Brahmins pursued the profession prescribed for them, viz., the learning and teaching of *Vedas*, it might have been a necessity as a sort of religious obligation to feed them out of public funds. But in these days when Brahmins have entered all vocations of life, there is hardly any such obligation. The funds belonging to the temples include religious offerings received from members of the various castes and communities in the Hindu fold, not excluding the untouchables and unapproachables whose entry into the temples is supposed to pollute the temple and its Deity. It is, therefore, gratifying that the Madras High Court has held that the expense incurred for the free feeding of Brahmins out of funds entrusted to the heads of Mutts is not a legitimate expense binding on the Mutts. The following is a brief summary of an interesting appeal on which judgment

was delivered by Mr. Justice Krishnan and Mr. Justice Ramesam at the Madras High Court on the 8th November:—

In the Udipi taluka of the South Kanara district, there are eight Mutts having properties of their own and there is in addition the famous Sri Krishna temple with the famous idol installed by Madhwachari, the founder of the Madhwa sect of Brahmins. The management of the temple is carried on by rotation by the eight Mutts, each managing the temple for a period of two years. In addition to its own income which is considerable, the temple receives grants both from the British Government and from the Mysore Government, and the Matadhipathi (head of the Mutt) in charge of the temple for the time being also brings with him the income of his particular Mutt for bearing the expenses of the temple during the period under his charge. From 1914 to 1916 the head of Sirur Mutt was in charge of the temple and he spent Rs. 1,40,000 on its management. Of this sum Rs. 1 lakh was derived from the income of the temple and the balance he borrowed from the head of the Admar Mutt. The head of the Sirur Mutt subsequently died and a successor was appointed by the Sodai Mutt. The head of the Admar Mutt thereupon brought a suit against the new head of the Sirur Mutt for the recovery of the moneys due to him from the previous head. The Subordinate Judge of South Canara held that the expenses that had been incurred by the deceased head of the Sirur Mutt for the management of the temple were legitimate and the debts were therefore binding on the present head of the Mutt. An appeal being preferred to the High Court, their Lordships in their judgment held that the expenses had been mostly for feeding Brahmins at the rate of 2,000 per day. There was no evidence to show that the feeding of thousands of Brahmins daily free, gratis and for nothing, was a legal obligation that had rested on the late head of the Sirur Mutt. There was evidence on the other hand to show that the heads of Mutts were to regulate their expenses according to their status, and economy was to be exercised in the matter of feeding Brahmins and incurring other expenses. Thus taking the evidence into consideration their Lordships were of opinion that the debts of the deceased head of the Sirur Mutt were not binding on the properties of the Mutt and so set aside the decision of the Subordinate Judge. At the same time, their Lordships held that the head of the Admar Mutt should have a decree on the personal assets, if any, of the late head of the Sirur Mutt, now in possession of his successor.

The lesson conveyed in the above judgment is obvious. No doubt, the head of the Sirur Mutt must have been actuated by the desire to preserve the prestige of the Mutt by strictly following the traditional custom. The judgment of the Madras High Court shows that the influence of certain customs is gradually declining. This as well as the acquittal of Dr. Choyi, a member belonging to the unapproachable community in Malabar, in the Tali Tank pollution case some time ago, must serve as an eye-opener to those in power—like the present Dewan of Cochin who recently advised the Ezhavas to fight out their case (grievance due to the prohibition of using certain public roads in Oranganore) in a court of law,—who still cling to custom without any regard to the advancing tide of rational ideas on religious and social matters.

Sir John Salmond in his book on "Jurisprudence" begins the chapter on "Custom" by saying that

"the importance of custom as a source of law continuously diminishes as the legal system grows." According to this eminent Jurist, "Custom is the embodiment of those principles which have commended themselves to the national conscience as principles of truth, justice and public utility," and "as those customs develop and alter with change of circumstances and the growth of public enlightenment, the State is wisely content to allow such development and modification to reflect themselves in the law which it administers." It cannot be denied, however, that custom still exercises a very great influence in the administration of law. But it does not mean that all customs, however immemorial they may be, must have the sanction of law, and their Lordships of the Madras High Court have done a distinct public service in holding that "the feeding of thousands of Brahmins daily free, gratis and for nothing" is not a legitimate expense binding on the Mutt responsible for the management of the temple. The privilege of getting meals free and for nothing is enjoyed by able-bodied men belonging to the Brahmin community most of whom are strangers to the Brahmanical ideals. This is a social evil as it tends to increase the number of idlers and vagabonds in society. The Hindu law is mostly based on the texts of Manu and Yajnavalkya. These are not the days of Manu and Yajnavalkya and the condition of society today is certainly not the same as it existed during the days of those learned law-givers. "That which is true to-day may become false to-morrow by change of circumstances, and that which is taken for wisdom may to-morrow be recognised as folly by the advance of knowledge." It is doing a grave injustice to the ancient law-givers to think that they had thought that the laws expounded by them to suit the then conditions of society would outlast eternity. There is a growing public opinion on the necessity of modifying some portions of the Hindu Law. That such persons having wide juridical experience like Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, an ex-Judge of the Madras High Court, have come forward to effect legislation to reconstruct portions of Hindu Law, is itself a welcome sign of the times. The Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* had suggested the need for the formation of an association for the promotion of legislation on Hindu Law topics and that suggestion was earnestly taken up by Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar some time ago. I do not know how far the idea has developed and whether it has been given any practical shape. Law is only a means to an end, viz., Justice. The function of the judiciary is the administration of justice. The decisions of such liberal-minded judges like the Hon. Mr. Justice Krishnan and the Hon. Mr. Justice Ramésam of the Madras High Court and the Hon. Justice Sir Lallubhai Shah of the Bombay High Court, although they are practically helpless to use their individual discretion where the existing laws point to the contrary, will give a great impetus to the much-needed reform of the existing Hindu Law.

NOTES FROM EGYPT.

(By THE REV. M. T. TITUS.)
IMPRESSIONS OF PALESTINE.

My trip has not been very extended, but still I have seen many things that have been full of interest for one whose life-work keeps him in India. The first thing that impresses one everywhere in loud contrast to India, is the well-to-do condition and appearance of the people. Poverty is scarcely known in these lands as we see it in India. On the barren lime-stone mountains of Palestine and Syria the people somehow manage to make what appears to be a comfortable living. Here is an Olive grove, there a vineyard, or an orchard of fig trees, and in spite of the almost indescribable scarcity of water, these evidences of husbandry yield their fruits in their season, the people of the land make a living. Of course, wheat is a common crop, and in the fall of the year one sees the farmers making extensive preparations where there is any soil at all for the winter sowing. But many of the Syrians, both Christian and Mahomedan, find themselves forced off the soil owing to the scarcity of the latter, and so find their way to America, where they work in Steel Mills or other factories, or do small business in shops or by carrying their wares around from house to house. One can scarcely go into a village of Palestine or Syria, it is said, without finding some one who speaks "American."

The hospitable nature of the village people of Palestine, whether Arabs or Christians, was very surprising. They received us gladly, and even though we were just passing through, they would often invite us to come and have "qahwah" (coffee) with them. But there was one thing that one could not help noticing and that was how much more advanced the Christian villages were as a rule than the Arab villagers, both in worldly goods, sanitation and education. This is explained by the fact that they have naturally been more susceptible to Western influences, with which they have had direct contact for centuries.

The Arabs and the Christians of Palestine seem to get along quite happily together, and according to them there is no place for the large number of Jewish immigrants who are invading the land. In fact they have joined hands in political opposition to the Jew; and Moslem-Christian Associations have been formed in different parts of the country to assert the validity of their position. Many of the Jews who formerly lived in the villages on isolated holdings have given them up, and fled to the cities for safety. But one cannot help being impressed, as he sees Jewish colonies purchasing land, building the waste places, planting trees, vineyards, and sowing the good seed of industry and modern improvement wherever they happen to be, that for better or for worse, and in spite of all opposition, the Jews mean business and are in the country to stay. In time, as soon as the necessary psychological adjustments can be made, one can well expect that the heat of the moment will die down, and that Palestine will be the better for their coming and their enterprise.

The women of these lands are the greatest surprise to one, I mean the *pardah* women. In India one is accustomed to think of *pardah* and seclusion as synonymous terms. But they are not so here. Whether the *yashmak* or veil be black and cover the whole face, or whether it be white and so thin that it is but the faint suggestion of a veil, it does not hinder the "pardah" woman of Damascus or Cairo from going about the streets of the city unescorted to do her own shopping in the bazaars. From the height of her skirt and the make of her shoes, and the tailoring of her dress you would think she had just stepped out of a train from Paris, but the veil is a hasty reminder that she is a resident of the Near East and not of the bold and daring West. Nevertheless she has gone far, and she is gradually casting off the things that hamper. Would that the clumsy *burkha* in India might be exchanged for the less hampering veil of Damascus or Cairo.

But perhaps the most interesting speculations that one can venture upon are those that have to do with the future of the Khilafat. Everyone, Westerner, Christian and Mahomedan is saying, "Well, what is going to happen? Is Kemal Pasha right or is he wrong? Has the time come to separate Temporal and Spiritual power in Islam or not? Is it orthodox or is it an innovation pure and simple? If it is not orthodox will it be possible to get an Ijma, or Agreement from the Islamic world that will make it right and proper?" We asked these questions of the Sheikhs of the Azhar University in Cairo, the great intellectual centre of Islam; but they, too, are seeking for the light. The world has been promised a fatwa from the leading Ulema of Egypt on the subject; but for the present everyone is hunting for an answer. Still at least, every one admits that a crisis of far-reaching importance has been reached in the world of Islam.

One cannot make a trip to the Near East in these troubled times, and especially to Syria and not see very visible evidences of the terrible ravages of War. All through the Near East the American people by free-will offerings are keeping tens of thousands of refugee Armenians from starvation, death and degradation through the Agency of the Near East Relief. In Beirut alone I visited a refugee camp of some 6,000 people who had come out of Anatolia because there was no place for them there any longer. They were living in tents made of blankets, in shacks made of store boxes; in caves in the side of the mountain, in arches under the railway, all on an old dumping ground of the city of Beirut between the city and the sea. Then I visited an orphanage where there were a thousand boys and girls from 5 to 18 years of age; and all of these—the men and women and the orphans—are practically without means of support. It is a terrible tragedy to see these poor, wretched, homeless people to whom life holds out nothing but anguish and distress, except as the Near East Relief can bring help and hope. Once they had homes, land and business—now they have nothing—and they cannot go back to what were once their homes, for they are wanderers on the face of the earth. This is the great tragedy of the Near East, and of the world today.

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

London, November 9th, 1922.

SMALLPOX IN LONDON.

The temperature of London has been rising rather rapidly during the last two weeks. The Parliamentary elections are naturally very unsettling and the feverish activity of each party does not lend calm to the atmosphere. Then the blow of the Near East upheaval has been a tremendous shock. We did think that this was on its way to a peaceful settlement. And lastly, the smallpox scare which is agitating this mighty and congested city is sending the temperature up to fever point. The last named trouble is very real one, and though urgent measures are being taken to localise the outbreak to Poplar, where it arose, other parts of London are taking all necessary precautions to deal with cases should they arise there. Everywhere people are being urged to be vaccinated as a precaution against the spread of this terrible disease, and large numbers of people are availing themselves of the services of the public and free vaccinator. The origin of the outbreak is not yet known, but the rapid spread of it was due to the fact that the victim, a washerman at the Poplar workhouse, who first contracted it, had it so mildly that he was walking about among his fellow-inmates for over a week before the case was diagnosed, thus spreading the infection. Altogether 43 cases have been notified and twelve have proved fatal. It is nearly twenty years since London has been troubled by a real attack of small-pox, and it is estimated that about forty per cent. of the population were unvaccinated at the time of the present outbreak and very few of our present medical practitioners have seen the disease.

LABOUR AND WOMEN.

Labour suffered a severe defeat last week in the Municipal Elections, people having got tired of what they regarded as wasteful expenditure and the unwarrantable heavy rates resulting from the administration of those boroughs and municipalities where Labour had a majority or overwhelming influence. But in addition, the party is going to the polls with a capital levy in the forefront of its programme and the 'Nationalisation' of all essential services and undertakings involving an attack upon private ownership. People in this country are not prepared to adopt such a drastic programme, whatever intrinsic merits it may have, and those who are most opposed to wastefulness in expenditure and most attached to private undertaking are women whom the Conservatives accordingly confidently hope to poll heavily. It is true that the woman's vote, being so new and so vast, is yet incalculable, but there seems to be a general impression that on the whole it is Conservative rather than extreme. At the same time, the women leaders realise how "far" behind is the political education of the enfranchised woman. The women's societies are endeavouring to get the new Prime Minister to pledge himself to an extension of the franchise to women upon the same terms as it is enjoyed by men.

So far, Mr. Bonar Law has not committed himself. There will be nothing very picturesque about the next administration, but, at the same time, it is not expected that it will be a reactionary one. Indeed, Mr. Bonar Law says that no Government of which he is a Member will be reactionary. So that it is generally anticipated that, whilst the next administration will be conservative and cautious, it will not be Die-hard. Some of the criticisms of the new Government, that it is composed so largely of peers or their eldest sons, seems a little bit out of place. If men like Mr. Edward Wood and Mr. W. Ormsby-Gore may be taken as representatives of the new type of young Conservative, then it will be desirable rather to multiply them and peers of their type. For they are as far as any Liberal from holding Die-hard views.

POOR RESPONSE TO GOVERNMENT OF INDIA LOAN.

There was a poor response to the appeal of the Indian Government for twenty millions sterling, upon what the share market regards as good terms. This is not a good time to borrow, and the amount asked for was large, but it is believed that though the underwriters have had to take over the great bulk of the loan, it will eventually be well-floated.

PRISON REFORMS.

The Commissioners of Prisoners have made and are recommending in their last Annual Report a number of modifications in prison life. The convict crop, for example, has been abolished, and all men's hair is now cut as in ordinary life. Broad arrows are being removed from the outside of prison clothing and a new style of prison clothing which will give a better chance to self-respect, is being advised. Prisoners on being transferred from one prison to another, wear civilian clothes to avoid exposure to the public. Wires and bars are being removed as far as possible from the compartments in which visits are paid by relatives and friends, and suitable exercise is given daily to men under close confinement. The Commissioners make the following reply to their critics: "Pampering is not the object, nor is it the result. It is our duty, as custodians of those who are for a time forcibly separated from life in the civic community, to restore them to it at least as fit as when we receive them. To this end we should feed and exercise their minds as well as their bodies."

THE NEED FOR REFORM IN DIVORCE LAWS.

The decision of the Law Lords on Friday last in what has become famous as the Rutherford Divorce Case, a case in which an innocent woman is tied for life to an insane murderer, will do more to crystallise public opinion and induce an alteration in our Divorce laws than anything that has happened during the last few years. It brings into prominence the whole question of the morality of a man or woman being bound for life to a husband or wife who is a hopeless, incurable, and, in not a few cases, criminal lunatic. At present, as the law stands, should a young man or woman become incurably insane a few days after marriage, the legal tie remains unbreakable even though the victim of insanity may live to be an

old person. Some years ago the Divorce Law Commission recommended a reformation in the basis of divorce, but the Church and a large section of the public was strongly opposed to any increase in the facilities for divorce. Since then, however, opinion has grown in favour of freedom in cases of continued insanity, and the Judge's summing up remarks on Friday last, will do much to make this question a very definite one again, when once the elections are over and foreign affairs enable us to get on with our domestic difficulties. The number of incurable married lunatics in the United Kingdom has been estimated at about 40,000. This problem has produced one of those anomalies in English life which is difficult to understand. It is quite well-known that two fickle people, fairly 'cute and clever, with a little money, can get round the Law in this respect and gain their freedom. It is done almost every day, but there is no such possibility for the person tied for life to a lunatic or a life convict, and a great wave of sympathy is making itself felt for the 40,000 spouses condemned to a life of loneliness or legal sin. Lord Buckmaster's Bill has twice been passed in the House of Lords, but Mr. Lloyd George's Government were so busy plunging us into trouble in Europe that they could grant no time for its discussion in the Commons.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE—AMERICA'S GREATEST FAILURE.*

"The word 'democracy' has become a fetish in America," the recently appointed president of Colgate University declared in his inaugural address, "To criticise it is considered not only poor form but futile. We are permitted to do the utmost violence to democracy in our actions," he continued, "so long as we extol it with our words. By 'democracy' I accept the ordinary meaning of the word, the rule of the people, of the majority. Better still, the definition of Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, 'Government of the people, by the people, for the people.' This seems to be the ideal, especially on this continent, but as yet unrealized. It is true that we have had government of the people, but never by the people, and only incidentally and unintentionally for the people. If all people were born free and equal, democracy would not only be possible but very desirable. Whether fortunately or unfortunately, this is not so. The mental tests recently made on one and three-quarter million men in the United States Army showed us not only inequality, but revealed larger proportions in the extreme classes than we thought possible. With only 13 1/2 per cent of the population able to get through college well, fifteen per cent unable to get through at all and only twenty-five per cent able to comprehend the significance of the ballot, democracy is out of the question. The real tariff experts of this country could probably be counted on the fingers of one hand, and these do not agree, and yet we calmly submit the subject of the tariff to the people as a whole, twenty-five per cent of whom are mentally subnormal, with an average mentality of slightly over thirteen years. It may be a wise course to treat the people like children and let them play at governing themselves, but would it probably not be as wise to recognize the truth? The play goes on until a problem arises and then we call for a leader.

* The Foreign Press Service, Inc.

What we mean, of course, is a ruler. The ruler thus called rules autocratically during the period of difficulty, and then lets us play again. The most autocratic ruler of the war period was the ruler of the greatest democracy, Mr. Wilson. The divine right of the people has no more foundation than the divine right of kings—and both are wrong. Manhood suffrage has been our greatest and most popular failure, and now we double it by granting universal adult suffrage. The melting pot figure so often applied to America has been incorrectly interpreted. There is no alchemy in the melting pot. Some, apparently, thought that if we put gold and silver and copper and iron into the pot the product of the furnace would be gold. We find that we did not get rid of an ounce of iron. In fact, we find after a few generations more iron and less gold."

L. O.

HINDU-MAHOMEDAN UNITY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

It has been a great joy to me to have read your note on this subject in the issue of November 4. I, who have always called myself a Hindu disciple of Christ and who believe that all Christians in India can legitimately call themselves and ought to call themselves Hindus, rejoice to find your "valued Mahomedan friend" saying therein that all the Mahomedans too should call themselves Hindus. As he says, the term "Hindu" is more a term of ethnological and geographical significance than a creedal one. It is true it has a cultural and even religious meaning, but it is of such a catholic and cosmopolitan character that all who live in Hindustan can call themselves Hindus. This becomes the more easy for them to do since the Khilafat has been separated from the temporal power, which is a step most necessary for giving Mahomedanism a truly spiritual character, and as such it ought to be welcomed by all, Mahomedans as well as Hindus. In these days, any religion or church that wants to function properly must be disestablished, and it is only when it stands before the world in its own spiritual power, absolutely free and unhampered by any material or temporal power, that it can do its work properly. One often despaired of Mahomedanism ever coming to this state, but Kemal Pasha has cut the gordian knot in a really remarkable manner, and thereby has rendered the whole Moslem world and incidentally the whole of Humanity a great service. In course of time this is sure to make the Indian Moslems feel themselves more at home in India than they could have ever been with their loyalty being divided between their own country and the Sultan of Turkey as the Khalif. However, what is needed to-day in India to bring these two great communities, the Hindus and the Moslems, together is a sort of social and semi-religious *rapprochement* such as Keshub Chunder Sen thought of in the year 1878 when he held a sort of conference with men like Sir Syed Ahmed and Swami Dayanand Saraswati in Delhi. What was impossible then may be quite possible to-day in these times when everything is changing and the old prepossessions and prejudices have given way. I would request all religious and social liberals among both Hindus and Mahomedans to come closer together in all things, political, social, cultural and even religious, so that that great day when all the children of this great land will be one in mind and spirit as well and may come close to us, and we might witness a true Hindu-Moslem Unity.

Yours truly,

MANILAL C. PAREKH.

Bangalore,
18th Nov. 1922.

WANTED—A SWARAJ PARTY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your leading article in the issue of 25th November you took a very sane line of thought, and I am sure many persons besides myself are whole-heartedly in favour of your view. To enter Councils with a view to smash them from within, leaving aside the ethics of the action, is impracticable for many obvious reasons. It is more than doubtful that, constituted as at present they are, the constituencies will return in any appreciable number pledged wreckers, and if they do, I for one shall have little respect left for their political intelligence and capacity for Swaraj. One can understand a deliberate attempt at keeping a huge percentage of voters off the polling-booths, and if it succeeds it will denote to friends and foes alike a great moral victory, though to be generally recognised as such, the percentage of abstainers must be preponderating and definitely ascertained by holding simultaneously some other public functions confined to such voters alone. This will completely dispense off the argument that low percentage of polling is mainly due to the general apathy of the electorate. If this method had been adopted at the 1920 elections, many a successful candidate—at least such as really matter and lend the Councils the weight and dignity they possess—would have thought twice before taking his seat as a legislator. But to advise the voter not to exercise the franchise as a protest is one thing, and to ask him to record his vote in favour of one whose policy, avowed and definite, would be to reduce the Council to a farce is quite different.

But this is besides the point, and the pros and cons have been sufficiently discussed in the press. Certain it is that at the Gaya Congress the matter will receive further attention from both the sides, and to whichever view the great assembly leans, the question whether the Councils should be utilised for an active propaganda in favour of the Bardoli programme will remain unanswered. And this is a very important question as you have pointed out in your leading article.

It is up to you, sir, to form and lead a Swaraj party that will seek neither to smash the Councils nor to boycott the Congress as the leading Liberals have done, but to have one single aim in view and that to be the speediest possible establishment of Swaraj in India by any and every practical means excepting individual or mass violence. Such a party is surely needed at this moment, and can easily be organised with a little effort and able leadership. It can and must start with a definite, clear-cut programme for immediate guidance and should contest the next elections as an organised political party on the basis of its programme. It shall enter the Councils fully determined to utilise all the resources of the 'Reformed Constitution' in order to push on its own programme. Nor should it neglect to join the Congress with a similar view: to utilise it fully with its immense hold on the sentiments of the people, for the furtherance of its own programme. Such a party, I am sure, can do immense work, and will, if the effort is genuinely made, bring the country appreciably nearer Swaraj if not actually within sight of it. It is surely worth while for a Jinnah or a Jayakar to throw his weight into the scale, and to form and lead a party along such lines. The chances of success are quite clear.

The next and more important point is: what is to be the programme of the 'Swaraj Party'? It can be discussed and drafted at a preliminary meeting of all those persons who are in general agreement with the proposal. I may, just to initiate and provoke discussion, mention roughly what I should like

it to be so that a maximum of support may be insured for it among all the classes and sections of thoughtful Indians. Broadly speaking it shall include:

(1) Active propaganda to revive and encourage the cottage industry of hand-spinning and hand-weaving, where natural conditions permit.

(2) Active propaganda to foster and protect against foreign competition all important industries that can be developed advantageously.

(3) Active campaign to organise Banking and Commerce on co-operative lines.

(4) Active campaign for removal of all facilities for the sale of intoxicants except on medical advice in small doses.

(5) Active campaign for promoting the sentiment of national solidarity between different faiths and communities on all purely political, social or economic questions.

(6) Active campaign for securing to every individual full rights of participation on equal terms in all political gatherings irrespective of his caste, sex or creed.

(7) Active propaganda to compel the Central Government to become wholly and solely responsible to the public opinion in India, ceasing to be a subordinate division of Downing Street.

(8) Active campaign for the abolition of the existing anomalous system of provincial administrations, replacing it by a federation of autonomous Districts, each governed by a Cabinet chosen from and responsible to its popular Council.

(9) Active campaign against the acceptance of any marks of favour at the hands of the existing bureaucracy such as titles, offices, decorations etc.

(10) Active campaign for the pursuit of these objects through every available medium.

I venture to think, Sir, that with some such programme, a Swaraj Party could utilise the momentum and energy of Non-co-operation as also the practical advantages of Council-work in order to gain their final aim, the speediest establishment of Swaraj. Is it too much to expect that a live leader of the first rank will see the obvious utility of this suggestion and come forward to essay the task? I hope not. That he will easily have a fairly large following is almost certain. And even if for the present he does not get encouraging support from the rank and file, there need be no despair. There are still 12 months for the next elections, and by that time the Swaraj party will have received into its folds many supporters, if only this period is utilised in educating public opinion and placing before the country their programme in a tangible, plain and easily understood form. Surely the attempt is worth making, but some one with a recognised status alone can set the ball rolling. Who shall it be? Let your readers answer.

Bombay,
29-11-1922.

Yours etc.
T. M.

RECORD MAKING QUEEN HONEY BEE.*

From North Dakota comes the news that a half interest in one of the most valuable queen honey bees in the world has been sold for \$150, and that this price establishes a new record for bee values. The queen left by mail recently for Alabama, one of the southern states, where she will spend the winter, returning to her home in North Dakota next spring. According to the culture records, she was a member of a colony which last summer set one of three world's records for honey production.

L. O.

* The Foreign Press Service, Inc.

HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

I am extremely glad that a Hindu lady has courageously come forward to put forth her views on the dowry question. I believe and firmly believe that Hindu Women's emancipation must come through themselves. It is they who must fight for their rights.

In both my letters I emphasised the point that the dowry is the bride's property. The bridegroom if he has any sense of honour should neither extort it nor touch it but leave the matter to the girl and her father to settle it between themselves. Our learned sister does not appreciate it. She fears that the girl out of modesty will say nothing and the father will play in his sons' hands and their poor sister will not get that amount which would have been extorted from him by the unscrupulous son-in-law. Anyhow the girl's father is to be forced. But now the money instead of going to add to the common property of the son-in-law, will remain on the girl's account. No doubt there is some consolation. But what guarantee can our sister give that the girl who out of modesty could not claim her dues from her own father, will not allow her husband to squander it?

She thinks that a millennium for women would come in case their rights of property as daughters, sisters, wives, and mothers are recognized by law. How many rights?

Moliere's Harpagon would have exclaimed "Better to be women, how much money and how many legatees? All without work" If all these rights are granted what havoc will it do to the Hindu Society! Our small holdings of land will be still subdivided. A girl will get $\frac{1}{2}$ of an acre at

Baroda from her father and $\frac{1}{3}$ of an acre at Poona from her husband. Both good for nothing. But the country will suffer. Besides such rights will be ready tools in the hands of unscrupulous sons-in-law to bring suits against their father-in-law's property. To-day they have to devise means. This law will give them a desired weapon. I know one case of a farmer queen, who was a farmer's daughter but married a prince and thus became a queen. She had as many jewels as any woman, slave to ornaments, would like to have. She had been given some villages as her own private property. One day in her full glory when bedecked with jewels and gold ornaments she was visited by a Hindu lady who, being dazzled with the lustre of jewels "began to admire them. The queen exclaimed "my dear sister, happiness is in farmer's cottage, this is all tinsel." This is not an imaginary story but a fact. Farmer's women are happier than all those women with big legacies with necklaces of pearls and jewels. It is because they have freedom. Let our women cultivate the spirit of freedom and independence, they will find therein richer dowries. Let them fight for education. Hindu parents neglect their daughters' education and spend all the money on their sons' education. It is this state of things which is responsible for their wretchedness. The country demands women, not slaves to jewels, but full of fire of freedom, who will give smacking blows to the institution of child marriage and knock it down to liberate themselves free for ever, free to work out for God's glorious India. What rot is being practised under the name of religion. An old man buys a girl in broad day light, the religion allows it, the society grants it. Is it not a slave trade? What matters if it is under the name of sacrament? That day will be the glorious day for my country when a girl will sling the jewels and ornaments to an old bridegroom's face and will say "I am free for ever, free, there is God within me, you get away ugly thing." Our women lack this spirit and they suffer. In many papers I have read women's articles. But many of them are about rights to property as daughters as wives, as sisters and what not. I suspect they dare not talk against

religion, which is in some way responsible for their miseries. I sympathise with their fight for Rights. But I think that when they have to fulfil the duties as wives, they must get equal rights. But as daughters and sisters, they have no responsibility nor any duty. They, therefore, should cast less greedy eye on their properties. What I condemn is that instead of the spirit of service there is greed for gold and jewels.

Yours etc.
JAWHARIAN.

TAGORE AT ALWAYE.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

On Saturday the 21st November, Dr. Tagore opened the new Hostel Buildings of the Union Christian College, which is a purely residential institution. Mr. Varki, the Principal, in welcoming the Poet, who was accompanied by Mr. Andrews, referred to the fact that India had found her voice again in Rabindranath and pointed out how on account of the Poet's being a golden link between the East and West, he was better fitted than any one else to lead our country in matter, educational, wherein a nice harmonizing of the best in the East and the West was essential. Dr. Tagore, who seems to have been greatly struck by the possibilities of the College, replying, said: "From what I have heard about the ideal of this institution and the methods which you have adopted for carrying on education in this College, I find that it has a great resemblance to the institution I have started. You have the same ideals which we have in Shantiniketan." In explaining his ideals, Dr. Tagore then referred to his mission, which dawned on him, on feeling, during his late tour in Europe, how completely the West had accepted him as its Poet. His mission, he said, was to open up the heart of India to intellectual and spiritual communication with the outer world. He denounced vainglorious patriotism and political catch-phrases, and advised all true patriots to release India from her spiritual and intellectual imprisonment, by learning more about her than they did, by realising national unity and by then offering their culture to the other cultures of the world. Mr. Andrews who followed expressed great satisfaction at the methods of the institution, adding that he felt as if he were in Shantiniketan itself. During his visit to Travancore in the near future, he has promised to spend a few days at the College. Dr. Tagore and Mr. Andrews were then asked to plant two mango-plants to commemorate their visit. Amidst cheers, the Principal next announced an anonymous donation

of Rs. 300/ to the College for the formation of a special Library of Poetical Literature with books in as many languages as possible, to be called after the name of Dr. Tagore. With cheers to the distinguished guests, the meeting terminated.

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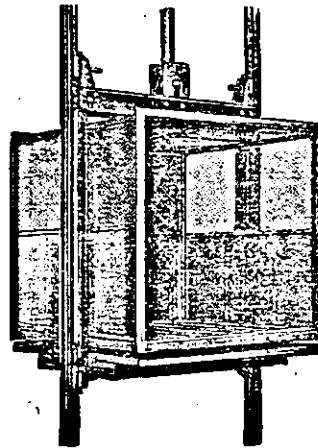
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

101

Avoid a Split at all Costs: We publish today the first half of an article by Mr. S. Sadanand who is against Congressmen entering the Councils. The other half will appear next week. Mr. Sadanand's reflections have been provoked by what he calls 'a national dilemma'. In our opinion, there is no dilemma, unless we choose to make one. There is absolutely no conflict between the Bardoli programme of the National Congress and the proposal to enter the Councils. On the contrary, we think that the latter easily and naturally connects with the former, if we remember that Hindu-Mahomedan unity, the removal of "untouchability," liquor prohibition and swadeshi, can be advanced from within the Legislative Councils as also from without them. The earlier Non-Co-operation programme was designed to paralyse Government: the constructive Bardoli programme, if faithfully carried out, would transform Government into the image of the nation. We recognise that those who had accepted the original Non-Co-operation programme, find it difficult to efface all recollection of it in interpreting the Bardoli programme. But, in the interests of the country, they should make an effort to distinguish between the negative Non-Co-operation programme and the later constructive social programme. Those on the other hand who favour entry into the Councils—we are of the number—should also understand and sympathise with the point of view of those earnest and zealous souls who feel it their duty to abide literally by the Mahatma's injunctions. Above all, both sides should avoid a split at all costs. The harm done by a split will be infinitely greater than the good that may ensue by entering the Councils.

Malabar Forcible Conversions: An Associated Press telegram from Lahore dated 5th December states that, in the course of his speech before a large audience at the Islamia College Hall, Mr. Gopala Menon, Secretary of the Calicut Congress Committee, referring to the forcible conversions of Hindus in Malabar during the Moplah rebellion, maintained

that there were three kinds of conversions:—(1) By the riff-raff of the Hindus, who thought that the time of loot had arrived and looted the people in the garb of Moslems; (2) Hindus who cared more for their money and property than religion. There were thousands of this class who embraced Islam willingly; (3) a few cases of real forcible conversions. The cases of the few had been much exaggerated. Nobody could convert the Hindu forcibly. If they had cared for their religion and temples, they would never have been converted. If they were not towards such things would not have happened. The Hindus never cared for their religion, or temples, but they cared more for their property. Hence they were converted.

Mr. K. P. Kesava Menon is the Secretary of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee at Calicut. We do not remember to have come across any statement regarding converts of the first and second types mentioned by Mr. Gopala Menon. Even granting that certain Hindus "looted the people in the garb of Moslems" we are unable to understand how they can be classified as converts. Mr. Gopala Menon says that there were thousands of Hindus "who embraced Islam willingly" for the sake of their money and property. This is a statement to which we are able to offer a direct and unqualified contradiction. It is difficult to take statements of this sort seriously and we do not understand why the Associated Press attached so much importance as to telegraph them.

The Bombay Compulsory Education Bill: The Bombay Compulsory Education Bill, as revised by a Select Committee, is to come before the Legislative Council during the current Session. The Select Committee has effected some improvements in the original draft, such as allowing a larger proportion than one-half of the expenditure to be paid by Government at their discretion to Municipalities. But the main defect of the Bill remains, that it holds out no inducement to Local Bodies to press on with the compulsory principle. Even where a Local Body wishes to do so, the power is left with Government to put a damper on its enthusiasm. This is absolutely wrong. The best thing would be for Government to finance the whole Compulsory scheme, requiring all Local Bodies to introduce it within, say, the next five or ten years. If this is too drastic, Government should at least undertake to finance every compulsory scheme satisfying its reasonable requirements, which a Local Body proposes. This, of course, requires that a progressively large amount should be secured for primary education. If there is no guarantee that the sums needed to finance education will be forthcoming, a Bill of this kind is merely a bit of administrative window-dressing. We shall have a Paranjpye's instead of a Patel's Act upon the statute-book, but the blight of illiteracy will in no way be affected.

Compulsory Education in the Punjab: The Punjab Government have, according to a *Press Communiqué*, recently sanctioned the introduction of compulsory primary education in five municipalities and ten school areas under the District Board, Lyallpur. It is gratifying to note that amidst her political troubles, the Punjab does not allow her interest in education to flag. By the way, we gather from some enquiries that in no Province except advanced Bombay was the Educational grant allowed to be curtailed on account of the financial position, though it was quite as acute in some of them as in this Presidency.

The Madrased Co-operative Hostel Society Ltd. According to the Bombay Census Report, 1921, the number of Madraseds in Bombay is 15,156 as against 8,278 in 1911, or in other words, the Madrased population in Bombay during the last decade has nearly doubled. If statistics of the number of Madraseds in Bombay during the last two years were available, they would show a tremendous increase. Most of them have come to Bombay with the idea of finding a means of living. Considering the large number of Madraseds in Bombay, several of whom are sufficiently educated to understand and appreciate the value of a healthy organisation which would be of service to the community, the absence of any such proper institution is not creditable to the community. The greatest disadvantage under which the Madraseds, especially the middle-class people, are labouring is the lack of facilities for boarding and lodging. It is, therefore, gratifying to see from the copy of the report forwarded to us of the Madrased Co-operative Hostel Society, Ltd. for the half year ending 30th September 1922, that the promoters of the Society have for their main object the removal of this great disadvantage. Mr. Otto Rothfield, I. C. S., Registrar of Co-operative Societies of the Bombay Presidency, has borne testimony to the good working of the Society in the course of his remarks in the visitors' book of the Society: "I was very glad to see this admirably managed Society, the first of its kind in India and so much required." Although the Hostel managed by the Society is not strictly cosmopolitan in character as the membership is now confined only to Caste-Hindus, and although the benefits of the Society are not enjoyed by many outside Dadar, it promises to be a very useful institution having ample scope to extend its usefulness to the community at large. The Society has been running a hostel for the last one year. The progress of the Society as recorded in the balance sheet and profit and loss account for the period under review is satisfactory. It is stated that the Society has taken up new premises in Ollengal Building, Lady Jamsetji Road, opposite Hasali Tank, Dadar, which would accommodate about 50 more members and which would be ready for occupation from 1st January 1923. As the Society consists of mostly middle-class men, for whom of course it is intended, the success achieved so far is really encouraging. We wish the Society a successful career of much useful service to the South Indian Community.

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THE ARYAN INVASION OF INDIA.

(BY DRAVIDIAN.)

"The Aryan invasion of India," writes Mr. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar in his essay entitled "Life in Ancient India in the age of the Mantras," "is a theory invented to account for the existence of an Indo-Germanic language in North India." It is thus one of the many by-products of Comparative Philology which, owing to Max Muller's genius, enjoyed a pre-eminence much beyond its merits for a short time. Almost all his generalisations from language to race have gone by the board, except this of the Aryan invasion of or irruption into India. The earliest European Orientalists did not accept the theory. Muir, for instance, observed that the Aryans could not have entered from the West, because it was clear that the people who lived in that direction, were descended from those very Aryans of India; nor could the Aryans have entered from the North-West, because there was no proof from history or philosophy that there existed any civilised nation with a language and religion resembling theirs, which could have issued from either of those quarters at that early period and created the Indo-Aryan civilisation. In a question of this kind, tradition is much more important than critical scholarship. Every immigrant nation or race has preserved the memory of the land it emigrated from with jealous care. The Jews and the Parsis, among ancient races, and the Americans and Australians among moderns, are conspicuous examples. The Vedic bards, however, either did not know of any such event or took extraordinary care to keep out of the Vedas any reference to it. "The Mantras," says Mr. Iyengar, "do not contain any traces of traditions of such an invasion or the remotest allusion to any foreign country which was the first home of these tribes or recollections of the route through which they came." In the introduction to his "Vedic Reader" Professor A. A. Macdonnell who, of course, is an "invasionist," states that from the geographical data of the Rig Veda, especially the numerous rivers there mentioned, it is to be inferred that the Indo-Aryan tribes when the hymns were composed occupied the territory roughly corresponding to the North-West Frontier province and the Punjab of today. The references to flora and fauna bear out this conclusion. Hymns, however, do not usually confine their allusions to the natural scenery of the places where they are composed. If the Rig Vedic bards had memories of an ancestral land from where they came, they would certainly have not omitted all recollections of it in their prayer and praise. Not only, however, is there no reference to a motherland which they had left, but their love of the country where they dwelt amounted to a passionate adoration only possible to persons whose most intimate thoughts, memories and associations centred solely upon it.

An allied theory which is of even more questionable validity is that the people of India before the supposititious Aryan invasion or immigration was of inferior civilization and culture. Economists distinguish between four stages of civilization: the

hunting, the pastoral, the agricultural and the manufacturing. Cattle-breeding, writes Professor Macdonnell, appears to have been the main source of livelihood of the people of the Rig Veda hymns. In other words, they were mainly in the pastoral stage of civilization. Where did they learn cultivation from? Agriculture, observes Mr. J. Hewitt, in his "Ruling Races of Pre-historic Times" was first systematically practised on a large scale in the forest lands of Southern India, and was emigrants from thence who carried the rules of the village communities with them as they progressed northward. He maintains that he has proved conclusively that rice-cultivation flourished in Central and South India in the early Stone Age, countless ages before the Veda was composed, and that it was the growing of rice which led to the formation of permanent villages. As distinguished from the Vedic Indians of the North, the South Indians made the village, and not the family, the national unit. It was this agricultural race which first founded a system of national education, the lessons they had to teach being "not the rules of the art of war or the mysteries of religion, but those which embodied the results attained by the long series of experiments which had formed a national science of agriculture." If further proof were wanted to show that the non-Vedic people of India, were not inferior to the Vedic tribes, it is to be found in the glowing descriptions in the Ramayana itself of the prosperity of the enemy country. Thus Rama gazing across the Godavari from his hermit's hut at Nasik, the then southernmost Aryan settlement, sees:

Boundless fields of wheat and barley are
with dewdrops moist and wet,
And the golden rice of winter ripens like
the clustering date;
Peopled marts and rural hamlets wake to
life and cheerful toil
And the peaceful happy nations prosper
on their fertile soil,

And beyond them the shining domes and towers of a magnificent city—Janasthan. Nor is there any indication in the Ramayana that the Dravidians were considered to be an inferior race. Ravana who could so disguise himself as to be completely mistaken in broad daylight by Sita for a holy Brahmin, could not have differed much in his features from the race with which she was familiar in her native Behar or in her adopted Oudh.

As for colour, both Rama and Krishna are expressly described in the texts as dark-hued, and in popular paintings even to-day they are given a blue-black complexion. "Look not upon me, because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me", says the adored in the "Song of Solomon." "I am black, but comely." The poet of the Ramayana has in the interests of Aryan morality given a forced explanation of the episode, discreditable even upon his showing, of Sarpanakha. But cutting off of women's noses is a frequent offence at the present day and the motive of it is almost always jealousy on the part of the man. The incident anyhow shows that Sarpanakha

had a nose to be cut. Occidental Orientalists have concluded from the word "anasa" which occurs in one solitary context in the *Rig Veda*, that the non-Vedic Indians were a "noseless" or "flat-nosed" people. The great Hindu commentator, Sayana, having never heard of "Anthropometry" and, relying only on tradition, translated the word as meaning "of rude speech." The tests of Anthropometry, supposed to have been unerring, have been roughly assailed by the discovery that the shape of the cranium and the nose can be, and often are, moulded by manipulation by parents and nurses, sometimes consciously, during the period of infancy. Ravana was not a rude worshipper of stocks and stones but was a great devotee of Siva whom Rabindranath Tagore takes to be a non-Aryan deity adopted by the Aryans. If that be so, it is curious that this adopted deity has come to be the supreme deity of the Hindu pantheon. At Rameswaram in the South, tradition still points to a Linga which Rama worshipped before crossing over to Lanka. High up in the Himalayas the deity worshipped at Badrinath is Siva. In fact, Siva's abode is Mount Kailas and his consort is the Maid of the Mountain, Parvati. Three-fourths of the Brahmins of India are worshippers of Siva, which would be strange if Siva was originally a Non-Aryan deity. It is also worthy of note that the Siva cult has assumed a special character and pre-eminence in the two extreme ends of India—Kashmir and Dravida. The fact is that the Ramayana in its present form is a historical novel written to celebrate the triumph of a prince and a people by a poet whose literary language was Sanskrit. It is well-known that in Rama's story, as Buddha knew it, the propagandist additions of the present version are absent. The main motive for the Aryan invasion of the South was the same as at the present day—to exploit the labour of an industrious and docile population.

INDIAN CHRISTIANITY AND THE NATIONAL AWAKENING.

(BY A ROMAN CATHOLIC.)

I

CHRISTIANITY AND INDIA.

The Indian Christian population of India is microscopic; its paucity of numbers is no evidence, however, of the newness of the Christian faith in India. It is true that Indian Christianity at present labours under the drawback of being looked upon as an European importation, and as it is generally identified with the white peoples and their culture, Indians are likely to ignore the fact that Christianity in India has a hoarier antiquity than Islam. If we are to believe tradition—and tradition is as important a guide to history as any other source,—Thomas, one of the Apostles of Jesus, the Christ, brought the teachings of his Master into India, in the first years of the Christian era, spread them over a considerable part of the South and finally suffered martyrdom at Mylapore. Whether we accept this traditional

account or not, the indisputable fact verified by history remains that from the first centuries there were Christian communities in India, especially in the South—the complexion of their Christianity appearing orthodox or otherwise from the standpoint from which it is viewed. We have positive evidence to show that as early as the second century of the Christian era there were Christian settlements in India. Such being the case, Christians in India can claim to have existed in India some centuries earlier than the very birth of Islam. How comes it then that the Indian Christian born and bred on the soil of India and of ancestry purely Indian, has not learnt to cherish the ancient history of his country, its culture and to look upon its people, however different in their religious persuasions, as bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh? Whence is it that unlike his Hindu or Mahomedan fellow-citizen he has not watched for, aspired to and eagerly welcomed every stage that adds a cubit to the cultural, social or political stature of his motherland? Why is it that *Vande Mataram* is a national outpouring of the Hindus and Mahomedans only and till now ignored by the Indian Christian? The writer of this feels convinced that the above appreciation of the attitude of the Indian Christian towards the growth of national consciousness is not unwarranted. Again how comes it that both Hindus and Mahomedans regard the Indian Christian sentiment towards their aspirations as lukewarm if not positively hostile, and conversely why is it that the ever-growing height of the national spirit in India makes the Indian Christian feel dwarfed and helpless and suspicious of his security in the future?

It is no answer to say that the difference of a religious conviction or persuasion accounts for this defect of goodwill or confiding sympathy. It would be hideous to contemplate that Christianity which is so insistent on the brotherhood of man and his duty towards his neighbour, could make its adherents indifferent to the claims of patriotism or the reasonable aspirations of its fellow-citizens. No, no religion can make its members indifferent to love and reverence for one's country, its history, traditions, its glories of the past and its anticipations of the future. To say otherwise, one would have to explain how in a Europe broken up into so many nationalities, each in its turn again split into varying religious sects, Christian in their culture and leaven, if not in a strict observance of the Creed, every national entity pulsates with the desire for its national advancement. Every Christian nation in Europe is broken up into varying sections of Christian belief, even in an age when we are so proud to air our modern conceptions of tolerance. Religious bigotry and hatred are not unknown in Europe; but in every question that affects the self-respect of the people or its safety or liberty it speaks and acts with no feelings of detachment or division or difference. The Roman Catholic as much as the Anglican, the Lutheran as well as the Methodist or Presbyterian, rallied to the colours when the nation's trumpet sounded the call to fall in.

But one might very well retort and say: "well, after all they are Christian communities and though doctrinally divergent they have all been influenced by a common leaven". There is no denying that there is truth in this though not the whole truth for we have an instance of how the Arabs and the Christians, both children of the same soil, have joined hands in their protest against the encroachment of the Jews on their country, Palestine. Nay, whatever else may be charged against the body of Christians whose fate has wrung so much commiseration from large sections of mankind, disloyalty to their country or their lukewarmness as regards the interests of their land, has never been laid to the doors of the Armenians. How then can we explain the anomalous position of the Indian Christian who, as we have said above, though descended from Hindu ancestors, shrinks from identifying himself as much as might be expected of him with the interests of his motherland and refuses to feel the exaltation of and share in its spiritual and civic progress or political growth? Mahomedans who are members of a creed as alien to India if not more so than that of the Christians have in union with their fellow countrymen, the Hindus, realised a common consciousness and a common will. The Indian Christian has not. Why? We shall attempt an answer to this in the next article.

THE NATION'S DILEMMA. I.

(By MR. S. SADANAND.)

A grave decision, that will affect the course of history rests with the Gaya sessions of the congress. A decision can no longer be postponed on the issues that face the country. The need for a decision arose as early as February last when on the occurrence of the Chauri Chaura tragedy, Mr. Gandhi suspended practically all the operative parts of the Non-co-operation programme, as adopted at the Calcutta, Nagpur and Ahmedabad sessions of the Congress and popularly understood by the people. Mr. Gandhi presented the country with the constructive programme in their place. It is essential for a right understanding of the issues to see, in their true perspective, the events, that followed the launching of the Non-co-operation Movement in August 1920 up to February 1922 and again from the time subsequent to the Bardoli decision resolving upon the constructive programme, up to the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee that met at Calcutta last month.

The foremost striking event during the period under review is the Bardoli decision. The Chauri Chaura occurrence, by itself, pales into insignificance, but for what followed upon it. It is only two months before, at the Ahmedabad sessions of the Congress, that Mr. Gandhi was appointed to act as the Dictator, if an emergency arose. If the Civil Disobedience campaign had not been suspended in spite of the Chauri Chaura occurrence and if Mr. Gandhi had launched the country in a wild conflagration of arrests, imprisonments and martial law regimes, he would have been morally justified and vindicated. The Ahmedabad Congress gave Mr. Gandhi that power over the life

and death of the nation. But when Mr. Gandhi abdicated that position of a militant dictator and preached an abandonment of the tactics of war and urged a nation-building campaign, it was resented. Mr. Gandhi's personality has a magical influence over all that come into contact with him. It did not wholly avail him when he had to explain his position to the All-India Congress Committee that met at Delhi on the 24th February. Mr. Gandhi was told openly at the meeting that he was on his trial. And many carried in their hearts the feeling that Mr. Gandhi had betrayed the cause, the country and the patriots that were languishing in prison, at his bidding. It is with great difficulty that Mr. Gandhi secured the acceptance of his Bardoli decision at Delhi.

It is an open secret that appeals were sent to him from within the prison walls by many of his eminent colleagues, before the Delhi meeting of the All India Congress Committee, protesting against the Bardoli decision. Mr. Gandhi would not listen. He was adamant. The self-same leaders that protested from within the prison against the Bardoli programme, urged Mr. Gandhi to be unbending, when in the first weeks of December last, the Viceroy was prepared to bargain for terms of peace between the Government and the Congress, to ensure a welcome for the Prince of Wales. Mr. Gandhi then listened to their counsels. He published some of their messages also in *Young India*. But when he found the dictates of conscience unerringly pointing to the other way he had no hesitation in rejecting the leaders' counsels and advising the country to adopt what he believed to be the right course. He said that prisoners were under civil death and they ought not to influence outside activities. Mr. Gandhi was right in his view. People who are free and in charge of national affairs are bound in honour to take their decisions, guided solely by dictates of Right and Wrong and national interests and absolutely unfettered by the fate of patriot prisoners, however eminent and however numerous. Mr. Gandhi, now that he is in prison, asks for no more. But the fact remains that, at the rejection of the counsels of the leaders, the resentment is there, and also a feeling, not of personal betrayal but that of the cause. Now what is the cause that all Non-co-operators have at heart and for which Mr. Gandhi stood?

The Social Service League, Karachi: The annual report of the Social Service League, Karachi for the year ending 30th June 1922 records much useful work done by the League during the year under report. There has been a slight increase in the number of members and the League has been, among other things, encouraging female education by awarding prizes for sewing and by rendering small pecuniary help to Mai Hardevi Bai's Girls' School, arranging lectures on social subjects, making representations to the authorities on public grievances and distributing blankets among the poor. The number of members on the roll, viz. 56, is not a good figure considering the importance of the work before it. The League, as is the case with most institutions of the kind, is in need of more members and money. It is to be hoped that, with the increase of public interest in constructive social work, enthusiastic and generous men will not be found wanting to support such a useful institution.

PRINCES' PROTECTION BILL.

(BY MR. G. R. ABHYANKER)

A Gazette extraordinary publishes the despatch of His Excellency Lord Reading to the Secretary of State for India giving the reasons for the exercise of the emergency power by the Viceroy. The despatch admits that the case for the Princes was not put before the Press Laws Committee in a complete form. Except stating this in a bald manner, we ask whether the present despatch exhaustively states the case for the Bill. Is it vouchsafing to the public any new information which is in the custody of Government? We fail to see why the Government is so anxious to keep the views of the Princes completely shrouded in mystery. That the Government should be averse to lift the veil and should show solicitude to observe *purdah* and try to keep back all relevant evidence undoubtedly lowers the reputation of Lord Reading's Government for fairness and justice. The Hon'ble Mr. Niyogi asked for the publication of all the correspondence which had passed between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments and between the Secretary of State. The Government declined to grant this very modest request. The Government of India publishes this despatch which studiously withholds even the slightest item of any new information which would lead the public to judge of the wisdom and foresight of Government in rushing this measure through the Council of State and in adopting the new unconstitutional procedure of certification. The despatch further contains some misleading statements. It mentions that several of the witnesses, who were themselves connected with the Press, were not opposed to the grant of protection to rulers of states. But this statement contains only a half truth. All these witnesses advocated qualified protection. They were willing to give protection only on the express understanding that the right of free criticism was not in any way stifled, and that the subjects of these rulers were equally protected while ventilating their grievances against their autocratic rule. Has any provision been made while extending this protection to the Princes to safeguard the rights and liberties of their subjects and to restrain these rulers in their high-handed administration? The despatch also misstates that some of the witnesses referred to attempts of blackmailing the Darbars. We can state on the authority of the evidence published, that not a single witness stated any case of blackmail from his personal knowledge. A solitary witness made wide generalisation about blackmail in his examination-in-chief; but when cornered to give specific instances, he had to admit that his information was hearsay.

The despatch curiously enough makes one important admission, that long before the Press Laws Committee reported, the Government of India had foreseen the necessity of continuing to the Princes some form of protection. We ask His Excellency why his Government did not enlighten the Press Laws Committee with the reasons which appealed to

them so overwhelmingly in favour of this protection. If the Government had made up its mind before the views of the Press Laws Committee were communicated to them, we fail to see why the Committee was appointed at all. Was the attention of the Princes invited to consider the suggestions of so weighty an authority as the Secretary of State for India? We beg permission to ask if the Princes were ever requested definitely to state the mode by which this protection was to be granted and the form which it was to assume? Was this question ever debated in the Chamber of Princes? And if it was not so considered and we are assured that it was not so done, who is responsible for this omission? Was it not the duty of His Excellency Lord Reading to place the views of the Secretary of State before the Princes and request them to categorically state their opinion? This despatch mentions that out of eight Provincial Governments only three were in favour of this protection. Three were against giving any protection. One did not give any opinion and the most important Provincial Government possessing more than fifty per cent. of these 700 States—we mean the Government of Bombay—was unable to suggest any satisfactory method of giving this protection. Why has the Government of India set at naught the views of the majority of Provincial Governments in this respect? Were they not more interested in this question than the irresponsible Political Department of the Government of India? Was it not the duty of Lord Reading's Government to communicate the views of the public as represented in the British Indian Press to the Secretary of State for India? Why has His Excellency's Government deliberately omitted to enlighten the Home Authorities on this subject?

His Excellency seems to take credit for having abstained from giving protection against spoken words. We humbly ask the late Lord Chief Justice of England if it is possible to institute any criminal prosecution in British India for words spoken on the British Indian soil exciting disaffection amongst the hearers against a Prince to whom none of them is bound by any ties of allegiance. If His Excellency had invented any measure against spoken words under these circumstances, he would have undoubtedly added to the legal stock of knowledge till now possessed by humanity. The despatch sadly lacks any explanation of the precipitate haste with which this measure was rushed through the Council of State. We are not yet convinced that any national calamity would have occurred or the heavens would have fallen, if the consideration of this question had been postponed to some time early in 1923. His Excellency remarks that the Assembly had not fully realised all that their action implied. We fail to see what His Excellency means by this expression. We refuse to believe that they did not know the responsibilities of their action. To insinuate otherwise is to grossly libel a respectable democratic institution. That Lord Peel has communicated his approval of this unusual conduct of the Viceroy only shows what is in store for India and what it can expect from a reactionary Conservative Government.

BACK TO STATUS.

(The Behar Herald.)

A very noticeable feature of modern life in all advanced countries is the great importance that is attached to the part which the State plays in the welding of national life. Human actions are now subject to diverse laws, and Legislation—the expression of the will of the state organization—is now recognized as the most effective panacea for national ills. The State consequently reaches the lives of its peoples in almost every phase of their daily avocations.

This undue importance to organized state effort has resulted in the overthrow of all other considerations be they ethical, social or religious and also in the disintegration of brotherly ties and feelings of comradeship and love. If one cares to think but even slightly on the justification of any course of conduct of an individual or a body of individuals and distinguish between the sanction behind this conduct now and in earlier days when life was more simple and less ordered, one will notice a marked difference. In earlier days most action had either social or religious or ethical sanction and in very few instances pleaded the authority of the state for their justification. A course of conduct was right because either religion said so or the unseen laws of morality prompted one to think it was right or lastly because one would not offend the feelings of neighbours and friends by it. Very seldom was it said in support of any action that it had been willed by the organization in which all political power was vested, for even the organization lived in dread of the unwritten laws of religion, ethics and society. With what has been called the "progress" of the world, human life has gained a more ordered precision and human conduct is now more and more gradually being directed by the political than by ethical, religious or social considerations. It has become the fashion among men to look to the state as the supreme arbiter of destinies and the effect has been a noticeable lessening of religious, moral or social influence. Greater importance is now paid to expediency and opportunism which are presumed to be the essence of politics and the political organizations that rule men ride roughshod over considerations which in earlier days influenced the actions of rulers and subjects alike.

This being so, man worships the state and leaves religious moral or social considerations to take care of themselves. An action may be immoral or irreligious detrimental to brotherly or social good-will. But if it has behind it the sanction of the state, that is the authority of the caucus that has secured the reins of power in the political organization, such a thing is right.

The governing cliques all over the world take full advantage of this decay in human ideals and therefore intervene with their laws in every department of human life. From the day that a child is born till the day that he quits this earth, the state follows him assiduously in every stage. Maternity welfare is the state's look out. Education of the child is the state's duty. The state must regulate the food, —in India even the clothing—of men and women. The state must fix marriages—and regulate marital relations, that is the latest craze in America and England. If the people want their agricultural or their industries to improve and yield better results, well, there is the state with its laws and its regulations to do so. The state must manage Railways and mines. Scientific research must be done under state control. The state must protect industries, be they nascent or well-established.

In short, wherever and whenever any effort is necessary to improve the existing condition of affairs, the appeal must

be made to the state organization. Compulsory education, compulsory medical examination of all students, compulsory physical training, state aid to industries, nationalization of mines and railways and their management by the state, control of food and other civil supplies—all lead towards one end, the regimentation of the people. For the state even when it accomplishes reform that are good in themselves, usually can do this only by means of constraint—for what are laws but a restriction of liberty?

This regimentation is the curse of the modern age—the greater because by conferring certain superficial benefits it has endeared itself in the hearts of many nations. In the West the national machinery turns out neatly compressed bales of humanity having their use and high market value. Personal man is eliminated to a phantom. For this process of regimentation, this over-government is like a hydraulic press whose pressure is impersonal and on that account completely effective. Its basis is not social co-operation. Its basis is never religious or ethical. It is like a perfect organization of power but not of spiritual idealism. It is not creative, not being a living thing. No man now feels as he did in earlier days that he had his destiny in his own hands. A certain amount of callousness is also produced in men's minds. Even petty organizations of business and profession produce callousness of feeling in men who are not naturally bad and we can well imagine what moral havoc it is causing in a world where whole peoples are furiously organizing themselves for wealth and power.

This regimentation has the additional defect, as has been pointed out, of narrowing freedom. By the crushing weight of the organization, by its enormous cost, and its deadening effect, upon living humanity, state organization seriously impedes freedom in the larger life of a higher civilization.

The movement towards state supremacy is in essence therefore a movement towards bondage. If it is true that the movement of progressive societies has been uniform in this, that it has been distinguished by the gradual dissolution of what has been called "status" and the growth of individual obligation in its place, then it is equally true that the present movement of all advanced countries towards the regulation of all individual effort by state control is a movement decidedly retrogressive. It has been claimed with much force that the world has progressed in as much that the status of the slave of the female under tutelage or of the son under the *pater familias* has ceased to exist and the ties between man and man, man and woman, master and servant are all regulated by contractual relations. But while this change may be a fact, have we not drifted to a worse form of slavery? Has the interference of the state in the daily, almost hourly, life of individuals resulted in any greater liberty than was extant under the *regime* of a *pater familias*?

The above is mostly a consideration of western conditions and not of Indian conditions previous to the eighteenth century. Through all the ages, all the fights and intrigues and deceptions of her earlier history the real India had remained aloof. Her homes and her fields, her temples and her schools, her village self-government, all these which truly belonged to her were managed without the slightest interference from above. Thrones and political lords were not her concern. They passed over her head like clouds "now tinged with purple gorgeousness, now black with the threat of thunder" and we do not welcome the change which is noticeable now-a-days in Indian life even if it be sent by the Lord of the Immortals. Our politicians have gradually grown to have as strong a faith in state organization and state control as people of the west. There have been passed legislative measures in every province to regulate our village life. They are hankering after compulsory education and measures to bring it to effect are on the anvil. In more than one province compulsory physical training and compulsory medical examination of boys are facts in the educational system. The demand for state aid to industries is becoming more and more insistent. Protection and state management of Railways are now recognized as unchallengeable propositions. More and more the tentacles of the state octopus are tightening their grip on the unhappy citizen.

THE ALL-INDIA THEISTIC CONFERENCE, 1922.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

We have great pleasure to inform you that arrangements are being made to hold the Theistic Conference this year at Gaya during the Christmas holidays. Gaya is a sacred place of the Hindus. Budh Gaya where Gautama Buddha attained his enlightenment is not very far from this place, and the pilgrims may also pay a visit to Rajgir, the ancient capital of Magadh, and where the first Buddhist Council was held. The place has therefore an attraction on account of its past traditions, and we are sure Theists all over India will take this opportunity of meeting together on such hallowed grounds. If a large number of the Brahmans and members of Prarthana Samajs assemble for mutual exchange of ideas and arrange to deliver the message of the Brahmo Samaj to the large number of people who will come to Gaya at that time, they will not only derive great benefit for themselves but they will also render a piece of very useful service to the country. We therefore invite the Brahmans and other Theists in sympathy with the Brahmo movement to come and attend the Conference. We also ask the blessings and good wishes of those who will not be able to attend.

We also appeal to you to send us some money for the expenses of the conference. We count a great deal upon the co-operation and sympathy of the theistic bodies throughout India.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) U. N. BALL (*Secretary*).
"D N. SARKAR (*Joint Secretary*).

Exhibition Road, Patna,

The 23rd November, 1922.

N. B. All communications and remittances should be addressed to Prof. U. N. Ball, Exhibition Road, Patna,

PROBLEM OF CHILD MARRIAGES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In studying the problem of child-marriages the question arises whose mentality has to be studied, the girl-wife's or the boy-husband's, the one and the other of whom are innocent victims of circumstances, or of the guardians who generally at great sacrifices to themselves risk the happiness of their children. It cannot be denied that in Hindu Society children, when they are most open to suggestions, get repeated suggestions of the idea of marriage with the result that they begin to marry their dolls and in the end they are married like dolls. We talk of 'Brahmacharya' but in everyday life Hindu boys and girls contract ideas contrary to it.

As regards guardians, it is generally women-folk who are more responsible than male-members. They look to their own past, judge things by their own standards and press their views on male-members. When questioned by me why he was getting his boy married, a middle-class Hindu replied: "Grand-mother is getting old and wishes to see the marriage performed in her life-time." Grand-mothers must get old and die, but can they not die without doing damage to the Society?

Excepting few intellectual communities, most Hindus look upon their children's marriage as their principal duty in life. They will grudge money for their education, but will spend hundreds and thousands to get them married, whether weak or unhealthy matters not, they must be married. Otherwise they will miss Heaven after their death! We don't know whether they go to heaven or not, but they make a hell in Society. Some young men married

against their will to girls whom they don't like, look down upon the institution of marriage, openly break their oaths and go to prostitutes. Girls married to men, who don't love them, fall easy victims to wizards, magicians, astrologers and so-called saints who cheat them and fleece them.

The priest-class and Vaishyas are much attached to child-marriages. They spread this custom amongst other Hindu communities. Ghastly fatal failures and tragedies of child-marriages are covered up by the theory of fatalism and "sins of past lives." It is these two communities who never had the responsibility of self-defence. These advocates of child-marriage had always to look to others for their protection. They hide their weakness under the high-sounding name of religion and humanity, which they forget when they freely fleece the masses.

Yours, etc.,

Deolali, 7th November 1922.

JAWHARIAN.

THE HERITAGE OF THE TAMILS.

The Association Press, Calcutta, in association with a group of Christian scholars in South India, has made arrangements to publish a series of volumes in Tamil under the title of 'The Heritage of the Tamils Series'. The purpose of this series is to bring within reach of educated Tamil people in a convenient form and at a reasonable price their cultural and religious heritage. This series is under the joint editorship of Dr. J. Lazarus, the well-known Tamil scholar of Madras, and Mr. G. S. Duraiswamy, Tamil Literary Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. Mr. G. S. Duraiswamy, was formerly Tamil pandit of the C. M. S. High School, Palamcottah and spent many years in the study of Tamil literature. He joined the Y. M. C. A. in the year 1914 and gave himself for some years to the work of the economic uplift of the depressed classes in the villages of South India. He has now been set apart entirely for literary work and has devoted himself to the preparation of the books in the series. The first book of the Series which is to be published very shortly, deals with the history of Tamil literature to the end of the Sangam age and will be called 'Tamil Literature of the Sangam Period'. This book treats of the subject in a scholarly and comprehensive fashion from its beginnings to the end of the third century A. D. It also brings together in a readable and concise form the information upon this subject which may be found scattered in many works, magazines, reports and monographs. It discusses carefully the question of the date of the different works and gives some account of their contents, as well as of the religious and social conditions of the times. It is expected that this book will be a real contribution to the knowledge about this glorious age of Tamil literature.

THE WOMAN'S PLACE.

Professor Maurice A. Canney spoke with some frankness in an address which he gave to members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society in mail week on "The social position of women in the past and present."

"This nation," he said, "is suffering from a sexual conflict. It is not true of all nations or individuals that they are suffering in the same way, but as regards ourselves, much of the nervous tension from which we as a nation are suffering is due, I believe, to the unhealthy relations between the sexes. One evidence of this is to be found in the unnatural hostility which many women feel towards men and which many men feel towards women. One hears of otherwise sensible women who dislike men and of otherwise sensible men who dislike women. By sexual conflict I mean simply the conflict between the sexes. I am not allying myself with those who

say that all women and all men ought to be married. This is one of the superstitions. Many women, however fond they may be of children, do not need to have children of their own. Their sexual desire seems to be eliminated or sublimated. They have attained to that state of happiness where there is neither marriage nor giving in marriage; they are, if I may say so, like the angels."

The sexual conflict of modern times, he went on, with all the evils that accompanied it, was due to the repression of legitimate desires in women that cried for satisfaction. The conditions, physical and psychical, imposed upon women by modern civilisation were not natural or normal. Women had no outlet for many of their varied instincts and energies. It was pointed out that the brain of woman was smaller than that of man, but he had yet to learn that what counted in the brain was quantity rather than quality. (Laughter). The idiot had a brain which was too small; the lunatic, he believed, often had a brain which was too large so that if the female approximated to the idiot the male approximated to the lunatic. (Renewed laughter).

Women's "frivolity"—their love of shopping, and so on—had been spoken of, but if under present conditions women—and he would add other people—refused to take life seriously who was to blame? "Life as we know it," said Professor Canney, "cannot be taken seriously. There is something better, and behind the tinsel shops woman visualises the true world of colour, music, rhythm, song, and laughter." The way to end the sexual conflict was to have perfect faith in women and give them complete freedom. By complete freedom he did not mean licence, but freedom to work out their own salvation. If women were given complete freedom no doubt they would try at first to do things for which they were not fitted, but that would do no harm. Before long they would discover their true vocations, and then many present evils would disappear automatically.

Nominally at least, he continued, women possessed greater power and influence than before the war; practically they were still precluded from making full use of their gifts and talents. If this were a personal loss it would not matter so much, but it was more than that—it was a disastrous loss to the nation. If women were given rights fully equal to those of men the blood would flow more freely in the veins of humanity and many sores would heal.

"There is something very wrong with the world," said Professor Canney, in conclusion. "If the ship of humanity pursues its present course it will founder on the rock of extinction. In the Greek of the New Testament 'repent' means

'alter your outlook': in the Hebrew of the Old Testament it means 'go back'. In both senses we need to repent of our folly. We need in large measure to renew our minds, reverse our thoughts, re-educate ourselves, and revive our faith. Of all our needs the greatest is faith. Have faith in women and make them free."

POET'S VISIT TO MALABAR.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The great international teacher of the world, and the Rishi-putra of poetic fame passed through our Coast just a few days ago like a heavenly bird of passage singing a most melodious hymn that will for ever link the children of this soil to the great Kingdom of God. Verily, he taught us like one in authority. He stood amidst us like another Jesus, Budha, and Krishna incarnate in one. His lips spoke words of love and peace. His whole physical frame and his marvellous face bore witness to his great message. The echoes of his great mystic hymn are fast spreading wonderfully in every hearth and home, dispelling the ignorance and superstitions of ages. Hindus and Muslims, Christians and Parsees, touchables and untouchables, men and women, all equally and dearly received the great one with love and affection, their dearest and most cherished homage to him. "Visva Bharati—Shanti Nikethan" has become a household word in Malabar and the young men and women of this Coast look forward to it as the one place of pilgrimage, the symbol of their future hope and the meeting place of the East and West—the holy Prayag of international welfare.

The people of Malabar and Travancore have become really inspired and happier for having had the Poet amidst them. Our esteemed and beloved friend Sjt. C. F. Andrews has been of immense value to us. His incessant services in behalf of India and her poor and oppressed children, his love for the youth of this country; his indignant reproaches against the bane of untouchability and unapproachability and above all his burning love and whole-hearted devotion to his Gurudeva—Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore, makes us feel that he is verily our own. May God bless the Poet and his dear disciple is our heart's spontaneous prayer now and for ever.

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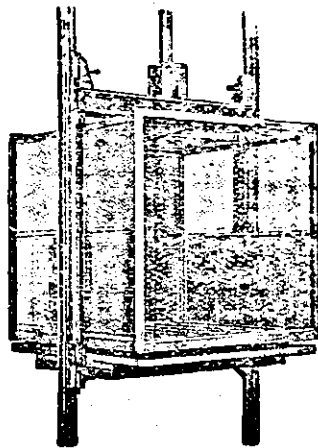
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Vol. XXXIII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1922. No. 16

"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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NOTES.

Mr. Sastry on His Mission: The Right Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry delivered an excellent-tempered address at the Bombay Presidency Association on Wednesday, on his mission to the Dominions. If he was inclined to exaggerate its magnitude before starting, he showed no such inclination in his speech. He pointed out that the three Dominions which he visited, together contained less than 5000 Indians and that, on the whole, they were doing very well where they were. In Australia and New Zealand, where there are about 3000 Indians, Mr. Sastry had, in fact, little to do, and that he did with his accustomed grace and dignity. In Canada, the Indian population has come down in a few years from 6000 to 1200. The bulk of them are in British Columbia, and from what we could gather, Mr. Sastry has not been able to do much for them. We were rather curious to know whether these Indians in Canada are yet allowed to take their wives and children. Mr. Sastry was reticent on the point. The Chairman, Sir Dinshah Petit, adopted such an unnecessarily aggressive attitude towards an innocent interruption, that one did not feel inclined to call down his wrath by asking for enlightenment on a point, however important, which Mr. Sastry chose to leave untouched. Mr. Sastry implied that he utilised the opportunity to sound the Dominion statesmen as to their attitude towards granting self-government to India, and that they were all favourably disposed to the idea. On the whole, Mr. Sastry's tone was such as to disarm criticism and make the audience feel that he had done his best in the circumstances of his deputation.

The Home and the Hostel: The July number of the Mysore University Magazine devotes nearly three pages to an editorial criticism of the rather sweeping condemnation of college hostels in India which appeared in the Reformer of August 27th in a leading article on Madras University Reform. We have since acknowledged that college hostels have done much good in several cases, notably hostels attached to Women's Colleges. The Maharaja's College Hostel in Mysore is, no doubt, one of them. We are nevertheless of opinion that the best students' hostel is but an indifferent substitute for a

fairly good home from the point of view of character-formation, just as the best teacher is but a poor substitute for one's own father and mother as an inspirer of youth. We are, therefore, very much in favour of bringing higher education to the doors of the people, instead of concentrating them in a few big centres. We consequently attach the greatest importance to mofussil colleges as outposts of intellectual light and culture, and strongly deprecate any change that is calculated to weaken them. In our opinion, it is utterly premature, before there is a much larger diffusion of elementary and secondary education in the country, to think of concentrating higher education in a few small centres. The makeshifts to which some of the new Universities have been driven to provide professors, is but one illustration of the futility of trying to build a high edifice on a narrow foundation.

The Subodh Patrika and Facts:—The last issue of the *Subodh Patrika*, the organ of the local Prarthana Samaj, has a leading article headed "Vedant and Morality." We do not wish to discuss here our contemporary's dictum that the doctrine of the ultimate absorption of the individual in the Universal Soul, leaves no room for morality. If the writer thinks that, without a guarantee of personal immortality, he would be without an incentive to morality, he is perfectly entitled to do so. But he has no right to misrepresent facts. Now the fact is that, in quoting Professor Deussen's remark about the Vedanta furnishing the explanation of a Christian precept, we expressly stated that similarly the study of Christ's teaching is helpful for a better understanding of Hinduism. Yet, the *Subodh Patrika* says that we did so with a view "to pander to the prejudices of the people and make them believe that they have got everything in their own scriptures and have, therefore, nothing to learn from others on that account." "The celebrated Shankar" might have been a dreamer of dreams, but he compressed in his short ministry of thirty years an amount of literary and propagandistic work, which even the Prarthana Samaj, whose fifty-fifth annual report has just been issued, might envy. The *Subodh Patrika* might stigmatise his doctrine as it likes but the man himself was obviously a mighty worker which, at least, may be counted to him for righteousness. While pandering to popular prejudices, is undoubtedly wicked, a pharisaic outlook on life is an insidious poison which should be equally eschewed.

Protection for the Services:—Princes have been "protected" from the Indian Press by the certificated Bill now before Parliament. It will, of course, receive the Royal Assent, after lying for the requisite number of days on the Parliamentary table. The demand now is for protection of the English officials. In the House of Commons on Tuesday Colonel Sir Charles Yate declared that the want of protection from vilification in the Press was one of the reasons which were drawing many officers in the

Civil Service and Police in India to apply for proportionate pensions. He suggested that Viscount Peel should consider the question of enforcing a more effective method of stopping the abuse of Government servants. Earl Winterton replied that actions for defamation against newspapers appeared to be having some effect, but he was sure that the Government of India would willingly consider any more effective method Sir Charles Yate could suggest. According to the latest information he had received, there had been some appreciable improvement in the conditions and he felt more hopeful than he did some eighteen months ago.—We may confidently expect another certificated Bill, drafted by Sir Charles Yate, to lie before Parliament in a short while. Who will save India from the Yates?

Indian Christians and Communal Electorates: *New India*, Madras, pays a well-deserved compliment to the Punjab Indian Christian Conference for passing the resolution, referred to in our last issue, condemning the principle of communal electorates. "The Conference", says our contemporary, "must be congratulated on having adopted such a sensible attitude in the matter. For a Communal Conference in its position, the temptation to demand communal representation in the public services must have been great, and its action is marked by courage and statesmanship. The warning which it has sounded, it is to be hoped, will not be lost on the country." The *Leader*, Allahabad, also writes in the same strain: "With the *Indian Social Reformer*", says our contemporary, "we also venture to hope that the example set by the Punjab Indian Christian community will be followed by other communities."

An Interview That Did Not Take Place: It was a pleasant surprise to read in the papers last week a message to the effect that the Government of Bombay had relaxed their rule of not allowing any departure from their Jail Code in the case of Mahatma Gandhi, so far as to permit an interview with him in Yeravda Prison to his political colleagues Messrs. Dass, Motilal Nehru, and Hakim Ajmal Khan. It is understood that permission to see Mr. Gandhi had been previously refused to Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, and Mr. Polak. Speculation was rife as to what had brought about the sudden change. Some said pressure must have come from the Secretary of State, others that Lord Reading, after a period of quiescence, was beginning to assert his authority. No one doubted that the permission had been granted as stated in the message. This continued for some days. On the 13th, however, another message was published to the effect that the permission had been cancelled by a telegram from the Superintendent of Yeravda Jail and Pandit Motilal was returning to Allahabad. This was wrong as the Pandit did not leave Allahabad, having been apprised in time that he could not see the Mahatma. Was the permission granted or not? If it was, why was it subsequently withdrawn? If it was not, how did the Pandit come to believe it was, and make arrangements to go to Yeravda to see the Mahatma? The Government of India or the Government of Bombay, should unravel the mystery.

The U. P. Way: In the United Provinces, it seems that the Financial Secretary to Government was paid a special fee of Rs. 3,000 for preparing the annual Budget but that he refunded the money at his own request. This gentleman's name deserves to be handed down to posterity. For a man of such unusually keen conscience, Blunt is a most inappropriate name. He should be created Lord Keen of Prayag in the next Honours' List in order to remove the anomaly. Seriously, we are truly grateful to Mr. Blunt for his action which has restored, for the mo-

ment, our waning faith in the high purpose of his once-sterly righteous service. If this policy of largesses be extended, bonuses may be paid to Members of Council for answering questions, to Ministers for attacking Non-Co-operators, to Law officers for drafting Bills, to Members of the Legislative Council for moving amendments and to Governors for exercising their veto!

Departmental Development: His Excellency the Governor of Bombay opened some of the *chawls*, consisting of one-room tenements built by the Development Department as a remedy for the housing problem in Bombay city, a few days ago. Sir George Lloyd, as usual, gave some harmless and much unnecessary advice to critics of his administration in general and the Development department in particular, and relied upon the verdict of the working-man on the D. d. chawls to vindicate his policy to posterity. We have heard from some observers, to whose opinion we cannot but attach great weight, and who have seen these chawls, very unfavourable opinions regarding their suitability for the purpose for which they are intended. One of them recalled with reference to them the epigrammatic observation of a great sociologist about the difference between housing and warehousing workers. We hope these criticisms will lead to a change of design in future chawls. As regards the larger scheme of Development to which Sir George Lloyd has committed the Presidency, misgivings, so far from subsiding, seem to be hardening, though the City having acquiesced, is in no mood to engage in a controversy about what is now regarded as inevitable.

Liquor at Public Fairs: The Madras Municipal Corporation, backed up by a strong local opinion, has unanimously refused to allow the holding of People's Fair if any liquor was to be sold at any part of it. A High Court Judge who was also President of the public body which is organising the Fair, wrote a letter to the President pointing out that the prohibition would militate against the success of the Fair, and the President, Sir P. Theagaraya Chetti, placed the letter before the Corporation, with the result that that body confirmed with even more emphasis its previous resolution. We congratulate the Madras Corporation on its insistence upon a great principle. What about Bombay? We have a big Red Cross Fete in progress, and we hope that no liquor is dispensed at any of its shows. If, on the contrary, it is allowed, it is high time that a strong protest is entered against such a violation of public propriety.

The National Social Conference: The National Social Conference will apparently be in session at two places this year, instead of only at the place where the National Congress is held, as last year and in the previous years. No announcement has been published regarding the holding of the Conference at Gaya, but we hear that arrangements are likely to be made as usual. Meanwhile, it has been notified that it has been decided to hold the National Social Conference at Nagpur on December 30. A Reception Committee has been formed with Dr. Gour as Chairman and Messrs. David, Jayavant and Mangal Murti as Secretaries. The Hon. C. Y. Chintamani has been offered the presidentship of the Conference. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Mr. G. K. Devadhar and others are going for the conference. We are glad that the social reformers among the Liberals have decided to hold a Social Conference with their annual Federation meetings.

The All-India Theistic Conference: Mr. K. Natarajan has been invited and has consented to preside at the forthcoming All-India Theistic Conference at Gaya, regarding which we published a letter from the Secretaries, Professor U. N. Ball and Mr. D. N. Sarkar last week.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 16, 1922.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE TURKISH QUESTION.

There has been such a confusing conflict of information regarding the real, actual conditions of the latest phase of the Turkish question, that it is a great relief to have a thoroughly reliable estimate of it from a person quite competent to form one, by his knowledge and impartiality. Major-General Sir Charles Townshend, the heroic defender of Kut-ül-Amara, contributes an article to the current number of *Asia*, the organ of the American Asiatic Association of New York, on "Great Britain and the Turks," which throws a flood of light on several aspects of the problem. At the outset, the General warns us not to take the atrocity stories at their face value.

"I am not," he writes, "going to defend what has been done in the name of Turkish rule, either in Europe or Asia. But those of us who cast stones at the Turk should beware lest we damage our own frail houses of glass. The Turk has had to deal with turbulent and treacherous peoples, and his way of dealing with them had the merit of strength at least. If the atrocities were totalled on either side of an account, we should find that many of the so-called Christian nations were deeper in bloodshed and guilt than the champion of Islam."

That reminds one of the account given by Sir Percival Phillips, in a recent letter to the *Daily Mail*, of the dropping of bombs from air-craft as a means of collecting taxes in Mesopotamia. "Tax-collecting by bomb," he writes, "has become almost a matter of routine for the Royal Air Force in Mesopotamia. It would surprise the British tax-payer to know the extent to which bombing has prevailed in the country districts of the new State of Iraq during the past year in order to bolster up King Feisal's authority." He adds: "Until now, government by bomb, as I have described it, has been the only really effective form of authority in many parts of Iraq." If this had been done under Turkish regime, what an outcry would there have been against this atrocity? Atrocities are hateful by whosoever committed, but, as Sir Charles Townshend candidly says, not many Christian nations have the right to point an accusing finger at Turkey.

Sir Charles Townshend was taken in battle after the fall of Kut and became a prisoner. He was released unconditionally in October 1918 and returned to England with authority from the Turkish leaders to open negotiations. "How were they rewarded for this," he asks, "the first active offer to end the misery and destruction of Armageddon? They were given the Treaty of Sevres." Of that treaty itself, he writes:

If we had deliberately set ourselves to devise the most unjust, ungenerous and merciless policy of revenge, if we had picked for the task our clumsiest and most ruthless and discredited politicians and partisans, we could not have evolved a worse result than that which was achieved by our complacent and self-congratulatory 'experts' at the Foreign Office and in Downing Street.

The General explains why he went to Angora without the permission of the Foreign Office some months ago. "I took the liberty of thinking," he writes, "that our Government, though not the British people, had broken faith with an honorable enemy. And more: I knew what the Prime Minister did not seem to know, that the greatest safeguard we could possibly have for the preservation of India and our empire in the East was Turkey's friendship." He observes:

When we remember that in India and Africa, Great Britain alone has a population of close upon a hundred million Mahomedan subjects, that there are large numbers in the Malay Peninsula, and that the Hindu population of India has made the cause of the religious freedom of all the races of India its own, one can see what the peril might be if we antagonize and insult the Turk, the acknowledged head and leader of Islam, in his own holy capital.

He thought, he says, that he might do something to persuade the Turkish Government at Angora that things were not so hopeless as they seemed and that this heaping of insult upon indignity was not the policy of more than a bigoted few in Britain. The treaty of Sevres, remarks the General, contains insult to Turkey in every paragraph. The French Chamber of Deputies never accepted it. The Italians ignored it.

Before its recent victorious career the Angora Army was depicted as a ragged, undisciplined mob of brigands. What Sir Charles Townshend found at Angora was very different. He writes:

I found an entire nation in arms, under the leadership of single-minded patriots. I found an army whose match the world would be hard put to provide to-day, full of spirit, brilliantly led, from the generals down to the platoon officers, supplied with artillery, equipment and munitions which their own hands had made and adapted, ready to fight to the last man for the defence of their sacred soil.

General Townshend pays a high tribute to the self-restraint of Mustafa Kemal Pasha in not proclaiming a holy war. According to him, the Turks are, and have always been, sincerely anxious to cultivate Britain's friendship. The Turk, he says, likes and admires the spirit of Great Britain and France and sees therein a reflection of his own best qualities which, under the great Sultans of two and three centuries ago, were the admiration of the world. He is, therefore, willing to leave the British and the French in peaceful control of their vast Mahomedan populations. But he may be forced too far. Says the General:

At this very moment there is on foot a great Mahomedan movement in India and Mesopotamia directed against British rule. That movement still lacks leadership, and we can deal with it by firmness and justice. But I served for twenty-one years in India and the Sudan, under that great administrator, Lord Kitchener, and I have never known a time when the peril of religious war was more grave and fraught with more dire consequences. With Turkey leading the Mahomedan world in an organized rebellion against British rule there would be, as I see it, no hope for the maintenance of the security of the empire.

This picture, so far as Indian Mahomedans are concerned, is overdrawn but there can be

no doubt that the situation is serious. The greatest obstacle to the resumption of political activities on constitutional lines in this country, is this outstanding question of the Turkish treaty. The Hindus are bound to stand by every community on a question involving religious freedom, or they will not be true to their own great, ancient tradition. The fall of the Lloyd George Government, has removed the main stumbling-block in the way of a just peace with Turkey. We earnestly trust that the negotiations proceeding at Lausanne will eventuate in a completely satisfactory settlement with Turkey. We should add that it argues real courage and statesmanship on the part of the Angora Government to have brought about the separation of the Caliphate from the temporal power, when, if they were less scrupulous, they might have used the Caliphate to feed the fanaticism of ignorant Mahomedans.

THE BI-CAMERAL LEGISLATURE IN INDIA, I.

(By P. L.)

Few persons now feel enthusiastic about what we still persist in calling the "Reforms." But of all the abortive creations of the new era, the one that has caused the deepest disillusionment is the Council of State. Yet it did not need any remarkable degree of political thinking or experience to perceive that neither the decisions nor the temper of the Council could have been different from what they have been.

The Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms made it clear that its authors wanted not a revising chamber in the Central Government but a superseding body called the Council of State constituted and empowered as a government machine. While in most other countries, the upper house is a revising body, in India it was meant as an antidote to the elected majority in the Legislative Assembly and in practice as the seat of power of the Government. It thus acted not as a check but as an Opposition in power in relation to the lower house. This is made plain in the Report which points out the need of some positive power of legislation for the executive and invents this device for it. Whatever the political consequences of such an upper chamber, it can never take the constitutional place of a check, and when disagreement comes, the fight between the two chambers will take place not over any matter in dispute so much as over the powers of an irremovable and popularly irresponsible executive and the duly elected representatives of the Indian people. It will be a contest between the executive and the legislature to determine which is sovereign. The rest follows. As Bagehot observes "In common government it is fatally difficult to make an unpopular entity powerful in popular government." But the authors of the Report argue that they did not mean this plan of theirs as a complete bi-cameral system. Yet the experiment of second chamber has been far from successful in other countries. Bagehot quotes a critic as remarking that "the cure for admiring the House of Lords was to go and look at it." And the growing impotence of non-

elected second chambers is a well-recognised fact while their future extinction with a nearer approximation to social and economic equality than now exists, is almost certain.

In fact, the Joint Committee of Houses of Parliament presided over by Lord Salisbury wisely reduced the Council to a "true second chamber" and deprived it of its former resemblance to the old German Bundesrath in which Prussia could throw out any measures it disapproved and thereby ruled the Reichstag. The Joint Committee said that there was no necessity to retain the Council of State as an organ for government legislation and that the legislative responsibility of the Governor-General-in-Council for the safety and tranquility of British India should not be concealed through the action of a Council of State specially devised in its composition to secure the necessary powers. But it is more than questionable whether its perpetuation even in this modified form is beneficial. When a body is carefully created for the purpose of revision and as a seat of greater strength for the officials, it seems illogical to entrust the power for which it was created to some one else. And that power—namely the power of carrying the government measures considered essential by the Governor-General—was not vested in the elected Legislative Assembly but was to be wielded by the Governor-General himself. The old power of ordinance having the scope of law for six months, has been replaced by a reactionary instrument making that power permanent and indefinite. But why, then, retain a revising chamber when the executive still retains such limitless powers? The obvious reply that may be suggested is that such powers of the executive are transitory; to which it may be replied that the Council of State itself is a transitional body and to make it a permanent institution in the political life of the country, is harmful.

Why is this so? How is it that the theory of constitutional checks has completely failed in practice in England, her colonies and America? Have the apparent advantages of a second chamber usually mentioned in treatises on political science, any actual existence in fact? These are questions that at once come up to one's mind when considering the subject. It is now a commonplace that the bi-cameral system is a peculiarly British institution and though—like most British institutions—it came into existence accidentally, it did not prove very uncongenial to the British soil till recently. From being a chamber of distinction, the House of Lords had become a brake upon the wheels of legislative change till the Parliament Act of 1911 virtually ended its legislative control upon the Commons while its financial powers have been *nil* for a long time. These two features of the British constitution have been embodied in the governmental systems of almost all democratic countries but while a two-chamber system was thought to contain some hidden virtues within it, the prerogative of the lower house over fiscal measures was due to a true belief that as Lord Morley has said, "the people must mediately or immediately possess the powers of granting their own money or no shadow of liberty

can subsist." It is not the latter but the former feature which has been borrowed without sufficient consideration in other countries; and it is essential that this system so dear to British political thinking and so inconvenient in British political working should not be thrust upon India. For even if that system had been working well in England to-day, that is no reason why India should copy it *per se* because we must get rid of the notion that self-Government means only the British kind of representative Government. Transplanted political institutions are likely to be barren unless the roots are carried with them, says Lowell. There are said to be monkeys in Africa so imitative that they copy faithfully the huts of men and then live on the outside of them instead of the inside. Political imitation is not free from this danger of copying the obvious and leaving out the essential in the working of a foreign government.

Three arguments are usually advanced for a bicameral system in India. The first of these is that the representation of minority interests would be more effective in an upper house as the minority representatives would not feel free to defend their interests where there are other elements. The great fuss that is made about the right of minority representation and the amount of discussion on the subject are due to a fundamental error in understanding the true nature of representative Government. As Mr. Ramsay MacDonald observes: "Representation in the legislative organ of society is the result of the success of the propaganda of an opinion, not a right that can be claimed for it simply because it exists." In India, ever since the mistake of separate representation for the Mussalmans, every sect, creed and caste—be it small or great—has begun to demand special and separate representation as if a legislative assembly is a debating society in which men belonging to every queer sect which is able to muster up a thousand or two thousand electors are to find accommodation; as if the main task of a legislature is not contact between mind and mind for the formulation of a coherent policy but a tug-of-war in which different interests pull the rope in their own direction so that the sect that is not in the chamber is lost; as if Parliament is but a mirror of various interests and opinions, a mosaic exhibiting the picturesque diversity of castes, creeds and sects instead of being what it really is, the making of an active will for the State. The presence of an odd handful of men representing this caste or that creed in the legislative chamber sent by groups of voters scattered about the whole of India, is of no importance to the accuracy of the representative system or to the proper working of popular government. The minority is always represented—so soon as the minorities reach a representable proportion of the electorate. What deserves representation is not any and every interest but "a body of political opinion of sufficient general importance to be organised for political purposes." If certain permanent minorities have some valuable contribution to make to social intelligence, they must rouse general interest by their opinions and gain a non-sectarian following before they earn the right of

representation. If they do so, they are certain to find representation through ordinary channels of the electoral machine; if they fail to do so, one may safely assume that they are of no relevant consequence. No special scheme of minority representation would give minorities in India more legitimate influence than they have in the countries with representative government to-day. Though minorities have every right to be heard and represented, they can only win by earning the goodwill and the support of the major portion of the mass of citizens. Nothing therefore is good for the protection of minorities except goodwill—and this cannot be secured by any mechanical device. Persuasion is the only legitimate political means and not special privileges in a secluded chamber. As Amos puts it, representation, co-operation, concession and adjustment can be better secured in one broadly representative chamber than by discussion in one chamber representing one set of interests and then by another representing another set.

THE NATION'S DILEMMA.

(By MR. S. SADANAND.)

II

The objective is the attainment of full Swarajya and the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. It is a common ground between all parties, not excluding the Liberals. There is yet another ground of common agreement, which does not seem to find acceptance only with the Liberals, namely the belief that the objects can be achieved only independently of British co-operation and in spite of British opposition. Whatever has to be gained has to be wrested from unwilling hands; for that purpose we must weaken the enemy—the British bureaucracy and the vested interests—and increase and consolidate our strength. Mr. M. R. Jayakar made an able use of this argument at the Calcutta meeting of the All India Congress Committee in urging his plea for entry into the Councils for working the Reforms. He said there is a fundamental difference between the Liberals entering the Councils and the Congressmen doing the same. Non-co-operation, he said, represents an attitude of mind which does not believe in the bureaucracy and it is shared only by Congressmen. This is a stock argument which eminent leaders of the standing of Sjt. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru use in different forms. They say: "We are staunch Non-co-operators because we hate and distrust the Government, not a whit less than any of you. What more do you want?" This is a crude and blunt way of expression but that is the central fact. But this argument is not restricted only to advocates of Council entry. It is the main plank of some ardent supporters of Council boycott.

Mr. Gandhi was harnessing the National energy to the militant chariot of aggressive Non-co-operation, when at the last moment, in the hour of battle, he called a truce and enjoined the Bardoli programme upon the country. The reason Mr. Gandhi gave for the drastic change of plan was that the country had

not acquired the discipline of the Non-violent. In arriving at the Bardoli decision Mr. Gandhi weighed in the balance, the victory of the movement in its political aspect on the one hand and the failure on its moral basis on the other, owing to the growing spirit of violence with its concomitants of anger and hatred. Mr. Gandhi thought and acted with Christ:—What does it profit a man if he gains the whole world and loses his soul? Mr. Gandhi did not mince the issues. He told the people that the Bardoli programme was a penance the Nation had to do for the crime of Chauri Chaura. Those who followed Mr. Gandhi only as a political leader and had accepted Non-violence as a policy in its narrowest sense felt Mr. Gandhi had done a great disservice to the cause. Mr. V. J. Patel put this view-point emphatically in a speech he delivered to the Bengal Provincial Khilafat Conference soon after the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee. He said he stood for Civil Disobedience and had little desire to go to the Councils in the event of the possibility of launching it. But he did not understand those who were opposed to Council entry in any form and who at the same time opposed an immediate campaign of Civil Disobedience or even picketing. They asked the country to ply the Charkha and to wait for Swaraj. Nor could he understand, said Mr. Patel, the emphasis upon Non-violence in word, thought and deed. He said Non-violence as a policy can only mean Non-violence in action. Anger and hatred there would always be, in word and thought and he will not fight shy of it. Sjt. Das expresses the same central idea when he says:—"I am a Vaishnava of Vaishnavas. But I am prepared to destroy everything which stands in the way of Freedom, because Freedom is the highest good." This is exactly the reverse of what the Bardoli decision stands for, namely, Righteousness alone is the highest Dharma—not even Freedom matters.

If Mr. Gandhi had been free, even the peaceful Bardoli programme would have been a potent weapon of offensive and defensive warfare and nation-building. But in his absence, the Bardoli programme lacks the appeal to the superficial mind, that a war-cry offers. After Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment, the All India Congress Committee that met at Lucknow in June, was in a tumultuous mood. The country resented the imprisonment of the great Leader and thirsted for the word of command to resume militant Non-co-operation. The Committee owed it to the country to have itself threshed out the question of Civil Disobedience or Constructive programme at Lucknow itself, and given a clear lead. Instead, the Civil Disobedience Committee was appointed to tour the country and to report. The Committee unanimously found that Civil Disobedience of an intensive character under the stringent conditions of Non-violence and discipline laid by Mr. Gandhi, cannot be undertaken. Then there were three courses open:—(1) to persevere in the Constructive programme, (2) to embark upon Civil Disobedience without the restrictions imposed by Mr. Gandhi to keep it on a non-violent and highly moral basis and (3) to enter the councils for wrecking

or responsive co-operation. Apart from the conflict of principles let us examine the different proposals.

The policy of Council entry has the active support of tried leaders as Sjt. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, and the Maharashtrians. Sjt. Das wants to contest the elections and to present the Government with a demand for the conceding of certain essential of Swaraj and, failing acceptance, to offer total obstruction. Pandit Motilalji wants the attainment of the triple objects of the Congress, until which time he will totally obstruct the working of the Councils. He is so emphatic that he has declared he would obstruct the Government even in a motion for the release of Mr. Gandhi. The Maharashtrians want to work the Councils and feel that Congressmen should capture the ministerships. Sjt. Das and Pandit Nehru feel confident of having a majority in the Council to offer effective obstruction. Their present declaration is that if the Non-co-operators are returned at the polls in a minority, they should totally abstain from participating in the Councils. The Maharashtrians are not so rigid in their principles. They want to work the Councils in any position. But they are prepared to abide by any Congress mandate that may be given after the elections are over, if the Congress will permit the contesting of elections. There is one other complication, peculiar to the Mussalman which I have omitted. The Mussalman Divines have issued a Fatwa declaring any form of Co-operation with the Government, particularly through the schools, courts and Councils as a religious sin. The Fatwa, I think, is based on the Punjab wrong, Khilafat betrayal and denial of Swaraj. To-day the position is, that the Fatwa has been modified to the extent of permitting contesting of elections. The impression is that if as a result of the Lausanne Conference, following upon the victories of the Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the Khilafat question is satisfactorily solved, Council entry will not remain any longer a sin.

To sum up: the question of Council entry has no standing on its own merits. It is admitted to be a second best, an alternative and not the main remedy. The slogan is, Civil Disobedience is the chief remedy. But since it is hedged in by so many impossible conditions on moral grounds, we shall take to the Councils. The Council entry will yield greater results in national advancement than the constructive programme. There is a section of Congressmen corresponding to the Maharashtrians in favour of Councils who are for Council boycott under any circumstance because they are convinced of its futility. That section is for Civil Disobedience or for some other forward programme. That is the position that faced the All-India Congress Committee at Calcutta. The policy of wrecking the Councils represents a school of the militant Non-Co-operationists while responsive Co-operation is only a reversion to the methods of winning freedom as a gift for good behaviour. Council-entry in any form is as contrary to the true spirit of Non-Co-operation as militant Civil Disobedience. What is on trial is Mr. Gandhi's doctrine of Non-violence as a *sine qua non*

of all progress, as embodied in the constructive programme. In the face of such an issue, the common hatred and anger against the foreigner that gave the solidarity in carrying out the militant Non-cooperation programme hinders and does not help. The issue is of a fundamental character and is enclosed in a camouflage of stock phrases and ideas. It remains to be seen what choice the Gaya Congress will make.

INDIAN CHRISTIANITY AND THE NATIONAL AWAKENING.

(BY A ROMAN CATHOLIC).

II

THE EUROPEANISATION OF THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN.

To answer the query why it is that the Indian Christian has not in common with his Hindu and Moslem fellow-citizen realised a common consciousness and a common will, as far as such can reasonably be expected, it is necessary to look at facts squarely in the face. It is no use blinking the realities of the situation.

First of all, it is undeniable that a difference of religion does of itself introduce some distance, howsoever small, whether it is between two individuals or two communities. Our creeds are, or rather are excepted to be, so integral a part of our life and conduct that except in very rare instances some sort of restraint or diffidence, call it what one will, is bound to enter into the relations of two people who do not pray at the same shrine. To put it briefly, two such parties can never, making allowances for exceptional cases, be in utter communion. The inappreciable distance that a difference of religion implies broadens into a real gap when the adherents of the new religion associate themselves with social changes which are inconsistent with or hostile to the traditions of the parent society. A Hindu convert to Christianity would be of no more concern to an orthodox Hindu than would be a Hindu who had forsaken his ancestral faith for Buddhism, so long as the former did not adopt many of the social habits and practices which, though warranted by his admission into the new faith, the believing Hindu or Mohammedan would eye with positive disfavour if not disgust. Hinduism is not and never has been a militant religion; its powers of absorbing all that it considers good or unobjectionable around it into its own system, is truly startling; the moment, however, the Hindu thought that his fellow-citizen who had joined the Christian faith, had under the sanction of his new creed committed what to the former would be hideous and gross 'sins', such as cow slaughter and the partaking of animal diet, the orthodox Hindu could scarcely be blamed for treating the Christian with a certain feeling of reserve and even of estrangement. The conflict is due not to a difference of religion but of social usages.

But this difference between the Hindu and the Christian that has arisen from one side adopting social habits and practices that conflicted with those

of the older cult and civilisation, is not appreciably greater than the social gulf that avowedly exists between the Hindus and the Mohammedans; but whereas the gulf between the two major communities of India has been gradually diminishing and to-day even spanned over by an *entente cordiale*, that between the Christian and the other Indian communities is as wide as ever. The reason for this is not far to seek. The Hindus and Mohammedans though divided by religion are knit together by a common motherland, and what is more by their allegiance in the main to the tastes, fashions, forms, art, customs, habits, social life, in a word, the culture of the East; they are proud to feel that in all that they think, feel and do, they represent the East. The Indian Christian, on the other hand, is taught to feel happy in believing that Christianity is a brand of Europeanism (*pace* an ugly word) and this notion, sad to say, is as much detrimental to his faith as to himself. He develops a frame of mind which leads him to the view that the truth and fervour of the Christian life may be measured not so much by the approximation of his life and conduct to the ideal set out in the Sermon on the Mount but on the correct-cut of European-wise tailored clothes, the imitation and like most imitations, shoddy, of the European's habits and social usages; the proverbial sahib's topee, the coat and the pantaloons become the veritable hall-marks of the new religion. The size and shape of the frame must be in keeping with the subject of the picture, but to the Indian Christian it matters not at all whether he fits in the new frame; he is satisfied so long as it is the sort of framework that his co-religionists in Europe affect, the same kind that has been held up to his admiration in the life, habits and manners of his religious mentors.

Together with his old religion the Hindu convert to Christianity sloughed off his social habits and to the extent he clung to the new and alien modes of life and thought, he became oblivious, if not scornful, of the Swadeshi history, traditions, culture and of the aspirations of his non-Christian fellowmen. The attitude of the Indian Christian towards the non-Christians is in effect a sort of conceited or infatuated assertion of the much quoted 'East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet.'

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

London, November 28th, 1922.

THE PARLIAMENT.

The elections are over, with apparently a great victory for the Unionist Party. The country has made a complete end of the Coalition and given the Unionist Party a working majority over all other parties. And now commences the Government of Mr. Bonar Law. It is stated that Mr. Lloyd George approved of the programme that the New Prime Minister has laid down, so that there is to be no captions fighting or obstructive opposition from him. His only regret and surprise are that the country chose Mr. Bonar Law instead of himself to proclaim

the determination of the country to pursue a policy of tranquility and stability. Details of how to obtain these much-to-be-desired ends remain to be filled in. The gains of the Labour Party are bigger than was expected for them, and this party will, by reason of the number of its elected members, now form the official opposition. Labour has returned some very good men to represent it. These possess an intellectual force valuable to any party. Such men as Mr. Ramsey Macdonald, Mr. Sidney Webb, Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. H. B. Lees Smith, Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, Mr. Patrick Hastings, K. C., and Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, many of them converts from the Radical side, will keep any party virile and forceful, and the Opposition will not be easily swamped, however large the majority on the Unionist side. Of course, the Liberal Party feels very sore at being defeated, and in its recognised organ, the "Westminster Gazette", calls the present election results a caricature of Democracy. It is true that though Mr. Bonar Law's victorious supporters come into power, they yet numerically do not represent the electorate, and have actually secured only about a million and a quarter more votes than the defeated Liberals. But to alter the present electoral system would be the work of the Government and one wonders if, after this, the Liberal Party will put a new item upon its agenda, that of electoral reform. "The Westminster" urges them to do so, and to work so as to get rid of a method which produces such ridiculous results.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

Already Mr. Bonar Law's optimistic statement of his party's producing tranquility looks like being falsified at the outset through domestic difficulties. A tremendous unemployed rally took place last week and a deputation from the National Unemployed Workers' Committee decided to call upon the Prime Minister. Advised of this intention, Mr. Bonar Law referred the Committee to the Ministers of Labour and Health, as heads of the departments primarily responsible for the treatment and alleviation of unemployment. The Committee refused to accept such an answer and again requested Mr. Bonar Law to make arrangements to receive them on the day they had appointed. A second refusal was given. Then the unemployed committee declared their intention to invade Whitehall by a body of a thousand picked men drawn from all over the country. Mr. Bonar Law remained firm, but was faced with a prospect of very serious disorder on a formidable scale. Strong measures under the police regulations were taken, and all processions were forbidden in the neighbourhood of Parliament and Government offices. A general feeling was abroad that a riot was probable and that the whole unemployed Organisation was in the hands of extreme Communists who were seeking to produce some real and serious disorder. Fortunately, yesterday passed without these black forebodings being justified. Meetings were held in various parts of the West End, but no attempt to rush Whitehall was made, saner counsels prevailing. The majority of the Unemployed demonstrators wise-

ly recognised that nothing but suffering could come to them by an attempted raid on the Premier, and also they may have remembered that now they have a powerful voice in the House itself. It is certain that the whole matter will be brought up and discussed in Parliament as soon as ever that body gets to work. Mr. Bonar Law pledged himself a few weeks ago to produce and put into operation the plans which were already worked out by the last Government for the relief of unemployment during this winter, and has set up a new Cabinet Committee on unemployment, which, as the winter approaches, is increasing.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

The election of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald as the Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, in preference to Mr. Clynes, is an event of political importance, for he holds very different views on many outstanding subjects from Mr. Clynes, and what his position will be in regard to any foreign policy it is difficult to say. He was a very angry pacifist during the war, and as far as it is generally known, has not altered any of his former views. Yet he is a ruthless fighter and, if an enemy, is to be feared.

WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT.

A good deal of surprise has been shown at the very small return of women to Parliament in this General Election. Out of about thirty women candidates, only the two already there, Lady Astor, a Conservative, and Mrs. Wintringham, a Liberal, secured seats. Yet the women's votes should have turned the scale in favour of a woman representative in at least a dozen constituencies. Curiously enough, the opposition to placing women in Parliament comes from women themselves and not from men. Women in the main have not yet learned to adjust themselves to the new order, and still look to men as being the rulers of the world outside the home. This, however, does not apply to the younger women of to-day. Were the sexes on an equal electoral footing (women under thirty years old cannot vote), the result of the polls would probably have been very different. But much gratification can be felt at the very earnest way in which the recently enfranchised women took their duties. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the French Senate has by a big majority just shelved the question of women's franchise.

MR. CHURCHILL'S DEFEAT.

That Mr. Churchill should have lost his seat must be very disappointing for him, but his recent illness and operation removed him from the fight, and his Imperialism is not popular. Probably some seat will be found for him as soon as he is recovered sufficiently to desire to get into office again. It has already been suggested that a new-elected Member should resign to give his seat to him as by a fairly large number of people it is thought desirable that Mr. Churchill should be in the House when the discussion on the Irish Treaty and later on those on those on Mesopotamia and Palestine take place, for he was part-author of the policies in these three

areas. Another significant defeat is that of Mr. Montagu, whilst Mr. Charles Roberts returns to the House.

THE LONDON FOG.

During the last fortnight London has been visited by some of the most disagreeable and depressing fogs it has known. For days, in the City, we have not seen the sun and the polluted smoke-laden air has given rise to a perfect epidemic of bad throats, colds and bronchial affections. So exasperated have people now become that the London County Council is sitting to consider how far fog in London is due to preventable causes, and to ascertain what possible means can be taken to counteract pollution of the atmosphere. To do away with the consumption of coal both for commercial and private purposes seems to be the only remedy, but to do this and substitute electricity in its place would mean a complete revolution in the present manner of life. That London cannot be considered a civilised city until this is done may be true, but many years will have to pass ere such a change takes place, and in the meantime the fogs will continue, and the lungs and nerves of the people suffer. To industrialise successfully a city may be a fine work of man, but if it blots out the sunshine so necessary to life, the price paid for such industry is beyond its value.

DISTRESS IN LANCASHIRE.

A serious condition has arisen among the cotton operatives in Lancashire. For some considerable time they have been on short time, with the result that all private savings are exhausted as well as the funds that the operatives could call upon. One of the Union leaders stated recently that unless some special action is taken by the new Government, the distress during the winter will be appalling. It seems that the disquiet in the Near East is the cause of the great depression, and were the trouble there ended, the Lancashire cotton operatives might again flourish.

LADY LAWYERS.

This week two more lady barristers were called, both of them having had a considerable connection with India and Indian affairs, one having spent some years of her life there, and still keeping in touch with many things affecting Indian girls and women. Another rather notable event has been the Petition for Special leave to appeal from an Order of the High Court at Patna which rejected the application of Miss Sudhanasa Bala Handra for enrolment as a pleader. The petitioner had been granted the degree of bachelor of Laws at the Calcutta University after examination, and claimed the right to practise in Patna. The petitioner contended that there was no prohibition in the Hindu or Mahomedan Law against women as lawyers nor did the British Legislative authorities ever impose such a prohibition. Special leave to Appeal was granted.

THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE.

Lausanne is now the centre of European and the Near East foreign politics. The Conference is actually in being. It has not yet been wrecked either by the French or the Italians or the Turks, but there

seems to be a steady alignment of all the powers greater and lesser against conceding too much to Turkish pretensions. There is a very real fear lest arrogant extremism at Angora and an inflamed Turkish Imperialism may wreck the proceedings. The Turkish delegates are said to be friendly and conciliatory, but fearful lest they should be denounced as traitors by the Angora National Assembly. On the other hand, Russia, which has been supporting Turkey, is looking with some alarm at the developments of Turkish militarism, especially in the region of the Caucasus, and Bulgaria, Turkey's former ally, has recently entered into closer relations with both Greece and Rumania, with a view to obtaining a free outlet into the Mediterranean, without her railway connection via Karagach being interfered with by the Turks at Adrianople. The Conference may last for days or months. The factors making either for a breakdown or success are altogether incalculable, and a most extraordinary secrecy prevails at Lausanne.

HAS DEMOCRACY BEEN A FAILURE ?

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I was deeply stirred on reading the quotation from the new head of Colgate University in your issue of December 2nd. It is unfortunate if your Press Service supplied you with nothing constructive from the speech. And perhaps even more unfortunate if, with his criticism, the speaker supplied the Press Service as well as his hearers with nothing constructive. Since the report is partial it would be wrong to criticise the speaker. But it will not be wrong to criticise what will seem to be the implication of the part quoted, to the minds of most of your readers.

It is true that there still lies a great chasm between our attainments in the way of democracy and our ideals and our objectives. It has been imperfectly applied and we can point to all too many blots in our experience and all too few triumphs. But still it remains a fact that the best argument for democracy is the still more unsatisfactory nature of the alternatives. To what should we turn? Those who recommend autocracy or any other non-democracy fall into the error of comparing an ideal autocracy with the democracy of fact, forgetting for the time that the ideal autocracy of which they are speaking would be as hard to attain, given the same humans to work with, as the ideal democracy.

The article indicates that democracy is found wanting as it fails to solve its problems. It instances the way in which we have tried to deal with the tariff, i. e., submitting it "to the people as a whole, 25 per cent of whom are mentally subnormal, with an average mentality of slightly over thirteen years." What is his alternative? The tariff would have to be submitted to one or more of "the real tariff experts" who "could probably be counted on the fingers of one hand." What would be the use of this, since in the next breath he says "these do not agree"? Which one would prevail? The alternative, if we had none of the conditions that produce and grow out of democracy, would be that the "expert" who could get the most armed men at his back would settle the tariff question. And is there anything to prove that men with 13-year-old mentalities do the world any more good as soldiers than as voters?

And after all, is it so terrible that the democrats sometimes follow a leader? What is it for a nation to follow a leader?

In doing so the people simply say "This man stands for and gives expression to what is in our hearts." As long as he does that, he "rules" as acceptably in a democracy as in an autocracy. But when he ceases to do so in a democracy he is quickly set aside. On the other hand when he ceases to do so in an autocracy, though he may not agree with the other 45-year-mentality experts, he can continue to impose his will on the whole or be set aside only by revolution. Or suppose we have an aristocracy, i. e., rule by the high mentality experts. In as much as they are certain to disagree, the most influential of the group will surely set his course in one of two directions. He is, by assumption, a strong man of real convictions. Then he will try to make his convictions prevail. He will move either in the direction of autocracy, that is, in the end, an appeal to force, or in the direction of democracy, that is, an appeal to the judgment of the people. If he does the latter he may discover, as our educational experts are discovering, that he will have to raise the nation's mentality a bit. That becomes not only a duty, but indeed a privilege. Raise a 13-year mentality to a 17-year mentality and he is almost sure to have at least one 45-year mentality as a son.

In spite of America's "greatest failure" there are millions of average mentalities who believe that the divinely ordained, though imperfectly delivered, message of America and other democracies to the world and especially to India is: *A nation striving toward democracy is better than that nation content with anything else.*

Sincerely yours
H. A. HANSON.

Sitapur U. P.
December 6, 1922.

BRAMWELL BOOTH.

A PERSONAL SKETCH.

Within the next few weeks the name of Bramwell Booth, the second and present General of the Salvation Army, will become increasingly familiar to the people of India, by reason of the visit which he is paying to this land. At this time of day, when the worth of the Army's work is so generously recognised, there is no need to ask *Who is this man?* Excepting that he must not be confused with Commissioner Booth-Tucker who is so widely known and greatly loved as the Founder of the Army's work in this land, General Bramwell Booth is the son of William Booth the founder of the Salvation Army.

When, ten years ago, William Booth, to quote the phraseology of his obituary announcement, "laid down his sword", those who saw and knew him at close quarters say that Bramwell Booth was weighed with a sense of the responsibility that the legacy of the Army's Generalship brought to him. Well was it for him—and for his Army—that ever since his boyhood days he had made so close a study of the constitution, the *personnel* and the field of the Organisation, at the head of which he now found himself. Since then those who are able to speak from an inside knowledge, including his most intimate and immediate Lieutenants, testify to the ability with which he holds the reins of government, at the same time devolving responsibility for departmental and local detail upon his various Commissioners.

Although this is his first visit to India, he has in his ten years' Generalship—in spite of the difficulties of travel which for so long obtained—inspected his forces, conferred with his leading Officers, and conducted campaigns in Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Canada, the U. S. A. and most of

the countries of Europe, thus maintaining a close touch with the Army's International affairs and becoming known at close hand to his rank and file. There are probably few Englishmen who possess a wider general and all-round acquaintance with the history and condition of life of the Indian people, or who are better versed in the complexity of the problems of the East.

In his wife Bramwell Booth has an able and strong supporter, who is at present time responsible for the Army's work in Great Britain and Ireland, besides taking an active part in many other enterprises of the Organisation. Their six living children all hold positions as Officers in one department or another of the work, and all share much of their parent's zeal and devotion to the cause which, in each instance they espoused in their youth.

On the public platform, he presents a striking contrast to the Army's Founder. Those who met and heard his gifted mother are at once struck with the strong facial likeness which he bears to her, and the recollection of her is further helped by his argumentative method of presenting the matter which he is expounding. Much of the strength of William Booth's utterances, it is often said, lay in the way in which he played upon the emotions of his hearers; Bramwell Booth's calm yet serious reasoning possibly appeals to an audience in a different way, but with equally striking and lasting results.

To his Officers and Soldiers, Bramwell Booth stands for the highest ideals of Salvationism, and in him they see a Chief whom to a man they honour, trust and love.

A HINDU STUDENTS' CAREER SOCIETY.

As our readers must have noticed from our advertisement columns, a Hindu Students' Career Society has been established at Lahore with a view "to help the bright students, whether male or female, who for want of pecuniary aid can not pursue a career fitted to their brain." Money in the form of monthly stipends will be given to poor and deserving Hindu students either on the loan system or in rare cases without an undertaking to return the amount advanced. To begin with, it is proposed to grant six stipends, four to male students and two to females. For the present the scheme is limited to those students who desire to prosecute their studies in India. Suggestions relating to the professions, amount of stipends, etc., have been invited. We wish the Society and its founder, Sir Ganga Ram, every success in this laudable undertaking.—*The Tribune, Lahore.*

A NEW WEEKLY.

The *Gethsemane*—A New English Religious monthly Paper which is being published at Cuddapah, South India since three years, will be published once weekly from January 1923. Lovers of Religion are requested to get this weekly paper and contribute their loved religious articles to it defending or otherwise, of their respective Religions if they so like. There is provision in the "Gethsemane" for all Religionists. Subscription is only Rs. 5-0-0 per annum inclusive of postage. Size thereof is "Demy Quarto"—14 pages—8 cols. per page. Further particulars can be had from the Editor, "The Gethsemane" Cuddapah, S. India.

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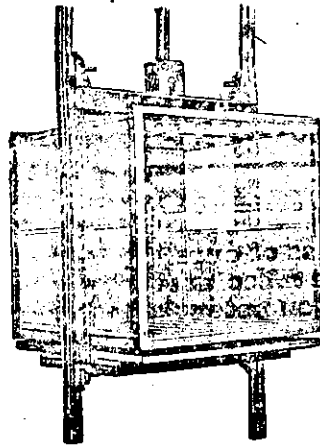
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Wanted an Explanation: The *Independent* of Allahabad prints the telegrams which passed between Pandit Motilal Nehru and the Superintendent of the Yeravada Jail relating to the interview which, it had been announced, the Pandit and Hakim Ajmal Khan were to have had with Mahatma Gandhi. The Superintendent at first intimated that the permission had been given and, later, revoked it on the ground that he had no authority to grant it. We do not know who the Superintendent is, but a raw, inexperienced man, without a knowledge of his powers and duties, is not likely to be placed in charge of the most important Jail in the Presidency. We can only surmise that the permission granted by the Superintendent, in the exercise of powers vested in him, was ordered by superior authority to be withdrawn when it came to know of it, apparently from the press message stating that the interview was to take place. This, if correct, would mean that Mr. Gandhi in Jail is treated on a special principle from which other prisoners are immune. Yet, we have been told repeatedly that Government could not distinguish between political and other prisoners. As a fact, we were surprised when the interview was announced in the press, first, because the regulation period of three months had not elapsed since the Mahatma was last allowed to be interviewed by his people, and secondly and chiefly because it seemed to imply a liberalisation of policy which there had been nothing to prepare us to expect. The authorities, no doubt, were acting within their rights, but we would remind them that they are dealing with human beings and should deal with them as human beings. It should not be difficult for them to imagine what would have been the feelings of Mrs. Gandhi, who was to have been of the party, to be suddenly told that the great event to which she was eagerly looking forward had been cancelled. An Indian Prince, however autocratic, would have instinctively shrunk from giving occasion for a pang in the heart of any good woman, much less that of a living *sati* like Mrs. Gandhi. If the Superintendent had exceeded his powers, he might have been reprimanded and told not to do so again, but no authority has a right to trample upon

the tenderest sentiments of an innocent human heart. If the Government of Bombay has an explanation different from the only one we could imagine, it ought to have been published as soon as the revocation of the interview was announced. It is not too late even yet. In the absence of any explanation, it is impossible to acquit them of callously inhuman conduct in this matter.

Constitutional Reforms in Cochin: It was four years ago on the occasion of His Highness's *Shash-tipoorthy* day (60th birthday) that His Highness announced his intention of associating his subjects directly and formally with the conduct of Government business. Two years after that announcement a Proclamation proposing the establishment of a Legislative Council was issued. There has been practically no talk of it during the last two years except a passing reference to it in the Administration Reports. The delay has been naturally taxing the patience of the people of Cochin. It is, therefore, gratifying to read in the Cochin Government *Gazette* the Dewan's *press communique* announcing the publication of the draft rules of the Cochin Legislative Council Regulation, the Cochin Legislative Council Rules, the Standing Orders thereon, the Electoral Rules and the Election Offences and Enquiry Regulation. The draft rules and regulations run to 40 pages of the *Gazette*. Several modifications seem to have been made in the draft rules published two years ago by the then Dewan, Mr. Vijayaraghava Charya. The creation of two special constituencies for the Ezhavas, the most progressive of the "unapproachable" communities of the State, and the extension of franchise to Thavazhi Karanavans of the joint Marumakkathayam families as a result of the Cochin Nair Regulation which confers the right of partition on Thavazhies, are some of the noticeable features of the new constitution. The most remarkable feature, however, is the very liberal franchise. Women have not only the power to vote but are also eligible to be elected to the Legislative Council. Considering the position of women under the Marumakkathayam system of inheritance, a system peculiar to Malabar, it goes without saying that the franchise based on property qualification cannot make any distinction of sex, as women have as much right to the Tarwad (family) property as men. With all the faults of the much-abused matriarchal system, it must be said that, in this particular respect, the women of Malabar occupy an enviable position as compared to that of their sisters in other parts of India. The people of Cochin have been looking forward to the day when the announcement made by His Highness four years ago would take practical shape. We trust that further delay will be avoided in bringing into working order the long-talked-of Cochin Legislative Council.

The Development Department Chawls: We invite attention to the letter, reprinted to-day, which Mr. C. F. Andrews who is on a temporary visit, wrote in the *Times of India* on the Development

Department's tenements opened by His Excellency the Governor. Sir George Lloyd spoke of the need of sun and air in the lives of the people, but Mr. Andrews shows that these, especially the former, are largely and carefully excluded from these tenements. He likens them to Jails, and another authority is said to have observed that these rooms are calculated to promote neurasthenia in their inmates. No body doubts that Sir George Lloyd in taking up the question of housing, has been actuated by motives of social reform and humanity. But if these chawls are to be taken as a specimen of the work of the Development Department, it is obvious that those who have to carry out His Excellency's ideas have not been selected with special regard to their sympathetic understanding of the conditions of the problem. An even greater responsibility attaches to the member in charge of this Department who, as an Indian, is expected to supply this very quality for which, naturally, an English Governor is entitled to rely mainly upon his Indian colleagues. The Indianisation of the Services will do little good to the people if the Indian official does not realise that his first and last duty is to enforce his Indian ideas and aspirations upon his British colleagues in all matters of administration.

Social Reform to the Front: Any one who examines with a discerning eye the depressing factors in the present situation, cannot but see that they all arise out of inadequate spade-work in the social and religious field. If men's deepest ideas and their immediate social environment continue to be undemocratic, it is idle to raise a democratic political structure on such a foundation. We, therefore, welcome the increase of agencies for propagating social reform which aims, in brief, at making available to the nation the vast resources that lie repressed in Indian womanhood and in the Indian masses. To raise "women and sudras" is the whole of social reform. We welcome, accordingly, the holding of a Social Conference with the Non-Brahmin Conference; we welcome the holding a Social Conference with the Liberal Federation at Nagpur. It is announced that the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye will preside over the latter, and not the Hon. Mr. Chintamani as first stated. The usual National Social Conference will be held during Congress week at Gaya under the Presidentship of Mr. M. R. Jayakar. A Reception Committee has been formed and arrangements are proceeding on the customary lines.

Education and Gambling: We entirely agree with the *Dnyanodaya* in its stinging criticism of the recent measure passed by the Bombay Legislative Council providing a part of the money required for primary education by an excise on the takings of the Turf Club. The children are to be educated from the proceeds of the gambling and drinking of their parents. It is impossible to imagine anything more unprincipled as a measure of educational finance. If the Hindu and Mahomedan Members and Ministers do not understand what a vicious expedient they have resorted to, they are entirely incompetent to conduct the affairs of the nation. In the hope of doing good, they are, as our contemporary points out, creating vested interests in a vice which is ruining hundreds and demoralising thousands of persons in Bombay. These be your Gods, O Israel!

A New Indian Christian Journal: We have received a copy of the first issue of a newly-started Indian Christian fortnightly, published in Lucknow, named the *Christian Observer*. Our contemporary in defining its policy, observes:

Up till very lately Indian Christians could not look beyond the haze and mist of Mission and Mission Service. But, thank God, a great section of it is now trying to see beyond that and political awakening has reached the community. It is an undeniable fact that by force of circumstances Indian Christians are to a great extent regarded as aliens in their own country by their countrymen. They are called "Saheb log," etc. There is truth in this indictment. They have been ostracised by their countrymen, and indignity, insult and contempt have been heaped upon them and therefore they have had to separate themselves and have become out of with the general political life of the country. But the times are now changed. We are anxious to share responsibility with our countrymen and they are anxious to secure our co-operation.

There is much truth in the above, more especially in the description of the altered position at present. The awakening of the Indian Christian community to its national duties is one of the most encouraging signs of the times.

All-India Social Workers' Conference: The Secretaries write: "The Madras Council of Social Service have resolved to hold an All-India Social Workers' conference (third session) at Madras under the Presidency of Dr. D. N. Maitra of the Calcutta Social Service League on the 29th and 30th December. The Conference will enable all persons interested in the cause of Social Service in India, to meet and exchange thoughts on the many problems now engaging the attention of Social Service Workers throughout the world. An exhibition will also be held in conjunction with the Conference."

The late Maharaja of Cooch Behar. The death was announced on Thursday of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar in London at the early age of 36. The Maharaja on his mother's side was a grandson of the great religious reformer, Keshub Chander Sen, and he married the accomplished daughter of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda. Since his marriage, the late Maharaja came into prominence both as a prince and a ruler of character and capacity and improved considerably the administration of his State. The deep sympathy of all India will go to the bereaved Maharani, and to Their Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar and the Maharani of Baroda.

Under the Patronage of the Viceroy: We invite the attention of the readers to a letter headed "Under the patronage of the Viceroy" from a Christian Missionary gentleman who signs himself as "Temperance Reformer". Our correspondent rightly protests against the use (or rather abuse) of the high and dignified position of His Excellency to encourage the sale of intoxicants by advertising various whiskeys as being sold "under the patronage of His Excellency the Viceroy." We associate ourselves with our correspondent in his protest and trust that His Excellency the Viceroy and the Government of India will recognise the advisability of forbidding the use of the Viceroy's name and title in such advertisements.

Manager's Notice: *The Manager begs to request subscribers whose subscription has fallen in arrears to be so good as to remit their dues promptly, as much inconvenience is caused, besides expense owing to the enhanced postage, by having to send frequent reminders.*

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 23, 1922.

THE SATARA NON-BRAHMIN CONFERENCES.

It is hardly necessary for us to repeat what we have said more than once since the inauguration of the Non-Brahmin movement in the Madras Presidency and Bombay Dakhan, that the movement embodies the assertion of some broad principles which have been so long overlooked in the Hindu socio-religious polity. The Hindu community must continue to be a source of weakness instead of, what it should be, the mainstay of the national cause, unless and until its structure is radically revised in the light of these broad principles which were well summarised by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur who presided over the Social Conference held at Satara along with the Non-Brahmin Political Conference.

"The goal of our movement," said His Highness, "is to restore to each of our castes and creeds and to each individual therein that opportunity to rise higher and higher which the so-called highest among us, starts with. For this purpose we have to purify our minds by weeding out ideas of superiority and inferiority based on mere birth."

This is a remarkable pronouncement coming, as it does, from the ruler of Kolhapur and represents a refreshing departure from the attempt of some other chiefs to get Brahmin sacerdotalists to recognize them as Kshatriyas entitling them to have the Vedic sacraments administered to them and members of their families. And it is the more remarkable because it is hardly likely that His Highness, in enunciating this broad principle, did not realise that, pushed to its logical limits, this principle would militate against His Highness's own position as the hereditary ruler of a historic State. The hereditary monarch, indeed, has become an anachronism in the modern world. Great Britain and Japan are the only two ancient independent monarchies of importance in our time. Even China and Turkey have relinquished the hereditary principle and adopted that of elective heads of State. The hereditary principle as the basis of national and social life is doomed. The caste system based upon birth is, it is well-known, a perversion, the original basis of it having been character, conduct and occupation. The priest by birth will have to go and the ruler by birth will inevitably follow in his wake. "No Bishop, no King"—"No Brahmin, no Maharaja." The priesthood in every country has been the mainstay of hereditary monarchy, and a religious reformation abolishing priests has been usually followed by a political revolution abolishing hereditary monarchs. Both are fundamentally opposed to the democratic principle which the Non-Brahmin movement professes, though without realising in full its implications which extend far beyond its immediate objective of "Down with the Brahmins."

We welcome the addition of a social side to the Non-Brahmin movement which, like other political movements, needs its moments of introspection in order to give substance and solidity to its work. Its

political programme at present does not rest on any very broad basis. Mr. Thanikalla Chettiar who presided at the Satara Political Conference made a long speech a large part of which was a denunciation of the Non-Co-operation movement. The Non-Brahmin movement and the Non-Co-operation movement, however, are essentially one in spirit and method. The former wants to Non-Co-operate with Brahmins while the latter wants to Non-Co-operate with the British in India. Mr. Thanikachallam therefore, in many parts of his attack on Non-Co-operation, was unconsciously attacking the Non-Brahmin movement of which he is a leading spokesman. In the able address which his distinguished elder brother, Mr. Kandasami Chettiar, delivered at the Adi-Dravida Conference a few months ago, it was shown by a relentless analysis that the present Non-Brahmin party is but the counterpart of the orthodox Brahmin at heart, with Chettiar, Mudaliar, Pillayar, instead of Aiyar, or Aiyangar for suffixes to his name. The Depressed classes in Madras complain that, while the Brahmins chastised them with whips, the Non-Brahmin party in power is chastising them with scorpions. In the Cochin State, the measures for the relief of the untouchable which the Brahmin Dewan, Mr. Vijayaraghava Chariar introduced, are being reversed by his non-Brahmin successor. Mr. Ramaswami Madaliar's exhortation to the Satara Non-Brahmins bears out the charge that the Non-Brahmin party which he represents regards only birth in utter disregard of every other consideration. "He warned them," reads the report in the *Times of India*, "that whether a Brahmin was a liberal or a Conservative, a Congressman or an anti-Congressman, a Moderate or an Extremist, a Co-operator or Non-Co-operator, he was a Brahmin. He would say to them: 'Don't put your trust in Brahmins.'" Mr. Thanikachallam denounced Mahatma Gandhi as a bigot because he had said that the caste system was inherent in human nature. A man's life is the best interpreter of a man's words. It is well-known that Mahatma Gandhi in his Ashram at Sabarmati and elsewhere has insisted on untouchables being treated exactly like members of the Hindu castes. The untouchable girl, whom he has adopted, goes about freely in every part of the Ashram including the kitchen. We wonder how many vehement non-Brahmins of Mr. Thanikachallam's party can show such an example in their homes? When a man like the Mahatma speaks of Varnashrama, it is obvious that he is not speaking of the Varnashrama as it is but of the Varnashrama as it should be—the *Chaturvarnyam* of the Gita, based on character, conduct and culture. And when Mr. Thanikachallam attacks Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya because he would not eat food touched by an "untouchable," may we ask whether Sir P. Theagorya Chetti, the accredited leader of Mr. Thanikachallam's party, would do so?

We have been opposed from the beginning to Non-Co-operation. And the Non-Brahmin movement, as we have said, is only the same in essence, only it has substituted Brahmins for the British Government. Both are negative in their outlook. But, while the

Non-Co-operation movement, learning from experience, has adopted the constructive Bardoli programme, the Non-Brahmin movement has yet to evolve a constructive national programme. The best hope of its being able to do so, lies in men like Mr. Kandasami Chettiar who clearly see that the root evil is exclusiveness, and that both Brahmin and Non-Brahmin are equally tainted by it. Mr. Kandasami, we may mention, is one of the few men in the non-Brahmin movement, the others being Dewan Bahadur R. Venkatratnam Naidu and Mr. Patro, who have been actively associated with social and religious reform movements for the last quarter of a century. There are some younger men, some of whom we have met, who are yearning for the non-Brahmin movement to develop into a truly democratic national movement in which only character and ideas, and not the accident of birth, will count. These are the hopes of the Party which has immense potentialities before it. Mr. Thanikachallam and others have done valuable service in awakening non-Brahmins to a sense of their importance. Their right to a predominant share in the administration is indisputable but so are their responsibilities. So long, however, as their principal game is hounding a small minority, which is as much native to the country as themselves, out of the public services, so long their ability to discharge their national responsibilities must remain unproved. We have said before and we repeat that the 'Justice' party is on the eve of disintegration. A new party will rise upon its ashes, which will not be exclusively Brahmin or non-Brahmin, but will be composed of all the sound and sane elements in the public life of Madras and Maharashtra. The non-Brahmin party, in as much as it has paved the way for it, will then become an episode in the history of India's political evolution.

WEALTH AND WELFARE.*

(By Prof. PATRICK GEDDES.)

This review has been communicated also to the Sociological Review, London.

Though the title of this book adds "of the Punjab"—and must thus limit its circulation, especially in Britain, whose invincible ignorance of India persists, despite all urgency of need to mitigate it, as our writer peculiarly tends and helps to do—it is especially reviewed here as a real and solid contribution to economics, and of the kind most urgently needed by its students in this country, as well as India.

A FRESH VIEW OF ECONOMICS.

Economics, for Mr. Calvert, is not merely, or even mainly, the study of "the Market," ruled by its gods of "supply and demand." Nor does it turn upon "Manufactures and Commerce," as for Adam Smith; nor yet on "Capital," as since Ricardo; and yet as little on Marx's turning of those arguments outside in, towards

*The Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab: Being some studies in Punjab Rural Economics: by H. Calvert, B. Sc. I.C.S. Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Punjab. Author of The Law and Principles of Co-operation, Lahore. "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1922.

the apotheosis of "Labour," meaning essentially the urban and mechanical proletariat, with their resultant exasperation accordingly; from Socialism since his publication, to Bolshevism to-day.

What Mr. Calvert has done has been to recover for himself the essential truths of economics as seen by Vauban and the Physiocrats, from whom Adam Smith arose, and most unhappily departed, instead of developing as he should have done. In a word, his economics is fundamentally Rural economics: and from his first prefatory page he stoutly carries his war with the conventional urban economics into England as well as India—citing for the former also Mr. Collett—"The ignorance of the urban majority in this country on agricultural matters is so colossal and so genuine as almost to deserve respect."

He points out, too, for India—though also implicitly for Europe—that as "it is the townsman who will supply the province with its future councillors," it is time that he not only knew something of what rural economy means in life, and begins to mean anew in thought also, but that he changed his perspective accordingly; his politics thereby as well. Not of course by returning to the too slowly obsolescent routine ignorance of the town-depressed and town-miseducated peasant, or the passive and senile conservatism still too prevalent among landed proprietors, and in India, of course, especially. The service of liberal and radical politics, and its traditional (more or less *middle*) "classical economics," has been to work out something of urban and commercial ways; and so far well. But as this has been accompanied by the persistent survival of the Italian Renaissance view of the country, as existing simply to feed and serve the city, its whole standpoint has thereby been vitiated; and its would-be scientific construction has thus to be rebuilt anew, and this upon the permanent physiocratic truth of the basal character of agriculture and food-supply—always and everywhere that on which town industries depend, as even the town population for its vital recruitment, and so often its leadership.

THE STUDY OF ECONOMICS.

The School of Economics in any and every University, is of course accustomed to imagine that it does justice to this; and at the very outset! Do we not say, "Land, Labour and Capital"? Of course; but only in such ways as to show no real grip or comprehension of the first: hence after this initial "coup de chapeau" to rural economics, our would-be general economists have gone on without contributing observations or ideas to the rural world, much less understanding this. For them the City—and as "the Market"—is the hub of the Universe: not the field; and when "Industries" are referred to, it is with the most naive omission of the fundamental industrial life of the children of men, and with as real a mental limitation to the exploits of the urban machine as that of the orphan child in the cotton factory. As its prison-house was one of the main centres of their would-be science, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that its professors have so well retained that child's ignorance, and his psychology too—the classical in their docile submission—the socialistic in their mood of revolt.

It is not possible within these limits to do any justice to Mr. Calvert's vigorous presentment of the rural perspective in economics : enough here to refer to the original. But that he is at home in the historical and the comparative fields, by way of which our economics has long been on the way towards reform, though too slowly, is evidenced by his appreciation of the best thought and work of Denmark, America and Ireland : as notably also by his useful presentment of the real economics of Japan, too little seen by those who merely see her as "Great Power," or as "economic competitor."

A GREAT WORK.

Our writer has thus accomplished a great, and so far as the present reviewer knows, an essentially new work for one of the great provinces of India : one which may, it is to be hoped, serve as type for others, for other Provinces, and thus for the first time, at least in our day, may present India as she mainly is : one of the most predominantly agricultural of lands, in past, present, and even future, despite such development of other resources and industries as may be. When this view is given in the large—and along with "Village Surveys" such as those of Dr. Harold Mann, alike as Bombay Director of Agriculture, and, we may add, as an active member of the Sociological Society—we shall then not only begin to know more of the real India, such as its people, their British rulers, and their new would-be replacers, all urbanist in immense majority, alike urgently need : and we shall even have fresh and useful impulse to the study of the whole empire—and even one helpful towards renewing the too urban economics and politics of its central isle.

GANDHI AND GOVERNMENT.

Towards realising our present state of backwardness alike in economic and social thought, and in the outlooks of administration and government accordingly, one or two illustrations may be taken—quite outside Mr. Calvert's survey, which is of more modern character—but since conveniently well-known to all newspaper-readers. First, Mr. Gandhi—who is this great and terrible agitator—lately so loyal to the British Raj as to have manfully recruited for the war, yet in post-war years branding the Indian government as "satanic," and organising "non-co-operation," to its grave embarrassment accordingly? A true ascetic and true idealist—a character thus impressive and attractive to the Indian mind beyond anything we in the modern West can imagine, though our legends of the saints show we were "once like Indians too." Next a barrister, who can hold his own with the best ; a journalist, the like as well. But his ideas? simply, frankly, and naively three, all Western ones—Mazzini's vivid Nationalism, Tolstoi's Non-Resistance, Ruskin's Criticism of the Machine—industry, and its urban outcomes. Excellent ideas, each and all : but of 1860—not 1920 ; by which time there have arisen some more, unknown to Mr. Gandhi, or at any rate unutilised. The anxiety with which the Indian Government and the British Government too has looked at him, is thus essentially explicable in one way only, viz ; that their stock of working ideas is of still earlier date ; and

that they are thus still more immune to later social economic and political thought, than can be Mr. Gandhi ! Mr. Calvert's service is thus to present some of these later ideas : and the persistence of the present "steel framework" of India—to use Mr. Lloyd George's not entirely happy phrase, though all too true—depends, more than either government at present realises, on introducing a more modern and organic—vital—rural brain-framework as well. An easy matter—since the mental outfit and outlook of the Indian educated classes, now of such increasing insistence, is for the most part, and in principle, about as antiquated as our own, since what our Colleges and their wretchedly inadequate libraries have given them.

BOLSHEVIK ECONOMICS.

One more illustration—still outside Mr. Calvert's, but helpful to understanding his view, message and method—what of the yet more terrible Bolsheviks, in these years the bogey of Europe, and not without reason? Again the exponents of a vivid contribution to urban economics, also two generations back, and about contemporary with that other most worldshaking book THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES—Karl Marx's CAPITAL. Why then this inability of thought and action alike to deal with this relatively small, but intensive group of ideopraxists? who have not only so effectively demolished their older urban system, but so substantially upset the rural economy of Russia as well, and are thus so largely (though not exclusively) responsible for the present debacle and one of the great famines of history. Does not the essential explanation of all failures to combat them lie in the invincible ignorance of such better and later thought and work as has been growing up since 1860 ; as so notably that of American, Danish, and Irish and French rural economists, though not of these alone? Enough, then, to justify the satisfaction with which we hail this contribution to Indian rural economics, and plead for its wide and careful reading.

ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY.

But it may be said, are we therefore to neglect urban economics, as the Physiocrats undeniably too much did, to their supersession accordingly by the successive urban schools, Smithian, Ricardian or Marxian? By no means. During the past eight years, the present reviewer's work in India has been well-nigh exclusively limited to the study of towns and cities, now some fifty and more, over the length and breadth of this immense land : but in such survey, in interpretation, and in planning, whether for housing, for urban industries, or towards cultural developments, he has found exactly no help whatever in the usual English urban and academic economic literature, with the single and honourable exception of Prof. Marshall's INDUSTRY AND TRADE—a book which he also cannot over-recommend, as our best example of the economist moulting from the old type towards the sociologist of the new, even though yet too little awakened to the neo-Physiocratic revolution in progress. And no doubt there are others.

Here, then, we may leave Mr. Calvert to fight his own battle. To those of us who have learned their

rural economics in other and largely older or later schools, from Xenophon to Le Play, Demolins, &c., there are grounds for difference from Mr. Calvert. His world-commercialisation of agriculture has still the taint of the urban market theories upon it; and in his isolation he does not seem to have come upon the ever-increasing world movement towards regionalism, with its more vital co-ordination of country and town. Again, though himself a sower and leavener, a steady organiser of co-operation throughout his province—in fact, its Horace Plunkett as far as may be—he yet remains somewhat conventional, not to say commonplace, in his otherwise excellent pleading for agricultural education—overlooking, for instance, that most simple and inexpensive of its resources, the school garden—though that offers the readiest of escapes from the too essentially cram and thus sham instruction, with the current and world-wide verbalistic empapement so characteristic of our period, and nowhere more than in what is magniloquently called “Indian Education.”

Yet such are but minor differences, compared with that general change from the urban to the rural perspective in economics which Mr. Calvert in the main so well expresses: and if he can convert his often too steely colleagues in India, and help to do something of the like at home, such further developments of rural economics, from education, up (or down), to politics, will not be long of coming.

(Concluded). -

THE BI-CAMERAL LEGISLATURE IN INDIA.

(By P. L.)

II.

Nor is the oft-repeated plea of the need of a check to hasty legislation an argument of greater force. A second chamber as a corrective to the lower one is an anachronism. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald advances an ingenious dilemma about this plea. If the upper house be reactionary, he says, it will not check the excesses and follies of reaction; if it is democratic it will not check the excesses and follies of democracy. The experience of the countries with second chambers, shows that the upper house acts only when in opposition to the lower, and such cases involve neither national welfare nor statesmanlike foresight but are only problems of sectional strife. But there is another objection to this theory of check which is advanced by Mr. Macdonald and is worth noticing. It is that a second chamber acting as a check, is, indeed, in a position to strangle public opinion of a normally calm character. This is exactly antithetic to the purposes of representative Government which seeks to prevent the accumulation of pressure reaching revolutionary intensity by opening out channels for the easy and constant flow of public opinion. It is conceivable and has actually been possible for an upper house to flout popular opinion and delay its fulfilment and thus to compel it to become revolutionary in order to be effective. But as the case of Ireland has proved, time is

an all-important consideration in politics and if the fruit is not plucked when it is ripe, it rots. Hence it would be a tragedy if the existence of a second chamber meant the putting of obstacles in the formation of decisions. Finally, there is a more fundamental objection to this system of checks which in normal times are superfluous and in abnormal times prove mischievous. What a system of checks ultimately hinders, is a development of unfettered and full responsibility. There is nothing more desirable from the political and moral point of view than that the location of responsibility must be clear, precise, and definite. But where a Conservative opposition relies on a notoriously reactionary upper chamber or a Liberal Government throws the blame for its failures on the other house, it is obvious that neither honesty in policy nor freedom in opposition is possible. Nature does not work by one organ checking another, says Mr. Macdonald. In nature, opposing forces blend into motion. So the conflicting social forces should be blended in one legislative organ.

It may be added that to advance the argument of haste in the case of India, is to falsify the issue, since the fundamental conservatism of the Indian people is in itself a sufficient check. Indeed, the fear in India is not that social progress will be too fast but that it will be too slow. It is the inertia of the mass of citizens that acts like a mill-stone round the necks of those enthusiastic reformers who would bring millenium within a few months. Only when that inertia is in part overcome and when an antagonistic reaction is checked, does any reform come before the legislature in the form of a bill. To pretend that there is a danger of precipitance in politics is to ignore the strain which the mass can bear. Stagnation, in fact, is a more constant and more subtle danger than revolution. Even were a check necessary, it ought to be effected without the creation of a rival and extraneous body constantly at war with another and in the end possibly killing itself out. For though a check necessarily must have concurrent and equal authority with the part that is being checked, a cabinet cannot remain responsible to both the chambers and must ultimately submit to the more popular one. As India might develop a cabinet system, all experience shows that the sole responsibility must be placed on the popularly-elected body.

The third argument usually advanced, namely, that there may be men unwilling to seek election or accept nomination in an assembly the majority of whose members are of a different status, needs only the simple answer that such men have no right to be in the governing body of the country. The ballot-box is the means of democracy but its end ought to be human brotherhood. A democracy that preserves notions of status and class-prejudice defeats its own object. If such unwilling *intelligentsia* exists, it ought to keep its virtues for governing, and not keep them in a reserve to waste them, by watching over the errors of the lower house. Such extraordinary statesmanship ought to be used for the formulation of a policy, and not for the limitation and frustration of a policy formed.

A more pertinent question that suggests itself to one in this connection is, how are these *intelligentsia* to be chosen? Hereditary composition is obsolete and anti-democratic and the only reason why British statesmen cling to it is because they cannot discover an effective substitute. On the one hand, it is extremely doubtful if class-distinctions are co-equal with innate ability; and on the other hand, it remains to be proved whether intellect can be so easily transmitted as wealth. There are no hereditary statesmen, said Thomas Paine, any more than there are hereditary mathematicians or hereditary poets. Very few persons would now agree with Bagehot's contention that nobility is the symbol of mind or that money alone cannot buy "London Society". In all industrial countries, today, aristocracy has become plutocracy and purchased peerages command no social prestige. A house composed of a set of eldest sons picked out by chance, that is, of "accidents of accidents" cannot but be mediocre; for the qualities essential for success in a deliberative assembly do not necessarily go with estates and trusts." Besides, aristocracy is a matter of growth and not of creation. What Prof. W. Graham Wallas said about Lord Morley applies with even greater force to Mr. Montagu, that his inventive range does not extend beyond the adaptation of the British House of Lords to Indian conditions.

Nomination is a method that is attractive to theorists who conjure up visions of a great assembly composed of wise statesmen, experienced lawyers, distinguished *litterateurs* and the rest. But nomination, though excellent in principle, depends in practice on the question of who nominates. It implies a moral perfection in the executive which should nominate only the "best men" who are unfamiliar with the arts of flattering the crowd. But the government likes to be flattered as much as the people, as the case of numerous nominated members in Indian Councils prove. And if we are to make a choice, let us like Machiavelli choose rather the people who are less liable to sudden changes of mood than the officials who exercise and love power.

All these confused notions proceed from an initial false start. People try to invent some institution to act as an old guardian to the inexperienced and rash child of democracy who can say "No" to its puerile demands. They therefore search for some elements out of which such an institution could be created. But any new principle that is suggested in addition to that of democratic representation must be based on a desire to broaden its basis and not on a distrust in its very structure. So one should reject the idea of a second chamber that could have a superior wisdom and a broader outlook than those of a declared majority elected by the people. If there are such qualities, men possessing them can appeal to the ordinary constituencies and if the normal electoral machine gives no scope for that, it stands self-condemned.

The disadvantages attending a second chamber in India are obvious. The moneyed and landed interests predominating in such a chamber—as they do, in

fact—will obstruct every kind of social reform calculated to benefit the classes that are economically less favoured. Thus, as Prof. Wallas observes, the possible result might be that the hereditary rent-collectors of Bengal will influence and decide the agricultural policy and the factory-owners in Bombay will regulate factory legislation. Another unfortunate but inevitable consequence of such a chamber will be to foster the disinclination of many of the younger Zamindars and businessmen to seek the votes of the electorate, thus retarding the sound democratic evolution of the country. Lastly, as the Council of State is a cross between several principles which, if not absolutely contradictory are clearly distinct, it will never possess either the glamour of an aristocratic or hereditary chamber or the strength of an elected assembly or the utility of a Senate representing the national as opposed to the provincial idea.

(Concluded.)

INDIAN CHRISTIANITY AND THE NATIONAL AWAKENING.

(BY A ROMAN CATHOLIC.)

III

THE EUROPEANISING AGENCIES.

The Indian Christian has committed the error of identifying his faith with Europeanism or to speak more correctly looked upon Europeanisation as the complement to his Christianity. The Hindu and the Moslem have on the other hand fallen into the opposite error of identifying every European with Christianity. Both are in error. Jesus the Christ was an Easterner, and preached in the East; His Apostles that carried His message to Europe were Orientals. Thomas, one of them, who, as tradition says, brought the new religion to India was a Jew; the blood of the martyrs which is spoken of as the seed of the Christians was in the beginning the blood of Orientals and it helped to irrigate the nascent seed of Christianity. It was purely an accident like the many which one meets with in history that Christianity became identified with the West: and even when the West took upon itself to maintain the supremacy of the new religion it was not without a protest from the East where to this day there are large numbers of Christians who claim to belong to the Eastern Church and carry on their ceremonials in the Oriental rite.

Again, owing to a combination of fortuitous circumstances the peoples who came under the influence of the Western Church progressed, grew in strength and vigour, expanded out and spread themselves and their political influence and religious faith over large and distant parts of the earth; this fact helped to create an illusion that all men that hail from the West, from Europe, are on that very account Christians: this has made the peoples of the East oblivious of the fact so well attested to, that to millions of Europeans the teachings of the Master are so many mummified specimens which are honoured more in the breach or utter disregard than in observance or reverence. True it is, that every European bears the hall-mark of Christian teaching and culture: you see it in his name (where

has not already given up the practice of taking a name from the Calendar of the Christian saints) and in his attitude towards many questions of life; it could not be otherwise for during the centuries when the genuine Christian civilisation was the dominant force of European life, it stamped the people of the country with certain qualities and characteristics which their present *laissez faire* moral and religious tendencies, their hedonistic outlook, and soulless materialism cannot wholly blot out. Millions in Europe are entirely innocent of the most elementary tenets of Christian belief or doctrines, and specimens of such are not unfrequently met with in India.

How came the Indian convert to Christianity to entertain the notion that a European make-up must be the natural corollary to his adoption of the Christian faith? The answer to this is not without its interest. Christianity within historical times was preached and propagated by men in India who till within very recent times, were blissfully ignorant of the culture, the history, the philosophy, and the sciences of the East and particularly those of ancient India, and who were in consequence of their ignorance led into the belief that in manifesting a disdain for the social practices and the religious ideals of the East they were really doing a service to their neophytes in as much as they were holding up to their vision the grotesqueness of their own practices and comparing them with the beauty and harmony of what was followed in Europe. To the early Hindu missionary and to very many of the present day too, the Hindu and his religion were both pagan, and this term had very deservedly a very undesirable connotation especially with reference to the religious and social practices of the Greeks and the Romans especially in the days of their decline, and the missionaries' acquaintance with the history of the past was confined to that of these two peoples. When in India, they devoted their energies to acquiring a working knowledge of the vernacular of the people among whom they carried on their work of preaching and they had no time, concern with or inclination for the study of the sacred languages of the East, a knowledge of which would have opened to them the inexhaustible treasures of its philosophy, its moral precepts etc. and pointed out to them that Hinduism represents something more than bespattering a stone with red ochre or very grotesque and hideous dances and rites.

Even Francis Xavier than whom a greater missionary has not come down to the East and to India, was ignorant of the existence of a high ethical code in the sacred writings of India and of the moral obligations and sanctions prescribed by them; he knew no Sanskrit and his contact with the submerged classes and sometimes with such Brahmins whose knowledge of their Scriptures and whose morals were not free from doubt or suspicion, only helped to confirm his *a priori* assumptions that all religious teaching in the East to make it beneficial required to be rigorously exorcised.

We have been careful to say that this was the attitude of the newcomers that came to preach religion after the discovery of the sea route to India, for what Christianity existed prior to this,—and as we have

said, there were Christian settlements in Malabar before this time,—had no European prepossessions. The Christians of the Syriac Church who worshipped in an Eastern ritual, had never felt any inconvenience nor feel any today, in worshipping the God of the Christians and upholding Christian principles while at the same time clinging tenaciously to their country's social habits, usages and manner of dress. The Portuguese were the first and greatest sinners in attempting to Europeanise their converts but, in justice to them, it must be admitted that in this attitude of theirs they were actuated by a great and generous principle. They unfeignedly believed that by giving to the Indian, all that they felt proud to own, viz. their religion and their usages, they were making a genuine attempt to raise the Indian to a social status equal to their own and were thereby helping to carry out the fundamental principle of their faith—the Brotherhood and Equality of Man.

THE GURU-KA-BAGH MUDDLE.

Mr. Dayram Parasram Mirchandani, in the course of a representation to the Viceroy, observes: In a recent press communique of the S. G. P. Committee published in the *Tribune* of Lahore dated the 21st instant it is stated that Rai Bahadur Sir Gangaram of Lahore went to Amritsar on the 16th instant and interviewed *Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mehtabsingh* (one of the accused Sikh leaders and Ex-Deputy President of the Punjab Legislative Council and Ex-Government Advocate) on that day in the Court of Nawab Aslam Hayat Khan, Additional District Magistrate of Amritsar, in the presence of several other respectable gentlemen. When there was a talk of the Guru-ka-Bagh lands being entered in the name of the Gurdwaras in Revenue Records, the discovery of ancient *Jagir* file in favour of the Gurdwaras and the completed compromise between the Mahant and the S. G. P. Committee as early as 31st January 1921, Sir Gangaram said to *Sardar Mehtabsingh* "that all this had come to the knowledge of the Government too late, and it was regretted that the Government had been kept in ignorance and misinformed by the local authorities. He (Sir Gangaram) said that this was all admitted by the Government, who were anxious to undo the mischief and to satisfy the religious aspirations of the Sikh community. He also stated that the Government were misinformed of the history of *Guru-ka-Bagh*, the strength of the Akali Movement and the backing that the whole Sikh community was prepared to give to the S. G. P. Committee, to carry out the reform of Gurdwaras."

Sir Gangaram not only does not refute the above statement made by the S. G. P. C., but in his letter, published in the *Tribune* of 22nd November 1922, he says that it is substantially correct but adds: "It was not fair on the part of the Prabandhak Committee to publish all that happened at a private conference." He is reported to have asked *Sardar Mehtabsingh* to accompany him to His Excellency the Governor in his motor car, which was then standing outside the Court-compound, "to talk over the whole affair as His Excellency was very anxious to bring about peace and that measures should be adopted somehow or other to extricate the Government from its present untenable position with regard to the *Guru-ka-Bagh* affair. *Sardar Mehtabsingh* is reported by the S. G. P. Committee to have declined this honour and declared that "he being a prisoner, his proper place was in jail." The Punjab Government has not issued any statement throwing light on the above and the S. G. P. Committee's press communique remains uncontradicted upto this day.

WORKMEN'S DWELLINGS.

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in the *Times of India* of the 10th instant:—As one who has been very deeply interested in the housing of the poor, I was taken to see the new model dwellings for workmen, which H. E. the Governor of Bombay has just opened. I understood that the work has been standardised, and that a very large number of new dwellings, of the same design, are to be completed. It, therefore, appears to me necessary to urge upon the authorities the need of remedying certain defects before the construction proceeds further.

One of the most serious defects is the shutting out, from every single room, of the sight of the sky by means of an immovable concrete shutter, with horizontal bars (on the Venetian blind pattern) while over each window is a sloping structure which effectively further screens off the sky. I have rarely seen, in any human habitation, windows more gloomy and prison-like.

This is not a small consideration. Many people are likely to live in these rooms for the greater part of the day; some all day long. Those who have studied prison records know how demoralising to the human mind is the gloom of a daily existence which is passed for very long periods without any sight of the sky. Furthermore, besides shutting out the sky these concrete windows shut out too much light. What is needed is to place a small balcony outside each room where clothes may be hung to dry and where both light and air may enter. The cost would not be excessive. Such balconies are always a precious boon to the poor in a great city.

At present, these huge buildings, both outside and inside, have a dismal prison-like appearance, which must, in the long run, tell on the mind and make life joyless. I have worked for many years of my life in the slums of London among the poor, in the midst of similar so-called 'model' dwellings, and I know full well the deadening effect, which comes upon the minds of young and old alike from constantly living in prison-like blocks with all the beauty of the sky excluded. It must not be forgotten that a joyless childhood is one of the most potent causes of many unnatural evils in after-life. Nature takes her terrible revenges.

Another factor, which has been most strangely overlooked is the lack of utilisation of the roofs of these new buildings. Here, London is already repentant for the evils of the past. The monstrous, sunless blocks in the East End and in Walworth and Bermondsey are now redeemed, to a very slight extent, by a railed roof, where children may play in safety and old people may sit out in the evening and get a draught of fresh air. Cannot the roofs of these workmen's dwellings in Bombay be utilised for a similar purpose? The cost would be quite insignificant; the gain would be enormous.

While I was down there, I asked some poor people what they thought of the dwellings. They one and all disliked them. There were bitter remarks and one said to me,—“They are like a prison.” Before further money is spent, could not the judgment of those workers of the ‘Seva Sadan’ and other societies, whose daily duties are done among the poor, be taken on simple points such as those I have mentioned. It would be a thousand times worth while to get the advice of some one, who had gone through the disheartening experience of the ‘model dwelling’ period in London or Glasgow, and had come out of it with an intimate knowledge of what should not be done, before going on with this immensely large scheme on a standardised basis.

I have seen the older dwellings, where the workmen now live, and I recognise fully the appalling insanitation and overcrowding which have to be overcome. I am not for one moment suggesting a return to the past unhealthy congestion. But the fact, that the present slums are so bad, should not blind us to defects in the new system. I am certain that those who have endeavoured so earnestly and perseveringly to promote the new system will be the first to welcome suggestions which may make their scheme more in accordance with the natural instincts and wishes of the working men themselves. It is for this purpose that I have ventured, though only a visitor to Bombay, to write.

AN INTERVIEW THAT DID NOT TAKE PLACE.

(The *Independent*, Allahabad, December 16.)

[In a recent issue we published the news that the permission granted by the Superintendent of the Yeravada jail to Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sjt. C. R. Das and Hakim Ajmal Khan to interview Mahatma Gandhi was cancelled. We give below a more detailed account about it along with the true copies of the telegraphic messages between Pandit Motilal Nehru and the Superintendent, Yeravada Jail.]

When the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee were at Poona an interview with Mahatmaji was sought on behalf of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Doctor Ansari. They were informed that no interview was then due. It followed from this that the only condition of having an interview was that they should seek it at a time when it was due. Early in November, Pandit Motilal Nehru learnt that an interview would become due in December, and that in case of non-relatives jail authorities would allow interview by two. Later it was arranged through Mr. Chaganlal Gandhi that Panditji and Hakim Ajmal Khan were to have an interview with Mahatmaji on the 14th December.

On the 8th December Pandit Motilal Nehru, with a view to be thoroughly assured about it sent the following message to the Superintendent of the Yeravada jail.

“Agreeably your letter to Chaganlal Gandhi, Hakim Ajmal Khan and self arriving Poona, 18th night to interview Mahatma Gandhi, 14th morning. Kindly wire if interview will be granted”-

To the above wire Pandit Motilal Nehru got the following reply from the Superintendent of the Yeravada jail.

“Interview granted to persons named.”

CENTRAL JAIL.

After receipt of this Panditji went to Etah for the District Conference. The arrangement was that he should leave Etah after the Conference and proceed to Poona via Agra where Hakim Ajmal Khan was to join him. On the 11th evening the following wire from the Superintendent of Yeravada jail to Pandit Motilal Nehru was received at Allahabad.

“I had no authority to grant interview. Inform Ajmal Khan and do not come pending advice from me”.

As stated above when the above wire was received at Allahabad Pandit Motilal Nehru was away at Etah. He then left Etah and went to Agra. At Agra Railway Station where he expected to see Hakim Ajmal Khan he did not see him but in his stead Hakim Ajmal Khan's secretary, had come there. He told Panditji that Hakim Sahib had been informed that the permission for an interview had been withdrawn. Pandit Motilal Nehru then proceeded to Delhi and after spending some time with Hakimji returned to Allahabad.

BOMBAY MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

Mr. G. B. Trivedi M. L. C., who is standing as a candidate from Bhuleshwar Ward for next Municipal Election for the Bombay Municipal Corporation, has issued the following manifesto:—

Dear Sir,

I am a candidate for the next Municipal Election from Bhuleshwar Ward. I have tried my best to protect the interests of the poor and middle classes, in the Legislative Council at the time of the Rent Act Amendment Bill and the Municipal Act Amendment Bill, by getting the duration of the former extended and by getting franchise for tenants of Rs. 10 and above.

My other work in the Council is before my voters. My method of work is to serve the public without distinction of caste or creed and if elected to the Municipality I assure to work there on the same lines and hope therefore my voters, be they Co-operators or Non-Co-operators, be they Hindus, Mahomads, Parsees or Christians, will support me.

I had a good chance of joining the municipal Nationalist party but I prefer to work as a non-party man. I believe that in Municipal affairs you require best civil virtues and not politics.

I seek this new field of work with the idea of social service only and if you have faith in my work I hope you will vote for me and get me the votes of your friends and neighbours.

201, Hornby Road,
Bombay, 16-12-22.

G. B. TRIVEDI.

THE RACE COURSE TAX.

Many of us have, no doubt, hailed with satisfaction the decision of the Legislative Council to impose a 50 per cent. tax on the gate money collected by the Western India Turf Club. That Club has become, to the shame of all thoughtful people, the chief dispenser of charity in this Presidency. The only way, apparently, in which to maintain charitable or Red Cross organisations to-day is to appeal to the passion for excitement or to the gambling instinct. A natural desire is aroused in one to lay hold for State purposes of a share of these ill-gotten gains. But, as an Indian Christian friend has pointed out to us, this is a very short-sighted view to take. Our Legislators would have been far wiser if they had refused to have part or lot in this business. The decision of the Council goes near to creating a vested interest on the part of the State in gambling. We know how hard a thing it is to get rid of the liquor traffic now that its four crores have become the chief source of revenue to the Presidency. Just so the 4 lakhs that it is hoped to recover from the Race Course will become a chain binding us all to this demoralising institution. The long view that would refuse any share in this money on these grounds was not, as far as we have observed, brought forward at all at the Council, but it is undoubtedly the wise view.—*Dnyanodaya*, Poona, December 14.

"UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE VICEROY."

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have just read in a daily newspaper an advertisement of various whiskies sold "Under the patronage of His Excellency The Viceroy." With due respect to His Excellency, I desire to enter a vigorous protest against the use of his high and

dignified position to encourage the sale of intoxicating liquors in India. Considering the strength of Temperance sentiment among the people of India, it is very surprising that the liquor dealers have considered it advisable to publicly link the Viceroy's name with the sale of whiskey.

I do not protest against the use of intoxicants by His Excellency the Viceroy. It would be to me, as to the vast majority of the people of India, a cause of great joy if His Excellency should voluntarily announce his adoption of total abstinence throughout his term of office. It would be a signal evidence of His Excellency's respect for Indian convictions. The point of my protest is not that His Excellency purchases the particular brand of whiskies mentioned in the advertisement, but that permission is given to advertise that these liquor dealers are operating under his patronage. The purpose of the advertisement is to induce readers to purchase, and patriotic Indians and those who desire to protect the prestige of the Government and to advance the cause of British and Indian understanding will object to the use of the Viceroy's position to further the sale of liquors.

I trust that His Excellency the Viceroy and the Government of India will recognize the advisability of forbidding the use of His Excellency's name and title in the advertisement of intoxicating liquors.

Arrah, Bihar.
Dated the 15th Dec., 1922.

Yours etc.,
TEMPERANCE REFORMER.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE HOMEOPATHIC MEDICAL DEPARTMENT NOTIFICATION.

It is hereby announced that the Royal Homeopathic Medical College, Lahore (Punjab) teaches and examines the students for the various diplomas. For complete information, get the prospectus by sending one anna stamp to the Principal, Dr. J. Nirvary, M. B., Assistant Surgeon, Railway Road, Letter Box No. 500, Lahore (Punjab).

JUST OUT!

JUST OUT!!

Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna

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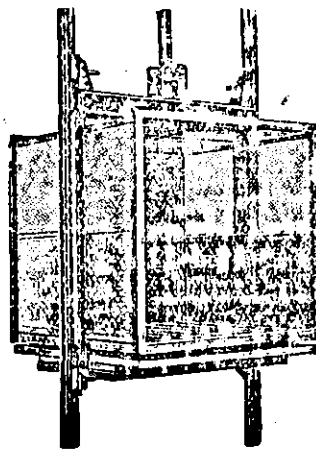
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Vol. XXXIII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1922. No. 18

"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 Gaya Congress: The 37th session of the Indian National Congress met on Tuesday at Gaya. There was a large audience of over fifteen thousand persons including visitors. Nearly four thousand delegates have registered themselves. Gaya is a provincial town with few facilities for organising such a huge gathering. Several conveyances, motor cars and lorries, have been brought from outside and these are fully taxed. The cold after night-fall is severe. The Reception Committee has made heroic efforts to meet the requirements of this great gathering. Entire control of crowd that throng to Congress is in the hands of the Congress volunteers. There are no policemen visible for about two or three miles near the Congress pandal and the way in which they manage is quite creditable. Their orders are implicitly obeyed by crowds and carriage drivers with great humours.—(By wire)

Non-Co-operation and the Bardoli Programme: Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, writing in *Young India* of December 21st, presses for our acceptance his view that the Bardoli programme is not independent of the old Non-Co-operation movement but is inextricably connected with it. Certainly both are based upon non-violence, but it is hard to establish any other connection between the two. Bardoli programme was clearly intended to supersede Non-Co-operation programme some of the items of which were expressly modified at Bardoli. Mr. Rajagopalachari further says that to kill Non-Co-operation because we get some toddy shops closed and some spinning wheels introduced in schools would be like killing the goose for the golden eggs. This is not all that can be done through the Legislative Councils to advance the Bardoli programme. The lot of the untouchables can be indefinitely improved, communal unity ensured, total prohibition accelerated and a swadeshi fiscal policy adopted in the Councils and in the Councils only.

Lifting the Ban: Referring to Dr. Annie Besant's proposed Convention, we expressed the hope that the Convention should have for one of its principal ends the procuring of the release of political prisoners and the removal of the disqualification for standing

for the Councils of such Congress leaders. The question was raised in the House of Commons and Lord Winterton in reply declined to do anything to facilitate the Non-Co-operators' entry into the Councils. Commenting on this we are glad to read the following observations of the *Servant of India*, the Poona Liberal weekly. In a recent issue it observes:—"As a matter of fact, there is not a Moderate but desires whole-heartedly the cessation of the Non-Co-operation and therefore the removal of the ban on Council elections, whether the Government or the Non-Co-operators. No one will welcome the leaders of the Non-Co-operation movement more warmly back into the folds than the Liberals; not only because it would be a complete vindication of the policy which they have been consistently following, but because they are fully conscious of the weakness from which the legislatures suffer on a point of the fact that all the different views prevailing in the country are not represented therein. Let this therefore be clearly understood and let the Conservative Government in England not shelter itself behind the Indian Moderate party in maintaining the present boycott. The Moderates who are never tired of appealing to the Non-Co-operators to come in and take their place in the Legislatures will not support the Government in the latter's non-co-operation with the Non-Co-operators."

Mr. Sastry on Diarchy: In the course of his presidential address at the fifth National Liberal Federation which commenced its session at Nagpur on the 27th instant, the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastry referred to some of the serious defects of the Diarchy and said that the demand for its removal comes from many sides. He said:

Since I spoke on this subject in Bombay my opinion about diarchy has not been shaken. I think it has reached its limit of usefulness. Not having inside knowledge of any administration, I am unable to enforce my opinion by a striking array of specific instances. Perhaps Ministers at present in office and Executive Councillors, when freed from official restraints and called upon to state their experience before a duly authorised commission, will make out an overwhelming case for the termination of duality in provincial administration. The best results have been obtained where Governors have treated Councillors and Ministers as belonging to one Cabinet. The rule requiring that the Finance Member should be an Executive Councillor has placed Ministers at a decided disadvantage in obtaining money for their departments. Official discipline too is difficult to maintain as Ministers have discovered, when an officer cannot be censured or transferred except with the consent of the Governor. In some provinces Ministers are not recognised as forming one official group.

After narrating some instances of the pathetic woes of the Ministers under the dual system, Mr. Sastry observed:

A half and half system is naturally productive of friction and wears out the nerves of those who have to work it. Members of the services are not the least loud in demanding that the system should be developed to the full. It seems now to serve no useful purpose. No one, official or non-official, has questioned the efficiency of Ministers or their ability to manage the reserved services if these should be entrusted to their care. The public will long remember the indiscriminate arrests of a few months ago and the high-handed use in certain places of section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and they no longer wish to have such powers exercised by officers without fear of being called to account in the house of legislature.

We reserve our comments on Mr. Sastry's presidential address and the proceedings of the Liberal Federation for the next issue.

Malabar Forcible Conversions: In the *Reformer* of the 9th instant, we referred to the extraordinary statements regarding Malabar forcible conversions made by Mr. Gopala Menon in the course of his speech at the Islamia College Hall, Lahore. We reprint to-day the comments of the *Swarajya*, the Non-Co-operation daily of Madras and of the *West Coast Reformer*, a Calicut tri-weekly which, as will be seen from its comments, is strongly opposed to the Non-Co-operation movement. The *Swarajya* says that Mr. Gopala Menon, who was described by the Associated Press as "Secretary of the Calicut Congress Committee", is the Secretary of the Town Congress Committee which is a "bogus institution" and warns the Congress organisations in Northern India to guard against the vagaries of this individual. Since then we have received information from an unimpeachable source regarding Mr. Gopala Menon and his doings. Our informant who, we may mention, has an intimate knowledge of the working of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee, writes:

But for your drawing attention in the columns the *Reformer* to Mr. Gopala Menon's mischievous propaganda in the Punjab, his doings would not have been known in these parts. For, the Associated Press telegram never appeared in the Madras papers. I need hardly tell you that Mr. Gopala Menon's allegations are cruel and baseless in the extreme. Messrs. Kesava Menon and Madhavan Nair, to some extent, lost their popularity with a section of Moplahs (it is only a section mainly confined to the Calicut town) by their venturing to speak out the truth about the rebel atrocities. Messrs. Gopala Menon and Moideen Koya took advantage of this and have been fanning the flame of Moplah dislike of Messrs. Kesava Menon and Madhavan Nair to discredit them and to increase their own popularity with the unthinking people. To this end they have been deliberately and systematically trying to suppress the tale of the rebel atrocities and to exaggerate or rather invent stories of Hindu misdeeds. If things are as Gopala Menon has stated in his Lahore speech, one would have heard of them at the time when the rebellion was going on. But there was no suggestion anywhere of such things. It is only now that one has begun to hear of them from Messrs. Gopala Menon and Moideen Koya. By the way, they had never had occasion to go to the interior and it is evident, therefore, that the whole thing is a clumsy afterthought. As for Mr. Gopala Menon, he was holding office of the Taluk Secretary for the Calicut Taluk and was also carrying on the affairs of the Town Congress Committee. In these capacities, he was acting in defiance of all discipline and against the directions of his superiors in office, Messrs. Kesava Menon and Madhavan Nair. Mr. Madhavan Nair, the District Secretary,

had, therefore, to refuse all financial aid to Mr. Gopala Menon and the latter, leaving matters thus, walked away with his friend Mr. Koya to the Punjab. Of course, he is not in the habit of reporting his movements or doings to the Provincial Congress Committee who came to know of his departure to the Punjab only indirectly. That is how matters stand.

Further comments will be superfluous. We trust that the above statement from one who is more intimately acquainted with the Malabar Congress affairs than Mr. Gopala Menon, will clear the probable misapprehensions of those who have been misled by the latter's Lahore speech.

Railway Advisory Councils: In paragraphs 139-142 of their Report, the Railway Committee recommended the establishment of a Central and a number of local Advisory Councils to give the Indian public an adequate voice in the management of their own railways which almost all the main lines in India are. Contrary to the recommendations of that Committee, the Government of India have appointed the Central Advisory Council from amongst the members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The Committee recommended about twenty non-official representatives of the Commercial and Industrial Associations and the public definitely identified with rural interests and of the Indian travelling public, not necessarily from amongst the Legislative Councils. Each of the Provincial Councils was, however, to be asked to appoint a representative for its own Province. We are not aware whether the Provincial Councils were asked to appoint such representatives on the Central Council. The Government of India are not justified in setting aside the definite recommendation of the Railway Committee according to which the local Advisory Councils are to be established either at each of the railway centres or at the head-quarters of each railway. In November last, we read in the newspapers that the Legislative Councils of some of the Provinces have elected their representatives for the local Advisory Councils, but we have not yet seen any of these Councils properly constituted. Will the Government make an announcement and state whether these Councils are to be constituted according to the recommendations of the Acworth Committee? A definite announcement as to the constitution and working of these Councils is urgently required.

The Congress and Council Entry: The *Bombay Chronicle* on Friday publishes a telegram from its special correspondent at Gaya that the Congress Sub-Committee, after prolonged discussion, decided to adopt Mr. Rajagopalachari's resolution against Council-entry. The President of the Khilafat Conference, Dr. Ansari, has also expressed his opinion against Council-entry. That as well as the Ulemas' decision against Council-entry will influence Moslem delegates to vote against it. There is every sign of the Council-entry party meeting with a defeat.

Removal of a Social Disability: An Associated Press telegram from Rangoon dated 23rd December says that British Government as successors of Kings of Arakan has cancelled the sentence of social degradation passed nearly two centuries ago on persons punished for political crimes and since borne by their descendants. They were originally considered as pagoda slaves but their present day descendants have earned livelihood for some generation as agriculturalists and petty traders and are by no means distinguishable from other Arakanese. Government annuls all disabilities, holding that any offence their fore-fathers may have committed must long since have been expiated.

THE NATIONAL WEEK

IMPRESSIONS OF OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

[The Superintendent of Telegraphs, Bombay, notified yesterday that, owing to line disturbances, telegrams between Bombay and Calcutta were liable to serious delay. A press message sent from our Special Correspondent from Gaya at 11 A.M. on Thursday was received here on Friday after 10 A.M. i.e., after more than 23 hours. We, therefore, waited to print this issue till 6-30 P. M. yesterday to enable us to publish the impressions of our Special Correspondent. As no messages were received till late last evening, the paper was printed off to enable us to post the paper to our overseas subscribers in time to catch the out-going mail to-day.

This morning at 8-30 a. m. we have received the following two express messages sent by our Special Correspondent from Gaya yesterday at 9-10 a. m. and 1-55 p.m. respectively. We therefore, issue this Supplement to this number.]

CONGRESS IMPRESSIONS

(From Our Special Correspondent).

Gaya, 29th Dec. 9-10 a.m.

SHARP DIVISION AMONG CONGRESSMEN.

The Congress atmosphere this year was one of anxiety rather than enthusiasm. The Pro-Council and Anti-Council parties are more sharply divided than it seemed before coming to Gaya. The President Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru and other Pro-Council leaders obeyed with scarcely veiled indifference. The address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee is a strong plea against entry into Councils. The Presidential address received with little enthusiasm. No Congress session on Thursday, the day being wholly devoted, in addition to large part of previous day, to discussing draft resolutions and amendments on Council entry in the Subjects Committee. Voting taken Thursday evening showed overwhelming majority against Council entry. Except United Provinces, Bengal, Punjab and Bombay, other provinces were almost wholly against entry into the Councils. There is little doubt that this will be endorsed by Congress to-day and its leadership definitely passes into the hands of the extreme wing of Non-Co-operationists. I have reason to think that more thoughtful among the latter are themselves nervous as to the effect, especially as Pro-Council leaders have adopted an unexpectedly firm tone as regards their determination to exercise their right of personal freedom under the constitution of the Congress.

THE NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Gaya, 29th Dec. 1-55 p.m.

The National Social Conference held on Friday morning, though at short notice, was a great success. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema pandal was filled with audience of three thousand. Babu Gorakh Prasad, President of the Reception Committee, delivered a Hindi address after which Rai Bahadur Dwarkanath proposed Mr. M. R. Jayakar to the Chair. Miss Tyebji seconded. The President, in the course of his address, emphasised the enlarged character of social reform movement quoting Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's message to the Amritsar Social Conference. Mr. Deepnarayan Singh moved in Hindi the first resolution on the removal of untouchability, Abbas Tyebji seconded in Hindustani and Babu Rajendra Prasad supported. The other resolutions relating to women's uplift, marriage reforms, total prohibition, and the organisation of Conference work were passed. Among the principal speakers were Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Vijayaraghava Chariar, Lala Dhanichand, Mr. Stokes, Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni, Mrs. Deepnarain Singh, Miss Natarajan, Mrs. Santosh Kumari, Mrs. Singh, Mrs. Keshav Dev Shastri and Behari Lal of Dehra Dun.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

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THE WIDOW REMARRIAGE ACT. 1856.

We have a few copies of a little book, now out of print, published in 1885 containing a collection of the proceedings which led to the passing of Act XV of 1856 compiled by Pandit Narayan Keshav Vaidya. They are old but in fairly good condition. They may be had on application from the Manager, The Indian Social Reformer, Empire Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay for Rs. 2/- a copy.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 30, 1922.

THE MOPLAH WAGGON TRAGEDY CASE.

On the 19th November 1921, one hundred convicted prisoners (97 Moplahs and 3 Hindus) were despatched from Tirur (Malabar) to Bellary in a luggage van. When the van was opened at Podanur after nearly five hours, it was found that 45 of the prisoners (including the three Hindus) had already died of asphyxia, combined with heat and exhaustion. Out of the remaining, 14 died subsequently of the same causes. Ultimately 70 prisoners out of the one hundred died. The expert medical officers gave out their opinion that the terrible tragedy was due to asphyxia. The news sent a thrill of horror throughout the country. The then Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu, expressed his horror at the incident in a cablegram which he sent to the Viceroy on the 22nd November. He wired:

I am shocked at the terrible consequences of what seems, in absence of explanation, to be culpable negligence. I trust that investigation will be urgently dealt with by the local Government, and that if the facts are as stated, no time will be lost by the Government of India in expressing its views publicly. This incident is peculiarly untoward, in view of the fact that the suppression of the disturbances in Malabar has been in general so well conducted.

The Viceroy replied three days after that the Government of India could not express their views publicly until further information as to the facts was received from the Madras Government.

The Madras Government appointed a Committee which was presided over by Mr. Knapp, the Special Commissioner in Malabar. Regarding the constitution of this Committee, we have already expressed our opinion in the *Reformer* of the 27th November 1921, that Mr. Knapp, as Special Commissioner of Malabar, was himself ultimately responsible for the administration of the affected tract and he was, therefore, not the proper person to investigate this terrible scandal. The findings of the Committee's report were first published in England and an English paper characterised the report as a "pice of sickening, shuffling hypocrisy." The Committee could not see their way to blame anybody in particular and their conclusion was that the whole tragedy was due to "a deplorable accident." In their resolution on the Committee's report dated 30th August 1922, the Government of India disagreeing with the findings of the Committee held that Sergeant Andrews and five Indian policemen including one head constable who formed the escort of the prisoners of the "death waggon" were guilty of culpable negligence and directed the Madras Government to institute proceedings against them. Accordingly, the Madras Government sanctioned the prosecution of Sergeant Andrews and the five policemen.

The trial commenced before Mr. H. L. Braidwood, L. U. S., the District Magistrate of Coimbatore on the

14th instant. The Public Prosecutor alleged that "the accused by their not investigating the condition of the prisoners and their failure to relieve their suffering in time have caused the deaths of the above mentioned seventy prisoners and are guilty of the offence under Section 304, I. P. C. and are further guilty of offence under Sections 128 and 129 of the Indian Railways Act, in that by wilful omission or neglect, they endangered the safety of 100 prisoners travelling under their charge." Several witnesses including two prisoners, who were among the thirty survivors of the train tragedy, were examined and the Magistrate himself inspected the "death waggon." On the 23rd instant, His Honour in passing the order discharging the accused concluded by saying that

On the evidence, I can only hold that Sergeant Andrews had not sufficient ground to take any steps to rescue the prisoners from the desperate situation, in which they had been *unfortunately placed, by a mistake, for which he was not responsible.* The other accused also cannot be held to blame for not having formed the opinion that there was anything wrong. Even if they heard something in the prisoners' cries, indicating distress which in my opinion is not proved, they would, I think, have been justified in the circumstances regarding it as mere bluff and in omitting to act on it.

However that may be, on the evidence available there is no case against the accused to justify their being called on to enter upon their defence.

I discharge them under section 253 (1) C. P. C.

The italics are ours. It will be seen that the District Magistrate holds that there had been "a mistake for which he (Sergeant Andrews) was not responsible." It is not difficult to understand from the above passage that the "mistake" referred to is that of selecting such waggons for escorting prisoners. In opening the trial of the accused, the Public Prosecutor stated that it was the practice to despatch prisoners in luggage vans closed and bolted. Attention was called to this inhuman practice by Mr. Lakshmanan writing from Coimbatore few weeks before the tragedy characterising this practice as "brutality pure and simple." There must be some person or persons who are responsible for the terrible tragedy. Who are they? We are not sorry for the acquittal of Sergeant Andrews and his colleagues, but we are sorry that those who are really responsible for the terrible tragedy are not brought to book. We reserve further comments for a later issue.

THE BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

(By MR. G. B. TRIVEDI M. L. C.)

The Bombay Legislative Council had a sitting of two weeks from the 4th to 16th instant. It was not a new session but a continuation of the 3rd session and hence resolutions and new questions were not admitted. In fact it was wholly reserved for official work which consisted of 5 Bills, one resolution from Government for participation in the Empire Exhibition of 1924, and some supplementary grants.

Of the Bills one was non-contentious and passed through all the three readings. One relating to the re-constitution of the Bombay Port Trust Board was read for the first time and given to the Select Committee. The Indian Merchants Chamber, on whose demand it was introduced, asked for clear Indian majority on the Board and Chamber's members in the Council put this demand forward but the Council failed to hammer this view and the Indian member in charge of the Bill characterised this demand as raising a racial question. He was so much mindful of suppressing Indian merchants' views in the Select Committee that he put only 2 Indian merchants on a Committee of 11. It is a pity that a reformed Council should have thus failed to demand effective Indian majority on the Port Trust Board where Indian rights are so much ignored as to have only 6 Indians on posts of Rs. 500 and over as against 107 Anglo-Indians and Europeans.

Next three Bills were for second readings (1) The Local Board Bill (2) The taxation bill on entertainments and (3) The Compulsory Primary Education Bill. The three Bills were so allied to each other that they three formed one whole, one central purpose, running through them which was the provision of Compulsory Primary Education. There is going to be a devolution of powers, additions of functions and democratising of constitution of the Local Boards so that they will elect their School Boards to Central Primary Education in their own areas. Big Municipalities will also have their own School Boards Government control and inspection being very limited to seeing that their grants are not misused and that pernicious education is not given and statistics are kept properly. Thus Local Board Bill was to provide the machinery for the Compulsory Education and the Taxation on Entertainment was the first measure to provide money. Thus these three bills hung together.

The chief battle of the non-officials was for inadequate finance provided for Municipalities and Local Boards. The Select Committee recommended $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ grants as against $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$ in the original Bill. The Minister agreed to this increase in the Select Committee. But it appears that as soon as he went to his colleagues of the Reserved departments with this increase, he was thrown overboard by them and he was asked to face his Council with an amendment to reduce the grants again to $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{2}{3}$. This raised a storm of protest which would have wrecked the Bill for the Compulsory Education had not Government promised to give more voluntarily to such Local Boards or Municipalities as were financially unable to bear the burden. But Government made yet another attempt to reduce their liabilities by excluding building grants from non-recurring grants. This too was against the Select Committee's report and was negated by the Council by two divisions in spite of the threat of Government members that Bill will be withdrawn if Government were defeated. But Government took the defeat gallantly.

The Council showed its disappointment at the inadequacy of finances of the Local Boards who were not allowed to levy cesses on Abkari, Forest, Income Tax and Salt. But as this was considered to affect Government Revenues no amendments were allowed.

The Entertainment Tax Bill raised strong opposition on three points. The Select Committee had taken evidence and was convinced that Cinema trade was in a depressed state; yet Government would not exclude it wholly or partly from taxation. The other point was of complimentary tickets which Government would not exempt, but they ultimately agreed to do so. The third and important point was Government's anxiety to protect the fat goose of the Turf Club. The Select Committee unanimously recommended 50 per cent tax on admission to Race Course. But the Finance Member moved an amendment to reduce it to 25 per cent. This evoked strong opposition and Government were defeated twice. Later on Government wanted power to remit tax and made no secret of their intention to give benefit thereof to the Turf Club. This too was resented and negated. Incidentally a reference was made to the conduct of the Turf Club who opened the third enclosure to entrap poor people. This led to a statement by the Home Member which was found unsatisfactory and would lead to a debate in the next session. Thus these three bills were passed after the Council has convinced the Government that the stumbling block in the way of success of Dr. Paranjapye's Education Bill will be financial stringency both of Government and Local Bodies.

The last battle raged round the resolution of Dr. Paranjapye about participation of the Presidency in the Empire Exhibition to be held in London in 1924 and granting rupees one lac net for the purpose. This was opposed by representatives of Commerce and Industry in the Council both on the grounds of ill-treatment of Indians in the Colonies as well as on our poverty of Industrial Exhibits except mill products and timber. For the former mill-owners think that in comparison to Lancashire and Manchester goods, their products had no chance of capturing new markets and to exhibit our goods there would be like carrying coals to New Castle. There may something in favour of timber but if Government were anxious to develop this trade, why do they allow their own departments like the Development Department and the Port Trust and Indian Railways import Canadian Oregon Pine wood while Burmese and Canara timbers much superior in quality was available. But the Council treated this as a political resolution on a par with the visit of the Prince of Wales and voted for it on grounds other than Industrial and the resolution was passed by a majority of 39 against 6 only. Thus ended an epoch-making session. It was remarkable for passing important Bills affecting the life of the people. There are some important omissions which only strong Councils could have remedied. But defective though they are, let us work them with a hope to amend them in more popular Council of the future.

MARRIAGE III.

(By Mr. G. A. SUNDARAM.)

In my previous articles, I have tried to show that the idea that marriage is a sacrament is not helpful in keeping the marriage institution free from abuses and that marriage will follow general social reform. I shall now briefly review the present position with regard to different branches of marriage reform.

The most monstrous of all the evils is enforced widowhood. The disabilities and humiliations heaped on widows form only part of it. Enough has been written about the injustice of denying the women who have the misfortune to become widows mere human, mere animal rights. But in no branch of social reform has the opposition of orthodoxy been so strong and so successful as in the matter of bettering the condition of widows. I have used a wide phrase so as to embrace remarriage of widows and allowing them to grow hair and to be regarded as normal human beings and not as "bad omens." Orthodoxy has resisted and resists any change in the treatment of widows. The large mass of Hindus who are neither orthodox nor heterodox sheepishly follow the tyrant custom because of the fear of boycott by the orthodox. The strength of this fear I shall deal with later on. So far as the disfiguring of widows is concerned there is however a perceptible change though the extent of this change is not at all satisfactory. Even orthodox people are after all human beings, fathers or mothers and brothers or sisters. Public opinion is now somewhat more lenient than it was some years ago about allowing girl-widows to allow hair to remain unshaved. But is this reform, if it may be called so, in any way flattering to our nineteenth century and twentieth century rationalism? As early as in the 14th century the same reform was successfully carried through by the sect of Vaishnavas founded by Pillai Lokachariar and Peria Vachan Pillai, and given shape by Manaval Maha Muni the Tegalai Vaishnavas of the Madras Presidency. Even now they observe that practice. What is rather curious is that Tegalais and Vadagalais intermarry notwithstanding this heterodox practice of the Tegalais. Taking widow remarriages, far from there being any progress, there seems to be a setback. In a recent issue of the *Indian Social Reformer* there was published an article about Social Reform in the Andhra Desa in which the writer points out that very few widow remarriages have taken place in that province that had the benefit of the labours of the late Veeresalingam Pantulu. The chief reason why we have not progressed is that people are so greatly in dread of the consequences that may follow on offending the orthodox. Another reason is that social reform propaganda has not been conducted in the Indian languages and has not reached our ladies. My impression is that if propaganda is started in Indian languages and made to appeal to our women, the results will be much more encouraging. No doubt, our women are orthodox, but they are more women with feelings than auto-

mata moved by regulations fixed for a different age. Also, even orthodoxy will have to bend to a human appeal. Here I may state that the position taken up by orthodoxy does not reflect the true genius of *Sanatan Dharma*. It is impossible to cite a lower Sanatani in the highest sense of that term than the great saint of Dakshineswar, Swami Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. His opinion about Pandit Ishwar Chandar Vidyasagar, the father of the widow remarriage movement, will be received with a shock by those who pride themselves on their orthodoxy. The sentences I give below are from the "Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna" Vol. II. "I should like to see Ishwar Chandar Vidyasagar a few times more. Everything is fully ripe in Vidyasagar, only it is hidden. So he is doing a lot of good work, but knows not that God is lying concealed in his inmost heart, knowing which, one gives up all work and longs to cry unto the Lord."

Again, "Ever work unattached. The works that are done by Vidyasagar are good, for he tries to be selfless." Orthodoxy would declare Pandit Vidyasagar a sinner. But here we find a real seer giving Vidyasagar a very high place among evolved souls as one on the threshold of *Sarva Sanga Parityage*. I make bold to say that the Hindu world has greater regard for the judgment of Sri Ramakrishna than for the judgment of any number of pedantic pandits. But very few have been told of the high esteem in which Sri Ramakrishna held Pandit Vidyasagar and his work. It should be part of social reform propaganda to give the widest publicity in all Indian languages to the life and work of Pandit Vidyasagar and also to the estimate of his work by men like Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Keshub Chandar Sen. But I admit that propaganda alone will not be enough. The more important work will be organisation with a view to mitigate the discomforts consequent on a boycott by the orthodox sections of the community. But this wider question I shall deal with after noticing the other important evils of the marriage institution.

INDIAN CHRISTIANITY AND THE NATIONAL AWAKENING, IV.

(By A ROMAN CATHOLIC)

THE SPIRITUAL DOMINATION COMPARED WITH THE POLITICAL.

It is one of the strangest features of the present day history of India that whereas this great continent is ruled politically by one people and this the English, yet in matters spiritual which pertain to Christian belief, it almost acknowledges the sway of almost as many people and nations as those into which the continent of Europe is broken up. We are not thinking of the numerous sects of Christianity, each one of which has its panacea for all the ills of mankind and is ready to provide 'salvation' for the asking: not at all, but we are thinking of the French, and the Italian and the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Swiss

etc. and in pre-war days the Germans and the Austrians who have carved out little spiritual principalities for themselves, and not least of all the citizen of the land of the Almighty Dollar with his strongholds dotting the whole country.

The inner workings of international diplomacy often-times discloses such pathological conditions as to shock the naïveté of the ordinary citizen who has faith and grace to be trustful of the pompous, correct and copy-plate maxims of the diplomatists, and we have much reason to believe that the international relations of these miniature religious nationalities in India are not wholly free from the jealousies, petty bickerings, beggar-my-neighbour policy which are so much noticeable in the political punch and Judy show. We are not concerned with these, for they are the consequences which one must after all expect when divergent nations with varying shades of belief have to interpret one common ideal, in their case, to bring the Christian Gospel to India.

We only wish to ask the plain and simple question whether that part of the Indian population that acknowledges the sway of these European nationals in the spiritual field can claim to have advanced in that particular sphere as much as those who acknowledge the political yoke have advanced in the direction of self-government. If in the field of administration and justice it has been found possible to enlarge the scope of the Indian, have the ecclesiastical authorities in Europe or America thought fit to extend the scope of Indians in the ecclesiastical government of their own countrymen? It shames us, or should we rather say, the mouthpieces of Christianity in this country and not Christianity itself, to have to answer that political development has far outstripped any ecclesiastical advance: in fact it is doubtful if there has been any advance at all in this domain worth speaking about.

In the ecclesiastical as much as in the political world the highest ideal is to see every people ministered to or governed by its own members. We have no difficulty in accepting the worn-out solemn plausibility which makes a benignant Providence entrust political education or spiritual enlightenment of a country to an alien people; but even the most blantant assertors of this hoary doctrine will admit that the trustees shall have failed to discharge their obligations if they have not within a reasonable time been able to bring about the emancipation of their ward. One would have reason to believe that the Christian doctrine of the equality of man and the Fatherhood of God would lead to a quickening of the pace of spiritual home-rule for Indians: but unfortunately the wheels of the ecclesiastical machinery appear to be more clogged with racial prejudice and with the time-worn platitudes of Indians not yet being fit for ecclesiastical preferment, even more than those of the political machinery. The native Christian element in India by virtue of its numerical insignificance and its backwardness and its tragic dissipation has never been able to bring home to its foreign ecclesiastical masters that Swaraj in the field of religion is as much necessary for the corporate health of the life of the community as is civic and political liberty.

Roman Catholic Christianity has been in existence in this country for at least four centuries and one should have expected that a religion that calls itself democratic and universal, one which prides itself on the fact of having the highest office in its hierarchy open to one of the lowliest birth, should have advanced at least a few of the children of the soil to the most important positions in the Indian Church. But one might as well expect the leopard to change its spots. Pronouncements from Rome like the Proclamation from the English Throne and Parliament blazoning the equality of the Indian with the dominant people and piously avowing intentions of providing scope for indigenous talent are numerous; they are meant to act as anodynes on unquiet minds and nothing besides unless it be to add one more to the list of beatitudes: 'Blessed are they that hope for they shall not be disappointed.' That has been the tragedy of the Indian to be made to pursue illusions with a devoted confidence.

It is common knowledge that in England which has governed this country for a century and a half during which time countless of its men and women have lived in, moved about India and been associated with Indians, 9 out of 10 cannot tell what is the difference between a 'bamboo' and a 'babu': what wonder therefore, if in the high places of ecclesiastical government accessible only to the select few, the only picture of Indian Christianity that reach there are of the skeletons of famine-stricken humanity, standing by thatched grass-huts imploring alms or praying for rain. There is a bureaucracy ecclesiastical as well as civil; and it knows its own interest; it is human to feel indignant that there should be Indians who maintain that they have outgrown the *status pupilaris*.

It will ever redound to the credit of England that its most exclusive body opened its doors to an Indian; the House of Lords was proud to be associated with an Indian. Governorships of Provinces are not today beyond the Indian's aspirations and what need therefore to speak of other eminent positions like High Court Judgeships, Memberships of the Executive Councils that have long been thrown open to them. But during a spiritual domination that runs into centuries what are the careers that are thrown open to the sons of the country? Of course not a Bishopric, so we are told as far as the Christian Section of the Roman Communion goes which we should have expected to be more generous and liberal-minded, and we are told that positions of much inferior status and carrying no dignity whatsoever are hardly within the aspirations of the Indian cleric.

Where in Europe, the homeland of modern Christianity, as we are told, do we see, a Bishop of one nationality, ruling over a people of a different one, Italian will not tolerate a Frenchman, and the Scotch not an Irishman: only in India to seek the normal is a heresy—an anathema, O! the pity of it—we were almost tempted to shout the hypocrisy of it.

Oh unfortunate Motherland! What great sins must you have committed in the past that even the regeneration of some of your children's souls—let alone the care of their body—should not be trusted to you!

(Concluded.)

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

London, December 7th, 1922.

THE IRISH BILL.

The Irish Free State Constitution Bill passed through its final stages in the House of Lords on Monday December 4th, exactly one year after the Treaty was signed in London. The third and last reading was allowed by the House of Lords without even the formal challenge of a division, and thinking of this to-day, one cannot help glancing over the pages of past history and remember that when Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill was introduced in 1893, it was rejected by 419 votes to 41. Thus another great experiment in Self-Government within the Empire comes into being, 29 years after the first demand for it was made in the House of Parliament here. But those 29 years have not been spent only in convincing England that Home Rule was good for Ireland; they have been much more important than that, for they have convinced Ireland herself that she wanted and needed it, and in addition have so enlarged and broadened the original Bill that the present one bears only a structural resemblance to its parent of so long ago. An infinitely greater measure of liberty is given to Ireland to-day than was even contemplated as a possibility in the Gladstonian period. But probably even more than on the recovery of domestic freedom is Ireland to be congratulated upon the fact that she has, during the years of waiting and suffering, clearly defined her own schemes for Government and has developed statesmen big enough and capable enough to put her schemes into instant operation.

THE FIRST GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF IRELAND.

Mr. G. M. Healy, K.C., that great lover of his own country, is to be the first Governor-General of Ireland, and in a message to the Press that he gave a couple of days ago, he expressed the utmost confidence in Ireland's future, and also the firm belief that she will settle down and become a very happy and prosperous country. This state of happy being will not fall ready-made like a cloak upon Ireland; it has yet to be worked for and made. Even now, scarcely a day passes without its list of outrages and murders in the name of patriotism. But once the confidence of the Irish people can be gained in their own Parliament, the work of reconstruction, started months ago, will rapidly move towards its appointed end of political and social order. During the past fortnight, several of the leaders of the Irregular army, have fallen into the hands of the National forces, and numbers of Irregulars seem to be drifting back to their homes. The execution of the great Republican, Childers, has struck a sombre note into the hearts of many outside Ireland, for he was one of the poetic and heroic figures, and even those most opposed to him in political thought feel regret that his genius was cut short by so unhappy an end. Probably his last letter addressed to his wife, in which he expressed an ever-living love for England, even though that love was mis-

understood by her, has done much to establish him as a pathetic figure in the minds of many here. But the Free State is determined to show that she can rule her own household, and that those who set themselves in violent opposition to her must be broken, if they will not submit.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT QUESTION.

As was foreshadowed before Parliament opened its new session, one of the first things it did, was to discuss the unemployment question. It became the main theme in the first debate the House had. The position with regard to unemployment is easier to-day than it was a year ago, the figures have dropped from over two millions unemployed to 900,000, but such a number is tragic, and these men, in addition, are becoming desperate, or "wasters". The State continues to pay doles, but such an expenditure, is an appalling waste of the State's resources.

During the Debate in the House, various schemes were discussed including one by some members of the Labour Party, who had suggested that the State should open factories and produce goods. But, as Dr. Macnamara pointed out, it is useless to make goods unless we can find a market for them. Such goods would have to be thrown on to the scapheap, or sold at such a figure that a big loss would be incurred and the tax-payer would have to make good the loss. However, enterprises, like railway, canal and road construction are being hurried forward, and it is expected that thousands will find employment in these three main organisations for many months to come. But such schemes, at best, are palliatives and not the real cure for this spectre of unemployment that haunts us and threatens to destroy our vitality. The only real remedy lies in improved trade and this mainly depends upon world conditions over some of which we have no direct control though doubtless a more satisfactory foreign policy on our part would effect a considerable improvement. The 2,000 unemployed men who marched from various parts of England to Whitehall, beguiled by the belief that they could force themselves upon the Prime Minister, are slowly dribbling back to their homes, disappointed and sore, disappointed not only in the refusal of Mr. Bonar Law to see them on quite good constitutional grounds, but in the organisers of their march as well; they feel that they were deceived by false promises of success. The further proposal that Mr. Hannington, the organiser of the unemployed movement made, that 50,000 men should march on to London from the Provinces, and "shake Mr. Bonar Law out of his tranquillity" has been severely condemned by Mr. J. H. Thomas, M. P. Even 50,000 people "pledged to lay down their lives if necessary, and to help to destroy the capitalistic system" would probably only bring endless misery upon themselves, and no hope or good to any one else. It is not expected that such a march will take place, for it is believed that though unhappy and often desperate men will do foolish things, yet there will be sufficient commonsense left to

cause better counsels to prevail. Meanwhile, Mr. Lansbury is promoting a movement to enable an unemployed deputation to be heard at the Bar of the House of Commons.

THE NEW INDIAN M. P. AGAINST HIS OWN PARTY.

The new Parsee member of the House, Mr. Saklatwala, has come up against the party that helped to give him his seat and apparently it has been decided by the Labour Party to review the position of their member. He and an avowed communist moved the rejection of the Irish Bill in a debate, during which the leaders of the party strongly supported it. No party likes to keep within its ranks members who oppose it on most vital issues and we shall probably hear more of Mr. Saklatwala before very long.

THE LATE MRS. ALICE MAYNELL.

The death of Mrs. Alice Maynell takes from us our greatest living woman poet and essayist. It was known that her health was failing for some time, and that the end was near, for she had passed the allotted span of life. But right up to a few weeks before her death, she retained her place as an active worker in the fields of truth and beauty. Some of the finest tributes ever paid to a poet have been paid to her, both during her life-time and at her passing. Yet not only have these tributes been paid to her as a great poetess and great essayist, but a great and saintly woman. After the death of Tennyson, she was suggested as Poet Laureate. But such a suggestion did not bear any fruit, women in those days had not come to occupy the important place that to-day is theirs. Yet how fitting it would have been, that a woman, who will probably go down to history as one of the world's great and good queens, should have bestowed upon another good and great woman the coveted title of Poet Laureate. She occupied a unique position in a unique circle in which Francis Thompson and George Meredith played a great part. There seems no one at the present time to take her place. Though many minor poets come to the surface, they have no staying power but come as bubbles, and, like bubbles, soon disappear from view.

THE DECREASE IN BIRTH-RATE.

The lowering of the birth-rate for England and Wales, again occupies both optimists and pessimists alike. The optimist rejoices in it, because side by side with the lowered figures of birth, he sees the lowering of the mortality rate too. The pessimist groans seeing nothing but calamity for a country that does not lend to over-populate its boundaries. The birth-rate for the second-quarter of the year was lower than for any corresponding quarter except in the abnormal period of the war, and as the decline has been steady for some considerable time now, it looks as though some of the pressing problems of our day will not press upon future generations here.

LORD HAIG'S WARNING TO EMIGRANTS.

Lord Haig has warned people not to emigrate indiscriminately. In a speech he made at Manchester last week, he said that ex-service men should not emigrate

to the Dominions "until the Dominion Governments have set their house in order." Men who went to the rich lands overseas did not find their expectations realised, and continued Lord Haig, "What I want to get are letters from the Colonies to men here saying 'Come out here, there is a good job and plenty to do.' Instead, I have letters from various parts of the Dominions saying that men who have gone out are starving. I have just had a telegram from a Colonial Governor asking for £1,000 to help some men who had emigrated." These statements coming from Lord Haig are rather in conflict with those of the Empire Overseas Settlement Associations. Nevertheless both are probably true; good men are wanted to work the rich lands yet undeveloped in various parts of the Empire, but the men wanted to do this work must be picked from the old country and possessing at least £2,000 in capital.

THE POET ON THE PLATFORM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

You have done well in your able leader of the 2nd instant to nail down some of the "debilitating" and "enervating" suggestions thrown out by Poet Tagore in his recent lectures in Bombay. I have nothing to do with them here, but I crave your indulgence to point out two mistakes of fact, one of which many people have committed in common with the Poet and for the other of which the Poet alone, to my knowledge, seems to have been responsible.

(1) To speak of India as a tropical country at all is a mistake all but universal. A very great part, perhaps the greater part, of India lies actually outside the tropics. A look at any map will show that almost the whole of Northern India or the whole of continental India, leaving the peninsular portion of it, lies *outside the tropics* in the temperate zone. In fact, Persia (with which the Poet contrasted India for the difference in climate as affecting the character and achievements of the two branches of the Aryan race settled in the two countries) lies in about the same latitudes as this temperate portion of India. On the other hand, a considerable part of Egypt and a small portion of China lie in the tropics; but nobody to my knowledge spoke of Egypt or China as tropical countries.

(2) In Bombay and on another occasion at Madras, the Poet declared or rather "generalized" that all the Avatars of the Deity in Hinduism were Kshatriyas with the solitary exception of Parasurama. This too is a mistake. For leaving the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, and the Man-lion which, of course, could have no caste, of the others, *two*, Yamana and Parasurama, were Brahman avatars, Krishna was neither a Brahman nor a Kshatriya, he was of a mixed tribe, the Yadavas. So only two, Rama and Buddha, could be claimed to be Kshatriya. Kalki is yet to come. So Brahman and Kshatriya avatars are only equal in number.

Yours etc.,
M. D. N.

Karwar, 10 Dec. 1922.

"THE ETERNAL QUEST."

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Mr. Rathnam has compressed in his article so much matter that it would need as many days as there are lines in it, to comprehensively examine and analyse his statement

in order to arrive at correct judgments on the various points touched upon by him.

Mr. Rathnam admits that "Man's belief in God is as old as humanity." Very well, I then argue that if we believe in the Fatherhood of God, He could not, and cannot, leave man in ignorance about his duties towards Himself and about the "ultimate goal of humanity." The historical fact is that He has not read the dealings of God with His chosen people in the Old Dispensation and of the Christian Revelation in the new Testament of the Christian Bible. The latter is moreover, intended for all peoples and for all times. An attentive and intelligent perusal and study of the two Testaments will show that a Revelation has been made to man and that a relationship between God and man is just as old as humanity itself. In other words: Religion began with the creation of man—for Religion is nothing else than the certain though not complete, knowledge of God, and the duties arising therefrom, loyalty, love and service of man. It has not been left to "natural evolution" as Mr. Rathnam believes, in which case mankind would have been still groping in the dark in search of "truth about God," because human intellect and reason by themselves are incapable of forming a correct and true concept of God. Study Christian (by which I mean Catholic) theology and philosophy and the Indian mind, admittedly a religious and a philosophic mind, will find abundant and perennial source of intellectual food to satisfy the highest aspirations of her wisest philosopher, as it meets the needs of the smallest child.

"What definite conception of life beyond death have we?" asks Mr. Rathnam. Surely the writer could not have exhausted all sources of information on the subject. Has he tried Catholic philosophy and Theology, which can, and do, give "verified" scriptural quotations and a certitude about the life beyond the grave? Of course, religions which are mere "superstructures built on the strata of superstitions" cannot be expected to give a definite conception of the subject.

Mr. Rathnam observes: "If man consciously refuses to indulge in the physical cravings of nature and represses the animal in him, the body suffers while the soul gains." It would be interesting to know in what way the body suffers and the soul gains by the subjugation of animal cravings as understood by the writer. "But if he represses the dictates of his conscience and indulges in the animal cravings the soul suffers while the body gains." Does it? What does Science say? It is too well known to the Medical Science that inordinate indulgence in drink, smoke, and sensual pleasures, leaves indelible marks on man's physical frame, disastrous in their consequences, both to the individual and to his progeny, yet unborn. All Temperance Reformers are working upon this truth.

Mr. Rathnam begins the last para of his article with the remark "A careful study of the Gospels would convince us that Christ has revealed nothing except *the way* to the realization of the eternal truth," whatever that may mean. To a Catholic who knows his Christianity and has lived a Christian life, the composition in this para will surely make the other sense. I own to being mystified by its mystical theology, and I feel confident that many like me would be glad to learn the purport and purpose of this paragraph.

Baroda, 4th December

A. M. PINTO.

[We have had to omit portions of this letter which did not seem quite essential to convey the meaning of the correspondent—Ed. I. S. R.]

NON-BRAHMIN IMITATION OF BRAHMIN CUSTOMS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Your correspondent Mr. G. A. Sundaram has put his finger on the right point when he calls the Non-Brahmin leaders to turn their attention to large measures of Social Reform. I know in the Deccan some Mahrattas who, in order to distinguish themselves from the Mahratta masses, claim that they have no custom of widow re-marriage. Some two years back I remember to have read a letter in a vernacular paper wherein a Jain proudly asserted that Jains have no widow re-marriages. Mahrattas, Jains and many other non-Brahmin communities claim their equality with us on the ground that they have no widow re-marriages as we have not got them. In my opinion this is the weakest point of Brahmins as well as of non-Brahmins. It means we do not love freedom but tyranny. We claim superiority not at our own merits but at the cost of our women. We rival with each other in tyrannizing them. We want to achieve ideal purity by force. Outside the Maharashtra, both Brahmins and non-Brahmins of Maharashtra are called Mahrattas. We are proud of the name, because we gallantly fought for freedom and won it. We are freedom-loving people.

Mahrattas have a right to claim equality with us not on this point of absence of widow re-marriage but on the solid ground of their sterling virtues, valour and gallantry. Jains have distinguished themselves in the field of commerce. The country requires as much their services as ours. Then why is there this silly imitation of Brahmanism and causing of untold miseries to helpless women?

A few months back on this side, a hot controversy was raging between two non-Brahmin communities. Superiority was claimed by one community over the other on the ground that it had no custom of divorce, which the other had. Having seen a number of women married to men who have no right to marry in both Brahmin and non-Brahmin communities, I firmly believe that the institute of divorce is a necessity for justice, humanity and growth of virtue. There is no greater check to fraudulent marriages than the institute of divorce. Introduce this institute to give justice and old men will stop out of terror to buy girls in the marriage-markets. Brahmins by force and tyranny have not achieved any greater purity but have created ghastly intolerable scenes under the name of religion. Let non-Brahmins, if their eyes are open, stop this slavish imitation of our customs. Virtue is not a product of force but of healthy surroundings and of healthy teachings. The ugliest custom amongst us of disfiguring widows, will you believe, has even some followers amongst the non-Brahmins. Women, who do re-marry, in old age undergo this disfiguring that they may claim equality with us.

Non-Brahmins are as fondly attached as the Brahmins to caste and untouchability. In the Deccan the Brahmins excepting the priest-classes and their puppets are ready to give up untouchability, but the non-Brahmins are not. Many non-Brahmins hate us, but they are more caste-ridden than we. They hate us, because they believe that we do not consider them as our equals but in no way they are better disposed to those communities which are below them. I believe it will not be out of place, if I give my own experience of a non-Brahmin Sardar in the Deccan. Some few years back I was employed by a Sardar as a tutor to his son. Though myself a Brahmin I was freely dining with him taking only vegetarian diet prepared by his own Mahratta cook.

His usual topic of conversation was Brahmanism. He was a great hater of Brahmins. One day an educated Bhil, a pupil of mine, came there. The Sardar would not allow the Bhil to dine in the same row. Mahrattas, Dhangars, Prabhus want perfect equality with us. I am on their side. But they must give the same equality to other communities which are below them. Non-Brahmins are as much entangled as we ourselves in the superstitions of astrology, fatalism etc. Unless the Non-Brahmins work on better principles, the country cannot be benefitted. Some individuals may. Excepting few Brahmins who have learnt from Europeans more of their vices than their virtues, we Brahmins do not drink liquor. Herein lies our strength and superiority. A Brahmin boy will face any difficulties, his parents will starve themselves, and take a world of pains to educate him. No doubt Brahmins are selfish and caste-ridden. But are the Non-Brahmins less selfish and caste-ridden?

As long as Non-Brahmins do not organize Hindus in their fold on basis of equality, fraternity and liberty, Brahmins have a right to say: "Many communities took full advantage of caste and that rotten Varnashram for their material prosperity, when the circumstances were favourable, but to-day the masses are awakened, these very people therefore to save their skins, want to make us scape-goats and pose themselves as saviours."

Yours etc.,

K. G. KARKARE.

Devlali Camp, 9-12-22.

LETTERS WRITTEN BY MAHATMA GANDHI.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

May I request through the Press that any one who has any letter written by Mahatma Gandhi, which might be of special value in writing a Biography of Mahatma Gandhi should communicate with Pandit Benarsi Das Chaturvedi, Gujerat Mahavidyalaya, Ahmedabad?

I am certain that any letters that are sent (or copies of them) will be carefully and reverently used.

C. F. ANDREWS.

MALABAR CONVERSIONS.

The apostles of the Congress creed have ventured into Northern India with their own tales of the Mopla Rebellion. Whatever may be the differences existing between the Non-Co-operators and the rest of society regarding the causes that have led up to the Mopla rebellion in Malabar, there could be no room for disputing the irrefutable fact of forcible conversions of Hindus wrought by the fanatical rebels. It was understood that this was beyond controversy. One Mr. M. Gopala Menon apparently in the name of the local Congress Committee, is reported to have gone all the way to the Punjab and furnished a garbled account of this desecrable form of atrocity committed by the Moplas. This young truant who joined Non-Co-operation movement probably enamoured of the golden vista of possibilities it opened up before the youthful imagination, has with a show of scientific perception classified the cases under the three heads: "(1) By the raff of the Hindus, who thought that the time of loot had arrived and looted the people in the garb of Moslems; (2) Hindus who cared more for their money and property than religion. There were thousands of this class who embraced Islam willingly (3) *a few cases of real forcible conversions*" (the italics are our own). We can conceive of no greater calumny on the abiding faith of the Hindus in their ancient religion. The poor helpless Hindu overtaken by a frightful gang of desperadoes armed with swords still reeking with the

blood of the unyielding few cannot be described as willingly embracing the Islamic faith if to save his own life, which is after all dearer than anything else in this world, submits to the inexorable fanatics' mandate. And yet the young Congress missionary would fain catalogue such cases as instances of willing conversion! We are unable to understand the motive underlying such a perversion of facts unless it be the result of a perverted imagination diseased by the constant injection of the Non-Co-operation poison. We can sympathise with this young man flying into a rage over the lack of courage in the Hindus and their apparent indifference to matters of religion and religious worship but we can hardly endorse the condemning tone in which he refers to the "most unkindest cut" of the fanatical rebel.

The record maintained by the Arya Samaj branch of Malabar shows a doleful figure of 1766 cases of forcible conversion that have come to its notice. It requires uncommon hardihood to assert that these are "a few cases" as the itinerating non-co-operator would have the people outside Malabar believe. We are unable to think that such a campaign of misrepresentation is carried on without any aim. . . . We are averse to embark upon any course that is calculated to reopen the hostilities created by the wanton acts of cruelty perpetrated by the rebels but we should certainly insist upon the rapprochement being made on the basis of truth and justice. The security of a fresh union between the erstwhile antagonistic elements lies in their mutual appreciation of the realities of the situation and an adjustment with a clear consciousness of the same. Any other scheme of compromise is bound to be shortlived. We are sure that the creation of the atmosphere required for a clear mutual understanding between the Hindus and the Mahomedans and their reversion to the pre-rebellious terms of neighbourly relations are impossible of permanent attainment until and unless the parties take stock of the situation in its true perspective. Any attempt to paint the facts in false colour can only lead to further embitter the feelings. We must, therefore, unhesitatingly condemn such false steps as have been taken by the young congress missionary in the Punjab.—The *West Coast Reformer*, Calicut, December, 24.

The *Indian Social Reformer* of the 9th contains a quotation from a statement which Mr. M. Gopala Menon made at Lahore with regard to forced conversions in Malabar. Speaking before a large audience at the Islamia College Hall Mr. Gopala Menon made the astonishing statement that the Hindus themselves in the garb of Muslims converted others, that thousands embraced Islam voluntarily and only a very small section had been converted forcibly. This Gopala Menon who, if the report be right, thus calumniated the Hindus of Malabar is described as the Secretary of the Calicut Congress Committee. As far as we know there is no such institution at Calicut. The Town Congress Committee of which he claims to be a Secretary is a bogus institution which has not been recognised by the Provincial Congress Committee. It is possible that as this Gopala Menon comes from Malabar and describes himself as the Secretary of a Congress organisation, his statements may carry some weight with ignorant persons in distant provinces where the actual conditions of Malabar are not fully realised. But as facts speak for themselves and as the truth about Malabar atrocities are now well-known we may leave the silly statements of irresponsible individuals like Gopala Menon to take care of themselves. But we would warn Congress organisations in Northern India against the vagaries of this individual.—The *Swarajya*, Madras, 16th December.

THE PUNJAB VIDHVA VIVAH SAHAIK SABHA.

Reports of 47 widow marriages have been received from the different branches and co-workers of the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore (Punjab) throughout India, during the month of November 1922. The total number of marriages held in the current year, viz, from 1st January to the end of November 1922, has reached to 387, as detailed below:—

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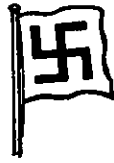
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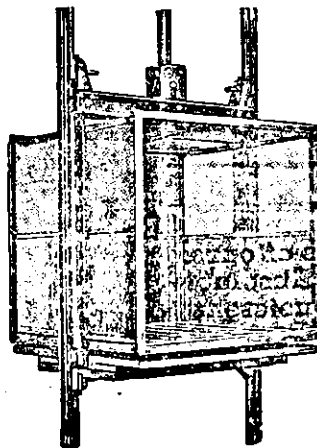
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 6, 1923.

THE NATIONAL WEEK.

A detailed survey of the numerous gatherings which, as usual, took place during the last week of last year, will, even if space permitted, be far from illuminating and, indeed, serve to confuse the reader regarding the broad currents of Indian thought and feeling at the present day. It would be an instance of failing to see the wood for the trees. In the following paragraphs, it is proposed to present a synthetic view, so far as one is possible, of the ideas which dominated the principal national and communal conferences. These are the National Congress, the All-India Liberal Federation, the Khilafat Conference, the All-India Indian Christian Conference, the National Social Conference, the All-India Theistic Conference, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the All-India Social Workers' Conference. All except three of these met at Gaya where the Congress met. The All-India Liberal Federation met at Nagpur and the All-India Christian Conference at Lucknow. Along with the Liberal Federation, for the first time, a Social Conference was also held at Nagpur. The All-India Social Workers' Conference met at Madras. The Non-Brahmin Federation at Madras is not an All-India movement concerning, as it does, only Madras and Maharashtra.

THE CHOICE OF GAYA.

That the eyes of all India and of the outside world interested in India, were turned to Gaya more than to Nagpur or Lucknow or Madras, goes without saying. The choice of Gaya for holding the Congress and the important Conferences which always hold their sessions at the same place as the Congress, was disadvantageous from all points of view but one. No doubt, a hundred thousand Hindus, perhaps more, from all parts of India, go to Gaya every year to perform the *Shraddh* or commemorative ceremony for their

departed ones, the *Shraddh* at Gaya being considered as the greatest and best of *Shraddhs*. Every part of India has its representative priestly families established at Gaya as at Benares and Prayag, who keep a record of all the visitors for whom they had officiated for many generations, with the name of their villages, families and so on. Any Hindu going to these places of pilgrimage is soon spotted by the priest in whose lists he can trace the name of a grandparent or great grandparent and the date when he made his pilgrimage. Gaya, therefore, does not strike any Hindoo as a strange place and the Gayawallas are familiar with Indians of all parts of the country. But the resources of the City are utterly inadequate to accommodate gatherings which bring many thousands together in the course of a single week. The one point of view, however, which transcended all others and which, from the absence of any reference to it in the principal speeches, was not evidently present to the conscious mind of the organisers, was that at Gaya, for the first time in the history of the human race, Lord Buddha took compassion on the multitude and launched His great mission to spread among them spiritual truths so long regarded as the exclusive patrimony of the twice-born castes. There, under the Bodhi-tree whose lineal descendant still stands, was first proclaimed the equal right of all men, who tread the path of self-knowledge, self-reverence and self-control, to the spiritual *Swaraj* of which political *Swaraj* is but the temporal reflection. To one mind, at least, this thought dominated every other during the crowded days at Gaya, and there can be no doubt that, sub-consciously, it dominated many others. While writing these lines, the lofty Gopura of the temple, the sweet serenity of the great Buddha face within, and the Bodhi tree shading the stone seat, precisely as in the carving at Sanchi, on which the Lord Buddha meditated, rise before the mind's eye.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The opening meeting of the National Congress was attended by at least 15,000 persons. The delegates numbered four thousand. All the accommodation provided them was thatched huts on the bank of the Phalgu, with bare stretchers, bought apparently from the Surplus Stores left from the last war, to lie upon. The cold was piercing. No one certainly went to Gaya for physical comfort. At the Congress' itself, chairs and tables were tabooed. Every one was supplied with a bag made of *Khaddar* in which to secure his shoes, and with this in hand, he

stepped barefooted into the pandal and squatted down there for perhaps six or eight hours at a stretch. No exception was made. The President down to the obscure delegate were all on the same footing. All were, of course, in khaddar, the solitary exception being Professor P. M. Buck of Nebraska University who, as an invited guest, occupied a prominent place just ahead of the President on the platform. Most of the speeches were in English, the injunction regarding Hindi being tacitly overlooked in consideration of the importance of the issues and the need for most facility of expression in debating them. Delegates from all parts of the country mustered in force, the women constituting a strong minority. In this *pardah* city, women volunteers moved about freely among the thronging crowds which respectfully made way for them. Hindus, Mahomedans and Sikhs were prominently represented, the last by a strong Akali contingent whose black turbans, Kripans, and chivalrous deportment made a strong impression. There was a sprinkling of Indian Christians, and a solitary Parsi in the person of Burjorji Framji Bharucha. The nation, it is clear, looks to the Congress as to no other body for guidance.

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS.

The Resolutions passed by the Congress at Gaya, which have attracted most attention and excited most interest, are those rejecting the proposals to boycott British goods and to enter the Legislative Councils, that enjoining the raising of 50,000 Volunteers and 25 lakhs of rupees to prepare for mass civil disobedience, and that repudiating national liability for any public debt incurred hereafter. Nobody except a few hot-heads believes in the possibility of mass civil disobedience consistently with non-violent non-co-operation. The third resolution is therefore merely a call for men and money, both badly needed, the tag about mass civil disobedience being a current Congress shibboleth. The fourth resolution represents a protest against the mounting expenditure on the Army and the Services, and expresses the necessity put upon the country of protecting itself from the consequences of such exploitation. But, as it is worded, it is crude and ill-conceived. The proposer himself desired that the question should be postponed for further consideration, but the Congress was bent on adopting it. This illustrates the danger of placing immature proposals before mass meetings. This resolution will not help the Congress to get the 25 lakhs it wants. It will not stop further loans though it may conceivably raise the rate of interest on them. After the no-councillites got their way about Councils, prudence would have counselled moderation. There can be no doubt that they have not enhanced their reputation for statesmanship by passing this so-called repudiation resolution. As regards the first two resolutions, they represent, broadly speaking, the Congress's desire not to depart from the programme as laid down by Mahatma Gandhi. The rejection of the proposal to boycott British goods was the more crucial test. The resolution was actually adopted in the Subjects Committee by a small majority. The majority of Congressmen, had they not

been swayed by loyalty to the Mahatma, would have gladly voted for the boycott. The defeat in the Congress was somewhat of a surprise, but it showed the hold of Gandhi's personality on the mass of Congressmen.

The rejection of the proposal to enter the Legislative Councils was also to a large extent motivated by loyalty to Gandhi. But it, unlike the boycott of British goods, was also in consonance with what seems to be the settled conviction of the great majority of Congressmen. The general belief seems to be that in the Councils' game the dice are all loaded against Indians and that both because of this and because of Englishmen being more expert in the game, the people's voice has no chance of obtaining more than a polite hearing in these bodies. There is also a genuine fear that, judging from experience, few Indians are proof against the blandishments of the bureaucracy. A certain length of rope is permitted to the favourites with a view to deluding the people into a belief in their independence, and this length is capable of extension or curtailment according to the exigencies of the occasion. But the limits are strictly defined and instances are given how certain public men were pushed up or let down on certain occasions. These ideas are inveterately rooted in many minds and no arguments can dislodge them from them. The pro-Councillites had also prejudiced their case by declaring that they wanted to go to the elections for every purpose except that of working in them. Some would get elected and refuse to sit in the Councils, others would get elected and then wait for a Congress mandate as to what they should do. These two groups forgot that the electors may have some self-respect, and may resent being asked to waste their votes on men who did not want them for any serious purpose of work. A third group would go to the Councils intent on wrecking them, while a fourth would start wrecking only if its scheme of Swaraj is rejected. These divided counsels in the pro-Council camp did not help it to carry conviction to its opponents, and indeed, it was astonishing how few would advocate the straight course of going to the Councils to continue in them the Bardoli programme. The Councils men have no faith in the Bardoli programme; the No-Councils men have no faith in the Councils. Those who believe in that programme and who think that it may be advantageously worked in the Councils as well as outside, are a small minority whose voice is at present drowned in the clamour of the others. The manifesto issued by Mr. Das and others, unless it is modified, as it may be in the light of farther discussion, is incompatible with the aims of this group which, otherwise must continue as an independent one in the Congress.

The misgivings of the majority can be set at rest only by some sound Congressmen seeking election into and doing good work in the Councils. No party is needed to do this, as the Congress majority does not question the right of every Congressman to act according to his own convictions. The announcement of the formation of a party within the Congress is at any rate premature.

THE LIBERAL FEDERATION.

The Liberal Federation which met at Nagpur was attended by about 500 persons. Most of them came from Madras and Maharashtra. Few non-Brahmins even from these parts would seem to have taken part in the proceedings. There are no Mahomedan names of note. The Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastry delivered a long address which may be said to be a conspectus of complaints against the Secretary of State. The address leads but to one conclusion: that the reforms have failed and unless they are extended, there is no hope of success. Even Dr. Besant in *New India* expresses the opinion that the Federation's remedy falls far short of the requirements. She says that the Federation has missed its opportunity, adding that "the Federation contains many Progressive Liberals (!) but they are not allowed to progress"—she does not say, by whom. This admission, coming from Dr. Besant, will be regarded as providing confirmation of the misgivings of Congressmen as to the liberty enjoyed by Liberals, whether progressive or non-progressive. In one passage in his address Mr. Sastri extended a conditional welcome to the Councils to Congressmen. Having regard to the position of the two parties in the Country, the entry of Congressmen into the Councils would be the signal for the exit of Mr. Sastry and his friends from them. His offer of welcome, therefore, is an act of disinterested generosity which must be understood to be appreciated. The weakness of the position of the Liberal Party has been clearly exposed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah in a letter to the *Times of India*. In substance, he says the Liberal Party enjoys official positions but has no official authority. It can give no undertakings to the electorate which distrusts it. "Working the Councils," unless it brings some tangible good to the people, may be an entertaining pastime, but it contains no serious appeal to the country.

THE KHILAFAT CONFERENCE.

An esteemed Mahomedan friend, opposed to Non-Co-operation, wrote to us in a private letter a few weeks ago that he was obliged to confess that Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari and Moulana Mazharul Haque were the three most statesmanly leaders among Mahomedans in India at the present day. Dr. Ansari's suggestion about a National Pact in the course of his presidential address to the Khilafat Conference at Gaya, is a valuable one which ought to attract widespread attention. Apart from the Presidential address, the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference contained no contribution to Indian national problems. The Khilafat question has undergone a radical change owing to Mustapha Kemal Pasha's successes, and the Lausanne Conference is engaged in determining the final terms of peace with Turkey. That they should be fair and just and such as to give Turkey full scope for her national development, is the desire of all India, and the Khilafat Conference was perfectly right in insisting that the British Government should do everything in its power to ensure such terms. But it is not reasonable for the Conference to ignore all Indian questions because of the inconclusive

deliberations at Lausanne. The only assistance that the National Congress received from a Moslem organisation at Gaya was of an embarrassing character. A Council of Ulemas, or theologians of Islam, met and decided that entry into the Legislative Councils was inconsistent with or forbidden by Islam. The Subjects Committee was detained for several hours while Mahomedan speakers debated whether this resolution was a *fatwa* or a mere expression of opinion, how many first class Ulemas voted for and how many who voted against the resolution were second or third class Ulemas. How can it be expected that the Congress should take note of Ulemas' decisions which are not accepted even by large sections of the Mahomedan community? Despite the Ulema's opinion or *fatwa*, no Mahomedan seats in the Councils have been vacated, and nobody expects that at the next elections Mahomedan candidates will not be forthcoming to fill those seats. To demand that the Congress should bend to the dictation of Ulemas, as was done by some speakers, was extremely unreasonable. For our own part, we do not recognise the authority of any priest in religion or politics, and we must resent the irruption of theologians into politics of the rudiments of which they are utterly ignorant. Some of those who are most anxious to conciliate Mahomedan sentiment wondered if this was the price that had to be paid for it. (To be Continued.)

Landlordism and Reaction: We reproduce the following from a recent issue of the *Bengalee* of Calcutta, the organ of the Bengal Liberals: "In a speech recently delivered by the Maharaja of Darbhanga, at a meeting of the Bengal Landholders' Association at Calcutta, the Maharaja of Darbhanga tried to controvert the general impression that, as a class, the landlords of India were a reactionary lot of men. Politically, the Maharaja is right; for certainly the landlords of India have given very loyal and enthusiastic support to the new scheme of reforms. Nor can there be any doubt of their attachment for British connection with India, and their desire to march forward towards our goal as an equal partner of the British Commonwealth. But, at the same time, it must not be overlooked that, as a class, the landlords of India have stood against free and primary education, against the removal of untouchability in Hindu social hierarchy, and, above all, against the fusion of the different elements of Indian life, by matrimonial alliances, into a homogeneous nationhood. Nor have this class of men, it must be confessed, excepting a few zemindars like the Maharaja of Kasimbazar, given much thought and attention to promote the general welfare of the country, and the particular conditions of their tenantry. If even ten per cent of the landed aristocracy in India had spent half as much as what the Maharaja of Kasimbazar has spent during the last twenty years to promote the cause of education, sanitation and industries, to encourage literature, science, and fine arts, including music, painting, and sculpture in this province, probably they would have still remained, as they had remained for so many past generations, the 'natural leaders of society'. Unfortunately, it is the intensive culture of their own self-interest, the neglect of the interests of their own country and their tenantry, and the life of detachment they generally live that have set Indian society against them. Cannot the Maharaja of Darbhanga see his way to put his house in order?"

OUR NATIONAL TONGUE, I.

A PLEA FOR HINDUSTANI.
(BY MR. HAFIZUR RAHAMAN.)

None can deny that national solidarity is the great remedy for all our evils. To-day India needs the organisation of her different communities in a socio-political brotherhood which is the best guarantee for our internal and external peace and prosperity. Religious unity among ourselves, though highly desirable, is neither possible nor is an essential of modern nationalism. Besides, its importance will diminish to a considerable extent with the growth of catholicity of mind and the consequent decline of insane religious orthodoxy which is a bane on humanity. The question arises then : what are the means to secure the much needed national solidarity? There are a thousand means to gain this object, but none is more proper and effective than the introduction of a common language into India which can serve as a *lingua franca* for the whole country. This is not an abrupt-statement but a conclusion based upon historical facts and the far-reaching effects of language on civilisation.

A common language affords a basis of mutual intercourse and free communication of ideas between two persons. Similarly, when two tribes, races, or nations meet together for the first time in peace, a common language is the only stepping-stone to their future relations. The history of every country in the world gives ample proof of how a common language has blended varied sections of the world population into a united whole, and has given their life a national aspect. The same has happened in India; and the revolutionary effects of Persian and English on Indian life are too well-known. It would be sheer ingratitude, if we do not put here on record our indebtedness to these two languages for enabling India to become more and more national in the modern sense of the word. The revival of Persian as the common language of India is out of the question. Much our Europeanised Indians may delightfully chat in English and put forward their fashionable proposal of making it a common language for India. The proposal, however, loses all its weight when we consider the difficulty and the time required to popularise a foreign language. Look at the Census of India (1911) in which only 0.5 per cent of the total population of India returned as literate in English, while the Census of 1921—though the Indian year Book 1922 mentions no exact figure as to the increase in this percentage—brought the number of Indians literate in English hardly to 1 p. c. of the total population of the country. English therefore, has little hope of being the common language of India. Now, it is said that there are one hundred and forty-seven distinct languages spoken in India. Of these there is only one language, viz, Hindustani, which can possibly become some day the recognised *lingua franca* of India. But, what is Hindustani?

Modern Indo-Aryan languages are divided into three groups: the Middle, the Intermediate, and the Outer group. The language of the Middle group is known as western Hindi and the tract to which it belongs consists of the Gangetic Doab and the country

extending, roughly speaking, from the Eastern Punjab to Cawnpur. To the west and east of this tract are three spheres of Punjabi and Eastern Hindi respectively—both Intermediate languages. The languages of the Outer group are Sindhi, Rajasthani, Bihari, and Marathi. Western Hindi could not reach Sind on account of the intervening Desert of Thar but due south-west it expanded to Gujarat where under the form of Gujarati it broke the continuity of the language of the Outer group. Western Hindi has got four main dialects: Bundeli of Bundelkhand, Braj Bhasha of Muttra, Hindustani and Bangaru of the country to the west of the Upper Gangetic Doab. Thus, Western Hindi forms the nucleus of the modern Indo-Aryan languages of India. It is from Western Hindi that our Hindustani is derived. Hindustani, therefore, is an Indo-Aryan dialect whose home is the tract comprising the Gangetic Doab and what is now called the Delhi Province. Again, Hindustani has many recognised varieties of which by far the most important are Hindi and Urdu of today. Urdu and Hindi are, therefore, one in origin. They are the two forms of Hindustani as the sequel will tell us. The Europeans call Urdu by the name of Hindustani, but this is a wrong English nomenclature. According to the latest discoveries, Hindustani is an actual living dialect of Western Hindi and not a mongrel-pigeon form of speech. It is the direct descendant of Saurasine Prakrit and has existed for centuries in its present home. Hindustani was the natural language of the people in the district of Delhi most of whom resorted to bazar from which it went to the Mogul Camp and was subsequently spread all over India as far as the influence of the Mogul Empire reached. This 'Camp language' or Urdu stamped later on by Persian and Arabic words has ultimately become the modern Urdu. Born with the advent of Mogul rule in India, the growth of Urdu was given an impetus in the days of Akbar and Shah Jahan when the Mogul Empire was at its zenith and the tolerant policy of these rulers attracted towards Delhi men of different castes, creeds, and languages who needed a common dialect which could form the vehicle of mutual intercourse. Up to the end of the 18th century Urdu remained the most influential form of Hindustani and was used only in poetry. Urdu prose took its origin in the English occupation of India and the need for text books for the college of Fort William which was founded at the commencement of the 19th century. 'The Hindi form of Hindustani was invented simultaneously with Urdu prose by the teachers at Fort William. It was intended to be a Hindustani for the use of Hindus and was derived from Urdu by ejecting all words of Persian or Arabic birth, and substituting for them words borrowed from Sanskrit or derived from the old primary Prakrit' (Encyclopedia Britannica). The foregoing statements decidedly prove that Urdu poetry, Urdu prose, and Hindi as a whole are three children of the same mother, Hindustani; although Urdu prose and Hindi are twin-born. From the dawn of the 19th century up to the present day Hindi and Urdu are progressing on their own lines. This is the whole history of Hindustani in a nutshell.

The language which is recommended here as the *lingua franca* of India is neither Urdu nor Hindi which are only the two important species of the genus, Hindustani, the would-be common language of India. Simple Urdu without much of Persian and Arabic words in Hindustani proper and simple Hindi without Sanskrit bombast is also proper Hindustani. This proper Hindustani is the very language which should be adopted as the common language of India.

THE POET'S TOUR IN SOUTH INDIA, I.

(By Mr. N. LAKSHMANAN.)

The transcendental thought of the Aryan, by its marriage with the emotional and creative art of the Dravidian, gave birth to an offspring, which was neither fully Aryan, nor Dravidian but Hindu.... And by reason of this dual strain in its blood, whenever Hinduism has failed to take its stand on the reconciliation of opposites—which is its essence—it has fallen a prey to incongruous folly and blind superstition.—

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

The Poet has completed his South Indian tour in two journeys, the one undertaken during the April vacation of 1919 and the other during the September vacation of 1922. As a member of the small travelling party, on both these occasions, I have much pleasure in writing to the *Reformer* a short account of the tour. Wherever necessary, I have freely quoted from other sources and, in particular, the *Modern Review* which is aptly called a mirror of the Poet's activities especially as prose-writer and travelling lecturer.

When, three years ago, his Secretary, Professor Andrews, wrote to me that I was counted as one of those who would help to make the Poet's visit to South India a success, it was indeed a generous invitation which I could have never foreseen when, for the first time, at Calcutta—in that historic year of 1911—I had my *darsan* of the Acharya of the Adi Brahma Samaj who, seen among other stars of the first magnitude, shone as the foremost living representative of the Indian Renaissance:—

“Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But, to be young, was very Heaven.”

Nay, more: His popular song—“East and West stand side by side wearing the garland of love” helps me to go a step further and say, with one of his well-informed admirers in the South, that like his namesake in the sky, Ravi Babu, has from his very childhood, cultivated the spirit of internationalism and tried to realise the dream of the future.

And it goes without saying that when I followed the sweet singer of Sivam, Shantam, Advaitam, from place to place in the South, I did so with the humility of those tiny little squirrels that tried to help in the construction of the bridge for Sri Ramachandra's passage into Lanka. It filled my heart with joy when, three years later, I found that my attitude of humility was cast into the shade by the spontaneous welcome offered to the beloved son

of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore by my Brahma brethren of the village near Coimbatore. The Agricultural College, in the vicinity, had been already inspected by the Poet's son-in-law, Babu Nagendranath Gangulee; and in the first tour the Poet had confessed to me his own disappointment at the enforced omission to meet the villagers of the South in their own sylvan homes. And, as it happened, this unique village of Vattamalai was the first of its kind in all South India to offer its homage to the Poet of Humanity and its humble mite to the Visvabharati fund.

In all ages, village life has its own fascination for the Indian mind. And suffice it to make a passing reference to the Poet's fondness for the peasant folk—a fondness which powerfully reminds one of his worthy contemporary, Tolstoy—and his never-failing interest in the welfare of the “big, helpless, infantile children of Providence” as he knows them to be. He has also been compared to Shelley. “Both aristocrats by birth, both have never accepted their heritage of social superiority,” says Mr E. T. Thompson. But, unfortunately, in Bengal—as Mr. Thompson has recorded—and in the South—as I now see, some of the Poet's “own country—men have been content to grumble” and their pet prejudices die hard. However, the others, it would seem, have fully understood the meaning of his profound advice. “If nobody follows thee, go thou forward, alone.”

It was an agreeable surprise to many in the South to be told that his International University founded on the December 22nd, 1921, has also got a School of Agriculture and Village Economics at Surul, which is within walking distance of the Asram. This single fact is enough to disarm the vain criticism made at the Madras Beach meeting. “For whom is the culture and for whom are the international universities? Where will you build those universities? On the grave-yard of your brothers, on the skeletons, will you lay the foundations of your international universities?” This rhetoric apart, what do we find? In bare outline, the aim of the unpretentious School is to gain the confidence of the village cultivators by showing a kindly interest in everything connected with their existence and a kindly effort to help them in solving their most pressing problems. Along with this, a study of village conditions is undertaken. The students of the Agricultural School are trained to do everything with their own hands and to gain a practical experience of the best methods of cultivation. Carpentry and smithing, weaving and tanning, are taught. Instruction is also given in hygiene, drainage, sanitation and co-operative methods.

Rabindranath has thus always been keenly alive to the fact that, to quote his words:

Civilisation will fall to pieces if it never again realises the spirit of mutual help and the common sharing of benefits in the elemental necessities of life..... Our centre of culture should not only be the centre of the intellectual life of India, but the centre of her economic life also.... Its very existence should depend upon the success of its industrial activities carried out on the co-operative principle which will unite the teachers and students and villagers of the neighbourhood in a living and active bond of necessity.... In such an atmosphere

students would learn to understand that humanity is a divine harp of many strings, waiting for its one grand music. Those who realise this unity, are made ready for the pilgrimage through the night of suffering, and along the path of sacrifice, to the great meeting of man in the future, for which the call comes to us across the darkness.

Rabindranath is no doubt an ideal traveller, but this roving life burdened with a "begging mission" tires him beyond words. And no wonder he often longs for "his *lost universe* of an easy chair, watched over by its guardian angel, Sadhucharan." It has been said that Poet is a *Poet* and it is hard to fix time and space to such a mind as his. He himself knows this and asks: "To-day, life is nowhere normal in this world. The atmosphere is swarming with problems. Singers are not allowed to sing; they have to shout messages. But, my friend, is my life to be one perpetual polar summer, an endless monotony of a day of lidless light, of ceaseless duties, with never a night of stars to open before my vision the gateway of the Infinite?" Prompted by a compelling sense of duty, and in spite of old age and failing health he has emerged, not once but twice, out of the *amlaki* groves of his *Tapovana* to complete the pilgrimage to the South. Thus, on the one hand there is the "grand music" and on the other, "the night of suffering." And to-day or to whom, then, shall we bow the head? To which god shall we offer oblation." This is the central problem put in a nutshell.

The Poet's visit to Father Muller's Homeopathic Dispensary at Mangalore revealed to the South Indian public his partiality for the German system of medicine. After this rather unexpected publicity, his admirers were not content with his spiritual ministry alone, but on rare occasions expected him to cure their own malady. And the medicine was freely given, whenever asked for. At least one such case came under my notice. It is remarkable that in the matter of taking care of his health, without the aid of a medical adviser, the Mahakavi is just like the Mahatma who has published his indigenous "Guide to health", a welcome contrast to Vivekanand and Gokhale whom, by their attitude of indifference to the laws of health, the country had to lose in their very prime.

In another place, at a public meeting, the Poet was emphasising the need to cultivate the spirit of acceptance, and not that of rejection. This time the truth was illustrated from his own personal experience of post-war Germany.

When I was resting alone in my room, in the hotel at Hamburg, timidly there entered two shy and sweet German girls, with a bunch of roses for their offering for me. One of them, who spoke broken English, said to me, "I love India." I asked her "why do you love India." She answered "because you love God." Germany appears now to have set out on a voyage of spiritual adventure. And in spite of her dire poverty, she is not thinking merely of the spinning wheel or of some new move in the political game of gambling but rather of the achievement of that inner freedom, which gives us power to soar above the vicissitudes of circumstances ... Europe is a child, who has been hurt in the midst of her

game. She is shunning the crowd and looking out for her mother. And has not the East been the mother of spiritual humanity, giving it life from its own life?

On another occasion when the Poet was about to finish his illuminating exposition of the Ramayana and when his dutiful Secretary, Mr. Andrews, slowly and silently ascended the platform by emerging out of the spell-bound audience, stood for a while at a respectable distance and then approached his Guru seated alone, an admiring student seeing this large-hearted Englishman in person for the first time exclaimed: "ah! Look! How he stands like Hanuman himself before Sri Ram". Be it remembered Hanuman is worshipped as Anjineyar by many Hindus, even today. For my own part, however, it dawned on me slowly that all along Mr. Andrews remains as the basic type of an Englishman and as the latest and best exemplar of Swami Vivekananda's observation that the greatest achievement of the English was 'that they had known how to combine obedience with self-respect'. And yet his *Guru-Bhakti* is only equalled by that of such Westerners as Hammargreen of Sweden for Raja Ram Mohan Roy or Sister Nivedita of Rama-Krishna Vivekananda. It is no wonder that he has puzzled Mrs. Sarojini Naidu by his bold statement that he derived his inspiration both from the Mahatma and the Mahakavi, "The Diastole and Systole of the Indian Heart"—to quote the classic words of the *Reformer*.

Again and again, Mr. Andrews has said that he is not a politician, who deals with methods, but a thinker, who deals with ideas. So it is my firm conviction that he, as an ardent educationist, has once for all changed the angle of vision of the keen-witted young men of the South, for he has taught them, by precept and practice, his hardly-brought wisdom that "the political motive and the social motive when separated from the highest motive of all—the search for the Infinite Truth,—are vanity and vexation of spirit."*

Just after replying in fitting and eloquent terms, to the very touching address of welcome presented to him by the enlightened young men and young women of Trivandrum, Mr. Andrews told me that he always returned from such student gatherings happier than when he left for them.

THE PRESENTATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO INDIA.

(BY THE REV. H. C. READ.)

The world to-day—and of all countries India not least—is in upheaval. The habits of thought, the social customs, the political ideals of the past are undergoing radical transformation. In the sphere of morals and religion, the working of the same revolutionary spirit is apparent. The accepted dogmas of the past are criticised, their truth is questioned and the religious sanctions of a past generation are in many cases thrown to the winds. And that is not all. Even the moral standard is assailed. Every day sees an increase in the number of those

*"To the Students" published by S. Ganesan, Madras, S. E.

who deliberately call black white, and in place of truth with some falsehood.

To all would-be religious or social reformers such a state of affairs has caused deep distress. Social reformers have re-doubled their efforts to combat the rising tide of reckless immorality. Religious leaders have re-examined the truths by which they live, and endeavoured, without any sacrifice of essentials so to re-present them to this new world, as that they will find acceptance, and bring to restless, seeking soul spiritual power and peace.

This is as true of Christianity as it is of Hinduism. In England and other Christian countries sustained efforts are being made to re-interpret Christian truths in a manner that will at once satisfy the intellect and appeal to the aspirations of the rising generation. The same attempt is being made by Christian missionaries in India, and the other countries in which they are at work. It should be of interest, therefore, to religious men and women in India to know the aim and content at the present day of the best Christian propaganda work in this country. For many who are sincerely interested in Christianity, such information is difficult to obtain, and as a result there is to be found, in otherwise well-informed circles, serious misapprehension as to the essential meaning and implications of the Christian Religion.

Something may be done, even in a few short articles, to supply this need, or at least to enable the readers of this journal to gauge how far the essential spirit of Christianity is alien from, and how far it is congruous with, the religious genius of India.

The first difficulty with which the Christian missionary has to contend is the deeply-rooted idea—and under the circumstances it must be admitted, a not unnatural idea—that Christianity is a foreign religion. The keenest Indian patriots of to-day, the leaders of Indian life and thought, in very many cases just for this reason refuse even to consider the claims of Christianity.

But is Christianity a foreign religion? Let Indians face this question fairly and squarely. Christianity had its birth in an Eastern country. It is true that since that day it has largely found its home in the West, and that the Western nations have naturally in the course of time given to the body of Christian truth a Western dress and appearance, though even that dress and appearance differ in different countries. But in its essential genius the Christian religion is not Western. Neither is it Eastern. Its setting is Eastern. Its truth is universal, super-natural. It will be objected that Christianity is offered to the people of India in a foreign dress and by foreigners. That is no doubt true, and helps to explain the instinctive aversion which many of the finest Indian minds feel from it. At the same time, it is all the more a challenge to the religious genius of India, to disentangle the truth from its unattractive wrappings, and deck it out in an Indian dress for the reverent homage of India's sons.

There is a yet further challenge. It will perhaps be admitted by thoughtful men that the ideals of

Christianity are the highest the world ever seen and therefore that it is harder to be a good Christian than to be a good Hindu or a good Mahomedan. To be a good Christian is hard. India to-day points the finger of scorn (so we are told) at so-called Christian Europe for its disastrous failure to live up to its professed Christianity. Let the failure be granted. What then? Lies there not herein a challenge to religious India? Of all the peoples and the world (the present writer as an Irishman must be allowed to except the Irish) Indians are accounted the most religious. And here is the religion that the nations of Europe have tried, and tried, most of them, to their own condemnation. The conclusion is obvious. Let India try it. Let India, the home of mysteries, of religious devotees and ascetics, take it and mould it, as to its outward form, according to her own peculiar genius, and it may well be that India will make such a contribution to the world's highest good, as is in the power of no other nation, Eastern or Western.

One further thought, for this too is included in the presentation of Christianity which the Christian missionary seeks to make to Indian minds. Indians as a whole are not satisfied with Hinduism. All that there is in it of beauty and moral worth, all that there is in it of imperishable value—they know better than any foreigner can ever appreciate. But it is not complete. Something is lacking. That something is assuredly not the devotion of its adherents (complaint of other countries). The defect is inherent in the Hindu system. May it not be that, without destroying anything that is true or beautiful in the old, Christianity may yet come into crown the edifice, and satisfy fully and finally India's religious aspirations?

Such are the considerations that the Christian missionary would always wish to place before the educated thought of India, before he proceeds to unfold as best he can, from his own Western standpoint, with his own Western limitations the deep mysteries of the Christian Faith.

A HINDU WIDOW RE-MARRIAGE.

A Secunderabad (Dn.) correspondent writes: In the evening of Friday, the 8th December 1922, there was celebrated at the residence of Mr. Baji Krishna Rao, B. A., B. L., Pleader, and a member of the Arya Samaj, a Hindu widow re-marriage the parties to which belong to a caste which does not permit such marriages, and hence the event is worth publishing as an act of practical social reform.

The parties to it were: Mr. A. Appa Rao Naidu, aged about 20, employed as a clerk in The Loco. Office, N. G. S. Railway, Secunderabad, and Sreemati Dhana Laxmi Amma alias Ethirajamma, aged about 18, widowed daughter of Mr. T. K. Ramanujam Naidu, retired School Master, Teachers' College, Saidapet, now settled down in Hyderabad. The marriage was attended by about 50 persons, both ladies and gentlemen, including several near relations of the parties and some members of their community. It is a significant sign of the times that the said relations and members of the community were not only present on the occasion to bless the couple but partook of the wedding dinner in the company of persons belonging to other castes.

THE NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

MR. JAYAKAR'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

The following is the full text of the presidential address delivered by Mr. M. R. Jayakar at the National Social Conference held at Gaya on the 29th December 1922:—

CONGRESS CONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME : A NEW ERA
IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORMS.

I am deeply grateful to you for the high honour and privilege you have conferred on me by inviting me to address you to-day. By virtue of an unwritten tradition, the National Social Conference has always followed in the wake of the Indian National Congress. This affinity, the parent of which, according to all reliable authorities, was the esteemed pioneer of our corporate activities, the late Mr. Justice Ranade, was indicative of the wish of the thoughtful leaders of those times to avoid putting Social and Political Reform into two water-tight compartments or setting up barriers between them. They recognised that the National Problem has two aspects, one facing the Government and the other facing the people: that these two aspects had many common attributes and also the common purpose of humanising and liberalising the psychology of the people, in one case, through the medium of the Social organism of the community and in the other case, through the agency of the political institutions set up in the country. This affinity between these two aspects has passed through various vicissitudes and painful controversies. It was often denied, and not infrequently ridiculed, but in the era through which we are passing now, its foundation has been firmly laid in the people's mind by the hand of one of the most dearly-loved leaders, in what has been described by one set of political workers in the country as the "Constructive Programme" of the Congress. This programme proceeds upon the fundamental principle, on which far-sighted Social Reformers in previous times have often insisted, that goodwill among the various classes and communities inhabiting this vast Peninsula is the first asset of Social Reform. Owing to many historical and ethnological causes, race diversity has been for centuries the main problem awaiting solution in India from time to time. Other people in the world have solved it in their own way. Speaking generally, their solution has most often taken the form of destruction, in the sense either of religious conversion or physical extinction, notably so, in cases where the races juxtaposed were ethnologically different and could be graded as strong and weak. India, on the other hand, from the times of its earliest available records, has endeavoured to arrive at a more humane solution, based on principles of toleration and eventual assimilation. The Puranas and Epics of India reveal, to the critical reader, a fascinating record of such attempts, sometimes made in most uncongenial surroundings. No student of Reform, therefore, who is aware of this characteristic of our race and wishes to proceed on the lines of its continuity, can lose the opportunity of asserting this important aspect of our growth. Whatever the political Reforms of 1919 may have failed in achieving, they have at least accepted the principle, more clearly than any preceding State document, that there will be in future no politically dominant alien caste in India, constituted by reason of the accident of its birth or the colour of its skin. This may seem an obvious principle but what blood had to be shed for its acceptance by foreign rulers is known to the students of British Indian History. The solitary merit of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and in a much smaller measure, of the Government of India Act that followed it, lies in the circumstance that they recognize, however feebly, the principle that Government cannot be carried on through the agency of a dominating alien caste and that all

such Government must be short-lived. The period of its duration, I make bold to say, will really depend on the sternness and persistence of our effort to do away with this superior caste, whatever contrary terms the preamble of the Government of India Act may employ.

GOOD-WILL BETWEEN ALL CLASSES : THE PRIME
NECESSITY OF THE HOUR.

Good-will between all classes is, therefore, the prime necessity of the hour. Those who yielded at Lucknow to the claim of the Mahomedans for representation beyond their numerical strength were acting under the domination of this self-same principle. "Put the Moderates and Englishmen at ease"—this sententious advice of Mahatma Gandhi likewise proceeded on the same principle. The Resolution of the 11th and 12th, February 1922, shortly described as the Bardoli Resolution by Congressmen, accepts the same principle, in so far as it prevents the exercise of coercion by social boycott and lays down that in order to promote and emphasise unity among all classes and races and mutual good-will, the establishment of which is the aim of that political movement, a Social Service department should be organized, that would render help to all, irrespective of differences, in times of illness and accident. A note was added at the end of the resolution, enjoining on the followers of that movement the duty of regarding it as a privilege to render personal service, in case of illness or accident, to every person whether English or Indian.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MAHATMA'S INJUNCTIONS.

I am aware that many have scoffed at and doubted the efficacy of this injunction in the domain of politics. I am also aware that in many cases the above movement, especially as worked by those who attempted to follow the great leader thereof, has shown inadequate capacity to respond to this wish of its promoter. But this injunction, to my mind, lays down the fundamental principle of Reform—Social as well as Political—as conceived by a true and gifted Indian, in whom the culture of his race had found its highest fruition. A true leader is often as a quick recording camera—noticing, recording, and perpetuating many phenomena, not at all apparent or very inadequately apparent to the common eye. When Mahatma Gandhi laid down this injunction he was freely responding to the genius of his race, and his claim to eminence can be rested with sufficient strength on the single circumstance that he has had the clearness of vision and boldness of outlook to accept this essential principle of Reform in a domain of human effort, which has often been associated with blood-shed and revolution.

MEANING OF SOCIAL REFORM.

The Bardoli Resolution, in my opinion, therefore, typifies the great change that has come over the definition of Social Reform in this country. It has now come to mean Social Service and Social Reconstruction, pervading all the categories of our national life. For a long time Social Reform was more or less a domestic problem of high-caste Hindus. Widow remarriage, female education, caste tyranny and such other problems, which had their significance mostly in high-caste Hindu life mainly engrossed its attention. Sir Narayan Chadavarkar, the General Secretary of the Social Reform Movement, in his message to the Amritsar National Social Conference in 1919 remarked:—

"After nearly a century of political and social work begun by our first political and Social Reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, after varied experiences, diverse struggles, painful controversies and some sufferings, we have arrived at that stage in the lines of our progress when we are able to perceive, more clearly than ever, that Social Reform is the whole, of which the Political, the Industrial, the Educational etc. are but parts, and that these parts are inter-active and inter-

dependant. In Europe and America when they speak of Social Reconstruction now, they mean all the categories of national life. The time has come for us, Social Reformers and workers, to enlarge the meaning and scope of Social Reform and extend our activity and outlook to such questions as education of the masses, the sanitation of the country, the housing of the poor, the care of the sick and feeble, the employment of labour on national lines, the provision of healthy recreation and amusement for the masses, village sanitation and rural education, instead of confining Social Reform, as we have hitherto confined it to Female education, Widow remarriage, removal of Caste restrictions and such other items.

WIDENED SCOPE OF SOCIAL REFORM.

In conformity with this view, the first resolution passed by the Amritsar National Social Conference declared that:—

‘Recognizing the fresh life opened out to the country by the new era upon which it is entering and the urgent call that that fresh life makes for the Social Reconstruction of India’s National life, the Conference is of opinion that the term Social Reform should be widened so as to comprehend, besides the items of Reform hitherto advocated by the Conference, those additional measures which are necessary for the development of the Industrial, Economical, Sanitary and Educational interests of the Indian people, in rural and urban areas.’

In its extended sense, therefore, Social Reform now includes the entire area of our national growth, as it affects the physical, moral, intellectual and economic well-being of the people. Its main field of activity is Social Service, irrespective of caste and creed. The attempt is at a reconstruction of the entire Society, so as to give full scope to the forces generated in our midst. In this entire scheme of Social Reconstruction, politics takes its proper place, as being only *one* department concerned with the collective activities of the State. The great feature of the present Nationalist movement is that its leader persistently attempted, while he was in the enjoyment of his liberty, to put politics on the basis of Social Service. The old and time-worn barriers between Social and political Reform he has endeavoured to demolish, as far as it lay in his power. The tendency in India has been marked of regarding Government as an establishment formed chiefly for the purpose of developing and exploiting the industries of the country, its coal and iron, forest and fisheries, hides and raw material. The peace and order of Society and the maintenance and protection of its resources and revenues have been regarded as its chief function. The altered definition of Reform as a species of Social Service and Reconstruction will have the advantage of our requiring, as the sole test of the success and efficiency of State institutions, the promotion of the Social welfare of the citizen and not merely the stability of the system under which his peace and security are protected. The object of Social Reform will, in the new era, be to insist that the promotion of the health and happiness of human beings shall be given the first place in the administration of the affairs of the country and that the raising of the average intelligence, efficiency, happiness and well-being in the country shall be the main purpose of constitutional Reform.

THE GOAL OF SOCIAL REFORM.

Thus Social Reform has come to occupy its true basis. Its goal now is to ensure a perfect heredity and perfect environment for the average man in the country. Its alliance with Political Reform is now firmer than before. That Society is an organism in which every part has a living relation to every other part is now the principal tenet in the working faith of the Social Reformer. He is no more a solitary

worker, isolated or in hostility with his fellow worker in the political field. They are now allies. They can mutually help and co-operate. Their efforts supplement each other. They can often interchange their fields of action and relieve each other’s toil and burden.

SOCIO-POLITICAL ALLIANCE—THE FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRACY.

It is a great gain to the present age that this alliance has been effected and we ought to feel grateful to all those workers in the field of Social as well as Political Reform who have by their efforts continued to bring about this approximation. Reform will now be a reality and not merely a holiday excursion of the rich and educated classes. The poor and afflicted will now have an interest created in the concerns of our Congresses and Conferences. Already signs are apparent of this change. The stir in the country which usually takes place in the last week of December is no more a pleasure trip of the fatigued lawyer and rich businessman, seeking to renew year-old friendships in tents and hotels. It is now, and will grow more and more, a yearly pilgrimage of the poor and lowly as if to a Shrine where they will behold and listen to the voice of their own leaders, dressed in their costume, living in their camps, fed on their food, vocal with their language and brimful of their interest and welfare. Thus the foundation of a true democracy will be laid and the germs of a truly National Government take root.

THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS AND PROHIBITION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

With his usual zeal for serving the liquor trade, Reuter telegraphed alleged news about the triumph of the ‘wets’ in the recent elections in America. The newspapers that have reached India during Christmas week show how far from the truth those reports were. Instead of a triumph the liquor interests suffered a crushing defeat relieved only by meaningless successes in a very few places.

It is true that Governor Edwards of New Jersey, who is an uncompromising wet, was elected to the Senate, defeating one who had supported prohibition. There were other issues involved in the election, however, beside the attitude of the two men to Prohibition. While the election of one wet Senator was hailed as a great victory for the liquor interests, nothing was said by Reuter of the fact that a good many Senators, who had opposed Prohibition, were defeated and that the dry forces are stronger in the Senate since the election than they were before. There has been a gain of at least three in the number of dry Senators.

It is true as Reuter telegraphed that in Illinois a greater number voted in favour of a proposition for the sale of wine and beer than voted against it, but it is also true, as Reuter did not telegraph, that the vote was meaningless as it cannot be effective because it is contrary to the National Constitution and did not have the status of law and also because the leaders of temperance sentiment, the Anti-Saloon League, the Churches and many of the newspapers advised the people not to vote on the proposal at all. Surely with the dries not voting, the wets can not fairly claim that they have won a victory, especially since they polled far less than half of the votes of those who took part in the election on other issues.

The real significance of the recent election in Illinois is to be found in the choice of members of the State Legislatures and the National Congress. It must be remembered that before the enactment of National Prohibition, Illinois was one of the

chief liquor-consuming States of the Union. Before the ratification of the amendment to the National Constitution, there was never any indication that Illinois was in sympathy with Prohibition. The popular vote had never definitely approved it. Now, after a trial, the people of the State have elected a large majority pledged to support the law in both houses of the Legislature and have increased the number of dry representatives in the National Congress.

The voting in Chicago is most significant. This second city of America has always been a stronghold of the liquor forces but in the recent election, has voted dry by a large majority. Forty eight candidates were endorsed by the Anti-Saloon League after promising to favour Prohibition and to oppose all attempts to defeat the law. Of these, thirty four were elected. The Cook County (Chicago) Board of Commissioners is the organization most directly concerned with the enforcement of the prohibition law. For the first time in its history a majority of its members are in favour of Prohibition. Not more than five of the fifteen members of that Board are friendly to the sale of liquor.

The liquor interests claimed a great wet victory in the State of California. In fact the election there shows for the first time the conversion of that State to the prohibition policy. The State has been dry under the National Constitution but never before has the popular vote been given in favour of a direct prohibition proposition. In former years, in fact, the voters have always given a majority in favour of liquor. A year ago a State-wide referendum on the proposed State-enforcement of prohibition was defeated by a majority of 65,000. In the recent election the vote favoured State-enforcement by 40,000 majority. Another test of California sentiment was provided in the election of the Governor. The Association against the Prohibition Amendment put forward a candidate favouring the sale of wine and beer. The other candidate declared in favour of the strict enforcement of the law against all intoxicating liquors. The pro-liquor candidate was defeated by a majority of almost four hundred thousand.

Ohio was another battle-ground. This is one of the great States of the Middle West. It is frequently said as that Ohio goes the nation will go. The Association against the Prohibition Amendment made a great effort in Ohio and made the most confident predictions of a great victory there. They spent vast sums on propaganda. But the State voted overwhelmingly dry. The proposed wine and beer amendment was defeated by 187,000 majority. In a similar contest on a previous occasion the dry majority was only 29,000.

The effort to represent the victory of the Democrats as a victory for the wets has been severely resented by many Democrats. The fact is that in some states Democrats in favour of liquor were elected but that cannot be interpreted as indicating that the people are tired of Prohibition. The truth is that sentiment in the nation turned rather strongly from the Republicans to the Democrats but this was due to other causes than Prohibition. Take Ohio as a proof of this. The Democratic and Republican parties each nominated dry men for Governor. The Democrat was elected. For Lieutenant-Governor the Republicans nominated a wet man, the Democrats a dry man. The Democrat was elected. For Attorney-General the Republicans nominated a dry man, the Democrats a wet man. The Republican was elected. About the only Democrat not elected was the one who favoured a return to the sale of liquor. If there is any comfort in his for the pro-liquor people, they are welcome to it.

In the South there were several wet Democrats, members of the American Senate, elected six years ago. They were all defeated for re-election this year. It is believed that no Democrat, member of the National Congress or Senate, who was in favour of Prohibition, has been defeated by a wet candidate. The only possible explanation of the election of some wet Democrats against dry Republicans is that the country on other issues preferred the Democratic attitude to that of the Republicans.

Arrah, Bihar

December 27, 1922.

J. WASKOM PICKETT.

THE MADRAS CO-OPERATIVE HOSTEL AT DADAR.

A correspondent writes :—On Monday, the 1st. instant, was celebrated the opening ceremony of the spacious new premises of the Madras Co-operative Hostel society Ltd., an institution which is the first of its kind in India and which was started a year ago with a view to provide decent boarding and lodging to the increasing Madras population of Bombay. Mr. J. A. Madan I. C. S., who was the Registrar of Co-operative Societies at the time the society was registered and who naturally wanted to see how it will succeed, presided on the occasion. Professor Kaji, a keen co-operator, delivered a very interesting lecture on "Distributive Co-operation" in the course of which he emphasised that three important factors were necessary for the successful working of any co-operative institution, namely, the need for its existence, loyalty on the part of the members concerned and earnest workers, all of which, he was of opinion, the Madras society possessed in ample degree as was evident from the splendid results so far achieved. Both the president and the lecturer complimented the Hon. Executive Committee of the society and expressed a hope that other communities also would take advantage of the example set by the Madras society and that the wide and new field for co-operative activities which this society has opened up will be thoroughly canvassed by those concerned. Many of the prominent Bombay co-operators were present at the function as also Madras in large numbers. The guests of the evening were treated to light refreshments, one noticeable feature in this connection being that the serving was done by the members of the society themselves, a feature which agreeably impressed the guests.

RECONVERSION TO HINDUISM.

The reconversion of Mr. F. G. Natesa Iyer and Venkatarama Iyer from Roman Catholicism to some form of Hinduism could not have taken our readers by surprise. It was a step long contemplated and thought of by the two gentlemen vitally concerned. Though as Christians, whether Roman or otherwise, we cannot but feel sad at these reconversions, we would point to one important advantage accruing to the cause of Christianity in India. It is this: the rigidity of the social system drives our believers in Jesus Christ if they receive baptism, out of the fold. Such reconversions to Hinduism, accompanied by some sort of ceremony will in the near future break down this orthodoxy and make it possible even for baptised converts to stay within their own community. We regard them as liberalising processes, and as paving the way for the socialisation of Hinduism. In this connection we would draw attention to a suggestion in the

Indian Social Reformer that all Indians should call themselves Hindus, irrespective of their religion. That is how they are called in America, for example. We may then be Hindu Christians or Christian Hindus, Mussalman Hindus, Buddhist Hindus, Sanatanic Hindus, Saivite Hindus. This would cut at the roots of the process of division which the Census operations would perpetrate in India. By the bye, these wonderful Census operations are more responsible for those divisions than is generally imagined. The Census officer calls some class like Sourashtras non-Brahmins, and then a hullabaloo is pointed to as a sign of our endless divisions. Why not call everybody a Hindu and give him the title he wants?—*The Christian Patriot, Madras, 16th December.*

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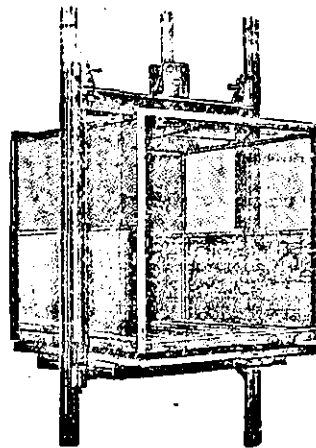
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Need for a Conference: The division in the Congress camp has, it is no exaggeration to say, caused great distress in the country. The difference of opinion on the question of entering the Legislative Councils, has been extended even to matters on which the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee were unanimous in their recommendations. Mr. A. Ramaswami Aiyangar, Editor of the *Swadesamitran* of Madras, in an important interview published in *New India* of the 4th instant, observed:

The Gaya Congress has ignored the Working Committee's resolutions passed during Mahatma's time and rejected the unanimous recommendations of the C. D. Committee to suspend all propaganda as to these two boycotts, and has again declared that the boycott of Schools and Courts must be maintained. In the next place, the Congress has adopted a resolution on Civil Disobedience which, if it is meant seriously, is a step which it was most unwise to take in the face of the unanimous recommendation of the C. D. Committee, a recommendation made upon a most careful consideration of valuable evidence as to the state of the country, and which it ought not to have adopted against the advice of such great leaders as Mr. C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan and others, who alone by their knowledge, sacrifice, suffering and patriotism, would be fitted to carry forward a movement of even limited Civil Disobedience to any degree of effectiveness or success. But the fact that, in both these instances, as well as in the rejection of the C. D. Committee's recommendations advising No-Co-operators to seek election to Municipalities and Local Boards, it was Mr. C. Rajagopalachari who was a fully consenting party to the recommendations of that Committee, is of great significance.

Since the Congress dispersed, there has been further controversy which threatens to develop into a definite split. Such a development cannot but be a public calamity. Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu, who recently refused to pay income-tax so long as Mahatma Gandhi was imprisoned and had his property distrained in consequence, writing of the division in the Congress in the *Tamil Nadu*, warns

both sides that "unless they call for a special session of the Indian National Congress as soon as possible and come to some common plan of action, no party will be able to fulfil its programme." If such a common plan is not feasible, an effort should be made to limit strictly the differences so as not to affect the solidarity of the national movement. The pronouncements made on behalf of the new party, again, show that the caution enjoined by Mr. Stokes in an article in the *Tribune* of the 9th instant, is by no means supererogatory. He writes:

Though we may accept the formation of a minority party in the Congress as a matter which should cause us no uneasiness, it remains to be seen if the particular party at Gaya will be beneficial to our national life or the reverse. As will be seen from the manifesto published yesterday the programme has still to be drawn up. Upon the character of that programme and the principles on which it is based, must depend the value of the new party. If those who are framing it determine to lay its foundations upon the bed-rock of stark justice and right, and to put before the country a programme of fearless constructive advance along clear and specific lines, a programme which will give a clear lead to the country and work for everyone, they will indeed render a service to India. But if they decide to follow a hand-to-mouth policy, to build it upon the basis of pleasing everybody without reference to sound and permanent political principles, they will make it a thing of no value. The country does not stand in need of vote-catching policies and quack panaceas but of an honest and truthful lead by men who are capable of facing realities, and daring enough to sacrifice popularity rather than principle. A programme framed in such a spirit by able and patriotic men may meet at first with less support than one less honest and more flamboyant, but ultimately it will rally the country around it as no other could.

It is a hopeful sign that, according to a message published last week, Babu Bhagwandas is collaborating with Mr. Das at Benares in drafting the new Party's programme. He moved an amendment, which was lost in the Subjects Committee, recommending Council entry with a view to carry out the constructive programme.

The Gaya Congress and Civil Disobedience: The *Bombay Chronicle* of the 9th instant remarked that we were under a misconception in stating last week that the resolution of the Gaya Congress enjoining the raising of 50,000 volunteers and 25 lakhs of rupees had reference to mass civil disobedience. The resolution runs as follows:

This Congress re-affirms its opinion that civil disobedience is the only civilised and effective substitute for an armed rebellion when every other remedy for preventing the arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority has been tried, in view of the wide-spread awakening of the people to a sense of the urgent need for Swarajya and the general demand the necessity for civil disobedience in order that the national goal may be speedily attained and in view

of the fact that the necessary atmosphere of non-violence has been preserved in spite of provocation, this Congress calls upon the Congress workers to complete the preparations for offering civil disobedience by strengthening and expanding the national organisation and to take immediate steps for the collection of at least 25 lakhs for the Tilak Swarajya fund and the enrolment of at least 50,000 volunteers satisfying the conditions of the Ahmedabad pledge by a date to be fixed by the All-India Congress Committee at Gaya and empowers the Committee to issue the necessary instruction to carry this resolution into practical effect.

We take the wording from the *Mahratta* of the 7th instant. The resolution as it is worded does not discriminate between individual and mass civil disobedience. On the contrary, the preamble which affirms that civil disobedience is the only civilised and effective substitute for an armed rebellion, would be more relevant if mass civil disobedience were intended than if individual civil disobedience were intended. The fact that a speaker so little addicted to unnecessary explanations as Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, should have felt the need to explain that individual disobedience and not the mass variety was meant, shows that the resolution is not so transparently unambiguous as the *Chronicle* thinks. Even as regards individual civil disobedience, while it is one thing for a person to disobey a law or order which violates his immutable rights of conscience, it is quite a different thing to enroll 50,000 persons with the set purpose of preparing for civil disobedience. We print the *Chronicle's* comment and a letter sent to our contemporary. We may add that the withdrawal, by the new Governor of the United Provinces, of the notification declaring the Congress Volunteer organisation illegal, on the morrow of the Gaya Congress resolution calling for Volunteers in imagined defiance of the notification, has taken the wind out of the sails of the notification.

The Gurdwara Reform Movement: One of the most impressive memories of Gaya during the national week is the attendance at an Akali Diwan. The orderliness and solemnity of the gathering were remarkable. A complete account of the Gurdwara Reform movement and of the Akalis is contained in a well-written book (English) of about 500 pages, published by the Desh Sewak Book Agency, Jullundur City, and priced Rs. three. The Akali movement as at present organised has done excellent work in social reform. It has totally put down drink among Akalis. The Akalis have given up holding nautch parties and have adopted a simple plan of life. They are doing their utmost to get rid of the curse of untouchability. They have taken to *Khaddar*, and it is very rarely that an Akali is seen dressed in any other cloth. We are told that in these and other social reforms, Akalis work through Panchayats in which they freely co-operate with Non-Akalis. Thus the full Bardoli programme has been adopted and is being carried out in right earnest by the Akalis. Women are taking an equal part with men in this remarkable movement. An old-fashioned Sikh happened to remark, before an assembly of Sikhs at the Akal Takht, that women should not be allowed to come upon the sacred Takht, as they did not show the same force of character as men. "As soon as these words were uttered," we read, "a host of women, old and young, wearing *kirpans*, came forward and demanded of the Sikh to tell them what the men could do which they, the women, who had received Guru Govind Singh's *Amrit*, could not do. They carried children in their arms and were not ashamed of being mothers." Some of them, we are told, in their zeal to work along with men, have taken to tying turbans. The Akali Jathas of Amritsar, Lahore, Ludhiana, Ambala and Nabha, it is added, are in favour of this practice.

Too much Home Work. A danger against which school-masters must guard themselves, writes the *Educational Review*, Madras, especially in the lower stages of instruction is the tendency to give too much home work to the pupils. It is a temptation which a teacher is sometimes not able to resist. It is an easy way of insuring that pupils do some work at home and the teacher probably has a feeling that it saves him much of his own trouble. In the case of girls in adolescence the danger is particularly serious. Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education in England, has recently drawn special attention to the evil. He points out that girls in Secondary Schools are growing rapidly and at their age are very liable to defects of growth. Their conditions are much affected by over-pressure and mental strain. "There is no doubt," says Sir George, "that home-work and preparation for examinations tell very hardly upon many girls who are found in a neurotic condition and in a depressed state of health." Sir George Newman reports that 35 per cent. of the children coming to school at the age of five years bring with them physical defects and seeds of disease which give them a very bad start in their school-life. In India, we imagine the percentage should be even higher and the matter deserves even more serious attention. Another evil of even greater magnitude, is the practice of private tuition out of school hours. This is an evil to which children of well-to-do parents are especially exposed. No school is worth the name, the instruction given in which for five hours a day has to be supplemented by transgressing on the time which a growing child must have to itself. If closely examined, it will be found that one reason why wealthy people's children are so often stupid, is this curse of private tuition.

State Aid to National Shipping: Mr. S. N. Haji has published a very timely brochure setting forth the need for establishing an Indian Merchant Marine. He gives an account of the State aid given in Great Britain, France, Japan and the United States of America to their respective Mercantile shipping industry. Mr. Haji points out that the British India Steam Navigation Company has practically the monopoly of carrying mails along the Indian Coast for which it received during 1921-1922, Rs. 10,12,000, out of a total of about 13½ lakhs of rupees paid yearly by the Indian public treasury for the carriage of His Majesty's mail by water. In addition, the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, an allied organisation, receives annually from the Indian exchequer amounts varying between Rs. 6,00,000 and Rs. 7,50,000 as India's contribution towards payments for the carriage of mails from Marseilles to Bombay, Shanghai and Adelaide. He adds: "If these amounts could only be diverted to national shipping concerns, how quickly would an efficient Indian merchant marine evolve!" He has also drafted a Bill to give effect to his suggestions. The book can be had from the author, Hirji Mansion, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

Science and Politics: In his suggestive address at the Science Congress held at Lucknow, the President, Sir M. Visveswaraya, lamented the apathy exhibited by the public in India towards Science. The fact is incontrovertible. But there is some excuse for it. Does Sir Visveswaraya know that wireless apparatus which are widely available as scientific toys by the general public in several countries, is prohibited in India and that when some persons imported them, the apparatus was confiscated? He should, therefore, recognise that those who concentrate on obtaining political freedom, are also helping the cause he has at heart.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 13, 1923.

THE NATIONAL WEEK.

THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE.

The All India Indian Christian Conference held at Lucknow under the Presidentship of Dr. S. K. Datta, marks an epoch in the history of Christianity in India. Dr. Datta in his address wrenched himself free from the conventional idea of who is a Christian. He claimed, and rightly, that Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest Indian Christian. A Christian is not made such by birth or baptism. He is a Christian who lives in the spirit of Christ. The implications of this courageous claim are far-reaching. The Conference demanded the early release of the Mahatma on the ground that, apart from political views, his freedom was essential to the nation to guide it on the most secure path of progress. The autocrat Tsar saw the wisdom of letting Tolstoi go free, though his teachings gravely compromised autocracy. Cannot the British Government of India see that it is seriously handicapping the chances of conciliation by keeping the Mahatma in jail? The Indian Christian Conference passed another resolution for which it deserves the gratitude of the country. Following the Punjab Provincial Conference, it condemned communal electorates as anti-national and appealed to Government, the National Congress, the Moslem League and other public bodies to put an end to them as early as possible. These resolutions expressing, as they do, the determination of the Indian Christian Community to bear its share of the burden of national leadership, are very welcome.

THE NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

The National Social Conference was established two years after the Indian National Congress and since then has always held its sittings at the same place as the latter body. In 1921, the Conference was held at Ahmedabad and both Non-Co-operators and Liberals took part in it. No resolution authorised a departure from this long-standing practice. The National Social Conference was, therefore, held at Gaya, and it had in Mr. M. R. Jayakar a President in every way competent to guide its deliberations. We published his address in full last week, and it was worthy of the best traditions of the Conference. The attendance at the Gaya Conference was large, and included men and women from all parts of the country. The resolutions passed covered all the principal subjects and several of them were supported by orthodox leaders, which, of course, gave great weight to them with the audience. The large number of ladies who attended the Conference was a noteworthy feature. The social reform movement is now firmly integrated with the national movement, and it is impossible to think of reaction. Another Social Conference was held at Nagpur by the Liberals who attended the National Liberal

Federation. It was presided over by the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye, and was a success. The Liberal Party had laid itself open to the charge of indifference to social questions, and it is gratifying to note that it recognises the force of the criticism and is anxious to give no room for it in future.

THE THEISTIC CONFERENCE.

Much credit is due to the small band of enthusiastic Brahmos who held the All-India Theistic Conference at Gaya. It is impossible to think of any time when the call on the Samaj was more insistent. Many of our national problems are really religious questions and can be solved only by men of deep faith. The opportunity offered by the great national gathering to proclaim the message of the Samaj founded by Raja Ram Mohun Roy, should not be missed. The Brahmo Samaj has been a success in that, though the number of its adherents are but a drop in the ocean of India's millions, its ideas have leavened the whole of our national life. In the uplift of the depressed classes, in the abolition of caste, and in the emancipation of womanhood, the Brahmo Samaj has been the pioneer. The earnestness and devotion of those who attended the Conference at Gaya, were most impressive.

THE HINDU MAHA SABHA.

The Hindu Maha Sabha was started a few years ago in imitation of the Moslem League. Unlike the Moslem League it had never much influence as a political body. Recent events, however, have revealed a far more important use for it, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who presided over the Session at Gaya, gave a vigorous lead in the new direction. The removal of untouchability, the divisions among Brahmins and Non-Brahmins in some parts of the country, and the re-admission of persons converted, sometimes by force, to other religions, are some of the questions which the Hindu community has been called upon to face. The solution of these and other problems, it is evident, is only feasible if the community has a Central All-India organisation in touch with every part of the country. So long as it continues in its present divided and distracted condition, so long the Hindu community cannot make its contribution to Indian Nationalism commensurate with its position as the oldest and largest Indian community. It has a special duty in this country of ensuring perfect religious freedom not only for itself but for all other communities inhabiting India. We trust that the Mahasabha will not rest content with annual speeches, but will seriously set itself to work on the lines broadly outlined in the Presidential address and the resolutions passed at its Gaya session.

THE ALL INDIA SOCIAL WORKER'S CONFERENCE.

This Conference was held at Madras with Dr. D. N. Maitra as President. It represents the fast extending movement of Social Service. Dr. Maitra is one of our most distinguished workers. The Conference was well attended.

THE POET'S TOUR IN SOUTH INDIA, II.

(By Mr. N. LAKSHMANAN.)

The Poet's own experience in the South was quite similar to that of his Secretary, with perhaps this difference, that the students, on their part, did not always seem to appraise in full measure his authentic and delightful admission that the fountain of youth is hidden in his heart. He has personally invited many a student to go to his *Ashram*, learn to read his works in original instead of relying upon mere translations, to cultivate a genuine love for the mother-tongue, and, above all, to uphold the principle of the unity of races from a spiritual and not a political standpoint.

His appeal to the "grown-ups" in the South was naturally pitched in a different key. Three years ago, the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin cry was rending the air, and was passing through the fair land like a thunder-storm. And in the second tour the burning topic of the day was Non-Co-operation. Though, as a Poet, Tagore did his best to avoid entangling himself in the labyrinth of party politics, enough has been said to lift up the veil; and so once more, "his own countrymen have been content to grumble." Let us hope and pray that when the weary pilgrim should come to the South for the third time, he would be able to say with a sigh of relief: "This was the nightmare that once rode our land."

Meanwhile, it is worth remembering that Rabindranath has been a "fighter" all his life; and, it is sad to think that his "battles" are not yet over. He is not a "Mystic, with his head for ever in the clouds"; Mr. Rothenstein's pencil-sketch only revealed the "delicate and elusive" nature of the Poet's genius, but the un-failing chisel of Mr. Narayan Dewal has brought into bolder relief the "militant and massive" traits of the composite personality of the Seer and Reformer. Though three years have passed by, I vividly remember that day at Palghat, the gate of Malabar, where unfortunately he came across a glaring and cruel instance of untouchability. Burning indignation at this age-long social tyranny stirred his heart to its very depths on being further reminded by an ardent admirer of Vivekananda that the Swamiji, as a Parivrajaka or wandering monk tramping along the West Coast years ago, anathematised Malabar as a huge lunatic asylum. Rabindranath's righteous anger has found its vent in his *Letters from an On-looker* published in the *Modern Review* for July, 1919, i. e., immediately after his first tour. And as the fates would have it, it was only the other day that another great son of Bengal, Dr. Brajendranath Seal as president of the Mysore Panchama Conference, lamented by saying: "If only Buddhism had a stronger and longer hold in the South! Then, one may have the temerity to think, even the political history of the South, during the last five years, like its social and religious history for a thousand years past, might have assumed a different hue." Similarly, "you can never hope to build the miracle of political

freedom on the quicksand of social slavery" is the compendious and timely warning by Rabindranath to the people of South India.

At the same time, the Poet has repeatedly asked; "Give me your culture, your scholars, and make Visvabharati truly your own"; and thus his appeal for men and money, for more men and money, has gone forth. To what extent and in what manner South India is going to respond to the generous invitation is a matter for speculation, and it is also too soon to judge. But, for his own part, the Poet has realised, more than ever before, how precious, and how beautiful is the simplicity of his *Asram* which, as he says "can reveal itself all the more luminously because of its dark background of material want. I know that I am harping on this one subject lately,—because my suffering is continuous and profound. My soul is being choked in this atmosphere. But it is my *tapasya*.....It is untruth which tries to decoy us with extravagance of materials. I earnestly wish we had power to create a *tapovana*, rather than to build up a University. But unfortunately, money though scarce may be available; but where is *tapasya*?"

It is, however, encouraging to think that the South to-day is not altogether wanting in men of *tapasya*. For, already, Tinnevely is suitably represented at the Visvabharati by its leading Sanskrit scholar, Pundit R. A. Sastri, late of the Baroda service. At Mangalore, the Poet was struck with surprise at the facial resemblance of the people to Bengalis, and was at the same time delighted to meet some earnest students willing to gather materials—from ethnology, folk-lore, rites and ceremonies and art-crafts including the relics of Jain places of pilgrimage—for a fuller and more detailed history of Jainism in the South. Explaining the conception of "Brahma-Vihara" to a local scholar, he regretted that, in spite of the labours of the pioneers like Prof. Jacobi and others, the sacred Literature of the Jains is yet a sealed book to the non-Jains, and is not allowed by its custodians to see the light of day. Similarly he is most anxious to recover the full historical perspective of Buddhism and it was for this purpose that he visited Ceylon hoping to obtain support from leading Buddhists and others in that island so as to form a centre of Buddhist culture side by side with other cultures at Santiniketan.

As while in Japan, so also at Ceylon, the Poet unfortunately found himself confronted with the imperious necessity to bring about an early restoration of the "Spiritual Commerce" with India, even as the railway engineer had to link Ceylon again with India, immediately after the recent storms and abnormal rains had subsided. The urgency of the task and the seriousness of the situation are obvious from the fact that even the younger generation among the so-called educated in Ceylon were still exposed to the contagion of the "English fever"—not to speak of the more dangerous "Delirium Tremens." And to quote again the Poet's own words:

Let me clearly say that I have no distrust of any culture because of its foreign character. What I object to is the artificial arrangement by which foreign education tends to occupy all the space of our national mind, and thus kills or hampers the great opportunity for the creation of a new thought-power by a new combination of truths. It is this which makes me urge that all the elements in our own culture have to be strengthened, not to resist the Western culture, but truly to accept and assimilate it. Have we not watched some modern Japanese artists imitating European Art? The imitation may sometimes produce clever results; but such cleverness has only the perfection of artificial flowers which never bear fruit.

Though days filled to overflowing with his onerous work as the Poet's Secretary, I found Mr. Andrews also busy writing and often saying, as Dr. Ananda Coomara Swami himself wrote and said years ago, that exotics have always an appearance of brilliant fertility at the first. But they have little permanent fruit. And yet, it must be said to the credit of Ceylon that, even today, there are honourable exceptions. The Buddhist Priests in the out-lying villages, some leaders of society as well as such students of Tamil Literature as Sir P. Ramanathan, Sir P. Arunachalam and Mr. E. S. W. Senathi Raju and others in Ceylon bid fair to enrich and extend the Renaissance in India.

Rabindranath has well reminded us that "the great ages of renaissance in history were those when man suddenly discovered the seeds of thought in the granary of the past." He is not perhaps a historian in the orthodox sense of the term, but he, like Dr. Seal, is a historian of the "artist" and not "artisan" type. Both have been able to warn us betimes by saying that to bring order and peace at the cost of life is terribly wasteful, whether in politics or sociology. Both have discovered that the later compilation of legends and historical records in India afford evident traces of suppression and distortion of facts, slurring over important events and putting wrong emphasis on others. And therefore both have taught us to "meditate from the heights of Universal History on the outstanding facts, engraved in India not on clay cylinder or triumphal arch, but on the ever-renewed tablets of human flesh and blood."

In this connection it is interesting to observe that the receptive, renovative and assimilative power of Hinduism is such that even in these evil days it has produced, from the "Indian thorough-breds of the soil" a Swami like Sri Narayana Guru. It was at Travancore, the Home of Sri Sankara—that the sage of Santiniketan, by the dispensation of Providence as it happened at Janarthan or modern Varkalai, met face to face the great spiritual preceptor of the Eshavas or Tiyyas of Malabar; and at once felt inspired by the thought that here was another Parivrajaka who, like the "Hindu, Jain, Buddhist" Parivrajakas of old and "those Shaivite, Vaishnavite, Tantrik Gurus belonging to a hundred Sampradayas unknown to the pages of history, granted *diksha*, initiation, to whole tribes and communities."

OUR NATIONAL TONGUE, II.

A PLEA FOR HINDUSTANI.

(By MR. HAFIZUR RAHAMAN.)

It is a well-known fact that almost all Europeans or foreigners who live in India for some time can speak and understand proper Hindustani, while to an average Indian it is intelligible. Proper Hindustani is spoken and understood all over India except the extreme south or the southern parts of the Madras and the Bombay Presidencies where the Dravidian languages predominate. No language but proper Hindustani possesses, therefore, the largest number of speakers in India. This is the strongest and the most unrefutable argument in favour of proper Hindustani to be the common language of India. Proper Hindustani being an Indo-Aryan dialect can be learnt easily by those who speak the allied Indo-Aryan languages. The speakers of the Indo-Aryan languages form the bulk of Indian population; because the Dravidian languages are confined to the Southern extremity of India, whereas the Indo-Aryan languages are spread all over the country. Hence, the majority of Indians, by reason of their speaking Indo-Aryan languages, can master the rudiments of proper Hindustani within a short period and without any serious difficulty. It is a common experience that the Bengalis, the Deccanees, the Biharees, the Gujratees, and the Sindhees learn proper Hindustani easily and very soon. Practically speaking, no other language in India enjoys the same advantages as regards popularity and the small amount of time and effort required in learning it; and these are the two most important essentials of a common language to be spoken by a country like India.

There are, however, a few obstacles in the way of proper Hindustani being adopted as the *lingua franca* of India. The first and the greatest obstacle is the tug-of-war which has been going on for the last so many years between the Urduists and the Hindustanis. The former want Urdu as the common language of India, while the latter wish Hindi to be the *lingua franca* of the country. The claim of both the parties falls to the ground if we understand the fact that Urdu with its rich Persian vocabulary and Hindi with its profuse Sanskrit words, do not possess those advantages which, as narrated above, go to make us advocate proper Hindustani as the common language. Besides, the Urdu-Hindi struggle is intensified only by a sectarian spirit which is bound to ebb as soon as the flow of a nobler and higher nationalistic sentiment sets in with full force and in due course of time. The second obstacle is the perplexing question: what are the characters in which proper Hindustani should be written? To invent new characters and make them current is an up-hill task which even the best philologist would not dare to take up. The only solution of the difficult question can be found in adopting both Urdu and Hindi characters. Proper Hindustani may be spoken as one language but it may be written in two different characters, if nothing bad and much good can come out of such an

action. The suggestion is to write two parallel lines, one of Urdu characters and another of Hindi characters of the same language, proper Hindustani, in all Government papers; while in private correspondence any of the two or both may be adopted according to the needs of the writer. Again, there is much good in keeping the two characters. If we drop one of them, the Urdu-Hindi struggle may begin afresh with a renewed zeal. Considering the strength of both the parties and the legitimate desire of each to keep in touch with their sectarian love, by using at least the characters of their sectarian languages, it is futile to hope that any party would give way. Hence, to write proper Hindustani in both Urdu and Hindi characters will avoid a breach, however seemingly small, between those two great communities of India whose sectarian hooligans and rowdies (be it spoken to their shame!) are always eager to make much of a little issue. To use both the characters is to help indirectly the highly desirable and essential study of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian which store in them Hindu and Muslim civilisations. Proper Hindustani may not have at present any literary value; but once adopted by us as a common and national language, it will come to have far more literary merits than those possessed now by any Indian vernacular. Proper Hindustani, besides neutralising and nationalising the Hindu and the Muslim thought, will afford to the divided Hindu community through Hindi characters an opportunity to rear a common Hindu literature which will serve as a bond of union to the Hindus whose communal strength has been shattered to pieces by the curse of untouchability and the caste system to the great disadvantage of the national advancement.

These are the benefits which proper Hindustani as a common language is to confer on India. Since the inauguration of the Non-Co-operation movement the influence of proper Hindustani is fast growing. The meetings of the Nationalists have already begun to echo their eloquence and oratory in simple Urdu or simple Hindi. It is probable that our Congress may in the near future declare proper Hindustani as our common language and thus add to its strength. Let us then, hope that, as Nationalism triumphs over communalism and every department of Indian life is nationalised in course of time, proper Hindustani will be spoken in every Indian home as the common language of India and our national tongue.

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

London, December 21, 1922.

THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

The first session of the new Parliament held its final sitting on Friday last. The House has not had much time to prove itself yet, but it has shown some real capacity for sound work, and the new Members have not found their jobs to be easy ones. The great and important work of this short session has been the signing and sealing of the Irish Constitution Act. It is interesting to remember that a measure born of

a Liberal Member many years ago and thrown out of the House by successive hostile Governments takes its final and much more advanced shape from a Conservative Government. This fact shows, no doubt, that just as all life moves forward to fuller development and broader knowledge, Governments and parties are no exception to the rule; they either have to keep in touch with their day or go under.

LABOUR MEMBERS' MISBEHAVIOR.

Labour has been specially active in kicking and many disagreeable scenes have been witnessed; violent words and loss of temper have resulted in cries of "order, order". Possibly a great deal of this, which is not exclusive to any one party, will disappear as time passes. The new Members will learn that there are accepted ways of trying to accomplish things and that, until they actually hold the reins of Government in their own hands, they must comply with the code and behave accordingly. But these first three weeks give a taste of what the future is likely to be. However, the noisy part of the Labour Party is not taken too seriously, for the leaders know that if the present big section in the House does not justify itself during the ensuing years, it will have no chance at the next Polls.

TRADE-DEPRESSION AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

A very distressing sign of our present trade-depression is the large number of young people going to waste. During the recent short session, special questions have been put in the House in the hope of finding a remedy for this evil. The Minister of Labour stated that, in England and Wales, during the 13 weeks ended November 6th, there were 124,517 boys and girls below the age of 18 registered as unemployed. These figures by no means represent the total number, because unemployed juveniles between the ages of 14 and 16 do not come on the unemployed register at all, and tremendous numbers of these are unemployed or employed only fitfully. The school-leaving age being 14, and the compulsory hours of attendance at any educational centre after this age being very few, it means that a vast unruly army is being thrown upon its own resources, and drifting into idleness and anarchy. Youth is never quiescent, it is always active, and either creative or destructive, and, unfortunately for itself and the future, it has to depend entirely upon outside help for its development. If good help is not forthcoming, then its positive and active forces are spent in real harm. The boys often, for sheer excitement's sake, drift into revolutionary circles, and the girls, for the same reason, after being subjected to such a lowering of their moral standards, drift into a condition of mind where a life of evil becomes attractive. Government has been asked to urge Parliament to provide a sum of not less than £50,000 to provide grants-in-aid to the various voluntary bodies, either now in existence or which would, with this aid, come into being. It is hoped that, with such assistance, continuation classes could be held, both for further education and technical instruction, so that, until openings of employment can be found for them, the young

people can continue to receive mental, moral and physical discipline.

LADY M. P.'S OPPOSE A REACTIONARY PROPOSAL.

A matter brought to the notice of the House in Question and Answer by Mrs. Wintringham and Lady Astor, is the proposal, owing to the condition of the local budget, to close down the Indian Hospital at Suva, and withdraw the subsidy in respect of the woman doctor, who has been doing such splendid work among the Indian women and children. This was one of the constructive proposals, when in Fiji some time ago, of Mr. C. F. Andrews, and, as the two lady Members of Parliament pointed out, the hospital and the services of the lady doctor were an asset to the Colony and not a liability. I understand that friendly representations have been made privately to Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and it is hoped that, in view of the moral obligation lying on the Fiji Government, it may be possible to keep the hospital going and retain the services of the woman doctor. I understand that the Hon. Secretary of the Indians Overseas Association here has been co-operating in the matter.

AMERICA'S UNCERTAIN ATTITUDE.

Though repeated rumours keep coming from New York and Washington of some immediate grand American move in the direction of helping to settle the economic middle of Europe, not too much optimism or belief is shown about the matter. That something is being done on both sides of the water to try and find a path in which useful intervention from America would lighten the European gloom is recognised as true, but the whole position is so complicated that it seems as though Europe must herself find the remedy for her sickness, even if afterwards America helps to supply the ingredients for the medicine. According to the latest reports, America does not look at all like having a united desire to change its policy by taking a hand in European politics. We quite recognise here that President Harding's reported plan of a big credit loan to Germany is going to meet with a large amount of opposition in his own country; and that the greatest support will probably come from the radical elements in the Congress, not because of high ideals, but in the hope of helping to revive world-trade and so find a market for their products which at present are more or less a drag in the country. But just at the moment, we in Britain are so full of interest in the approaching festive season that high finance will probably be left to the few experts and enthusiasts, the rest of us will be busy over purely domestic trifles, and we shall neither be optimistic nor pessimistic over America, her possibilities and probabilities, until the Christmas season is over.

THE NURSES REGISTRATION ACT.

Owing to the desire on the part of duly qualified nurses themselves and the authorities dealing with nursing and medical work, an Act was passed in 1919, called the Nurses Registration Act. The register now being completed, the Act becomes law, and

notice has now been given that anyone calling himself or herself a registered nurse after a certain date is liable, on a summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding ten pounds for a first offence and for a second, fifty pounds. Nurses hail this Act with joy, as it keeps their work on a professional level. Unfortunately, too often the garb of a nursing sister has been used as a cloak for evil-living. During the war, and in the early days afterwards, a nurse's uniform gave a woman an entry into many famous restaurants where a woman of an ignoble calling would not have been allowed to enter, and it opened to these same women a market for their only purchasable wares. So big a scandal did this become, that many qualified nursing sisters, at soon as possible, took to mufti for outdoor use. Now, however, all that will be altered. I understand that, under the Act, a person dressed in the registered nurse's uniform creating any suspicion of her bona-fides, can be asked to produce her registration certificate, and should she not be able to do this, enquiries can be made and for false representation a fine imposed.

LONDON FREED FROM SMALLPOX SCARE.

In London the smallpox scare has died down, not any new cases having been reported for nearly a month now. Probably owing to the thorough manner in which the case was handled as soon as the disease was discovered, a serious epidemic was avoided. A great deal of credit is due to the authorities for the prompt measures that were taken to prevent the spread of infection. A few hours after the first case was discovered in the Poplar Institution, a systematic examination of the Institution and its inmates was made and nine other incipient cases were discovered. Thereupon a plan of campaign was drawn up and put into immediate execution. All the patients then suffering from the disease were removed to an isolation hospital and everything was thoroughly disinfected. All the inmates were vaccinated, 1,090 persons being vaccinated in two days, all contacts were visited, and wherever possible vaccinated. In addition to these extraordinary measures, vaccination was pushed and hurried on everywhere. Schools and all likely harbouring places were kept under strict supervision, and thus, what might have been a serious danger, was averted. It is stated that the present outbreak could possibly be traced to Russia as there is a most virulent type of smallpox sweeping over that unhappy country.

THE THOMPSON MURDER TRIAL.

The result of the Thompson murder trial, when the wife and her lover were found guilty, without extenuating circumstances, of the murder of the deceased husband, was more or less what most reasonable had expected. But it may have somewhat unexpected consequences. According to the criminal law of England, both murderers have been sentenced to death, and it is generally understood that, irrespective of the result of any appeal that the condemned woman, aged 27, may bring, it is not intended that she will be called upon to pay the full penalty of the law. On the other hand, her guilty partner, aged 20, it is expected, will be hanged. The sentence has naturally

raised several questions of the first importance. The first is whether public sentiment in England is not to-day opposed to the death sentence being inflicted upon women-murderers. The second is whether the woman should escape death, though she was by far the more guilty of the two, and her young accomplice whose hand struck the fatal blows should have to suffer the full penalty of the law. The third is whether, if the woman escapes, the man should not do so, too, seeing that it is against public policy to differentiate on grounds of sex alone. Women are naturally saying that either both should be hanged or both be reprieved. Probably both will be reprieved; but the real question, after all, is whether the death-penalty should not be abolished in all cases of murder, since their infliction cannot restore to life the dead and it is by no means proved that they act as a deterrent. This week, for instance, a single judge has sentenced to death three women and one man within twenty-four hours, and in to-day's papers no less than seven murderers are referred to. It may be that these matters must be dealt with by degrees, and if the practice can be established of reprieving women-murderers, the time may not be far distant when the death-penalty for murder may be altogether abolished.

LEAGUE TO ABOLISH CASTE SYSTEM.

JAT PAT TODAK MANDAL.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

For over a quarter of a century every patriotic Indian has been feeling that caste system, in its present form is a great impediment to the progress of the country. Some earnest attempts have also been made to break its rigidity by the great social reform movements of Arya Samaj and Brahma Samaj. The work so far accomplished by these and other similar bodies consisted in ameliorating the condition of the suppressed classes and doing other kinds of propaganda work which mainly confined itself to speeches and writings. But very little has been done by the Arya Samaj and other bodies to break the citadel of caste system by the arrangement of inter-caste-dinners, inter-caste-marriages and other allied reforms which would go to the very root of the evil. These movements, instead of coming forward boldly and frankly to champion the cause of social reforms, have become part and parcel of the orthodox retrogressive Hinduism. The result has been that they have always fought shy of action and are gradually becoming caste-ridden.

This being the state of affairs, the conviction was growing among all well-wishers of Hinduism that unless some very extreme measures were taken to strike at the root of the caste system and thereby avoid its blighting effects, Hinduism was doomed to perish.

It is with this object of infusing a new spirit that (जट पत तदक मण्डल) Jat Pat Todak Mandal has been started recently at Lahore. The Mandal not only intends carrying on an intensive propaganda in the cause of social reforms but also do some practical work. It has already enlisted the sympathies of prominent social workers of the Punjab, headed by Bhai Parma Nand. Upto this time the following prominent gentlemen have responded to the call of the League :-Pandit Bhumanaud Preacher of the Arya Samaj, Pandit Parma Nand B. A., Shri Tirath Ram

of Lyallpur, Shri Kanahya Lal of Ferozapore, Pandit Brahmhatt Vidyalkar of Delhi, Shri Sudarshan, Editor of the 'Panth' Pandit Chet Ram, Professor National College Lahore; Pandit Dharmendra B. A., editor of the *Arya Mitra* Pandit Vishnu Datt Vakil of Ferozpur, Shri Parma Nand, Coal merchant, Lahore; Shri Ram, Charan Lal, Vice-President, Arya Samaj, Lahore; Dr. Khan Chand M. D. and Dr. B. R. Dewan of Lahore. The League was able to collect fifteen hundred rupees on the very day when it was founded. Names of sympathisers and members of the League are daily pouring from all parts of the Province.

Such being the noble objects of the League, it becomes incumbent upon all lovers of social reform to give their active support. Efforts should be made everywhere to enlist members for the League. The League intends in the near future to call a meeting of the members to consider its future course of action. The work has already been taken in hand by some of our energetic members. We cordially invite public sympathy and support. Communications should be sent to the following address:—

SANT RAM. B. A.

Secretary,

Jat Pat Todak Mandal,

Sahitya Sadan, Lahore.

AMERICAN APPRECIATION OF MAHATMA GANDHI.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Some months ago I read an Editorial "Ecce Homo" in which you spoke of Gandhi's influence, in "turning the face of India towards Christ." I immediately sent this paragraph to Bishop Fred B. Fisher of Calcutta who has been spending the summer in America, leading the Centenary movement here, for India and throughout the world.

Bishop Fisher has made extensive use of your Editorial, and I desire to commend you for writing it.

As Pastor of the Bowen Memorial Church, in Apollo Bunder, Bombay, we spent a few delightful years in India and are deeply interested in all that concerns her people.

We have a great admiration for Gandhi's passionate idealism and deeply religious concept of life. We believe that India will not be saved by logic, but by loyalty to idealism as found in Christ, and the fact that Gandhi has made India self-conscious, and has convinced her that she has her own interpretative message to contribute to the world, and has given a moral basis, and a spiritual understanding to India's life, is a mighty achievement for which the whole world can thank God.

Christ is, we believe, the fulfilment of every religious aspiration, that light that will complete and glorify every Hindu longing and desire. It is true of Hinduism and Mahomedanism as of Judaism, Christ "came, not to destroy, but to fulfil."

Again expressing my appreciation,

122, McAllister Street,

San Francisco, Calif.

18th November 1922.

I remain

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) Rev. A. WESLEY MELL

Secretary, Pacific Agency,

American Bible Society.

THE MOPLA TRAIN TRAGEDY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In the *Reformer* of the 30th ultimo, reference was made to the acquittal of Sergeant Andrews and five Indian Policemen by the District Magistrate of Coimbatore. They

were merely escorting the prisoners, who were put in a Luggage van. As the van was supplied by the Railway Administration, they could not imagine that the administration would give a van that was totally unfit for the accommodation of human beings. When they heard the cries of the prisoners from the closed van, they could not, it appears, realize the danger in which the unfortunate men were placed. The responsibility for using the van for the prisoners must rest with the Railway Administration, who had no business to use the van for prisoners without an authority of the Government Inspector of the Railway, who under Section 4 (2) b of the Indian Railways Act (Act No. IX of 1890) is required to inspect and certify all vehicles intended for the carriage of passengers. Was the Van No. 1711 so certified? If not, the Railway Administration must be held responsible for the use of the van, which has been declared unfit for the conveyance of human beings by competent Medical authority. The van is described as a Luggage van; it was probably designed for the carriage of Luggage. One hundred prisoners concerned in the Malabar rebellion were put in the van, which measured 24 feet by 8 feet wide by 7½ feet high, giving a floor area of 1.92 square feet or 1.92 sq. feet per passenger. The cubical space in the van was 1440 cubic feet or 14.40 feet per man. Under the rules laid down by the Government of India in the Standard Dimensions issued with their circular No. 1831, R. C. dated 13th July 1913, the minimum room required per passenger is:—

Minimum width of seat 19½ inches.

Minimum floor area 8½ sq. feet.

Minimum cubic capacity 25 cub. feet.

The accommodation given to the unfortunate prisoners was not only unfit for human beings but it was short of the minimum laid down, by 1.58 sq. feet per man in floor area and by 10.60 cub. feet per man in cubic capacity. Did the Knapp Committee or the Government of India notice these points? Or will they take due notice of them now, to prevent a recurrence of a similar mishap?

CHANDRIKA PRASADA.

Ajmer, 3rd January 1928.

A NOTE OF DESPAIR.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The momentous sessions of the Gaya Congress are over. It has failed to rise to the height of the moment. Great doubts were entertained about a split among the Congressmen on the much-controverted question of Council-entry, and it cannot be said that they have passed off. The no-change party has succeeded in its advocacy. Great men who raised great issues have been defeated. Men of minor ability have supplanted men of major ability. Sentimentalism has triumphed over reason; argumentations have failed; facts are flung off and far-sightedness has become a thing of the past. The country has been asked to tread the trodden track. It has been tried and found wanting.

Reaction is natural when the rigours of a step are unreasonable. Over-pulling has always terminated in a split. This is the natural law which can only be ignored at the cost of our country's interests.

The Congress was confronted with the same sort of confused conditions as it had to witness at the inception of the movement. At that time a far-sighted and practical leader was lying on his death-bed; and the nation felt itself forlorn.

This time the nation experienced the disadvantages of the Council-boycott and its mind was wavering between two alternatives viz., prestige and Council-capture. Albeit the soul of the movement has been shifted from the scene this time also. The nation has preferred the former to the latter of the two alternatives. Unexpected things always take place where confusion reigns supreme. Unwillingness to acknowledge the facts and sticking fast to once formulated views, however out of date they may have become, are responsible for baffling the wiser counsels of the Congress. Pious protestations of truth now sound like suppression of the same, but one day it is sure to assert itself. The nation is sapping the sources from which it inhaled its life-breath. One cannot kick out other Gods with impunity on account of one's overwhelming adoration of one's own duty. The nation has been compelled to do so and it will have to face the consequences if it does not rectify its errors.

Yours faithfully,
SARABHAI DALAL.

THE CONGRESS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE RESOLUTION.

The *Bombay Chronicle* wrote in its issue of the 9th instant as follows:—A Misapprehension: "The *Indian Social Reformer*" is labouring under a misconception when it declares that the resolution adopted at the Gaya session of the Congress enjoins the raising of 50,000 volunteers and 25 lakhs of rupees to prepare for "mass civil disobedience." If our contemporary would look to the actual wording of the resolution it would find that not only does the qualifying word "mass" not occur in it, but also that what is contemplated by the Congress is not "mass civil disobedience, but as Mrs. Naidu puts it correctly, "individual civil disobedience of a very disciplined people." In the resolution under reference the appeal is made for 50,000 volunteers "satisfying the conditions of the Ahmedabad pledge," such as those of being pledged to non-violence, the wearing of Khaddar and so on. It is this very restriction imposed by the Congress that has created some dissatisfaction in Das-Nehru circles which would like the conditions of the Ahmedabad pledge to be relaxed very considerably."

The *Editor* of this Journal sent the *Chronicle* the following letter for publication:

A PLEA FOR CONCILIATION,

To The Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Sir,

I am obliged to you for pointing out that the Civil Disobedience intended by the Congress resolution to raise 50,000 volunteers and 25 lakhs of rupees, is individual and not mass civil disobedience. I have, of course, read the resolution. While there is no mention in it of whether the civil disobedience is to be mass or individual, the preamble that "Civil disobedience is the only civilized and effective substitute for an armed rebellion," would seem to imply the former rather than the latter type. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, I am sure, would not have entered into a superfluous explanation, had the point been as clear as you think from the terms of the resolution. Personally, I may add, I can not see much difference between mass civil disobedience and that of 50,000 persons individually offered.

I do not, however, wish to start a fresh controversy. I would much rather avail myself of the opportunity of your courteous correction, to appeal to all Congressmen to do or say nothing calculated to extend a legitimate difference of

opinion into a definite cleavage. If I judge the position correctly, the idea of a separate party in the Congress is viewed with much concern and sorrow by the large mass of Indian opinion. No effort should be spared to compose the differences that have appeared, or if this is not possible, to limit them clearly so as not to affect the solidarity of the national movement.

I believe absolutely in the Bardoli programme, with all that it implies, as a sufficient and complete scheme leading to national emancipation, socially, economically and, as the necessary consequence, politically. I can accept no programme which does not emphasise it, much less one which minimises or ignores or is likely to obscure its importance. It is only as an additional means of giving effect to it that I favour entry into the Councils. Mr. Rejagopalschriar, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar, and several others, are, as I understand them, willing to consider this if it can be shown that it can be done without detriment to the central principle of non-cooperation. I feel that this avenue to an understanding has not been completely explored. In any case, I think that the resolutions of the Gaya Congress require careful revision in the light of fuller discussion. I would, therefore, earnestly appeal to all Congressmen to consider if some sort of conference, formal or informal, should not be held with a view to discover a middle way and thus to avert a schism.

Bombay, The Editor,
9th January, 1923. The Indian Social Reformer.

THE 2ND CLERKS' CONFERENCE.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The Second sessions of the Clerks' Conference will be held under the auspices of the Clerks' Union on Saturday and Sunday, the 20th and 21st January, Mr. Joseph Baptista presiding. The time and place of the Conference will be notified later on. As President of the Clerks' Union and as Chairman of the Reception Committee, I exhort every clerk serving in mercantile offices to attend either as Delegates or visitors and make it a success. A strong Reception Committee, representative of most of the important offices has been formed and a Working Sub-Committee has been hard at work and every attempt will be made to make the Conference as well attended as possible. Clerks wishing to work as Volunteers during the Conference will kindly write to the Secretaries the Clerk's Union, 128 Esplanade Road, Bombay. All correspondence should be addressed thereto. Tickets could be had therefrom on application, and will also be available at the door.

Yours faithfully,
B. M. ANANDA RAO.
President, the Clerks' Union.

THE PUNJAB VIDHVA VIVAH SAHAIK SABHA.

Reports of 67 widow marriages have been received from the different branches and co-workers of the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore (Punjab) throughout India, during the month of December 22. The total number of marriages held in the year 1922 has reached to 458, as detailed below:-
Brahman 96, Khatri 112, Arora 110, Agarwal 41, Kaisth 20, Rajput 16, Sikhs 19. Miscellaneous 89. Total 458.

1ST VIDHVA SAHAYAK CONFERENCE

MEERUT.

The proceedings of the Conference commenced in the afternoon of the 28th Decr. 1922. Opening Speech was made in an eloquent and impressive language by Lala Hargovind Prasad Nigam M. A. of Delhi owing to the absence of President-elect. Next day B. Ratan Lall Sahab B. A. L.L. B. Munsiff, the Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates and President-elect and delivered a very touching and interesting speech; afterwards Rai Sahib Lala Kedar Nath, Retired Judge and Founder of the Ramjas College, Delhi, the President of the Conference delivered his address. He described the condition of the Hindu Widows in touching tone and laid a great stress on the necessity of Widow remarriage.

The following resolutions were passed in the Conference.

1. Resolved that considering the present plight of Hindu widows of the country it appears to be essential that a Vidhva Sahayak Conference be held every year and that the Vidhva Biwah Sahayak Sabha Lahore, be requested to arrange for holding such conference every year.

2. Resolved that an All India Vidhva Sahayak Sabha be established and its aims and objects be as follows:—

(1) To establish Provincial, District and Branch Committees.

(2) To establish Widows' Homes, Pathshalas and Foundling Homes in places, where they are needed.

(3) To arrange for marriages of widows of marriageable age.

(4) To give pecuniary help to deserving widows.

(5) To publish such literature as to popularise the custom of widow remarriage.

3. Resolved that the Conference appreciates the services of those who have taken an active interest in the cause of widow remarriage and appeals to the guardians of widows of marriageable age not to hesitate in performing their marriages.

4. Resolved that the Conference shows its satisfaction at the work of the Hindu Widows' Home, Meerut, which has lately been removed to Delhi and appeals to the Hindu public in general, and particularly the Hindu public of Delhi to lend their help in making the said Home a permanent institution.

5. Resolved that Widows' Homes be opened at Muttra, Brindaban and Hardwar for the protection of homeless widows arriving there and that leaders of Muttra and Saharanpur Districts be requested to respond to this call of the country.

6. Resolved that people of all the various castes of the Hindu Community be requested to show humane and sympathetic treatment towards the widows and that the practice of marrying girls below 16, and men above 40 years of age be discontinued to secure a decrease in the number of widows.

7. Resolved that all communal and caste societies and other social Reform Associations do establish Vidhva Sahayak sub-committees under their control for the proper help of widows and arrange for the remarriage of widows of marriageable age.

MUKAND MURARI LAL,
Mukhtar Commr's Court,
Hony. General Secretary,
The 1st Vidhva Sahayak Conference,
Meerut U. P.

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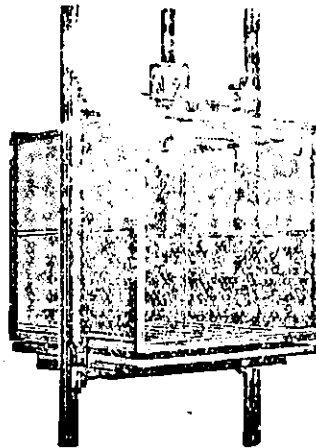
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

A Political Parable. A correspondent writes: "Several years ago a small boy offered to tell me a simple method of how to catch lions. He said: 'You must begin by running away from your house, and sit in a cave lamenting your lot. After some time a lion will come to the cave limping. You should praise the lion's mane, enquire about his family, and then examine his feet to find out the cause of his limping. You will find that a thorn had pierced one of his forefeet. You should gently take out the thorn and this will relieve the lion of his pain. The lion will thus become your great friend and, instead of devouring you, will allow you to catch him and keep him as a pet in your house for your children and grand-children to play with.' One is reminded of this incident by reading the speeches of Dr. Besant and the Rt. Hon. Sastry—a curious combination—as to how to get Swaraj. The young boy took the story of Androcles and the Lion to be a treatise on the art of lion-catching. Mr. Sastry and Dr. Besant are convinced that the story of the English political evolution, as they understand it, is the road ordained by nature for obtaining self-government. English constitutional history, on the contrary, is of all constitutional histories, the least amenable to generalisation. It is neither scientific nor logical and are we to work on the assumption that we need be neither logical nor scientific in our political activities, because England was not? That way madness lies."

An Opportunity for Retrenchment: One of the members of the Bombay Executive Council is due to retire next month. A correspondent suggests that as a measure of economy his place should not be filled. As, however, there are two English members, who have yet some part of their terms to enjoy, and as it will not do to have one Indian member to face the two, he suggests that, if an appointment be made in Sir Ibrahim's place, it should only be till one of the two Englishmen drops out. This seems to be rather a grotesque reason for continuing a superfluous, high-paid job. Experience has shown that the reason for which two Indian members were supposed to be necessary so long as there were two

Englishmen in the Council, has not had much significance at any rate in Bombay. On the other hand, an Indian member has sometimes gone farther than any previous English member had ventured to do, in defying well-established conventions relating to the freedom of public life and the non-political character of the Civil Service. We are unable to think that the character of the Government of Sir George Lloyd will be affected by the presence or absence of any Member or Minister in it, Indian or Englishman. We think, therefore, that there is no need to wait till the retirement of Mr. Hayward or the other English member to abolish the place which Sir Ibrahim will vacate. The Presidency will have an immediate, certain saving of a lakh of rupees, the estimated cost of each member.

Legislative Councillors' Allowances: With reference to our comment on Lord Inchcape's statement at the St. Andrews' Dinner, that he received no allowances when he was a member of the Indian Legislative Council, a friend sends us the following article from the old Civil Service Regulations: "A non-official Additional member of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations who has to leave his ordinary residence and reside at Calcutta...shall receive Rs. 1000 a month or part of a month during which he may attend the Session plus a sum of Rs. 1000 for travelling &c. provided that the total amount paid for any one Session shall not exceed Rs. 5000." The later rule under which they draw Rs. 20 a day during a Session came into force in 1911. When there was a Simla Session, the old Legislative Council member got another Rs. 2000 at least, so that he could get in all Rs. 7000 a year, and not Rs. 10,000 as we stated. Lord Inchcape would not have received any allowance for the Calcutta Session as he was a resident of that City. But the point is that, as compared with the old scale, the present scale of allowances is by no means high. Under the old rate, a member got Rs. 1,000 a month, while now he gets only Rs. 600. As for the travelling allowance, a lump sum of Rs. 1,000 was paid in the old days whether a member lived a thousand miles from Calcutta or only ten miles, whereas at present only the few who go from the farthest south will get that amount. We are mentioning these details, because we think it will be a serious mistake to cut down the allowances of the non-official members. Many of them are poor men, and their absence from their work for several months in the year cannot but seriously interfere with their ordinary income. When proposals were being formulated for the present Reforms, we urged that non-official members should be paid a salary. But those who then regarded themselves as controllers of Indian opinion, thought that the mere mention of it would put a new weapon in the hands of opponents of reform. When the work of Legislative Councils becomes serious, this question will have to be settled. If wealthy countries like Ame-

rica and England find it necessary to pay their members, it is absurd to expect India to possess a sufficiency of men who have the brains, the leisure and the money to be efficient members of the Legislature without any assistance from the State. The action of the Ministers in the United Provinces in voluntarily renouncing a fifth part of their salaries, has our appreciation.

The Indian Passengers' Traffic Relief Association: The hard lot of third class passengers in Indian railways and the indifference of the railway administrations to it have been receiving increasing attention from the public bodies. We are glad to note from the Report of the last five years of the Indian Passengers' Traffic Relief Association, that the Association has been working hard to get measures introduced to relieve the hardships of the travelling public. Although the response from the railway administrations and the Government to the several representations from the Association, was far from satisfactory, the Association has been very active in rousing public attention to this question. The Association was founded in 1915 and it has among its patrons several prominent public men of all political parties. The Association has also extended its activities to passengers by Ferry and Coasting steamers and Tramways in the city. The report says that the Association interviewed Railway officials, attended to the complaints of Indian passengers, carried on extensive correspondence with the Government, Railway authorities and sister societies, started branches in several important centres in the mofussil, arranged protest meetings and sent deputations to wait on the authorities to represent the grievances of third class passengers. It also moved the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta and several provincial conferences to pass resolutions pointing out the grievances of Indian passengers. The Association's Secretary, Mr. Jivraj Nensey, gave evidence before the Indian Railway Committee and the Deck Passengers Committee appointed by the Government and expressed the Association's opinion in favour of state management of Railways. The Association is of opinion that the Railway Board should be abolished and the Railway Department should be presided over by a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council who should be an Indian. The colour prejudice is the worst evil of Company management and the Association has done well in illustrating this with facts and figures and also by comparing the high positions held by Indians under Railways managed by the Companies and those under State management. The Hon. Secretary hopes that those interested in the objects of the Association will contribute their mite for the maintenance and development of the Association. Enquiries and remittances may be addressed to Mr. Jivraj Goculdas Nensey, Secretary, the Indian Passengers' and Traffic Relief Association, 11, Bank Street, Fort, Bombay.

Congressmen and Municipal Elections: The *Mahratta* has a gift of sardonic humour one of the most recent exhibitions of which is the publication in the last issue of certain resolutions *rejected* by the Gaya Congress. One of these runs as follows:

This Committee declares that it is desirable for Non-co-operators to seek election to Municipalities and District or Local Boards with a view to facilitate the working of the constructive programme but considers that no hard and fast rules should at present be laid down to regulate or restrict the activities of Non-co-operating members beyond advising them to act in harmony with Local or Provincial Congress Organisations.

To understand the "inwardness" of this rejected resolution, it should be explained that it was

unanimously recommended by the Congress Civil Disobedience Committee. The Committee gave cogent reasons for recommending it. But the Congress rejected it, the opposition to it being, so far as we can gather, on the same grounds as to Council entry. It is, therefore, puzzling to see that some of those who are strongly opposed to Council entry, are candidates for election to the Bombay Corporation on the 29th instant. We wish some of them and especially the ladies, success, but obviously Congress exegesis is becoming too abstruse a science for ordinary people.

The Dev Samaj, Lahore: The need for reconstructing and organising Hindu Society has been receiving a great deal of attention of late and there are several public bodies engaged in that work. The Dev Samaj of Lahore is one such body. Members of the Dev Samaj are admitted only on giving a pledge that they would refrain from "the ten prescribed gross sins, such as dishonest dealings of various kinds, suppression of debts and deposits, social impurity, gambling, use of all kinds of intoxicants, flesh-eating, bribe-taking, theft, adultery etc." It is gratifying to note from the report of the annual Mahotsav which was held at Lahore in the first week of December, that the Samaj is progressing satisfactorily. The Samaj conducts 24 schools, including 2 High Schools for boys, one High School for girls, and four schools for the depressed classes. That the Government have made over to the Dev Samaj the work of reformation of two settlements for criminal tribes, is a significant testimony to the good work it is doing. It is stated that at the Mahotsav Bhojan (dinner) nearly 800 persons of different castes and sub-castes sat together and the Samaj rightly claims that it is a notable feature showing the progress it has made in the direction of social unification and uplift of the caste-ridden Hindu society. We wish the Samaj every success in the noble work it is doing.

A Composite Musical Instrument: Mr. S. G. Tumne has kindly demonstrated to us how the composite instrument he has devised at much cost and trouble can be used in the place of almost any Indian stringed musical instrument with little or no trouble. His instrument can be used in musical Schools where instruction in several instruments is imparted and in families where different individuals learn or practise on different instruments. It costs about Rs. sixty (Rs. ninety with its wooden box) but all the several instruments it represents will cost three or four times that price. Its great merit is economy and simplicity as it can be easily put together by the village carpenter with a little direction. The shapely but fragile gourd is replaced in it by a wooden box which is far less liable to accident. Mr. Tumne's invention is a step in the direction of democratising music, and in tune with the spirit of the age. We wish him every success.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru: There was a note of personal affection in the speech in which Lord Reading proposed the health of the late Law Member at the dinner His Excellency gave in his honour last week. Sir Tej counts good taste among his many accomplishments and he did not seek to spoil his host's dinner party by uttering unsavoury truths in his reply. His views on the political situation were given to an Associated Press correspondent in an interview on the same day. There seems to be something in it to confirm what one has been hearing recently about Sir Tej's dissatisfaction with the conventional progress favoured by leading Liberals. It is best, however, to wait till he sees fit to make an explicit pronouncement.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 20, 1923.

SCIENCE AND POLITICS.

Referring to the complaint of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, in his presidential address to the Science Congress at Lucknow, that the importance of applied science is not sufficiently appreciated by the Indian public, we mentioned last week that the small apparatus for receiving wireless messages, which is freely sold in other countries, is not permitted to be imported into India. Of what immense service this simple device can be in a country like ours, is described in an interesting article headed "Telescoping Time with Radio" by Mr. Waldemar Kaempffert in the January number of *Asia*. Mr. Kaempffert writes:

Radio in its broad-casting aspect is a powerful instrument of mass-appeal, and therein lies its immense advantages over the telephone, the telegraph, the steamship and the railway and its immense possibilities in moulding oriental opinion . . . Such an instrument of mass-appeal must inevitably quicken the pulse of both Europe and Asia.

The receiving apparatus costs about the same as a gramophone of which there are so many in this country. Even if there were one such in every village, the presidential address at Gaya and Nagpur, and the Viceroy's Calcutta speech, could, with a broad-casting apparatus, have been heard instantly all over the country. In a country where there is so much illiteracy, where there are millions who can receive knowledge only by the spoken word, the possibilities of radio in its broad-casting aspect are tremendous.

Mr. Kaempffert advocates the co-operation of England and America in extending the use of this great invention, as a potent means of making English a world-language. The radio, he says, is destined to be the ear-newspaper, the ear-stage of the Orient. "What may not come to pass when broad-casting becomes more pliable, when but little power will be required to project the voice of Einstein or Sir Oliver Lodge or the President of the United States to the uttermost parts of the earth"? It may happen, he adds, that by the year 2000 the radio will bring about the introduction of English or French as a world language, provided the control and development of broad-casting instruments remain in British, American and French hands. The writer also points out of what great advantage the radio system can be to the British Empire. "When her plans are completed," he writes, "England will possess an imperial radio system which will enmesh every ship that flies a British flag, every army post on the frontier of Afghanistan, every handful of British colonists under the sun. The ear of Bombay will be as accessible as that of Liverpool, and so will the ear of the native of Tongking, who owes a theoretical allegiance to France." Incidentally, Mr. Kaempffert emphasises the fact, often lost sight of, that "the steam-engine, the

railway, the telegraph, the telephone, the postal service, as much as the Magna Charta and the French Revolution, have made Europe what it is to-day. Communication has had as profound an effect in emancipating the European peasant as the overthrow of Kings and feudal lords." When Mr. C. R. Das says the unit of Indian Swaraj should be a small area consisting of about 10,000 people, he forgets that while such areas represented the natural limit in the past, they would be unnatural in the days of the wireless. Why should a civic community restrict itself to 10,000, while modern science enables it to establish and maintain exactly the same measure of contact and intercourse with a hundred or a thousand times that number? The ancient village was not the choice but a necessity of those days. The greatest obstacle to the revival of that system is the bicycle and the newspaper.

All schemes of political or social reconstruction, which ignore the revolution effected in the conditions of the problem by the achievements of Science in abridging space and time, are bound to be merely so much idle talk. Political and social systems which depend for their security on withholding from men the knowledge and the free use of these implements by which Science multiplies their limited natural faculties, will be condemned at no distant date by the conscience of mankind as being no better than the ancient despotisms which ruled by maiming and mutilating their subjects. Sir M. Visvesvaraya knows more than most other Indians what the real obstacles are at the present day to the extended application of Science to problems of national progress. His address is, therefore, an appeal to the Government in the guise of a rebuke to his own people. The difference between the two schools of politics in India is the measure of their belief in the inclination and power of Government to listen to such an appeal. So far as the people are concerned, we realise to-day more than ever the late Mr. A. O. Hume's reason for putting politics before social reform in his work for India. He said that it was hopeless to expect the people of India to exert themselves for their own improvement until some measure of self-confidence and self-respect had been instilled into them by means of political power. Writing without reference to political parties, the true leader for any people at any time, and more especially for the Indian people at the present time, is the man who bids them strive and thrive. The advice to the people to increase their producing and purchasing power is more likely to bear fruit, if the people are assured that they will have the full use and enjoyment for national purposes of the results of their efforts. It is difficult to say how much of the apathy of the people of India is the result of the long-continued political exploitation of their resources, and how much is due to ignorance and inertia. No Indian has the right to say that it is his business to work in remedying only one side of the evil and that others who are so minded can deal with other aspects of it. The corollary to his able presidential address at the Lucknow Science Congress is an equally well-thought-out pronouncement on the political problem.

THE POET'S TOUR IN SOUTH INDIA, III.

(By Mr. N. LAKSHMANAN.)

Again, like Dr. Seal, India's representative at the First Universal Races Congress, Dr. Tagore has also pointedly and repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that the prologue of India's history opened with the most difficult of all human problems—the race problem. Let us hope that his words of deep insight and rare wisdom have not fallen on deaf ears and that the number of those who ignore or merely despise the Universal Race War is not legion; and if we are really wrong in our surmise let us then take leave to console ourselves by thinking with the Poet Sentinel that Ravana had not the power to defile Sita, though for a time, she was under his dominance, for ideal truth is inviolable even though it may remain for a time in obscurity.

Like one of those fruitful generalisations of Dr. Seal, Dr. Tagore has given to the South an immense and subtle generalisation about the meeting of the Aryan and non-Aryan races "like the Jumna and the Ganges at their confluence." And this sublime and synthetic vision of India's past has now got to be worked out more fully and in greater details by a syndicate of indigenous scholars having the candour and courage to unmask the hypocrisy and superstition of the text-torturing and gerund-grinding fraternity and thus carry out, in right earnest, the long-delayed work of preparing a truly constructive and comprehensive history of the South. The stupendousness of the task is evident from one of the published letters of Vivekananda about the antiquity of the Tamils, their religion and literature. He says that the Madras Presidency is the habitation of that Tamil race whose civilisation was the most ancient and a branch of them called the Sumarians spread a vast civilisation on the banks of the Euphrates in very ancient times whose astrology, religious lore, morals and rites furnished the foundation of the Assyrian and Babylonian civilisations and whose mythology was the source of the Christian Bible. Another Branch of these Tamilians spread from the Malabar Coast and gave rise to the wonderful Egyptian civilisation, and the Aryans also are indebted to this race in many respects.

In "The Master as I saw Him" Nivedita has recorded that, in the course of his wanderings, Vivekananda was able to observe at first hand such obscure questions as the Caste-customs of Malabar. The book containing his inspired talks reveal to us his pioneer efforts to open the vista of Malabar Sociology. In this connection, I remember the graphic description by Professor Sundara Rama Iyer and his son Mr. Ramaswami Sastri, of the Swami's visit to Travancore; and it was only in the fitness of things that Trivandrum should be the first to discover "Noren" and enable him to spread the message of Vedanta across lands and seas. And it is a matter for rejoicing that enlightened Travancore offered the same spontaneous welcome to Rabindranath. Well did the citizens of Trivandrum say in their address to the Poet:

The present age has need of you, and in welcoming you to this land of ancient traditions, the home of Sankara, we fervently pray that the Giver of all good may grant you long life, health and strength to enable you to carry to completion the noble work to which you have dedicated your life.

In reply, the Poet said, in one of his best extempore speeches in the South, that in the gift Sri Rama received from Janaka, the gift of Love, he saw the symbol of the unity of the Aryan and Non-Aryan races which was the mission of Ramachandra; and the Poet significantly pointed out that, whereas Parasurama and other warriors have not the place of honour in the people's memory, Sita-Rama is worshipped today as the incarnation of the great ideal of unity for this country.

"There is no doubt that we in India had our own publicity department which had its function of selecting and arranging facts according to its particular purpose, thus muddling the memory of the people and inscribing on it impressions that are incorrect." In the study and interpretation of the Ramayana itself, the scholars have ranged themselves in opposite camps—as the pages of the *Tamilian Antiquary* go to show—and the echoes of the "Rama-Ravana" controversy in the South have not yet died out. On the contrary, it seems that the battle of the Pandits is likely to be resumed, with the wider publication of the works on Saiva Siddhantam and with the English translation of such of the oldest books in Tamil now extant, as Agattiyam, Tholkappiam and the newly-discovered "Sengontarai Chelavu" which is said to have been composed even before Agattiyam. And it is also said that the talented author of the famous *Manon maneeyam* was the first to prepare the background for, and also write out the prologue to, the recently commenced "Brahmin-Non-Brahmin" drama in the South. Whatever may be the sequel, the onlooker at any rate should be allowed to come out of the heated atmosphere and gain some consolation from hearing "the one grand music" and of listening "in the night of suffering" to the student at Trivandrum who, seeing the walls adjoining the spacious Shamianna fall down in the rains, felt inspired to say: "See how at the very touch of the Poet the 'narrow domestic walls' have been 'broken up into fragments'!"

It has been observed the Poet needs to receive in his wanderings "some play of Imagination, some intellectual sparkle, some little cupful of clear mental water that would stimulate his own well." As might be expected, the Poet had all this in abundance during his sojourn in the enlightened and progressive Native States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. His presence at the first Festival of Fine Arts organised at Bangalore by Mr. J. H. Cousins and Mr. N. K. Dewal, his appreciation of the histrionic talents of Mysore and Travancore, his admiration for the musical attainments of Tanjore and Travancore, and his intense desire to obtain specimens of the artistic cottage industries of the castes and tribes of Travancore and Cochin revealed that, by his own personal example and by

establishing the schools of Art and Music at the Visvabharati, he has taught others an object lesson that "Music and Art must have their prominent seats of honour and not be given merely a tolerant nod of recognition." The Poet's son and daughter-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Rathindranath Tagore, when they formed part of the travelling party, devoted special attention to the study and observation of the architecture and sculpture of the far-famed temple cities in the South.

In Bengal, the system of temple service by "women dedicated to God" is conspicuous by its absence; and when the Poet came across some Devadasis attached to the Srirangam temple, these votaries of dancing and music, often called nowadays by their very patrons as fallen women, looked like "angels fallen"; and if they are ever destined to come out of the "Temples of Maya" and be restored to their dower of spiritual freedom, the transforming process would be the same as that described in Rabindranath's touching and immortal poem, *Patita*, the fallen woman. It can be safely asserted that he has touched upon and studied every phase of life in South India. Whether he heard the sweet hymnology of the Tamil Saints, or of the maxims of Tiruvalluvar,—the immortal saint who lived in Mylapore—or read about the musical composer Tiagayya, or even about the four brothers Vadivelu, Sivanandam, Chinmayya and Ponnayya of the Nattava community, experts in four different branches of the art, and who came from Tanjore and received the royal favour and patronage at Travancore, Rabindranath said again and again: "Free me from the burden of my begging mission; send your best scholars and musicians to my Asram, and thereby make Visvabharati *your own*."

Mr. T. Lakshmana Pillai, whom the friendly author of the State Manual has already recognised as a musical composer of taste and ability, says that the Dravidian system of music in the indigenous form called *sopana* exists side by side with Aryan music. After some weary waiting, during the journeys, at long last at Trivandram, in the State Guest House, the Poet was transported with joy to receive from Mr. Lakshmana Pillai and Mr. Kuttan Pillai the cupful of clear mental water that stimulated his own well. With my feeble words I can never hope to describe "the flow of soul" due to the "concord of sweet sounds" on that memorable evening; and the entrancing effect of the instrumental music, first the *Veena*, and then the *Goats Vadyam* played separately, is only comparable to the boat journey, on a moon-lit night, in the famous backwaters of Travancore. And even before the Poet's pilgrimages to the South were over, the one finished player on the *Goats Vadyam* was found missing from Travancore, and,—and then, can the reader guess who "kidnapped" my friend Mr. Kuttan Pillai and placed him in the *amlaki* groves of Santiniketan?

And before the answer is given, the memory fondly lingers on the two-fold mission of Buddha—"one of

world-moving, and another, of nation-making", and the heart's homage goes forth in adoration to Ram Mohan and Vivekananda, and above all, to my *Ishta Devata*—the Rishiputra—the modern Bhikshu who, with the "life abundant" of the vedic bards and the poetic gifts of Kamban and Kalidasa, possesses for the redemption of mankind "the heart of Buddha and the intellect of Sankaracharya."

(Concluded).

CUSTOM.

(BY MR. P. DAMODARAN.)

Custom is an autocrat who always wants to have his own way in everything. Be it Napoleon or Hannibal, Jesus or Mahomed, everyone has to pay obeisance to him. His presence is felt in all departments of human activity, be it religion, politics or social affairs. Manu says "immemorial custom is transcendent law" and that "holy sages, well knowing that law is grounded on immemorial custom, embraced, as the rule of all piety, good usages long established." That even a conqueror has no power over this autocrat is acknowledged by Yajñawalkya who says that "of a newly subjugated territory, the Monarch shall preserve the social and religious usages, also the judicial system and the state of classes as already established." Yajñawalkya's view has been followed by the English in their administration of India. Warren Hastings, in his scheme of 1772 "reserved their own laws to the natives" and wanted that Moulvis and Brahmins should attend Court to expound the laws. Due consideration is always given to custom by our Courts and legislature. Both under the Hindu and Mahomedan systems of law "clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law." This is so, even if Custom were to be quite contrary to religious precepts. The Law of Inheritance prevalent amongst the Moplas of Malabar (before the Act of 1918, but the same even now with regard to ancestral properties) and of the Borahs and Cutch Memons of the Bombay Presidency illustrates this point. Though these systems are perfectly antagonistic to Koranic injunctions, yet, the courts have to recognise them on account of immemorial usage.

Custom is the germ out of which have sprung most of the legal systems of the world. Sir John Salmond says that "custom is the embodiment of the principles which have commended themselves to the national conscience as the principles of truth, justice and public utility and the fact that any rule has already the sanction of custom raises a presumption that it deserves the sanction of law also." According to him "custom is to society what law is to the State, each being the expression and realisation of the principles of right and justice to the best of men's insight and ability." There are various theories as to the origin of custom. When a reasonable act is performed by a man of prudence, if that act is found beneficial to his fellow beings, others follow him and by frequent repetition of the same by several people, time

after time, without interruption, such an act becomes custom and thereby obtains the force of law. Most of the customs which make up the "Law Merchant" have, no doubt, been recognised as being found to be useful for the required purpose. As observed in a case, "Custom of trade one practises which have been uniformly observed by those engaged in business and have become so well known and understood that they are taken as incorporated and as governing all transactions of that nature unless otherwise expressed." Numerous other customs originate unconsciously or by accident as, for example, the caste system of India. There is nothing in the *Vedas* that suggests a division of the people into castes. In either case, whether the origin be traceable to individual initiation or to accident, it assumes three stages of development. Firstly it becomes exceptional, secondly it becomes usual and thirdly and lastly it becomes universal in the locality where it prevails.

A cursory reading of any book dealing with the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland will show clearly the part played by custom in matters connected with the constitution. The reader always hears about the power of the King to summon and to dissolve Parliament and that the laws of the realm are "enacted by the King's Excellent Majesty by and with the advice of Lords Spiritual and Temporal in the present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same." Could anyone believe that it is any longer so, when custom has slowly but surely snatched away a great portion of that authority and vested it in bodies other than the King? The House of Commons has gained the exclusive right of initiative and control over that branch of the legislation by which taxes are imposed. The power of the King has been considerably reduced since the days of Henry IV, to a mere right to express assent or dissent to measures sent up by the Houses of Parliament. This power of veto has not been exercised for the last 200 years or more; which King will dare to exercise it hereafter? Again, the retirement of the King from the Cabinet was due to the fact that George. I. was an imperfect master of English. It has now become an accepted rule that the King should leave it to his ministers to determine the general policy of the country.

It may perhaps be said that such customs arose from the fact that Great Britain has a flexible constitution. But such an argument loses all its force, when we see the force of custom even in such a rigid constitution as that of the United States of America. The whole machinery of Presidential election has come to work in a manner never contemplated by the authors of the constitution.

Nowhere is the force of custom more strongly felt than in social affairs; and no country has suffered more by it than India. The innumerable castes and sub-castes that exist in India are due to custom and custom alone. As has already been pointed out, the *Vedas* do not recognise these castes at all. But custom proved more powerful than the *Vedas* and brought into existence the Brahmin and the non-Brahmin and all the rest of them. Though this division has no

basis in religion yet, curiously enough, the people cling to it with the greatest amount of religious fervour. The pernicious effects of the caste system cannot be put better than in the language of Ramsay MacDonald who says that "in the Hindu camp alone divisions of castes mean so much that they not only separate the people, but condemn one-fourth of the total population to a life little removed from that of the beasts that perish. The Sudra is not to receive religious instruction or to take part in religious observance, the penance for killing him, according to the Laws of Manu is the same as required for killing a cat, a frog or a cow. The Indian caste system expresses not merely a social distinction but a religious repulsion, the clean against the unclean and involves the existence of an outcaste class of millions, whose very shadows taint the sacred ones."

When the British Government decided to introduce Western Education in this country, they had for their objects not only the infusion of Western culture amongst its inhabitants but also the removal of the fetters of stupid customs and superstitions which bound them from time immemorial, which they thought would eventually leave the stamp of nationality on them. What the Englishmen have got for their good intentions is a sad tale to relate. It may not be shocking to any foreigner who is acquainted with the orthodox section of the people in this country to hear that there were instances where Indian members of the I.C.S. have performed the *punnyaham* ceremony because the previous occupant of the bungalow they had to occupy happened to be an Englishman!

It is the women of India that have suffered most by the observance of all sorts of customs. No one can exaggerate the baleful influence of such customs as infant marriages, the Zenana system, prohibition of widow marriages etc. on womankind. What could be more cruel than to allow young girls to become widows before they have become wives and to condemn them to perpetual seclusion? The story of a Maharani who, having a bad ear, would allow an English lady doctor to examine the ear alone, which was shown through a screen, would clearly indicate the extent to which the orthodox section of the people in this country are prepared to go where their superstitious beliefs are concerned. What can be more ludicrous than the application that was submitted to the Privy Council signed by nearly 18,000 people on the abolition of *Sati* in 1829 protesting against the abolition of this barbarous custom? Most of such customs have absolutely no meaning at all, yet they are most scrupulously followed. A caste Hindu could go to the house of one who is supposed to belong to a caste lower than his and partake of ordinary refreshments to his heart's content, yet, if he is to eat rice cooked there, he would lose his caste immediately! Instances like this could be multiplied by the million, but to what purpose? Until Indians assimilate Western culture and set themselves free from the fetters of meaningless customs and ridiculous superstitions, there seems to be absolutely no hope of India ever working out her salvation.

SOME CRUEL CUSTOMS.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

The enclosed cutting on "Japan's Pariah Problem" (*A. B. Patrika*, December 10—Bi-weekly Ed.) sheds a distinctly new light on the problem of untouchability in India. In Japan there is no caste as we have it in India. There may be class distinction there as in other countries, but caste is peculiar to India. Now it is sometimes postulated that untouchability and unapproachability (touch-pollution and 'distance-pollution') are but extreme manifestations of caste; that they are in fact its logical developments, not mere aberrations from it. I hope you will give your opinion on the point in the light of this cutting.

2. Another cutting from the *Hindu* (Dec. 7—tri-weekly Ed.) headed 'a Cruel Custom' ought to throw some light on how conversions of Hindus into Islam ordinarily take place in Malabar.

3. The third cutting (from the *A. B. Patrika*—December 8—Bi-weekly Ed.) is a distinct certificate to the Congress and Khilafat movement for its social progressiveness and practical social service.

4. The A. P. message dated Rangoon in the *Bombay Chronicle*, Dec. 25, p. 5, headed 'Thinshes' shows how untouchability crept into Burma, a Buddhist country.

I hope all the four will receive your Editorial notice.

Yours etc,

K. R. HALDIPREKAR,

Kerwar, 30th Dec. 1922.

I.

JAPAN'S PARIASH PROBLEM.

It is not India alone that is confronted with the problem of the outcaste. Japan has the same problem also. The Pariahs of Japan are called "Eta" which means outcaste in Japanese. They number approximately 80,00,000 and are settled in the Kyoto and Osaka districts. Some of them are wealthy and have considerable influence in economic circles. They have an association called "Nippon Suihei Kai" which rendered into English means "Japan Horizontal Society". The object of the society is to protect the interests of the "Eta" class. Recently there was a meeting under the auspices of this association and many leading Eta representatives came from all parts of the country. Numerous speeches were delivered condemning bitterly the social discrimination practised against the Eta. Some of the speakers indignantly demanded to know why they were barred from social intercourse when they shared equally in national conscription and taxation. Instances in which their children were unable to attend elementary schools, because they were bullied by other children, were cited by many. One speaker told of a child being struck deaf by a policeman because of a minor offence. When the higher authorities were appealed to, the case was dismissed. Whenever a dispute occurs between the Eta and the rest of the villagers, the case is invariably settled partially, said another speaker. The meeting terminated with an appeal for equal social treatment for the Eta.

Be it said to the credit of the Japanese Government that it is leaving no stone unturned to ameliorate the condition of the Eta and to remove the prejudice of the people against them. Many public-spirited Japanese also have taken up the cause of the Eta and it appears to be a question of time only when they will be able to secure equal social status with the other Japanese.—*A. B. P.* Dec. 10.

II.

NAMBUDIRI WOMAN OUT-CASTED.

Cochin, December 5.—The Nambudiris who form the most orthodox and conservative among the people of Malabar are even to this day very rigid in their observance of caste rules, and the following account which comes from Trishur of a woman being outcasted on a very trivial ground illustrates how they are adhering to the letter of the law with regard to their established social customs. A Nambudiri woman of Korattikkara, a village near Pudukad Railway Station, was outcasted, it would appear, for the sin of helping the Nair servant of the Illom to unload the basket from his head. The servant had returned from the market with the purchases for the Illom, and finding the weight too heavy for him to unload, requested some one to help him. There was no elderly male member in the house and the Nambudiri woman helped the servant. The woman's husband, on his return, heard about the incident and declared her an out-caste as she was polluted. There was the usual enquiry and merry round of feasting amidst a fanfare of trumpets, and the woman was driven away. It would appear that she has since found a home under the care of a Mahommedan, and besides embraced that religion.—*The Hindu* Dec. 7, Tri-Weekly.

III.

A SHAMEFUL EXAMPLE OF UNTOUCHABILITY.

(*Dacca Prakash.*)

In the village of Nalus in the subdivision of Narayanganj, a widow, who had been excommunicated by society, died. A few days before her death some local gentleman had performed a "Prayaschitta" ceremony in her behalf, and yet her corpse was left untouched in her room for full 24 hours. At this, several Congress and Khilafat workers came forward and cremated the body of the unfortunate widow. It is now rumoured that there is a movement afoot to outcaste these noble souls. It is hoped the local gentry will stop the perpetration of such a shameful act.—*A. B. P.* Dec. 8. (Bi-weekly).

OUR TRAVANCORE LETTER.

(*From our own Correspondent*)

THE STATE AND TEMPERANCE.

The temperance movement is spreading slowly and steadily. Several meetings are being held throughout the whole State to bring home the advantages of the movement to the very doors of the peasant. It is the Ezhavas who by heredity have been chiefly responsible for the manufacture and consumption of liquor. They alone have been the tappers, and for several years past, they controlled the market in the matter of consumption. For, they had the sole monopoly of the contract for the sale of liquor. But the angle of vision of this community slowly changed as a result of the spread of education among them. The policy of the Travancore Government has been for the past 18 years—since the Dewanship of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao C. I. E.—to remove the veil of ignorance, illiteracy and arrogant exclusiveness and take the depressed classes like the Ezhavas, Pulayas, Parayas, &c. to a higher level and open their eyes to the benefits of education. This beneficent policy was persisted in by his successor Diwan Bahadur (now Sir) P. Rajagopalachari whose seven years of Dewanship will ever be associated with a vigorous programme of uplift and the substantial measure of success achieved by him in throwing open the Schools, in making them members of popular institutions and

generally in giving them wider access to public institutions will ever remain as a land mark in their elevation. All this has resulted now in the community knowing and realising its own defects and in taking immediate steps to remove them and avail themselves of the good offices of the Brahmin Dewan who wanted to befriend and uplift them. As however a larger number of young men and women are now permeated by the light of general education, the first point of social evil to which they addressed themselves was to remove the deep-rooted stain on the community as a whole and prove themselves worthy of that measure of beneficent attention which the Government bestowed on the amelioration of their material condition. The desire to purge themselves of the vice of drink has taken hold on them and it is a remarkable fact that the movement has wonderfully spread out of all proportion to the percentage of literacy now obtaining among them. The more striking is it to notice the enthusiasm of educated girls and even of people whom the modern influence of literacy has not reached. Mr. T. K. Madhavan, the real strength of the movement, has been unsparring in his commendable labours of social reform and, it is indeed a matter of great satisfaction that he is listened to in several areas and in certain villages public meetings are arranged by the local residents themselves. The movement has taken such a firm hold that, in connection with the public meetings held, tea parties and dinner parties are organised and the question of abstaining from auction sales of contracts of liquor shops is seriously discussed and a general understanding for keeping back from such auction sales is arrived at and carried into action. In connection with the general discussion on the State budget, the Financial Secretary had to bemoan a big drop in the Excise revenue, as a direct result of the work of temperance advocates. The subsequent course of this reform movement has been more prejudicial to the receipts which, it is feared, have not showed a more favourable turn. Some other source will have to be tapped to meet the fall of this tainted money. It is noteworthy that the Government whose reins are in the hands of Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, a quiet and unostentatious worker in social reform, are in practical sympathy with the central idea of the temperance movement and even accepted the principle of prohibition as the ultimate goal. Such is the present stage of the movement and, in these days of financial stress and strain, it is no doubt a matter of great anxiety for the head of the Administration that it has to face a steady decline in its excise revenue, despite its eagerness to advance the cause of temperance by its policy of minimum consumption and maximum revenue. The pity of it is that the general financial condition of the State is not helpful to temperance. The Dewan should all the more be complimented for his heroic efforts to reduce this objectionable money.

THE ENGLISH SOLICITATION LAW.

HOW IT WORKS.

(From the *Shield*.)

ARRESTS OF MEN FOR ANNOYING WOMEN.

The arrest and conviction of Sir Almeric Fitzroy, Clerk to the Privy Council, on a charge of wilfully interfering with and annoying women in Hyde Park by accosting and entering into conversation with them has, let us hope, made inevitable the drastic amendment of those laws under which 6 000 women a year and some few men are fined or imprisoned on police evidence only for alleged annoyances of persons of the opposite sex. As Sir Almeric Fitzroy has appealed against the decision of the Marlborough Street magistrates, we

will at present make no comments on his case, but will only quote here one indignant paragraph from the *Daily Sketch* of October 17th:—

"Any man to-day is liable, on the evidence of the police alone, and without any complaint from the person alleged to have been annoyed, to be arrested and convicted."

The following is a report of another case from the *Daily News* of October 19th:—

PRODUCE THE WOMAN.

BENCH'S RULING IN ANNOYANCE CASES.

"In a prosecution for insulting behaviour at Marylebone Police Court yesterday it was alleged that a woman complained to the police that the accused had followed her and tried to get into conversation with her; but when she was asked to attend the police station she declined. Defendant denied that he interfered with her in any way.

"Mr. Ratcliffe Cousins said that so far as the unknown woman was concerned, unless there was a very strong case he never listened to third party evidence of a woman being annoyed if she had not the courage to come forward and say she had been annoyed.

"Here there was no evidence upon which he could rely that a woman was annoyed, and as the woman was unwilling to come forward he should disregard that evidence entirely.

"In all cases where people called in the aid of the police, they must come forward and corroborate them."

We think it is law and custom which are to blame rather than the police, but otherwise we are entirely in agreement with the indignation expressed by the *Daily Sketch*, the *Daily Express*, the *Daily Graphic*, and many other papers. Nevertheless, when we remember that probably the total charges brought against men for annoying women merely by accosting them is probably not more than 100 or 150 in the course of two or three years, whereas 6,000 unfortunate women are arrested every year for alleged annoyance of men, we feel that this display of public indignation is somewhat belated and is open to a charge of hypocrisy. We do not think it is hypocrisy, but ignorance. People do not know the hopelessly slipshod and totally unjust way in which these women are treated in the Courts. Because British law and administration is, on the whole, good, we do not realise that the women who sell themselves on the streets are outside the law, receiving neither its protection nor its privileges, but only its penalties.

ARRESTS OF WOMEN FOR ANNOYING MEN.

The legal position and treatment of all those women who are officially described as "common prostitutes" is responsible for a very great amount of cruelty and injustice. It is not generally realised that some 3,000 women are imprisoned, and another 3,000 fined, every year, on charges of "soliciting for immoral purposes," without any outside evidence whatever being required that they are "prostitutes," that they were in fact soliciting, or that any person was annoyed by them. On the evidence of police only, these women are branded with the terrible stigma of being "common prostitutes," made social outcasts and legal outlaws, fined and imprisoned. Moreover, having once been convicted as a "common prostitute," a woman is thereafter liable to be arrested at any time on sight, without hope of redress or acquittal. Under the solicitation laws specially directed against "prostitutes" the police are, in theory, supposed to prove: (A) that the woman is a common prostitute; (B) that she was loitering for an immoral purpose, and (C) that she was annoying male passengers. No proof except the policeman's statement is ever brought forward of any one of these things,

although in most cases one may be reasonably certain that the accused is of this class. But it is not a legal offence to be of this class. The legal offence is that, being of this class, the woman solicited *to the annoyance of male passengers*. It is, therefore, important that the annoyance should be proved, and it is never proved.

We are not blaming the police. They cannot arrest the same women night after night, although they see and recognise them on the same "beat" almost every night, so they presumably carry out the law to the best of their ability by arresting some of them from time to time. But these women assert over and over again, and with apparent truth, that when arrested they were not accosting anyone, and certainly not annoying anyone. Those who study this aspect will rarely see a woman speak first to a man. She will loiter, and either by glances or general demeanour, will make her calling quite clear, but except occasionally in the darker side streets she does not take the initiative. In any case, whether the woman speaks first or not, the fact remains that the "professional" woman usually conducts herself in a quiet and non-aggressive manner, and she not unnaturally regards her fines and imprisonment as extremely unjust.

But, it may be argued, the streets must be kept reasonably clear of such women, and if they are, confessedly, habitually immoral, what does it matter if the strict letter of the law is not always observed in their case? This is best answered by looking at the facts. *How does such a woman pay her fines?*

How does she pay her back rent and her other running expenses if she is sent to prison? Obviously by making greater efforts to attract and obtain customers when she comes out. If that is so, how can those legal methods improve the streets, lessen temptation for men, or promote morality? It may be argued that these women should be sentenced for longer periods. But what legal crime have they committed? Our morality may be offended by their very existence, but even so we might try to cultivate a sense of justice. No one who has any first-hand knowledge of these women's lives can doubt that they are frequently arrested when they have committed no legal offence. The police are endeavouring to carry out laws which are complicated, unjust and unequal as between men and women and between one woman and another. They doubtless do their best; it is the law which is wrong.

The "prostitute" is the scapegoat for everyone's sins, and few people really care whether she is justly treated or not. Good people have spent thousands of pounds in efforts to reform her, poets have written about her, essayists and orators have made her the subject of some of their most striking rhetoric; perhaps no class of people has been so much abused, persecuted, hated, or, alternatively, sentimentalised over as prostitutes have been, *but one thing they have never had yet, and that is simple legal justice.* Ought we not to secure legal justice for the "common prostitute" before we set out to reform her? These women are slaves and outcasts, despised and rejected by all respectable people. They are used, not as though they were women, but as though they were "things." Yet they are sentient and often suffering human beings, and many of them are very unhappy. Like the rest of us they are made in the image of God, and it was to a woman of that particular class that Christ spoke, when He asked, "Woman, where are those thine accusers?" and when He found they had all gone away, said: "Neither do I condemn thee."

THE DEV SAMAJ, LAHORE.

The Annual Mahotsab of the Dev Samaj, which was held in commemoration of the 72nd Birthday anniversary of its most worshipful President Founder the Dev Atma, Shri Dev Guru Bhagwan, was celebrated with great enthusiasm and remarkable success at Lahore in the magnificent and most tastefully decorated Hall of Shri Dev Guru Bhagwan Memorial Mandir, from 8rd to 7th December 1922. Nearly 800 persons joined from about 90 stations in the Punjab, N. W. F. Province, Imperial Province of Delhi, Sind, Baluchistan, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh etc. Besides this, hundreds from amongst the outside public also attended. There were in all 16 engagements, including three public lectures and a ladies' gathering.

The proceedings of the anniversary began with an illuminating and remarkably elevating devotional meeting, in which four of the higher grade disciples of the Dev Atma delivered sermons and speeches on his unique life-work and sacrifices for its fulfilment and the essential need and the highest privilege of sacrificing one's wealth and bodily and mental powers for the unique cause of the Dev Atma. The most blessed and particularly uplifting occasion in the Mahotsab was the meeting held on the 5th December, the special day of the Mahotsab, being the birthday of our most worshipful Master.

The initiation of 20 new members and enrolment of 5 new associates as well as promotion to higher grades of 17 old members presented a very impressive spectacle.

Another important item of the Mahotsab proceedings was the election of new members of the Representative Assembly of the Dev Samaj. This consisted of 32 members who in their turn elected members for the executive council of the Dev Samaj for the ensuing year.

Three public lectures formed another important feature of the occasion. The first two lectures were delivered by Shriman Pandit Harnarain Agnihotri, Editor, "The Science Grounded Religion", and the third by Shrimans Amarsingh and Nirmalsingh. The subjects dealt were the following:—

- (1) An Epoch-making revolution in the religious world.
- (2) Why is the Dev-Atma the only true worshipful being for mankind?
- (3) Marvellous work of higher changes which the Dev-Atma's unique psychic powers bring in every department of mankind.

These lectures were as powerfully and lucidly delivered as they were comprehensively dealt with, and were heard with rapt attention, and impressed very considerably the vast audiences present.

The annual report of the Dev Samaj for the year ending 30th November 1922 showed that 187 members (as against 159 during the preceding year) were initiated during the year. Besides this, 620 persons were reclaimed from one or more gross sins noted above. The number of domestic ceremonies, performed according to the reformed rites of the Dev Samaj, was 45 including several marriage ceremonies. The number of life workers and lay workers who devoted themselves to the cause of the Samaj during the year was 101. The number of schools worked by the society was 24, which comprised two High Schools for boys, one High School for girls, four schools for depressed classes and a number of primary and middle schools. The work of reformation of two settlements of the criminal tribes, made over by the Government to the Dev Samaj has elicited great appreciation at the hands of Government and the public. The total

receipts and expenditure for the maintenance of various institutions during the year were Rs. 1,00,468 and Rs. 88,526 respectively.

The Mahotsab Bhojan (dinner) at which nearly 800 persons of different castes and sub-castes sat together was a notable occasion, showing the progress which the Dev Samaj had achieved in the direction of social unification and uplift of the caste-ridden Hindu Society.

The proceedings of the Mahotsab were brought to a close by a meeting in which numerous ladies and gentlemen most enthusiastically enumerated the blessings and benefits they had derived by their attending the Mahotsab and gave expression to their feelings of serving the unique cause of the Dev Samaj with renewed zeal, and devotion during the ensuing year.

JANKI DASS.

Chief Secretary, Dev Samaj.

CATHOLIC CLERGY PROHIBITION LEAGUE.

CHURCH BENEFITED BY THE DRY LAW.

Because of the misconception of many people that Catholics oppose Prohibition, the Catholic Clergy Prohibition League, through its president, the Rev. George Zurcher, pastor of St. Vincent's Church, North Evans, N. Y., has given out for publication the following statement:

The greatest objection among Catholics to Prohibition used to be, that it would interfere with sacramental wine. Many of the objectors were absolutely sincere. Since the advent of Prohibition, there is not a single case on record where a priest found it difficult to obtain the necessary sacramental wine.

Under Prohibition, Catholics spend more money for education. Some Catholic colleges find it difficult to accommodate all applicants. The Catholic University of Notre Dame, Indiana, is discontinuing its preparatory school, in existence ever since the University was founded, because of the great increase in the enrollment in the collegiate courses.

Catholic institutions formerly trying to reform drunkards, are now devoting more of their energies to the training of neglected children.

Where Prohibition is not very strictly enforced, as in some cities in the State of New York, Catholic clergymen entertain some doubt as to the permanency of Prohibition, and are, therefore, rather reticent about its manifold benefits. Elsewhere we find most favourable expressions for the strict enforcement of the law. The Catholic Bishop of Great Falls, Montana, Right Reverend Mathias C. Lenihan, under date of April 25, 1922, wrote to us of the general attitude of the people of his state: 'We have an army of intelligent and patriotic citizens who are in favour of enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment.'

The liquor traffic has ruined so many Catholics physically and spiritually, that the Catholic Church, in spite of the many Catholic immigrants, in spite of the marvelous generosity with which Catholic edifices were built, and in spite of the hard labour of so many priests, and of thousands of self-sacrificing nuns, was losing ground. Nothing ever happened in America that will make for the spiritual progress of the Catholic Church, as Prohibition. Fifty years hence the greatest wonderment will be, why all Catholics did not work with tooth and nail for Prohibition.

Among the most active members of the Catholic Clergy Prohibition League are: Rev. C. P. Baron, Columbus, Ind;

Rev. M. Mahony, Mendota, Minn.; Rev. A. Jacquemet, O. P. Priory, Fall River, Mass.; Rev. Geo. Zurcher, North Evans, N. Y.; Rev. M. F. Sperlein, Nadean, Mich.; Rev. P. J. Murphy, Dalhart, Tex.; Rev. E. A. Hannan, Washington; Rev. P. Saurasaitia, Bayonne, N. J.; Rev. M. J. Wyte, Sunnyvale, Cal.; Rev. J. McNamee, Chicago, Right Rev. Bishop Lenihan, Great Falls, Mont.; Rev. J. Kubacki, Cleveland; Rev. P. J. O'Callaghan, Catholic University, Washington.

A NEW THEORY ABOUT THE ARYANS.

Of the two events that characterise the history of the ancient India, one is the advent of the Aryans to India after conquering the North-Western Frontiers; while the other is that they composed the "richas" of the Rigveda after their settlement in the Punjab. But Mr. Pargiter, the famous scholar of the Puranas (ancient historical records of India) has recently expressed certain opinions with regard to them, which deserve the attention of the scholars of the early history of India. In his detailed description of the ancient history of India, he has opposed both these well-established theories. He holds that the Aryans, who were really the "Ails" descended to India from the central regions of the Himalayas, and settled in a small estate of Prayag (Allahabad). About the year 2050 B.C. they went out of Prayag, conquered the tracts lying to the north-west and south of it and settled there and thus, by the time of the Maharaja Yayati, they came in possession of all the tracts of land which afterwards came to be known as the Central India (Madhyadesha) or Aryavarta, i. e., the land of the Aryans.

Mr. Pargiter is also of opinion that in no book dealing with the ancient history of India is the land lying at the north-western boundary of India described as showing India's antiquity or as holy land. It is the central hilly tracts of the Himalayas near the Kailash and the Kedar that have always been regarded as holy from the olden times and this is the only holy land situated outside the country. This was the sacred birth place of the "Ails". This was the place visited by Rishis and Kings on pilgrimage. They never went to the land at the north-western boundary for this purpose. He has adduced certain evidences in support of this statement. He says that nowhere in the Vedic records is any mention made of the advent of the Aryans from the north-west of India.

Mr. Pargiter has shown in his records that the oldest "richas" of the Rigveda were not composed by the Aryans or the Brahmanas. They were composed by non-Aryan Rishis and Kings. Not even one of the "richas" is described as having been composed by a man inhabiting the north-western parts. When we come down to the time of Shivi, we, of course, then find some extracts in the Vedas composed by the inhabitants of the north-western tracts. As a matter of fact the oldest "richas" were composed by the "Manawas" and their Rishis and not by the "Ails." These "richas" again have their connection with the Madhya-Desha (the Central India). They have nothing to do with the Punjab. At the end of the above writing he has quoted the chapters and "richas" of the Veda in support of his statements and has shown that the Veda, the Vedic Institution and the original Brahmanic religion were all the outcome of non-Aryan influences. They have nothing to do with the "Ails" or their original civilisation.—The Servant, Calcutta.

THE SALVATION ARMY, BOMBAY

On Monday, January 22nd, 1923, at 5-45 p. m.

IN THE

Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall.

GENERAL BRAMWELL BOOTH

Will deliver a Lecture entitled

"THE SALVATION ARMY-THE SECRET OF ITS SUCCESS".

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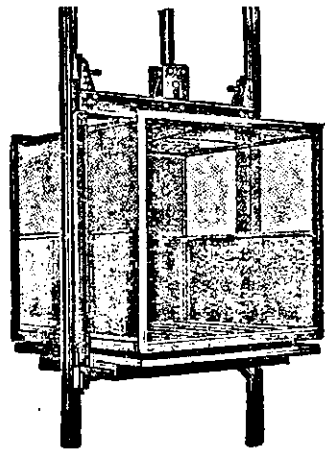
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Is it a Clash of Ideals? Lord Ronaldshay was not right when, in his paper read before the Society of Arts in London, he attributed the present unsatisfactory situation in India to a clash between the ideals of the East and the West. Surely, the Punjab Martial Law excesses and the breach of faith with Indians regarding the peace with Turkey, do not represent the ideals of the East or the West. Neither are the financial muddle, the sale of reverse Councils, the imprisonment of thousands of persons for a technical offence created by an executive order, the outcome of any ideal. The object of generalisations like the late Bengal Governor's, is to divert attention from the blunders and wrongs of the administration. Viscount Peel, who presided, made an even greater effort in this direction by attributing Indian discontent not to Indian grievances but to world causes. The Secretary of State thought that Indian discontent was not connected with the ferment produced by the War. "There was a world-wide feeling of revolt against the machinery of civilisation which was not peculiar to this age or time". If by "the machinery of civilisation," he meant the Indian bureaucracy—and it is impossible to make any sense out of the remark if he meant anything else—that machinery surely is not ages old. We agree with him that Western civilisation has behind it a spiritual idealism which is concrete and practical in its application. Our experience is that this idealism has been very little in evidence in the Indian administration for the last half century. If it is brought into the foreground, the Indian problem will be promptly solved, for in reality there is no clash between Eastern and Western ideals. The only clash is between the material interests and political aspirations of the East and the West.

General Bramwell Booth in Bombay: The story of the beginnings of the Salvation Army is told in graphic language in the life of its Founder by Mr. Harold Begbie.* It is a story of faith and resolution overcoming great resistance. The movement was attacked from the intellectual side by Huxley who in his famous letters to the *Times*, since collected in his volume on "Evolution and Ethics" with the heading "Social Diseases and Worse Remedies", denounced it in fierce language. From the religious

side, Anglican Bishops openly accused it of promoting immorality instead of holiness. There were riots, legal actions. When the authorities of the Army first landed in India in 1883, they had to encounter considerable official opposition. Even in 1892 when the Salvation Army had lived down much of the calumny and opposition in England, the late General, during his visit to India, was ignored by the English community and by Government. The only welcome he got was from educated Indians. To-day, however, his successor is the bearer of a message from His Majesty and he addresses an audience presided over by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay and attended by all the high officials in the Presidency. When a change of such magnitude has occurred, one naturally asks oneself whether it is due to a greater appreciation of the work of the Army by officials or a greater approximation of the attitude of the Army to that of officials. The answer is, both. The Army has shed several of the features of the "corybantic Christianity" of its earlier days and Government have found in it a useful agent for certain kinds of social work. We have been consistently sympathetic to the Salvation Army's work in India, and have done what little we could, to remove prejudices against it. From our intercourse with its officers, we believe that some of them, at any rate, have no thought beyond the good that they might do to the people. But we have felt in reading one or two of the pronouncements within the last few days of General Bramwell Booth, who is visiting India, that they are not likely to be helpful to the work that the Army is doing in this country. It is not for him, for one thing, to speak ill of "agitators", seeing how large a part agitation has played in the work of the Salvation Army. In some directions, the Army officers are entrusted with certain kinds of social work by Government and by private organisations such as the Bombay Beggar's Relief Committee. The General does not seem to be quite correctly informed of the exact position of the Army in respect of these activities. His *ex-cathedra* pronouncements on education and the depressed classes are by no means well-considered and are calculated to create political prejudice against the Army's future activities. One of the best things in the report of the Dev Samaj, which we printed last week, is that it has been officially entrusted with the reclamation of two criminal tribes. Other indigenous reform agencies should relieve the Salvation Army of similar work elsewhere.

Students and Politics: There was more than a suggestion of what Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, who presided, characterised—recalling an ancient but not very happy phrase of Plato's—as "puppy politics" in the address which the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye delivered to the Muslim students the other day. From first to last it was a thinly veiled attack on those who differ from Mr. Paranjpye's politics. Now, Mr. Paranjpye is a prominent politician and it is perfectly legitimate for him to attack his political opponents, as it is for them to attack him. But he should choose his occasion with

due regard to propriety. The subject of his address was "Students and Politics." Our own opinion on the question has often been expressed in these columns. Students should study politics but they should take no active part in it till they formally cease to receive instruction in a school or college. So far as we can gather, this is also Mr. Paranjpye's view. What has to be taken exception to in his address, is the irrelevant and carping references to some largely imaginary individuals who, in his belief, seduce students into politically immoral paths. The reference obviously is to Congressmen, and as we have had actual, personal experience of the work allotted to students in the last Congress, for instance, we have as a matter of simple justice to rebut the imputation made by Mr. Paranjpye. A hundred and fifty students of the Benares Hindu University, in charge of their professors, went to Gaya in response to the call for volunteers. We were told this at the Benares University prior to the Congress, as a conclusive answer to a question as to the attitude of the United Provinces Government to the University. "Absolute non-interference" we were told, and as a proof, this incident was mentioned with the confident remark that they did not expect any objection to be taken to it by the Government of the United Provinces. And how did these student volunteers conduct themselves? The atmosphere was heated, there was a sharp division of opinion, and rival politicians harangued groups of delegates at all hours of the day and night on the rightness of their own particular views. But it was the unanimous tribute of those who were at Gaya, including several who did not belong to the Congress, that these boys and girls acquitted themselves with admirable discipline and good humour. They were kind, courteous and helpful to every one, without distinction of party, creed or caste. Such self-effacing service as theirs to their fellow-countrymen, gathered in thousands from all parts of the country, is a far greater liberal education than lectures which heap opprobrium on fellow-countrymen whose personal sacrifices, if nothing else, should command the respect and admiration of the youth of the land.

A Bombay Minister's Difficulty: Speaking at Dhulia last week, the Hon. Mr. C. V. Mehta, Minister for Excise and other departments in Bombay, frankly acknowledged that the reduction of the number of shops, the limitation of hours and the reduction of the strength of the liquor—the main features of the policy adopted by him last year—would not do and that more drastic remedies were required to stop the drink evil. It may be recalled that we anticipated this when his policy was announced and we are glad that Mr. Mehta has had the candour to make the acknowledgment. This is a hopeful sign. The Minister went on to say that the Sathe Committee, which was expected to investigate the question and make recommendations as to the best course to be adopted to put down the evil, has had to postpone its work since the death of its chairman, the late Rao Bahadur Sathe, and he (the Minister) regretted that, though several gentlemen were approached for the chairmanship, he was not able to induce one of them to accept the post and carry on the work. This, by the way, throws light on the composition of the Excise Committee. There is not evidently a single member of it who can step into the place of the deceased chairman. It will not be right to conclude from the Minister's lament that there are no competent persons sufficiently interested in getting rid of the drink evil, to take up the Chairmanship of the Committee. The reasons why no one is forthcoming to do so, are first, that there has been an impression abroad—which the Minister's admission should go some way to remove—that the Committee was not seriously intended to deal with the question, and that it would be sheer waste of time for a man to throw himself

into the work, only to find that nothing came of it; and, secondly, the experience of some committees recently appointed by the Bombay Government, has been not very happy. The chairman of the Technical Education Committee, if report is to be trusted, was reduced to quite pathetic straits to secure the clerical assistance needed to carry on his work. The Prostitution Committee fared no better. It had not even a fixed place of meeting. On one occasion, in the middle of its examination of a witness, it was bundled out of the Council Hall into a passage adjoining it, as His Excellency just then wanted the Hall for a Council meeting. The Elementary Education Committee would seem to have had more facilities, perhaps because the Chairman, who is also President of the Legislative Council, was not a non-official to be trifled with. The refusal of responsible men to accept the Chairmanship of the Excise Committee, is largely due to their feeling that the Minister's power—not willingness—to accept any recommendations that the Committee may make or even to provide it with the facilities to carry on from day to-day, is strictly limited. This is another tribute to diarchy!

Indian Arms Rules Committee's Report: The Committee appointed to examine the rules under the Arms Act and to suggest improvements, recommends that Ministers and members of the Imperial Legislature and Privy Councillors should be added to the list of those exempted from the requirement to obtain a license for arms. The majority, however, are against a similar concession to members of Provincial Legislative Councils. Except that the members of the Committee were all members of the Indian Legislature and that no member of a Provincial Council was on it, we see no reason why the M. L. C. should not enjoy the same privilege as the M. L. A. The Committee reject the proposal that Magistrates should be included in the list of exemptions on the ground that "a firearm cannot be regarded as a necessary part of the equipment of a Magistrate." Is it a necessary part of the equipment of a member of the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State? The system of exemptions is wrong in principle. Messrs. Bajpai, Reddi and Fayaz Khan are right in their contention that licenses should not be withheld except in the case of undesirable persons. The Committee threw out their proposal that a list of undesirable persons should be kept as being "entirely outside the scope of practical politics." This, no doubt, is impracticable. Such a list, however, is not necessary. The right of possessing arms is the right of every free citizen, and the deprivation of it should be a penalty for the commission of offences involving moral turpitude. It will be said that the adoption of this principle would flood the country with arms, which would make life insecure. In practice, many people in India, as in other countries where there is no restriction on the possession of arms, would not care to possess them, because they have no use for them. As for those who keep arms, the best and surest safeguard against their abuse by ill-disposed persons, is the knowledge that well-disposed persons also possess and can use arms. No Arms Act can prevent people determined to get arms from getting them, neither will any man go to the expense and the risk of accident involved in keeping arms merely because there is no Arms Act. The main grievance of the Arms Act in India is that it is one of the worst pieces of racial legislation and that even, when the law is changed, the administration of it has not materially improved. Licensing is, of course, necessary as an administrative measure to provide reliable data as regards the quantity and distribution of arms in the country. An abnormal increase in any particular locality will have to be promptly investigated.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JANUARY 27, 1923.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

In Frederic Harrison has passed away one of the most illuminating spirits of the nineteenth century. He was known as the leading apostle of Positivism in England. He himself defended Comte in a beautiful open letter to Ruskin, who had attacked him, which is reprinted in his volume entitled the "Choice of Books and other essays" with the heading "Past and Present". That is a letter which ought to be widely read and pondered in India at the present day when Mahatma Gandhi's sweeping diatribes against modern science, largely in Ruskin's vein, has overpowered so many minds, young and old. Another and scarcely less important reason, is that the letter is an exquisite example of how to state uncompromising objections to the views of an opponent, while at the same time maintaining towards him the respect and even reverence due to his personality. "You reprove me," Harrison begins, "for believing with Auguste Comte that the human race is worthy of our regard, is growing wiser, stronger, nobler. You say, on the contrary, that mankind is now very crazy and utterly vile; that beauty, nobility, and truth are all gone out of the world, though they did flourish once in a date undetermined. And in public and in private you call on me to break a lance with you as a true man; though mine, as you see, is little better than a reed, and your own is like a weaver's beam." One of Ruskin's assertions was that the human race had deteriorated physically—that there was no European as handsome as the figure portrayed in the Elgin Theseus. Harrison answers him completely. He points out that the physical test is not the only test; that even according to it, modern men are not inferior to the ancients. He sums up:

A civilised man can roll over a savage; is bigger, stronger and lives longer; can bear twice as much and do twice as much. Men now-a-days cannot get into the puny armour of ancient days; and, if a pampered aristocracy in an age of slavery, by giving their whole lives to the care of their skins, did reach a special type of beauty, the race as a whole has a higher physical standard. So that, if you are not so handsome as Theseus, and Hamlet is not to be compared to Hercules, you and Hamlet have something to set against the want of muscle, and you may console yourself by thinking that there are more fine men and women in Europe to-day than there were two thousand years ago.

It is not as if Harrison did not recognise the grave defects of modern civilisation. He was, what George Eliot said of herself, and which he quotes with evident satisfaction, a *maliolist*, "facing the world with clear vision in all its evil, but confident in its progress towards the better". The age of machinery did not appeal to him but he saw in it a necessary stage in the march towards moral perfection.

Of Harrison's passionate reach after moral perfection, there can be no better proof than his fine judgment on the incident in the life of George Eliot which has exercised so many thoughtful minds—her living with

George Lewes as his wife without the sanction of marriage. Like every one who knew her and came in contact with her, Harrison had the highest opinion of her innate purity and her nobility of soul. He was her friend and the friend of George Lewes. "He was a witness of the unbroken happiness of their joint life; of their affectionate performance of every domestic duty; of their scrupulous observance of all that they recognised as belonging to a pure and refined home; of his devoted love for her till death; of her honour of his memory whilst life remained." In reviewing her "Life," written by Mr. Cross whom she afterwards married, Harrison feels obliged to refer to this delicate question, as to keep silence on it might be misunderstood. "It is the duty of those who have cause to speak at all to make clear their canons of right and wrong; but it can never be a duty to pass public judgment on the lives of our departed friends." So, while refraining from passing judgment on this episode in the life of his friends, he clearly states his own opinion of what he holds to be the essentials of the marriage relation. He speaks of himself as one of those "who have pledged their lives to labour in every way to fortify the marriage bond, to teach the future to make it indissoluble by law, and indissoluble even by death." He trusts that the future will recognise, as India did ages ago, "that responsibility in marriage and happiness in marriage, alike depend on its irrevocable nature." He goes on to say:

It is the essence of marriage to be above the field of individual exceptions, to stand supreme, high beyond all personal opinions, miseries or joys. The happiness of individuals would be dearly bought if it dimmed, by one passing shadow of suspicion, the inviolable institution whereon the happiness of all depends. It is meet, sometimes that some suffer for the people. The moral law is infinitely more precious than the personal happiness of any; and the sufferings of exceptional cases must be borne with resignation, lest harm befall the sanctity of every home, and the moral currency be debased.

These are noble words and we should not add anything to our expression of whole-hearted and admiring approval of them, if we did not feel that Hindu orthodoxy may twist them to endorse its own narrow bigotry. There is no moral currency that can be debased in a system of child-marriages and child widowhood. The moral currency of marriage has first to be restored to its original standard before the rule of irrevocability can be safely applied to it. The efforts of social reformers in India for nearly a century have been directed to fortify the sanctity of the marriage relation by getting rid of the cruel and oppressive wrongs that have come to be associated with it. Divorce and remarriage are but temporary expedients to be discarded when marriage is placed on the high plane of a free union of hearts.

What was Harrison's position in politics? He called himself "a republican and a puritan," but he "loved good order, historic permanence and personal dignity." He had a whole-hearted admiration for Oliver Cromwell and his *Life of the Great Protector* in the *English Statesmen* series, is a brilliant monograph. If we remember, Frederic Harrison himself traced

his descent from one of the close associates and colleagues of Oliver. But great as his admiration was, Harrison's judgment on the dark episodes in Cromwell's career, is unflinching and crystal-clear. Lord Morley, who has also written an excellent "Life" of Oliver Cromwell, is deeply antipathetic to both puritanism and religion as political forces, and, moreover, he holds that it is a common error to ascribe far too much to the designs and the influence of eminent men, of rulers and of Governments. "The momentum of past events," Morley writes "the spontaneous impulses of the mass of a nation or a race, the pressure of general hopes and fears, the new things learned in the onward and diversified motions of 'the great spirit of human knowledge', all have more to do with the progress of the world's affairs, than the deliberate views of even the most determined and far-sighted of its individual leaders". True, but the individual leaders are leaders precisely because they are the embodiments in a larger measure than their contemporaries of the influences which Lord Morley regards as moulding history at a given time among a given people. And does the individual leader count for nothing? According to Lord Morley's point of view, English history would have proceeded pretty nearly as it has done if there was never a person called Oliver Cromwell. Frederick Harrison is equally imbued with the historic spirit, but his estimate of the value of the individual in history is widely different. "The one condition of the maintenance of his (Oliver Cromwell's) rule," writes Harrison, "was the duration of his life. Had his life been prolonged to the age of seventy-five—now almost the normal limit for modern statesman—the Protectorate might have lasted for twenty years instead of five. It is perhaps not an idle dream that, in some way, it might have handed on a peaceful and reformed State to a Constitutional Monarchy, without the debasing interlude of the Restoration." Harrison agrees with Morley that the dominant spirit of the Commonwealth, Puritanism, was fatally impracticable for constructive work as a political and social scheme. But he points out that Oliver as he grew larger in statesmanship, became less and less the rigid Puritan, the literal Bible zealot. He was, thus, the only man at the time who could have controlled the dominant Puritan spirit and shaped it to practical political use. The whole of this discussion has an intimate bearing on questions agitating many minds in India today. Lord Morley draws from Cromwell's career the lesson that revolutions do not change the course of history, although the spirit of the revolutionary is essential to keep history on the path of progress. This is a mystifying and paradoxical doctrine like much of Lord Morley's work at the India Office. Harrison, on the other hand, holds that English history took a new start from Cromwell, as did the history of Europe from the French Revolution.

Mahatma Gandhi's Health: Some days ago we heard from a reliable source that the latest news about Mahatma Gandhi was that he was losing interest in what was going on in the outer world, was

getting absorbed in himself and that he spoke little to Mr. Banker who is lodged in the same cell with him. We thought this was but natural as Mahatma Gandhi is one of the rare souls who, having done their best, do not worry themselves as to the fate of their work when they are no longer able to further it. This can come only of a strict soul-discipline which prevents the worker from forming an egotistic attachment to his work. The next we heard of the matter was in the shape of the Government communique contradicting the rumour that the Mahatma was suffering from melancholia. The official communication said that the Mahatma was cheerful and in good spirits. It was from the *Hindu* of the 17th instant that we got the full version of the rumour, given in bold type as from its own Bombay correspondent: "It is rumoured in certain circles that Mahatmaji is not only suffering from melancholia, but there is some sort of insanity mixed with it. Long solitary confinement has had a serious effect on his brain." The correspondent added that the rumour was as yet unconfirmed. Those who know the massive strength of Gandhi's mind, have little fear that it will give way under the strain of the rigid seclusion which is enforced upon him, but one cannot but be apprehensive of the effect of the sudden change from an extra-ordinarily active life to the complete seclusion of Yerravda Jail. The civilised world expects those responsible for the Mahatma's treatment in jail to temper it so as not to impair the free functioning of his mental faculties, and it will not accept any excuse of rules should anything happen in that direction. Many men who have come out of jails in the several provinces have published their experiences. In no province, does there appear to be the complete seclusion from what passes in the outer world, as in Bombay and in respect of Mahatma Gandhi.

A New Reason for Indianising the Services: When the horror of the Dyer exploit at Jallianwala was fresh in men's minds, a Bill was introduced, and it passed the three readings, in the Council of State, to regulate the firing upon crowds by military or police authorities. No more was heard of it till a member raised the point in the Legislative Assembly the other day by proposing to introduce a clause to a similar effect in the Criminal Procedure Code which is being amended. Another member then asked what had become of the Bill which had been passed by the Council of State and why it was not brought before the Assembly in due course. The new Home Member, Sir William Hailey, replied that it had been found impracticable to embody the proposal in an Act and that, therefore, the Bill had been allowed to lapse. The member was not satisfied. He asked how it was that Government did not make the discovery of its impracticability when the Bill was introduced, debated and passed in the Council of State. Sir William Hailey tersely replied: "Sir William Vincent (his predecessor) would be able to answer that question better than I." If the Legislative Assembly were not what it is, there should have been one intrepid member at least to move the adjournment of the House to consider the dangerous and novel principle implied in Sir William Hailey's reply. Is there no such thing as corporate responsibility in the Government of India? If Sir William Hailey is right, it means that no pledge or promise or statement made by an English member of Government is valid beyond the term of that member's tenure? If that be the case, it is obvious that there will be no Government with which the public can deal with any assurance till all its members are men who will remain in the country and be responsible to the public for their acts.

PRESENT CONDITIONS IN CHINA.

(BY THE REV. E. STANLEY JONES.)

It is not easy to write on the present conditions in China for the statements may not be true by the time the article gets into print. This is especially true of the political situation which is exceedingly kaleidoscopic. But I will give the impressions I received at the time. My trip took me through nearly all of the twenty two provinces. As the editor has requested that I should write upon the social and the political conditions, I will confine myself to them, only incidentally touching upon the religions, which after all must be taken into account as we face a situation.

I must confess that I came away not with a unified impression, but a contradictory one. I felt alternately delighted and despairing, sometimes amazed at some fresh manifestation of the people's essential greatness and then sick at heart over the failure of things. The Chinese people have a very deep moral sense, so much so that you could see an audience of sober, sane men literally pound themselves unconsciously as they sat and listened to a revelation of China's conditions. Yet nowhere in the world is things breaking down so for want of moral character in the officials. In many ways the Chinese are exceedingly clean, and yet one citizen of Amoy announced to me that his city was spoken of in the encyclopedia as the dirtiest city in the world. He said it with a smile and seemingly with a touch of pride. I agreed with the encyclopedia. China has the largest homogeneous people in the world and yet no country is more divided in many ways than China. At the hour of China's greatest opportunity, when the heavy hands of encroaching foreign nations have been lifted by the Washington Conference, she was never so helpless. The Chinese people have been a peace-loving people and are still so, but China has a larger number of men under arms today than any other nation in the world. She has a million and a half men under arms and at war with no one but herself. In spite of all of these soldiers, great sections of China are overrun with bandits roving about in bands of ten thousand and more, burning, looting and killing. The Chinese are the keenest business men in the world. They can beat the Jew on his own ground. Yet there is an utter lack of business sense shown in the government of the country save in rare cases. There is only one thing that is holding together the country at the present time—the ability of the people to take knocks and still carry on, they are the toughest people in the world, made so by centuries of knocks from disease and famine and oppression. But they still carry on. And that is the thing that makes me feel that even at this time this great people will carry on till they get their feet and their stride. Then let the world take notice, for never did a people prostrate, struggle to their knees and fall and rise, but with face toward the light as the Chinese people are doing at the present time.

The political situation is just now in another of the frequent transition stages. President Li is

isolated, his cabinet has resigned (the best one they have had for a long time, I am told) and a new one with Gen. Chang as Premier has been formed. But this is only temporary, it seems, for the man who is pushing out the present Government and who is to replace President Li is Tsao Kun, the Chief of the military. He is said to have nineteen of the twenty two provinces behind him. He will be the next President with Gen. Wu Pei Fu, the general who defeated Gen. Chang Tao Lin, the Manchurian War Lord last spring, as Vice-President. Not that any election will be held or is even in contemplation, for offices are not obtained by election now in China. The man who gets a place sits tight until some one ousts him either by force or by intrigue. There are said to be thousands of office-seekers in Peking at the present time gathered from all parts hungrily waiting for a turn of the wheel of the machinery that may put in a friend or a relative when their chance will come. A gentleman will hand you his card on which is printed not only his occupation and offices but those he hopes to have, such as "Prospective Magistrate," or "Registered for a Post in the custom" etc.

Gen. Chang Tso Lin, though defeated last spring, only withdrew into his province of Manchuria and there he still holds full sway. The Government does not try to punish or degrade him for fighting it. It can do nothing. So Chang Tso Lin still stays on as lord just as much as he was before. Sun Yat Sen has been put out of Canton and a Northern sympathiser Gen. Chen put in his place. But Sun's troops withdrew from Canton only to pounce on another province, Fuloien, and take it and this he still holds. I was at Foochow, the capital of the province, and saw his troops in charge and we were fired at when our launch went up the river. Just an ordinary nightly incident.

The star of Wu Pei Fu, the hero of six months ago, is waning. The country thought that he would save the situation. But he has not done anything worth while. While the star of Wu Pei Fu wanes, the star of another military man waxes—General Feng Yu Shang, the Christian general. He is the one man who is gripping the heart of China more and more. Both Christian and non-Christian look on him as the one strong man who has no ulterior motives and seeks nothing for himself. He really defeated Chang Tso Kin last spring though Wu Pei Fu got the credit. He governs every province he holds righteously and for the sake of the people. His army is the best disciplined in China and is out to serve China not to make a place for its general. Many who know him say that he might be the man that can save the situation. He may be the next president.

All this time I have been writing, I have not mentioned constitutional government, for though I have been describing a Republic, there is no constitutional Government. The situation has largely resolved itself into semi-independent provinces held by military governors paying some contribution to the Central Government at Peking (although eleven out

of the twenty two provinces pay nothing to Peking and are really independent). This is discouraging, but it may be the way out. Federalism seems at present the only plan of unification that may ultimately work. Certainly it seems impossible for Peking to impose its will on any of the Province to any extent. The only thing that seems possible is that the situation be accepted, that these various Governors and their rights be recognized, that after recognition they voluntarily tie up to Peking and become more and more responsible to it and thus gradually sum up things there as constitutionalism grows. This was accomplished in America and it may yet be accomplished in China.

The remarkable thing is that, with all this breakdown in Government, the country goes on. It shows the essential solidity of the life of China that, when the bottom drops out of the Government, the country does not hasten to ruin. The people have not had much connection with the Government in the past ages. Life has been founded on the family, not on the State; so with the collapse of the State there is no collapse in life as in Russia.

The thing that seems to be lacking is the community spirit. I mentioned the dirt of Amoy. The shops along the street are individually very clean, but the refuse and filth is dumped out of the individual home into the community street and there it lies. No one clears it up. In their games they have never played together. Their play has been individual play until recently when modern games of playing together have come in. The family life has been developed, the guild life has also functioned, but there is little community, and there is much less national feeling. Shantung has been given back to China. While the matter was red-hot there was a good deal of agitation about it and a great deal of bitterness as shown in the boycott of all Japanese things. But when it was decided the province should be restored to China and that Japan should evacuate, little interest was taken in the matter except to make it exceedingly difficult for the man who was taking it over, because not enough jobs were given to hungry office-seekers of the local province. Outside of that, little patriotic interest was taken and it was given back practically without comment. As far as I could see, there was no rejoicing of any kind.

(To be continued.)

SPARKS FROM THE ANVIL.

(BY KRISTODAS.)

A slogan of the alumni of the Yale University at the time of their processions is said to be "Marry them early, Treat them rough." A writer in a leading American monthly attempts an analysis of this and asks whether it betokens a growing feeling to go back to the stage of the caveman on the part of modern men and women. He finds support for this supposition from modern literature as represented by novels like the Sheikh and a goodly portion of short stories appearing in periodicals. Many heroes are

treated in this kind of literature as beating their wives and yet this literature is not only liked but also sells tremendously, betokening an avidity of the public for it. The democratising of literature which began with the printing Press and the modern cheap editions has naturally resulted in bringing down the standard of literature and making it suitable for popular tastes. At the same time, however, it has made literature as it is a fairly good index to the inclinations and general temperament of the people in a way which could not be said of earlier literature. The question is, therefore, if the signs and portents as given out by some of the modern books and periodicals really go to show that the public in general in the West has come to regard beating of wives as a normal method of bringing about domestic peace and concord. It may be that there is some reaction against the over-worshipping of women for which the so-called Age of Chivalry was responsible. Woman was placed on a pedestal from which she could not descend to take part in the activities of public life. It was a clever stratagem of Man to monopolise everything to himself by thus driving our Woman from all public life under the guise of paying her compliments. The Nineteenth Century industrialism followed later on by the war brought Woman in the limelight and she herself chose to tear off the curtains that had encircled her for long. Her long seclusion from public life made her yearn all the more for sunshine and light and life and all the privileges which Man was enjoying. She could not, however, both eat her cake and have it. In getting her place on an equality with Man she lost the special privileges which were accorded to her when she was enjoying the solitude of the lonely heights. "Women and Children first" is one of the noble heritages of the past which threatens to be changed just as there has been a change effected already in the oath to be taken by the wife through the omission of the word "Obey" in the marriage service. In Continental countries like Germany and France, few think of offering their seats to women in buses and trams unless they are old or feeble. In fact you make of yourself a cyonure of all eyes if you offer your seat to a young lady. Not only this, but I have seen young ladies themselves refusing to take seats if offered to them. These old time courtesies persist to some extent in conservative England but they are threatened with a speedy extinction there too. Woman has got her vote, why should she have a preference in the matter of seats?

We have not yet come to all this state of things in this country, but we are sure to. Arguments based, however, on the Western conditions are already being used against extending the domain of Woman and against enfranchising her like her sisters of the West. I heard only the other day a friend of mine with a pretty long English experience saying that the Hindu Woman was always considered a superior being and that it was almost a desecration to bring her down from this pedestal by giving her all the political rights and privileges to which man was entitled. Shades of hundreds of thousands of child

wives and widows rise up to refute this statement which is used as a mere platitude to thwart the progress of Woman towards light and liberty. It is dishonest to deny to our sisters the sunshine of life on the plea of despiritualising them when the whole treatment meted out to them up to this time is the very antithesis of spiritual. Nor will the question be disposed of by merely saying that Woman herself does not want any reforms in her present status. Slaves do not like to be freed from their chains which they have come to hug fondly through a long association with them.

It was a poor woman in rags who sang the melancholy song but sung with a woman's voice that it went to the hearts of all those who heard it. It was simple in texture with no ornamentation such as sophisticated poetry loves to put as a gloss upon the expression of human emotions. It was a natural ebullition of human feelings and emotions, giving the sad tragedy of a Hindu woman. She was in a distant land dying, evidently of a long, persistent, silent cruelty which a Hindu mother-in-law knows so well to practise. She sends a message with birds to her sister, sister-in-law and mother-in-law. There is no bitterness in the words but the very simplicity is heart-breaking. "Tell my mother-in-law that the clothes which she sent proved too many for me." "Tell my sister-in-law that I am dead." There is restraint upto the last which a Hindu wife is expected to keep on her feelings. She dares not lift her head even when away in distant lands but with drooping head, looking mildly at the blue of the heavens above and the fleeting forms of birds, sends her last message with just a hint of sarcasm and a flood of poignancy. This simple song typifies the life of a Hindu wife as it is lived more or less. It is the Western winter which is gray with mists and snow and biting winds from the North. When one is there in the winter, he remembers with a yearning home-sickness the blue skies and the shining sun of the East. This is what Nature has provided for us and yet Humanity has ordained that even in this country with its proverbial blue sky and shining sun there should be a perpetual gray winter for its daughters.

The scene changes again and this time it is a dark winter night in London with a slight drizzle of snow. Streets are flaring with electric lamps and the restless pedestrians are seen in their hundreds making their way hither and thither in search of food or pleasure or in pursuit of employment. A woman is seen singing at the time on a street near a pavement—for alms. It is a rare sight in London though it is common enough on the Continent. The effect of that voice in that snow and cold with darkness illuminated by electric flares was something weird. Crowds were passing by heedlessly and only a stray man or woman would, attracted by the singing and the face, stop for a while, drop a coin in the extended basket and merge in the darkness beyond. Still that voice went on with its pathetic and sad music with a note of protest in it against—the world? Next morning I

learnt that the wife of an ex-officer of the British Army tried to maintain her husband and two children for some time by singing on the streets. That voice and that music reminded me of a simple song I heard thousands of miles away in India. The melancholy pathos in both was the same and the East and the West truly met in their sorrow. While, however, that Indian voice was a protest against social injustice, the Western voice was a protest against industrial injustice. It is upon such protests that revolutionary movements are really based. For a time protests are made in this sweet and gentle manner appealing to the hearts of people. When they go unheeded they rise in the form of a column of fire burning everything within their reach as the Russian revolution devastated the whole of the old society. When the protests assume the form of a prairie fire, nothing will quench them. They must consume everything which the people hold sacred and dear hoping that a new world of justice and fairness will rise from the ashes. The business of statesmen, whether in politics or in industrial and social fields, is to heed to protests before it is too late.

THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION.

(By Mr. RAMAGYAN DWIEDI B. A. HONS.)

The sixth Convocation of the University this year had to witness a considerable number of varied activities. The whole week was crowded with an overflowing number of visitors and students who came in connection with the ceremony. Among them were Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Sir Devaprasad Sirbhadhikari, M. Ishwar Sharan, Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerjee and famous scholars like Dr. C. V. Raman. Quite a number of brilliant addresses came off, two of them being from Dr. Raman on "*Whispering Galleries*" and "*The Physics of the Himalayas*" illustrated by lantern slides. Special interest attached to the lectures as they were based mostly on the research made by the Professor himself during recent months. M. Ishwar Sharan, the well-known publicist of Allahabad, gave a general address to the students on their University life and pleaded for a better recognition of the claims of women in education and social status and for a higher spirit of national life among the students in general. Mr. P. P. Shashtri M. A. (Oxon) of Madras also gave a very vivid picture of a day in Oxford, dealing with the life and atmosphere of Oxford College education. Another distinguished visitor was the Indian Commissioner at the British Empire Exhibition at London, Dewan Bahadur T. Vijayaraghavacharyar, M.A., who broke his journey at Benares on his way to Lucknow, to visit the University. He expressed himself particularly delighted at the progress of the University and hoped to have the privilege of coming again for a more leisurely study of the institution in the course of his coming official tour throughout India.

Another noteworthy lecture was that of Dr. Brown Ph. D. of America delivered under the auspices of the Post Graduate Association. He spoke of life in American Universities, dwelling mainly on the athletic and social activities of the students and pointed out that, as far as the purely intellectual aspect of education was concerned, there was little difference between India and America. Dr. Brown talked of the tre-

mendous athletic activities, the various organisations managed by students for social and disciplinarian affairs and co-education on an extensive scale which is a striking feature of American University life. Professor Sheshadri in his Presidential remarks said that the difference which struck observers most between the average Indian student and the American student was that the former was somewhat tame and docile while the latter evinced a good deal of spirit and self-reliance. He mentioned a batch of American students who had come from Harvard and Princeton last year to the University, to watch whom was an inspiration, as they had been sent on their world-wide tour by their parents after the completion of their education.

The same week a number of other social functions were arranged, the foremost of them being an interesting dinner party given by the students to the Old Boys of the University. Rai G. N. Chakravati Bahadur M.A.L.L.B., I.S.O., D. Sc., the Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, was entertained, with a number of distinguished guests by Professor Sheshadri at a full-moon evening party, which was very enjoyable especially as the guest had recently been honoured by the University of Allahabad with the honorary degree of Doctor of Science. Another interesting dinner party was given by Professor Bhardwaj to the actors and organisers of the drama staged by the University students last month, while owing to the energy and enthusiasm of Prof. Rane and Dr. Bhanagar there was a very finely arranged chemical dinner in the convocation *shamiana* where 250 people were entertained. Toasts were enthusiastically drunk to the mother-land, the University, the Department of Chemistry and the guests; a number of speeches were delivered which were highly appreciated. Among the most distinguished visitors was the great poet and sage of Bolpur whom the University had the privilege of welcoming on the occasion of his visit to Benares at a large and crowded meeting in the Central Hall of the University on the 9th December. The President, in a brief speech welcomed him, eulogising his services to the country and the world as a poet, educationist and patriot. He assured him that he was among the greatest visitors received within the walls of the University and the day of his visit would count as a red-letter day in its annals. Dr. Tagore made a suitable reply, emphasising the idea of international brotherhood and thereafter visited the College of Engineering where he was shown round the machines and the workshop by Principal King of the College.

One of the most important social functions was the staging of the Hindi play, *Mahabharat*, by the students at the Visheshwar Theatre. There was a large audience in accommodating whom there was some difficulty, the spectators representing not only the student element but also diverse interests in the city. All through, the performance was managed with considerable ability, music and scene arrangements supplementing the high histrionic talents of the actors. Striking popular testimony to the excellence of the play was furnished by the offer of a large number of medals given by the public to the many actors. The success was largely due to the exertion and co-operation of a handful of Professors and students and we hope the Dramatic Society will become a permanent feature of the University and the public will have the benefit of such entertainments from time to time.

The athletic associations of the various institutions combined to produce a brilliant display of annual sports on the spacious grounds in front of the University Amphitheatre. Prof. S. D. Pantey and other members of the association concerned, worked hard and were able to entertain from day

to day the many students and guests who came to witness the function, the most interesting of them being the long bicycle race of 15 miles, the slow bicycle race and the long and high jump in all of which a number of medals were awarded. The same week there were two very interesting *mushairas* in Urdu and Hindi in which medals awarded to the best writers were given by Professors Inamdar and Jai of the University. The second All-India debate held under the auspices of the University, came off in the convocation week, Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari, Rai G. N. Chakravati Bahadur and Principal Dhruva acting as Judges. They were representatives from various parts of the country the subject for discussion being—"The ethical principles governing the relation of man to man cannot be observed in the various relations, internal and external, of one state to another." The *Saraswati Trophy* awarded by the Hon'ble Raja Moti Chand, C. I. E. was given by the judges to the C. E. College of the University, so that it comes back from the Aligarh Muslim University which won it last year. The first and the second gold medals were awarded to Messrs. P. H. Patwardhan and Jagnandanlal respectively of the University and the third one to Khurshed Lal of the Lucknow Canning College. The Old Boys Association of the University awarded an extra prize to Mr. G. Saiduddin of Aligarh in appreciation of the able speech made by him, although he was not the recipient of one of the official prizes. The medal for the best lady speaker was awarded to Miss Binapan Ghose of the local Theosophical Girls' College. Principal Dhruva awarded one of the medals, while two prizes and books were given by Prof. Sheshadri to the best male and female speakers. After the debates, there was an interesting tea-party and a group photograph of the competitors and the judges.

Besides these multifarious activities the convocation itself was a charming ceremony. Not only the several hundred graduates in their academic robes were to be seen, but also a number of Sastris of the College of Oriental Learning and Theology appeared on the occasion in their *Swadeshi pugrees* and *achkans*. The *Ekadasi Kathas*, recited by the Vice-Chancellor, Pandit Malaviya himself, were indeed worthy of the Hindu University. The donation of a sum of about 3 lacs for the hostel arrangements of lady students of the University was announced and a special arrangement for the religious instruction of Sikh students was considered. A number of other constitutional changes were effected and their Highnesses the Maharajas of Baroda and Bikaner were elected the Chancellor and pro-Chancellor respectively.

The Colleges of Agriculture, Law, Medicine and many other valuable institutions of the University are yet to be started and we hope their Highnesses will do their best to enhance the various activities of the University and fulfil their noble aims and high aspirations, so that the University will live long and will see many more such convocations.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE

The thirty second session of the Indian National Social Conference was held at Gaya under the Presidentship of Mr M. B. Jayakar, Bar-at-Law, on the 29th of December 1922. The authorities of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema conference very kindly lent their spacious pandal for this purpose. It was estimated that about four thousand people were present at the Conference including a considerable number of ladies, most of the leaders attending the Congress were also present.

The session commenced at 9 A. M. and terminated at about 12 noon. Babu Gorakh Prasad (of Champaran), the Chairman

of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates in a nice little speech in Hindi. The following is a brief summary of his address:

Brothers and Sisters,

It is indeed a day of supreme delight to me to have been privileged to offer you, on behalf of Bihar a cordial welcome to this holy city of Gaya. I am fully conscious of the fact that we have not been able to make arrangements for a fitting reception; but I hope that, when you look towards our love, esteem and our zeal, you will not care to mind the drawbacks.

I know there is only one desire, which is uppermost in the hearts of all of us assembled here and that desire is the desire for serving our Motherland to the best of our ability. I further realise that you all have taken the trouble of gathering here, only because you are obsessed with that one desire. I have to say only this much that both the political uplift and the social emancipation of a country should go hand in hand. Unfortunately, if it not be so, the achievement of our goal will be rendered difficult if not impossible. But the work of the Non-Co-operation movement of the last two years has lightened the social work to a large extent. I do not want to take much of your time. Suffice it to say that a little effort on our part is sure to advance the cause. Now Sri Jut Dwarkanath will propose Mr. Jayakar, who takes much interest in social work, for the presidentship and I request you to proceed with the further business after he is formally elected president.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar was then elected President and delivered his address which was published in the *Reformer* of the 6th January. The following resolutions were passed:

RESOLUTIONS.

1. This conference is of opinion that the inhuman custom of untouchability imposed on the depressed classes of India should be abolished forthwith and, for this purpose, calls upon all representative bodies of thought and action in every province and all such authorities as Sankaracharyas and Mahants to issue manifestoes advocating the removal of untouchability and the grant of equal social and religious rights and privileges to such neglected people.

Proposed by: Mr. Deep Narayan Singh. (Behar). Seconded by: Mr. Abbas Tayabji (Baroda). Supported by: Dr. K. D. Shastri, (Punjab) and Mr. Behary Lall of Dohra Dun.

2. This conference earnestly desires that more strenuous efforts should be made to educate our women so that they may be able more effectively to discharge their multifarious duties and attain that high position which they occupied in the past. This Conference urges that in order to arrest the increasing deterioration in the health of our girls and women, immediate steps should be taken to remove its causes including the *Purdah* system. It further records that it is strongly of opinion that in order to put a stop to the suicidal custom of early marriages, a sustained agitation be carried on in the press as well as on the platforms to impress upon the people the desirability of never marrying their girls until they are of 16 years old. It further condemns the evil custom of marrying young girls to old persons. This conference is of opinion that every possible reduction in the expenses should be made in performing various ceremonies particularly those in connection with marriages.

Moved by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, seconded by Mr. C. Vijayaraghavaohariar and supported by Mr. Stokes of Kotgarh, Mrs. Deep Narain Singh, Shrimati U. Chandrama Devi, Miss Natarajan and Shrimati Santosh Gupta.

3. This conference resolves that with a view to relieve the sufferings of an overwhelming number of innocent infant

and child widows of marriageable age, immediate and practical steps be taken for their remarriage if desired and for starting widows' homes for the proper training and advancement of those who prefer to lead a life of widow-hood. In this connection, this conference expresses its high appreciation of the work of the Vidhwa Vihab Sabha and the munificence of Sir Ganga Ram in maintaining it.

Moved by Lala Dunichand (Punjab) and seconded by Kartar Singh (Punjab.)

4. This conference resolves that the only true and effective excise policy for India is that of total prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drugs and drinks except for medical purposes and appeals to every province to carry on an intensive campaign to get this policy adopted in as short a time as possible.

Moved by Professor Ruchiram Sahni (Panjab) and seconded by B. Rajindra Prasad (Bihar)

5. (I.) This conference views with condemnation the immoral practice of selling girls under the pretence of marriage prevalent in certain parts of the country and appeals to all the well-wishers of the community to discourage the practice as far as it lies in their power.

II. This conference strongly condemns the cruel custom of charging dowries at the time of marriage which prevails even among the educated class of the Hindu community.

6. This conference urges upon all concerned the immediate need of organising the social-conference with a view to carry on a sustained agitation throughout the year by forming District and Provincial conference committees and raising subscription for the purpose of maintaining the offices of the Central Committee.

7. This conference appoints Mr. K. Natarajan as the General Secretary and Mr. S. Sadanand as Assistant Secretary for the next year.

(From the Chair).

SCIENCE AND POLITICS.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

Propos the note "Science and Politics" in your current issue, will you or the Director of Information let the public know through your columns, what the law is in regard to the possession, use etc. of wireless apparatus in India? When was the law first made? Is it still in force? Are the *Times of India* authorities exempted from the operation of that law? If not, how is it that some few months ago (four or five, if I remember right) the *Times of India* organised and successfully carried out a series of wireless telephonic communications with Poona, a ship at sea and so forth, according to its own accounts published at that time? If there is no such law on the statute-book or if it has long since expired, how are the following news coming from responsible and veteran quarters to be accounted for?

"The West, particularly America, is Radio-mad. Even little boys in American schools are making their own little sets of radio apparatus. In China it is coming greatly into vogue for commercial and administrative purposes, and it is needless to add that Japan has been making continually increasing use of wireless telegraphy and wireless telephony, for that is what radio means. India lags behind, as conscience makes the Government here excessively suspicious and fearful. The Calcutta University Science College wanted to set up a radio apparatus, only for educational purposes, i. e. for teaching and experimentation, but

Government refused permission"—*Modern Review*, November 22, p. 652).

I remember a similar statement made about two years ago in the *Indian Social Reformer* regarding a like prohibition at the Bombay University. Now in its latest issue we read: "Does Sir Vieweswaraya (President of the Science Congress at Lucknow) know that wireless apparatus which are widely available as scientific toys by the general public in several countries are prohibited in India and that when some persons imported them the apparatus were confiscated?"

I have asked the above questions particularly as I am interested in a local "Scouting" enterprise on the Baden-Powell system which is under Government's auspices and which according to an official propagandist is meant to train up our Boy Scouts in any or all of a number of accomplishments ranging from *wireless telegraphy* down to gardening and cookery. A boy, forsooth, free to learn practical wirelessing which is forbidden to a University post-graduate student! (By the same token, can the Director of Information or anybody on Government's behalf assure us with perfect confidence that at no place in India and at no time a private school has been forbidden the use and possession of chemicals like sulphur, saltpetre etc. even in small quantities for laboratory purposes, under the Explosives Act or any other Act?) It is disgraceful that our Universities should have to submit to the practice of untouchability towards a Science,—which it literally comes to when your instruction is restricted to "cramming" the theory of wirelessing, and to handle, touch or experiment with its apparatus is taboo to you; and all—because you are an Indian! Are we living in the Dark ages when in the West (and the West only) the pursuit of certain sciences called the Black Arts was rigorously banned? Yes, we are living in the Dark ages as far as the British Indian Government is concerned. Will Sir George Lloyd, our Governor and Chancellor of the Bombay University, who is a professed and even militant champion of modernism *versus* Medievalism, look at this and feel flattered, I wonder?

Yours etc.,
A SON OF INDIA.

Karwar, 20-1-1923.

[The case that we had particularly in mind was that of Mr. Khandubhai, son of the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, C. I. E. and a graduate of the Bombay University.—Ed. I. S. R.]

DEV SAMAJ AND FLESH EATING.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I am extremely glad to read the good work which is being done by the Dev Samaj of Lahore. It is quite encouraging to read that the Samaj has undertaken the work of reformation of two settlements of criminal tribes. If our priests and religious men, instead of muttering Sanskrit hymns which they don't understand, will devote half the time in trying to uplift their backward communities, India will be a different country. If we break hearts before these idols, God does not come. We weep and our tears drop on the ground. But when we try to extend our hands to a fallen man, a brother, God comes unasked to bless us, noble feelings stir within us. We become strong, healthy, fearless, and cheerful. Our priests and Sanyasins must know that God hates cringing and begging. He stands erect within the hearts of those reformers who extend their hands out of sympathy and fellow-feeling to their fallen brothers and sisters. God hates slavishness and arrogance equally. He runs from those who seek Him slavishly and

comes to seek those who try to serve His fallen children. We are grateful to the Dev Samaj for this parotical noble example of humanity and wish it a great success. It is with sympathy, therefore, that I take the liberty of pointing out a weak point of the Samaj which, in my opinion, will hamper its growth and spread. In your note, you give the list of gross sins which every Samajist is pledged not to indulge in. Flesh eating is in the list of gross sins. I ask these Samajists if, in their eyes, flesh-eating is as great a sin as adultery or drinking. Those workers who wish to uplift our masses should be more tolerant on this point than the Samajists. Some Brahmins and Banias, when they try to uplift the masses, try to thrust on their brains what has been thrust on theirs in their boyhood. A reformer's task is different; he must not come with a list of gross sins and induce the people to pledge not to indulge in them. A reformer must study the masses like a gardener, he should remove only those weeds which impede their progress. If we go to a village and ask a villager not to drink, he admits the evil effects of wine. His wife comes with her children to show the miseries of drunkenness, she thanks us with tears in her eyes and is ready in every way to help us.

But talk to the very man against flesh-eating. He will ask the reformer if he could defeat him in wrestling, in lifting weights. He will tell him plainly that it is the flesh eating that has made him stronger than an eater of vegetables, rice and pulse. Some Brahmins and Banias who put flesh-eating in their list of sins, hate actually the flesh eaters as if these weaklings can live without their protection. Those who study our castes will agree, I believe, that hatred of flesh-eaters is a chief factor which plays havoc in the minds of these weaklings. Castes cannot be broken by holding caste-dinners once a year. Bombay Hotels hold such dinners every day. I am a strict vegetarian. But I know too well my community of Brahmins does not form the Nation. I must broaden my view to suit all my countrymen. Brahmins and the Banias are not the only vegetarians but some of our weaklings make so much fuss over this 'kitchen-religion' that they do more evil than good. If you want to break down castes, knock-down this 'Kitchen-religion' and the hatred of flesh eaters. If you don't want to eat flesh, don't eat it but tolerate flesh eaters; don't assume superior airs over your vegetarian diet. A goat lives on vegetables, a stone eats nothing. Is, therefore, a goat or a stone superior to man? It is the hatred of flesh-eaters which is responsible for the structure of caste-system. Remove this hatred and caste-system melts down in no time. Among the Parsis there are vegetarian families, but they don't make so much fuss over it and hate their non-vegetarian brothers.

Vegetarian communities with a few exceptions are unfit for self-defence. Heroism is unknown to them. It is these communities which have tyrannized women under the name of religion, it is these communities which impoverish our masses by their merciless dealings with them. They may have saved the lives of some hundred pigeons, goats and hens but they have not served man with their lives. They are misanthropic, unknown to *joie de vivre* and humour. Non-vegetarian communities have served our country, had fought for its freedom and have been chivalrous to women. Let us be more tolerant to them, remembering that our ancestors were also once flesh-eaters. Will Dev Samajists be so tolerant as to remove flesh-eating from their list of gross sins.

Yours sincerely,
JAWHARIAN.

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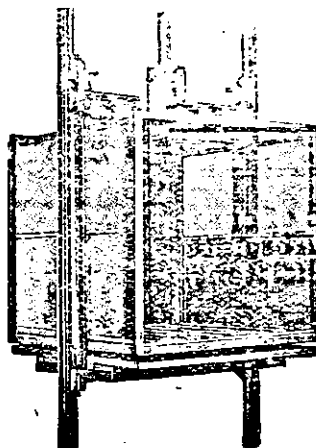
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not retreat, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

— 10: —

Lord Peel's Despatch: The despatch which the Secretary of State has addressed to the Government of India on the subject of further constitutional reforms, is precisely what might have been expected of him or any one else holding that office. The Indian Legislative Assembly met for the first time in January 1921. In September of that year, Rai Bahadur Muzumdar moved a resolution asking for the grant of provincial autonomy and of responsibility in the Central Government. If that resolution had been passed, it would have obliged the Secretary of State to give an answer to it on its merits. Instead of it, however, an amendment proposed by Sir William Vincent, on behalf of Government, was accepted. The amendment requested Government to convey to the Secretary of State the view of the Assembly that the progress made by India on the path of responsible government warranted re-examination and revision of the present constitution at an earlier date than 1929. This amendment, it will be seen, while appearing to favour further constitutional advance, really suggested to the Secretary of State the reasons, now given, for resisting it. The idea that, between January and September, the country made such remarkable progress as to require a revision of the reforms before the expiry of the ten-year period, is, of course, too obviously impossible to escape observation even by a more convinced believer in progress than Viscount Peel. The other two reasons given by him for declining to consider the suggestion of the Assembly, are really elaborations of this main argument. The electorate should be trained. The possibilities—also the impossibilities which are far more numerous—of the new scheme, should be more fully tested. The Assembly was led by the cleverness of the Home Member into passing a resolution which suggested arguments for its own rejection. Only a very great statesman could have resisted the temptation to turn the tables so easily on the Assembly, and Viscount Peel is only an average politician—put into the position which he occupies, because no one else would have it when it fell vacant on the dismissal of Mr. Montagu. Those who accepted the reforms as sufficient and workable, while it was as a fact utterly insufficient and unworkable, can have no effective reply to his arguments.

The Royal Commission on the Services? The Secretary of State has decided to appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into the grievances of the English Services in India. The moderate papers raised a loud protest against this step and the Anglo-Indians have joined it. In the Legislative Assembly a motion for adjournment because of this decision of Lord Peel's, was carried, the Government offering a half-hearted opposition. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, just emerged from the portals of the Government of India, declares that a Committee in India would have been preferable. The reasons advanced against the Royal Commission are, first, that it will create bitterness of feeling and, secondly, that it will involve a large expenditure. We do not think that there is much in either of these reasons. A public enquiry is always to be preferred to a hole and corner enquiry, even though it may cost somewhat more than the latter. A Royal Commission Report is always published, while some recent important Indian Committees' Reports have not seen the light of day. And then a Royal Commission has more authority to order the production of papers and other evidence. If the Services have grievances, it is best to have them investigated in the broad light of day. Only, we trust that ample opportunity will be given to represent the other side—the grievance it would be to the people to have the emoluments of these Services further increased while they are hard put to make the two ends meet. We fancy that the opposition of Government and the Liberal Press is due to the fact that their representatives will have to appear before the Commission and testify publicly as to the reasonableness or otherwise of the Services' demands. If they accept them as reasonable they will have to find the funds: if they do not, they must face the opposition of the Services. We are unable to join in the protest against the public enquiry ordered by Lord Peel. We think the Secretary of State, in this case, has adopted a straightforward course.

Conditions in China: The illuminating observations on the internal condition of China with which the Rev. Stanley Jones has favoured us, received an impressive illustration from a singularly interesting address delivered in the Wilson College Hall last Thursday by Mr. T. Z. Koo, one of the travelling Secretaries of the World Students' Christian Movement. Mr. Koo is a young man—the type of the Chinese Christians who are playing so prominent a part in the development and direction of the national movement in China. The amount of information which Mr. Koo compressed in his address lasting barely an hour, his shrewd observations and his frank avowal of the weak points of the Chinese national movement, were highly appreciated by the large audience which listened to him. Referring to the foreign nations chiefly interested in China, Mr. Koo described their

respective methods in three terse sentences. The Americans did not want to involve themselves in the internal affairs of China: they only wanted an open door for their trade. Whenever anything went wrong, their method did not go beyond remonstrance and advice. The British method was to find some "strong man" and back him up in order to maintain the peace and order which was necessary for their trade. They supported the Mandarin reaction against the new Republicans, when it seemed to them that the Mandarins were the most likely to maintain peace and order. Now, added Mr. Koo with scarcely a twinkle in his eye, the British Foreign Office must be in difficulty to fix upon its next "strong man". The Japanese fomented civil war by impartially helping the stronger as well as the weaker party. The Chinese method, as described by Mr. Koo, of getting self-government was for the Provinces to non-co-operate with the Central Government. The Central Government automatically ceased, and then the Provincial Governors or Generals fought till one of them got the upper hand. His government was similarly ousted, and the remaining Generals played the game again. In this way, a number of them had been eliminated, and there remained only a few who would soon decide among themselves, by the same process, who should be the ultimate ruler of China. Mr. Koo's address gave the impression that the daily lives of the people were not much affected by these Provincial contests which bulk so largely in the foreign press.

Miss Jane Addams in Bombay: It is a great pity that this eminent American worker and writer on social subjects, should have spent about a week in Bombay, without any public body being apprised of her visit. On the last day of her stay, however, the Social Service League arranged for an informal conversational meeting with her for the workers of the League. The hour fixed, 5 p. m. was far too early but the Servants of India Society's Hall filled up, and her short speech full of point was listened to with absorbed attention. She very kindly desired that questions may be put to her by members of the audience at the close of her speech, and one of the questions so put related, as might be expected, to the effect of Prohibition. Her reply, in the words of the *Times of India* report, is reproduced here:

Questioned as to how the law of prohibition had effected social workers in America, the lecturer said when prohibition was first put into law it made a very great deal of difference. In Chicago about a third of the city prison was closed because there were no prisoners to fill it with. A large ward in the hospital, where cases of accidents arising out of drunkenness were brought, was closed. Factory workers brought home larger sums of money. But while these ideal conditions still prevailed in villages and small towns, in large cities where there was a constant influx of European people a great deal of illicit drink traffic prevailed and it was difficult to strictly enforce the law. But on the whole there was no doubt that conditions had improved owing to prohibition. Of course a certain class of people of middle age who had had their drink all their lives would have it still, but prohibition would undoubtedly benefit the younger generation.

Social workers in Bombay will cherish the memory of the hour spent on Tuesday with this gracious lady—a pioneer in the field of social service in the Far West.

Malabar Tenants: We have received a copy of the Report of the Malabar Tenants' Conference held at Pattambi (South Malabar) on the 29th December under the presidentship of Mr. C. R. Reddy, M. L. C. The writings and speeches of well-known men like Mr. Logan, the Malabar historian, Sir T. Madhava Row, Sir Sankaran Nair, Dr. T. M. Nair and Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer on the subject are published as appendices to the Report. The question has been agitating the public mind in Malabar

for nearly half a century and, in spite of the general consensus of opinion on the need of legislation remove the long-standing grievances of Malabar tenants, it is a mystery that the problem has not yet been solved. In his presidential address, Mr. Reddy referred to the social system and land system of Malabar as two "*manthrams* and *mysteries*." They are, in fact, the wretched relics of the dark days when Malabar had the misfortune to pass under the regime of feudal despots. Now that the Malabar tenants have organised themselves and secured the support of the party in power in Madras, it is to be hoped that the problem is nearing solution. We have urged more than once in these columns that the long-standing grievances of Malabar tenants should be removed without delay. A perusal of the Report will convince any one that landlordism in Malabar has been mainly responsible for the social and moral degeneration of the people inhabiting that "land of surprises." The example of the neighbouring States of Travancore and Cochin in passing legislative measures to remedy the grievances of the tenants of those States who were suffering from the same grievances as their brethren in British Malabar are still suffering from, must convince the powers that be that legislation on similar lines is indispensable for the internal peace and prosperity of Malabar.

The Thirty Medicos: The appointment of thirty Englishmen to the Indian Medical Service on special terms, has caused wide-spread dissatisfaction which has been voiced at several public meetings and even found expression in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi. Mr. C. R. Reddy presided at the public meeting in Madras and spoke bitterly of this importation of unwanted Englishmen at a time of dire financial distress. The ex-Inspector General of Education in Mysore remarked: "The other day Lord Willingdon in the course of his speech at the Y. M. C. A., seemed to have said that the British were out here to help them, but that they had no wish to stay here if they were not wanted. It was an admirable sentiment which lacked one merit, that of reality. Englishmen came here without invitation and, indeed, in spite of it!" Mr. Reddy declared that one Indian doctor in the districts was more useful than ten English doctors who were strangers to the customs and language of the people.

An Indian Hermit. The four stages of life—the student, householder, hermit, and sannyasin—were prescribed in the Hindu scriptures for men. Whatever might have been the case in the distant past, for several centuries in India, the married life has been regarded as the only appropriate one for women. Even Buddha allowed women to become religious mendicants only after much hesitation and not without misgivings. It is, however, characteristic of the Hindu temperament that, whilst women in other lands, are fighting for political privileges, a cultured Indian lady like Srimati Sarala Devi Choudhrani, a niece of the poet, Tagore, should quietly assert her equal right with men to the hermit and the sannyasin's stages ordained for men. We print to-day an interesting interview with her published by a contemporary.

What is Hinduism? We heartily commend to our readers two articles by Professor S. Radhakrishnan of the Calcutta University in the quarterlies as among the best exposition we have come across of what Hinduism is and what it is not. One of them is entitled "the Heart of Hinduism" and is given the place of honour in the *Hibbert Journal* for October. The other is headed "the Hindu Dharma" and occupies a similar position in the *International Journal of Ethics* in the same month. We may notice at length these articles at a later date.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1923.

CONGRESS PARTIES.

The centre of interest in Congress party politics has shifted to Bombay. Mr. C. R. Das arrived here about ten days ago with Babu Bhagwandas from Benares and has been engaged in daily conferences ever since at Mr. Jayakar's house where he puts up. Hakim Ajmal Khan has also come. The absence of Pandit Motilal Nehru, owing to the serious illness of his daughter, in Allahabad, is one reason why the policy and programme of the new party have evidently not yet been finally settled. The Working Committee of the Congress has also been meeting in Bombay since Monday. All the members, including Mr. Rajagopalachariar, Dr. Ansari, and Babu Rajendra Prasad, are in Bombay. There is a sincere desire on both sides to come to an understanding. Of that we are sure. If the leaders of the Congress majority realise the immense change in the conditions of the Indian political situation that has been brought about by events which have happened since Mahatma Gandhi's imprisonment, they will not hug to their bosoms the delusion that the non-co-operation movement is still alive. Take the following passage from the leader in Thursday's *Bombay Chronicle* which is a staunch, and even obstinate, champion of unqualified Non-Co-operation. Writing of the position arising out of the threatened failure of the Lausanne Conference to produce a Treaty acceptable to Turkey, our contemporary observes :

We are certain that if, as seems to be the case, the British Government are counting upon armed support in Irak and Arabia, in the event of war with Nationalist Turkey, they are as much deceived as is Mustafa Kemal in expecting anything like a general rising of the Indian Muslims in the said event. *It is to the Government of India that the Muslims must look in such an event, and it is to bring pressure on the Government of India to support their cause that their efforts must and will be directed.*

We call attention to the sentence which we have put in italics. Surely, it is impossible to bring pressure to bear upon the Government of India by refusing to have any point of contact with it. The only interpretation that we can put upon the sentence is that, in the opinion of Mr. Pickthall, the time is come for Indian Mahomedans to abandon the policy of non-co-operation with the Government of India. How, then, can Indian Mahomedans demand that the Congress should persist in non-co-operation? It is evident that the question is seriously exercising the minds of responsible Khilafat leaders. The non-co-operation movement was really started as a means of non-violent expression of the feelings created by the Khilafat question among Indian Mahomedans. If such a capable and sagacious adviser of Indian Mahomedans as the respected Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* now tells them that it is to the Government of India that they must look to avert war between Turkey and Great Britain, with or

without the Allies, it is plain as daylight that the need for non-co-operation has ceased, and with it the possibility of it.

It is not only the majority party in the Congress but also a considerable section among the minority that has got to realise this truth, that non-co-operation is no longer practical politics. In principle, of course, it is the right of individuals and nations to wash their hands clean of any measure or system which is opposed to their vital interests or emotions. Most people who think about the matter will agree with Mr. Das that we have had no real non-co-operation in India. What we have had is merely a mild preparation for it. Another of these shibboleths which should be completely wiped out of our political slate, is "civil disobedience." The phrase itself is a highly misleading one. As Mr. Das tersely puts it, disobedience is neither a public nor a private virtue. Obedience is the crowning virtue of public and private life. But when we have a higher principle to obey, it may be incidentally necessary to disregard a lower one. Disobedience, however, is not an end in itself. Training for civil disobedience, mass or individual, is wrong. What we have to train people to, is the higher obedience. Not until we have ensured the social and general conditions indispensable to a higher and better system have we the right to disobey the existing system. Mr. Das is a thinker first and foremost. Politics is the field to which he feels called upon in the present circumstances of the country to devote his energies, but he holds that right thinking is the essential condition of sound politics. When once the path is cleared in these two respects, the Congress will have the whole country rallying round it. Mr. Das rightly feels that the one thing to be considered now is how to get self-government with the least delay. He has a holy horror of time-tables and does not pledge himself to obtain it within any period of time. What he seems to feel is that the whole mind and soul of the country should be solely and intensely fixed upon the goal of self-government. He will go to the Councils and place before them a considered scheme for this purpose. All other activities will be subordinated and made subservient to this one great aim. The Liberals, it has been objected, also want to do the same thing: how would the Congress differ from them then? The answer is simple: the Liberals are not intent upon getting self-government. They are more anxious to "work the Act of 1919" by becoming Ministers, Members of the Executive Council, roving Commissioners and so on. You will never get self-government by "working the Act" in this way. If the Liberals had "worked the Act" with a single eye to the goal, even the present Councils might have been far more productive of national results. It is not altogether their fault either. Rather it is their misfortune that their alliance with Mr. Montagu blinded them to the vital defects of the Reforms.

The constructive programme of the Congress is a fundamental necessity of self-government. We shall never come within sight of self-Government,

until the Hindu community re-organises itself on the principle of brotherhood, by discarding caste prejudices of every kind, of which "untouchability" is the worst. There can be no real unity between our several communities till each is assured of perfect religious toleration and freedom at the hands of others. Communities which are disposed to carry on an aggressive propaganda in this respect, should be educated in religious toleration. Without religious toleration, it is impossible for the people of India to evolve into a common nationality. The normal attitude of the Indian, whether he be a Hindu, Mussalman or Christian, is one of respect for other religions. The exceptions are generally due to extraneous influences. The more such influences are excluded, the less friction is there likely to arise between our communities. Alcohol is the type of foreign influence which poisons our national life at its source. It is a symbol of all such influences and the inclusion of prohibition of it in the Bardoli programme, symbolises the exclusion of them all. The *Khaddar* tends to become a superstition. While the importance of the handloom industry is unquestioned, there should be no invidious distinction made between handloom and mill-made Indian goods, except such as is due to the intrinsic superiority of the one or the other for special uses.

The conscientious carrying out of this four-fold programme is as essential to the attainment of *Swaraj* as drawing up a constitution and presenting it to the Councils. The clauses of the constitution will have just so much life and meaning as we put into our work on the constructive programme. Mr. Das's main difficulty, we fancy, will be with those of his party who feel that they are doing no national, patriotic work unless they are twisting the tail of Government. The true national work at present lies as little in twisting Government's tail as in patting Government's back. With the help of associates like Mr. Jayakar and Babu Bhagwandas, it should not be difficult for Mr. Das to draw up a scheme of work on which all Congressmen can wholeheartedly unite. One last word of caution. It is absolutely essential that the programme should not be unduly enlarged by the addition of ideas which, however good in themselves, have no immediate bearing upon the Indian problem. The idea of an Asiatic Federation, for instance, is in itself not an objectionable one. On the other hand, there is much to commend it to Indians who can never forget that this country gave religion two thousand years ago practically to all Asia. But why should it be made a political question? The most enthusiastic exponent of it, Mr. Paul Richards, is a European. The cultural unity of Asia is not a political question. The danger of including such an idea in a working scheme of politics, is evident from the fact that Swami Satyadev relates it to the controversial question of handing the temple at Buddha Gaya to the Mahabodhi Society. We are ourselves strongly of the view that the temple should be placed in charge of Buddhist priests, but the management should vest in a Council on which India, Ceylon and Burma

should be represented by Hindus as well as Buddhists. This should be done with the full consent of the present Mahant who should be duly compensated for his loss of income. The question is an extremely delicate one and nothing but hard and bad blood can arise out of making it a plank in a political party's programme.

COCHIN ADMINISTRATION.

(*Contributed.*)

Cochin is a small but progressive Indian State in South India with a population of 9,79,080 of whom 4,82,959 are males and 4,96,121 females. The State has an area of 1,479 square miles, the population per square mile being 662. Rice is the staple food of the people. More than half the population is engaged in agriculture. 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 Sir Sri Rama Varma, G.C.I.E. The present Dewan, the Chief executive officer of the State, is Rao Bahadur P. Narayana Menon, I.S.O who assumed charge of the Dewanship from his predecessor, Dewan Bahadur T. Vijayaraghava Charya, on the 13th April 1922. The administration report for the year ending 16th August 1922 (1097 Malabar Era), therefore, deals with the administration of the year during eight months of which Mr. Vijayaraghava Charya was in charge of the Dewanship.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION.

It is gratifying to note from the Report that, even under severe economic strain, the State has maintained its high reputation as being very progressive in educational matters. Although the total number of Government and aided schools fell from 171 and 273 to 167 and 269 respectively, the Report records an increase of 1465 pupils in the total number receiving instruction. The percentage of boy and girl pupils to the male and female population of school-going age is 80.4 and 39.1 as against 79.7 and 36.5 in the previous year. When it is remembered that this high percentage is without the introduction of free and compulsory education by the State, it certainly redounds to the credit of the enlightened people of Cochin. It is stated that changes were made in the Educational Code so as to admit the maximum strength of 40 in every class and for the free admission of girls in Boys' primary schools. This change is perhaps intended to make up for the reduction in the number of schools. It is gratifying to see that "the system of scholarships and stipends instituted by the new Code contributed very much to the increase in the number of pupils belonging to the backward communities". This observation is specially remarkable as a practical illustration to show that the backward communities are not backward in availing themselves of facilities in educating their children and that their "backwardness" is entirely due to want of opportunities. The Cochin Durbar has every reason to congratulate itself on this result. We are glad to note that a general scheme for increasing the salaries of teachers was under consideration. The starvation

wages with which most teachers, especially of the lower grades, are obliged to eke out their livelihood, has greatly diminished the prestige and respect for the teachers' profession which, after all, is one of the noblest of professions.

CONCESSIONS TO DEPRESSED CLASSES.

The Report says that "the allotment of house sites in the Pulaya colony at Narakkal and the construction of a Nayadi colony at Kunnankulam were among the features of the work done by the Durbar on behalf of the depressed classes". This, we think, was done before Mr. Acharya left the State. But the mention of this, we take as an indication of the present Dewan's interest in improving further the hard lot of the depressed classes, although his observations towards the end of the report are not quite reassuring. In his general remarks about Education, Mr. Narayana Menon, the present Dewan observes :

The very liberal systems of grants-in-aid introduced into the State resulted in increasing the demand for schools enormously, while the special concessions granted to encourage education among the backward classes and especially Pulayas, were largely availed of by the classes concerned. As some of the concessions were, however, found on experience to be liable to be abused, restrictions had to be introduced to diminish the liability. (Italics ours)

We do not understand how the concessions were abused by the depressed classes. Surely, the hitherto neglected communities largely availing themselves of the concessions to educate their children is not an abuse. We do not know what the restrictions imposed are, but we are apprehensive of the serious effects of such restrictions on the progress of the backward classes. We cannot think that the people of such an educationally-advanced State as Cochin would grudge the concessions extended to the backward classes.

WHAT IS WRONG ?

Except in educational matters, the State does not seem to have made any progress during the year under report. The condition of the various industries, regarding the improvement of which mention was made in the previous year's report, seems to be so unsatisfactory that Mr. Narayana Menon has thought it necessary to assume the role of a candid critic. He observes :

The various cottage and allied industries started by the State or with the State aid were more or less empirical. The facilities granted were found to require readjustment with reference to local conditions, heredity and individual tastes. The bell-metal business at Ernakulam and the Handloom Weaving Society at Kuttampalli started with some Rs. 1,00,000 advanced by the State, came to grief before the year was half over. One was wound up and the other had to be transferred to the control of the Co-operative department. The Stoneware factory at Chalakudi, the construction of which was entrusted to an expert on a salary of Rs. 1,400 per mensem, was to have been completed by October 1921 at a cost of Rs. two lakhs; but the expert was not able to complete the building even by the close of the year and the amount stipulated was found to be insufficient. The Cochin tanneries subsidised by Government were brought into working order and turned out excellent samples of tanned leather during the year, but to make them paying, additional advances from the State funds in the shape of loans had to be made. The formation of a paper pulp factory had not passed the stage of negotiations.

We are not told what attempts were made by the present Dewan for successfully carrying out the various industrial development schemes, empirical

though they were, before striking such a desperate note. But, the blame does not and cannot rest on this Dewan or that Dewan. It is the system of importing one as the head of the administration for a period of five years or so, during which he is made the sole arbiter of the destinies of the State, that is responsible for such things. Had there been an Executive Council or Legislative Council without whose sanction the Dewan can not embark upon empirical enterprises, the necessity for the present Dewan to undertake the unpleasant task of criticising the actions of his predecessor in office, as in the paragraph quoted above, would never have occurred. There is nobody having a permanent stake in the State that can be held responsible for the loss the State had to suffer in these days of financial strain on account of embarking on industrial experiments without due regard to the financial resources of the State. The remedy lies not in blaming one Dewan or the other, but in changing the system that makes the Dewan an irresponsible Executive.

THE DRINK AND DRUG EVIL.

The financial resources of the State are very limited and the chief source of revenue is the Excise which includes revenue from Salt, Customs, Abkari, Opium, Gunja and Tobacco. It is much to be regretted that such a progressive State as Cochin has to depend on the vices of its subjects for the main source of its revenue. Out of the total income of Rs. 55,46,463 the amount realised from the Excise came to Rs. 22,95,120. It is gratifying to note that there was a slight decrease in the consumption of liquor during the year. But we cannot commend the Cochin Government's attitude towards temperance. The most disgraceful feature, as the *Swarajya* rightly points out, is that the State distills arrack and serves it out to its subjects. It is most disgusting to read in the Report that "additional improvements were effected in the distillery to make it better fitted to meet the requirements of the consumers". We can hardly imagine a more demoralising system than the State taking the initiative in spreading the vice of drink instead of encouraging the spirit of temperance. We cannot too strongly condemn Mr. Narayana Menon's attitude towards the temperance movement when he observes in the report that the decrease in the demand for liquor during the year is "partly due to the activities of the temperance movement which had invaded the State though only temporarily." The attitude conveyed in characterising the spread of the temperance movement as an "invasion" is clearly mischievous and it foreshadows the possibility of the Government launching a crusade against the temperance workers should they begin their activities in the State. We commend the example of Bhavnagar in Kathiawar, which adopted a policy of total prohibition in 1922, to the attention of Mr. Narayana Menon. If Bhavnagar and Palitana are too far to attract the attention of Mr. Narayana Menon, he would do well to turn his attention to the neighbouring State of Travancore and follow the example of its present Dewan Mr. T. Raghaviah. Our Travancore correspondent whose letter we printed in

the *Reformer* of the 20th January, writing about the vigorous temperance movement among the Ezhavas, the community who by heredity have been chiefly responsible for the manufacture of liquor, said that they were determined to abstain from participating in the auction sales of contract of liquor shops. He says that, although the movement has been prejudicial to the income which showed a large deficit in the Excise revenue during the year, "it is noteworthy that the Government whose reins are in the hands of Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, a quiet and unostentatious, worker in social reform, are in practical sympathy with the central idea of temperance movement and even accepted the principle of prohibition as the ultimate goal." The Cochin Royal family has an ancient and high tradition as being total abstainers from drink and we do not know how far the Dewan's views on temperance find favour with His Highness the Maharaja.

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tive. But we do not mean to advise the Cochinites to boycott the Councils. As a medium of expressing public opinion on questions affecting the administration of the State, the Council will command a certain amount of respect not only from the officials and the people of Cochin but also outside the State. The success of the Council in influencing the Executive Government to be more responsive to public opinion, will more or less depend on the statesmanship and the capacity of its members. And it must not be forgotten that further reform in enlarging the scope of the Cochin Legislative Council can be effected without any deputation crossing the seas. While indigenous autocracy is certainly not a preferable substitute for alien bureaucracy, the difference between the present British Indian Government and the Government of an Indian State should not be overlooked. The Tenancy Legislation and the Nair Regulation which were passed in the neighbouring States of Cochin and Travancore, although British Malabar has been suffering from the same grievances for which a remedy has not yet been applied, are instances the moral of which should not be forgotten. One unpleasant feature since the publication of the draft rules is the demand of Christians for communal representation. We hear the echo of the Trichur riots in the demand of Cochin Christians for communal representation. When the Indian Christian Conference has recently passed a resolution expressing its disapproval of communal representation, it is surprising that the Syrian Christians, a community least prone to Anglo-Indian imitation, and having an ancient tradition of being purely indigenous in its ideas and aspirations, should demand special representation for their community. The communal feeling, which culminated in the Trichur riots, has not yet subsided in spite of the admonitions of Mr. C. F. Andrews than whom the Christians of Trichur can hardly find a co-religionist more competent to give them good advice. We sincerely hope that the educated people of the Christian, Hindu and Mohammedan communities will lose no time in devising means to remove the communal distrust and antipathy which are so clearly manifest in the cry for communal representation. That way lies the peace and prosperity of the State.

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One hopeful thing I note is the Renaissance Movement. This Movement, which has its centre at Peking in a few moving spirits there, has had a very great influence indeed. We had lunch with the leaders and they told us that they stood for four things: first, the scientific method; that things be approached in the spirit of the question: what are the facts? second, ruthless application of those findings to all the institutions of China, moral, social, political and industrial; third, a fearless launching out in application of the principles found; and fourth, propagation of the findings. This outlook is certainly to be commended. There are a number of periodicals devoted to the propagation of these ideas. The practical working out of this has been that many things have been challenged in their time-honoured positions. The classical language was the medium for all literature and was different from the spoken language. These modern scholars are writing their literature and expressing their poetry through the common spoken language. This is a great change, for it brings the gems of China's thought-treasure where they are available to the ordinary man. The common language is becoming respectable and, of course, with it the common man. China has an amazing literature and it is noted for its fine moral sentiment. There is not an unclean line in its vast religious literature, I am told. The family is being challenged as the unit of life. There is no doubt that China, through her intense veneration of ancestors, has chained herself to the dead past. It has turned her face to the yesterdays, instead of the to-days and the to-morrows. China is one vast grave-yard—graves are everywhere and so much land is taken up by them that the dead are crowding out the living. That is serious enough but it is not the most serious thing, for the dead are not only claiming the land but the mental processes and the rest of life as well. The Renaissance would smash this hold. But it should do it gently and with care, for this hold of the family has been the power that has preserved China amid the crash and wreck of things in the past ages. Empires and dynasties have come and gone, but China, the real China, founded upon the family and not upon the State, has persisted amid the changes. The Christian Church is trying to preserve this element of worth in ancestor worship and is replacing it with a Day of Respect and Remembrance of Ancestors held annually with suitable ceremonies. Bertrand Russell has been lecturing in China and his influence has been pernicious in openly flouting the sacred ties of family and in giving to China a shameless example of "freelove".

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plied in despair: "We have notified the Government that the railway will not run three months more unless they give us money for repairs. There is a Military Governor at one end and another at the other end and they are bleeding the railway at both ends for selfish purposes". The only Chinese built, owned and operated railway in China is now mortgaged to Japan. An official high up told us that one hundred million dollars had disappeared from the railways in the last eleven years through public "squeeze." This was according to the books. It was amazing to us to see that merchants or their servants were seated on the top of goods vans in which their goods were being shipped. They did not dare to turn it over to the authorities. They stayed with it. Nearly every village has a block house standing up above the rest of the houses with slits in the sides for rifles to protect villages from bandits. In Honan the bandits had captured eleven walled cities and had burned and looted and plundered. About a dozen foreigners had been captured by them and held for ransom. But the Chinese suffered most.

A BEAM IN DARKNESS.

Amid all the despair that comes to my heart as I write these things, there comes a hope. It burns clear and bright: *The Chinese will pull through.* I came away with a deep admiration for them. They are one of the coming races of the world. Their capacity to work harder than any people in the world in any climate at any thing, their common sense and good-humour and general loveliness will pull them through. In spite of the break-down in Government, there is not that sense of poverty in China that one feels in India. There is an abundance of things and food. The Chinese are the greatest eaters in the world. Their feasts are a surfeit. Moreover, they are producing in spite of the handicaps.

CHRISTIANITY AND NATIONALISM.

It may be of interest to readers of your paper to know that there is a distinct difference in China compared to India in the way that patriotism and Christianity have been linked up. The most patriotic and nationalistic are the Chinese Christians and in the hour of China's need, China is turning to them. Eighty per cent of delegates to the Washington Disarmament Conference were Chinese Christians. A Chinese Christian has been entrusted with the task of taking over Shantung from the Japanese and I am glad to note that it has been completed and the Japanese have fulfilled their agreements in loyal style. Another Chinese Christian has been entrusted with the task of raising the sixty million dollars to buy back the Shantung Railway from Japan. In the recent popular voting of one of the secular newspapers on the question "Who are the Twelve Greatest Living Chinese," four out of the first five voted for were Chinese Christians. Christianity has become naturalized in China and it is producing men who will stand up under temptation. While the Government schools are becoming poorer and poorer in influence and material equipment, the private and Mission schools are crowded and are doing great work. A private institution like Nankai University with its 1,800 students headed by Dr. Chang Polin, a

Chinese Christian, is one that China may well be proud of. I visited and addressed the students of the Ching Hua College, the institution which has been built and sustained by the Boxer Indemnity money returned to China by the American Government. The Rockefeller Foundation has built and equipped the most complete hospital and Medical College in Asia situated at Peking. The buildings alone cost four million dollars. It is setting a very high standard for China.

ADVANCE CHINA.

One Western historian says that "it is only in the 16th and 17th centuries with the birth of modern science and the discovery of America and the perfection of the art of printing that the Western world began to pull ahead of China." Until that time China was well in the forefront of the nations. She will be so again. This conviction has burned itself in upon me as I have addressed large audiences of eager students from North Manchuria clear down to Canton in the South and have felt their open-mindedness, their eager sympathy, their practical-mindedness and their dogged persistence and fine human qualities. This people will rise. It was a privilege to serve them, and to learn from them.

(Concluded)

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

London, January 4th 1923.

THE REPARATIONS QUESTION.

Once again the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, France and Belgium and a representative from Italy have met to discuss the Reparations. How much depends upon this latest meeting cannot be exaggerated. It will probably be the final one, and will determine the fate of Germany, as well as of the countries met to discuss her. If France could be brought to accept the British view that Germany is honestly willing to pay, but cannot, and that the stabilisation of Germany is of such importance to that country that she is not likely to deal in trickery to evade payment, a step forward might be taken. The proposed occupation by a military force of the Ruhr region has temporarily receded into the background; but the new French proposal for the economic occupation of parts of Germany is likely to find no greater favour than the military one did. Mr. Bonar Law's scheme caused a fair amount of surprise, as it was totally unexpected. The suggestions he makes are so sweeping in character that a great deal of controversy is sure to occur. Indeed, we are already informed that they have been unanimously rejected by the French Cabinet, which holds that they contain no guarantees that Germany will pay and that, if given effect to, at the end of fifteen years, Germany will, having already virtually wiped out her internal debt by reason of the fall of the mark, be actually better off than any other European State. The Paris Conference is tottering to a fall and any moment we may get the news that it has collapsed and that France has determined to act alone.

CINEMAS AND CHILDREN.

The prolonged controversy that has been going on with regard to the admission of children to cinematograph shows at last reached a real settlement. About a year ago, strong representations having been made in the proper quarters, the London County Council decided that no young person under the age of 16 should be allowed to visit public places in which films suitable only for adults were shown. But as soon as this decision was known, a storm of protest was raised by the cinematograph exhibitors, and in consequence the new regulations were never put into force, but were held in abeyance for a year. This year having now elapsed and the position during the last month becoming acute again, the London County Council threshed the matter out, with the result that the resolution of last year is to be adopted with an amendment, and regulations are to be enforced as from January 1st, prohibiting any young person under the age of 16, or apparently under the age, from being present at an exhibition of an "adult" film, the amendment being "unless accompanied by a parent or bona fide guardian". A strict censorship over all films is to be made, but in the whole question of censorship lies the difficulty. It is easy enough to ban a picture dealing distinctly with sex-crime or violent sensationalism, but it is much more difficult to do so in the case of many famous novels that have been, and others that can be, adapted for film purposes. The things seen by the eyes of a child convey quite a different meaning to the things read. Almost any perfectly innocent child could be turned loose in a varied library, and though it might read much that would horrify its elders, that would convey little or nothing of the reality to the child mind, for the child cannot form pictures to itself of things it has never seen or had presented as a living fact to it. In the case of moving pictorial representations it is quite different; crime, passion, lust and fear become awful realities, the most innocent child is rudely awakened and plunged into a world of emotions of which it really knows so little, that the danger of a tender mind becoming unbalanced is very real. Many classics given to boys and girls to read as studies in literature for school work, could scarcely have their most striking episodes literally reproduced on a film without shocking even adult minds. And if the Censor is to do his duty properly, many scenes famous in literature and in the written drama must be out ere the film dealing with such scenes can be shown before a mixed audience of adults and children. It is this proper censorship that is likely to cause a good deal of friction and trouble in the near future, unless we do in England as has been done in some places in America, make a drastic rule that children shall not be allowed to visit any public film exhibition unless the films shown be of a purely educational character.

PASTEUR CENTENARY

Every now and again a man is born into the world, who renders such service to humanity that his birth is ever after commemorated. Probably such a one was Louis Pasteur, whose centenary was celebrated last

week. A simple, pious Frenchman, it is difficult to imagine how men lived before he gave them the benefit of his genius. The "Times" sums up the situation excellently in the following terms:—It is almost impossible to conceive the magnitude of the changes which have directly issued from his work and teaching. So much that the modern world accepts, as a matter of course, lay, in 1822, outside even the realm of the imagination, that a reconstruction of life as was then lived can scarcely be accomplished. Preventive medicine, with its ancillary services of sanitation, water supply, food inspection, and hygiene, remained as yet but a dream. Surgery was attended by dangers so great as to inspire in the general mind a horror unrelieved by any gleam of hope. Plague and pestilences of many kinds swept at short intervals over Europe and the world, destroying vast numbers of human lives and taking, besides, a heavy toll of flocks and herds. Whole industries were not infrequently placed in jeopardy by unseen forces which defied the most scrupulous attempts to stay their havoc. It was an age of great intellectual activity, yet its negative outlook found many expressions, and none perhaps more significant than the doctrine of the spontaneous generation of life. Pasteur, in consequence of his studies of fermentation, attacked this doctrine with all the passion of his soul; he disproved it in a series of experiments. In its stead he gave to the world his discovery of the kingdom of the 'infinitely small,' those minute atoms of life renewed from generation to generation which, by their ceaseless activity, make and unmake our world." The science of surgery was made secure and efficient, and a new tropical medicine has been developed that will, as it becomes more widely studied, render still greater services, to mankind, for "the kingdom of the infinitely small is wide as the world."

YULE TIDE IN LONDON.

The feeding of the poor has always been a special feature of Christmas celebrations, but especially is Christmas the time for children and most of the big functions are devoted to children alone. The Lord Mayor of London held his annual Christmas festivities at which 1,200 poor children were entertained and fed, about 4,000 hampers were despatched to little cripples throughout the Metropolis, and many more thousands to little sufferers and poor children throughout the country. Sir William Treloar, a name always associated with the welfare of crippled children, welcomed the little guests at the Guildhall and played with them. At Poplar about 6,000 children were entertained, the funds for all these entertainments being collected from voluntary subscribers. But apart from these big centres, every district, every sect, and every section has had its Christmas treat for its poor children. The students at the Indian Hostel having previously caught the spirit of the time, had their Christmas party also, for poor children gathered by the Mansfield House and Toynbee Hall settlements. This is not the first Christmas party for children the Hostel at Shakespeare Hut has had, but it will be the last, as the site of the hostel has been acquired by the Rockefeller Foundation for the Hygienic

Research Institute. The Indian National Y.M.C.A. are hoping to secure new premises near the present Hostel, but much anxiety is felt by the officers and Committee because of the lack of funds for the satisfactory carrying on of the work. However they have faith in the rightness of that which they are doing, and they use every scrap of opportunity in endeavouring to overcome the difficulties facing them, and have hope of being able to fulfil a real need in making a happy health-centre for Indian youth here.

CHINESE EDUCATION.

It has been decided to devote the remainder of the Boxer indemnity to Chinese education, but in exactly what way this shall be applied is not known. There are at present many British educational institutions in China largely conducted by missionaries, and these are sure to put in an application for funds, for it is quite true they have to work on the narrowest possible financial margin. There are also various colleges in China run with the help of China itself, but all needing money for further expansion. There are medical colleges badly in need of financial assistance and the need for a new University has also been voiced. At present China possesses one British University situated in Hong Kong. For the upkeep of this, both the Chinese and British commercial communities contribute largely, and a proposal has been put forward for establishing a proper school to feed this University. Attention is also being drawn to the urgent necessity of establishing women's colleges in various parts of the country. All these suggestions show that there is no lack of existing avenues for disposing of the money: the difficulty will be to find out how best to allocate it. Happily no suggestions have been put forward for using the money for educating the youth of China outside its own country.

THE BRITISH UNEMPLOYED.

A new demonstration of unemployed is harassing the London authorities. This demonstration consists of a march of unemployed men from Scotland to London. A great deal of attention is being called to it, and a great deal of exasperation on both sides is being shown. The marchers themselves have found great difficulty in getting food and accommodation once they have arrived in the Metropolis, and the people of London ask themselves and each other why they should support people from other parts of Britain, considering they cannot feed their own unemployed. The Metropolitan Asylums Board, which had to shelter the men in its casual wards, has come in for a lot of abuse because of its alleged treatment of the marchers. The food is complained about, as being too poor in substance and variety, and the sleeping accommodation such as to make it impossible for men to sleep. Some of the marchers have become disappointed and dispirited and returned to their homes, advising others to do the same. But the organisers of the movement refuse to be "browbeaten" into submission and have called for further contingents from Scotland to come forward. A special appeal is being made for a unanimous protest from all over the country next Sunday and to demand that the Government take immediate steps to provide work or maintenance for unemployed men and women.

SREEMATI SARALA DEVI.

The Editor, The Hindi "Navajivan," publishes the following report of an interview he had with Srimati Sarala Devi Chaudhrani recently:—

At the close of the sessions of the U. P. Provincial Conference, Mr. Ramdas Gandhi and myself started for Mussorie to see Mrs. Saraladevi Chaudhrani. It will be remembered that Shrimati was overtaken by a serious illness during the Ahmedabad Congress, from which she has not yet completely recovered. But since coming up to Mussorie her health has taken a turn for the good and I am glad to report that there is a gradual but steady progress. We had the pleasure of spending three days with Srimatiji, the loving memory of which shall ever remain fresh in my mind. Her motherly care, affection and hospitality notwithstanding her ill health and the attendant inconveniences of a Himalayan retreat will be difficult for us to forget. Her wonderful and up-to-date management of her simple household was also a matter which made a deep impression on my mind. I had heard in Dehra Dun that since the 9th September 1922, Shrimati had entered *Vanaprastham* and had also taken the vow of leading a life of mendicancy for at least a year. In Mussorie I found Srimati observing "Mounavrat" every morning upto nine, and very often wrapped in meditation. She was always in a severe contemplative mood. But at the same time one could find in her the lovely and singular combination of poetry and music which added to the dignified grace of that mood of serenity and inwardness. It was really an entrancing sight to see her seated in deep meditation in the peace and calm of the King of the Mountains and hear her singing in her sweet and clear voice the spiritual songs of her own composition to the accompaniment of her violin. My heart was filled with rapturous joy. But I could discern in it a shadow of uneasiness &c. A question was stirring in my mind—a question, that came in and out so many times,—as to what led the patriot lady to leave the country in the thick of the fight and retire for contemplation when there was the greatest need for her selfless services. At last I could not help giving expression to my uneasiness and humbly but respectfully enquiring of her the reason for her taking to this new stage of life.

To this she replied that the reasons were three. When nearly twenty years ago she came to Punjab, her adopted home by marriage, in the midst of Arya Samajists, she heard a great deal about the third stage of life enjoined by the scriptures, viz., the *Vanaprastha Ashrama*. Her imagination was struck and the seed of a resolve was implanted in her mind to enter it in due course, i.e., on or about her 50th year.

The second reason was, she said, as we know whilst in the thick of the fight for the motherland she was suddenly struck down with a severe and prolonged illness from the effects of which she had not yet recovered. During this pause she had ample time for reflection and self-introspection. As a result she discovered she was not what she was taken to be. Courage she lacked in confessing what 'is' and not 'seems.' She felt therefore that she was a coward and not true to herself and the God within her, that she was sailing under false colours and that she must forfeit the privilege of serving her dearly beloved motherland to whom she had dedicated herself even from her very girlhood.

The third reason was the illness itself. She read in it a sign from God to retire and withdraw within herself. The illness made her physically unfit. Her self-introspection found her spiritually unfit and her resolve nearly 20 years back made her morally unfit to remain in the world any longer. Happily, she said, all events combined and hastened the denouncement of her God-union—the joy beyond measure reserved to human souls.

Our next question was "What is your idea of a *Vanaprastha*? Are you to be simply engrossed in God, in your own spiritual well-being? Are you to render service to your fellow-beings no more?"

Answer:—"My idea of a *Vanaprastha* is that it is a preparatory stage for rendering better and purer services in the fourth and the last stage of life viz., *Sannyasa*. As I wrote to a friend, this third *Ashrama* to my thinking is a voluntary return to the first one of *Brahmacharya* with greater knowledge and deliberation. In the first, the parents were the agents, they gave the training according to their light and circumstances. In the third the agent is oneself and the self-training is expected to be much more thorough on account of the wider experience gathered during the householder's stage. Service to one's fellow being is *sine qua non* at every stage of life. During this period of preparation even, I must serve my fellow beings though in a different form and manner to what I did when I was of and in the world. When the period of probation is over, and I hear the call from above, when I feel ready for selfless service, with God as my guide, as He was to Moses "a pillar of light in darkness and a pillar of cloud by the dazzling day," I will venture forth into the world once more to serve in the way He commands."

Q.—"May I enquire, what form your service to humanity may take in your present stage?"

A.—"I have found that there are many men and women who would like to lead a retired and God-seeking life but who are denied the opportunities. For such I would like to make facilities by opening a *Vanaprasthashram* in the Himalayas for self-training and a *Karmayogashram* lower down for the application of the training. But I am not in any haste about it. If it comes it will come. If it be God's purpose to engage me in such a service, He will."

We next asked—"You were closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi in the national movement of N. C. O. Does he know of the step you have taken, which practically means depriving the cause of a leader at this critical stage?"

A.—"He knows."

Q.—"Does he approve of it?"

A.—"His message to me has been that he hopes my detachment from the world does not mean the giving up of the spinning wheel, for he regards it for this age and this country as an indispensable *Yajna* for all the stages of life not excluding *Sannyasa*."

Q.—"Do you echo his thoughts?"

A.—"It is not fair to say anything on this point. For, if I differ from him and express my difference of views, I place him at a disadvantage by not allowing him a chance to explain his position from the prison cell. He is a teacher, I am only a neophyte."

Q.—"Yet for the benefit of the public may we press upon you to give your views"?

A.—"If you must have it, in my humble opinion each stage of life has its different duties. A *Vanaprasthi* is not a householder nor a citizen. He has no longer the rights or the duties of a citizen. He is a denizen of the forest, of the wilderness, of the mountain solitudes even if circumstances occasionally bring him into crowded cities. All his *Yajnas* are by 'pratika' or symbolic, they are all mental, not 'material'. A *Vanaprasthi's* sole purpose is to discipline oneself for the life Eternal and not the Transitory. His is no earthly good to seek. He must burn all his ships behind him. All desires, all passions, all struggles, all strivings must cease for him even in thought. An individual *Vanaprasthi* may take up the spinning wheel as a recreation, but never as a

Yajna. He or she would be false to one's stage of life otherwise."

Q.—"What of a *Sannyasi*? Would you think it proper for you to preach it in *Sannyas*?"

A.—"A *Sannyasi* is a citizen of the world. As a *Sannyasi* I would not consider myself belonging to any particular nation or country. Only I would probably choose India for my field of service, because through knowledge of its people, language and customs more intimately than that of any other country, I would feel my services would be more effectively rendered here than anywhere else. If I felt even then India needs must work out her salvation at the point of the spindle I would not hesitate to preach it and ply it too."

Q.—"May I ask if you had the approval of your husband in taking up the *Vanaprastha*?"

A.—"I have had his full approval. He is too good a believer in Swami Dayanand's teachings not to approve of such a step, and I have too great a regard for his feelings to take such a serious step without his consent. My vow of mendicancy was a hard nut for him to crack, but therein too he surrendered to the need of my soul."

Q.—"Ordinarily people would think a wife has no right to enter the *Vanaprastha* without the husband. What have you to say to that?"

A.—"A wife who feels the call for *Vanaprastha* and is ready for it has as much right to enter it in advance of the husband as the many husbands who take it up and leave their unwilling wives behind in the whirlpool of the world. Souls have neither sex, nor sex disabilities or sex superiorities. Embodied souls that are bound to each other by earthly ties can help each other most by being out of the bondage, whosoever it may be—the man or the woman—at the earliest opportunity."

Q.—"You have a son who still requires your care. Is he not likely to be deprived of it by your living in seclusion?"

A.—"Certainly not. He will receive more of my watchful care. A detached mother will be better able to guide her son to a higher ideal of life than a mother attached to worldly ambitions and pleasures."

Thus ended my talk with Shrimati. To me her leading a life of seclusion and meditation was a matter of sorrow as well as of joy. I was still sorry because in my opinion the country at a critical moment in its history was being deprived of the services of a leader. But the thoughts, that her temporary absence from the political field was but a preparation for the more comprehensive and real service hereafter, filled me with joy, and I longed to see the day she will again take up her work in hand. May the day dawn soon.

THE NATIONAL BOYS SCOUTS ASSOCIATION.

The scouts of the National Boy Scouts Association staged *Muktadhara*, the well-known play of poet Rabindranath Tagore, on Friday the 26th January before a very large audience including a good number of ladies, Parsi ladies being conspicuous by their absence. Among the distinguished visitors were Desabandhu Das, Babu Bhagwandas, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. M. R. Jayakar and others. During the interval, Mr. Jayakar, on behalf of the Association, welcomed Mr. Das in a brief but eloquent speech in the course of which he explained the objects of the Association. The fundamental difference between other Boy Scout movements and the National Boy Scouts Association is that the latter is entirely free from official patronage and supervision. It was started

in 1921 under the protectorship of Mahatma Gandhi since whose incarceration Messrs. M. R. Jaykar and Balubhai Mashuruwalla have been the chief guides and supporters of the movement. Several Scouts of this Association were members of the Indian Boy Scouts Association started by Mrs. Besant in 1917. With the change in her political views, Mrs. Besant wanted to amalgamate her Association with the Imperial Scout Movement started by the Government in the schools. The Shivaji Troop, the name given to Bombay scouts, as a protest against this step, seceded from Mrs. Besant's protectorship and approached Mahatma Gandhi who kindly consented to be its protector. Thus the present Association came into existence in 1921. It is a non-political, non-sectarian movement started with the object of training boys and girls in good citizenship, a very wide term which includes everything else. Individual citizens form the nation and the movement is, therefore, a first step in nation-building. The duties of the Scout can be summed up in two words "social service" irrespective of caste, creed or colour. Before concluding his speech, Mr. Jaykar announced that the proceeds from the sale of tickets were expected to run into four figures—since then we learn that Rs. 1,500 was realised from the sales of tickets—which, he said, would form a nucleus round which a public fund would grow. Two donations were also announced. Mr. Das was then requested to give the prizes to the best actors. Mr. Das, after giving the prizes amidst loud cheers, thanked Mr. Jaykar and the members of the Association for the hearty welcome accorded to him. The performance was then continued and it terminated few minutes after 12 o'clock in the night with the singing of national songs by the actors. Mr. Balubhai spoke in Gujarathi explaining the movement at some length and appealing for support. Communications or contributions may be addressed to Mr. N. G. Motwane, Hon. Secretary, National Boy Scouts Association c/o Eastern Electric Trading Company, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

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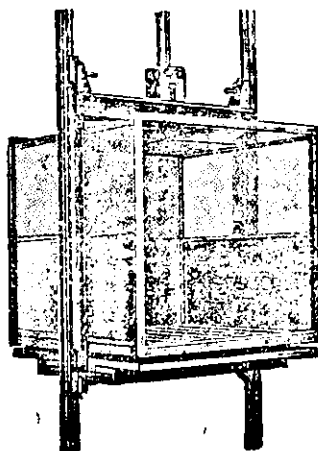
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

Evolution of the American Spirit: Professor P.M. Buck of Nebraska University, U. S. A., has been in India for some months now as the exchange Professor, under the Carnegie endowment for the interchange of University Professors, in place of Professor Joshi of Baroda, now in America. He has been working in the College at Baroda for the greater part of the time. He delivered five lectures at the University of Bombay beginning from the 1st instant, and addressed several other students' meetings in the Bombay Colleges and elsewhere, his subject being the American spirit in the literature of that country. He maintained that American literature had a distinctive spirit which was not merely derived from the literatures of Europe. He traced the development of this distinctive spirit from the early Puritan settlers, through its several stages in the pragmatism of Benjamin Franklin and the transcendentalism of Emerson and Walt Whitman, culminating in the statesmanship of Abraham Lincoln. The audiences grew in size and calibre as the addresses proceeded, and for his last lecture on Lincoln, Professor Buck had one of the largest gatherings assembled to hear any recent University lectures in Bombay. His lectures outside were crowded with eager hearers. At his lecture delivered under the auspices of the Aryan Excelsior League on the 2nd instant at the Prarthana Samaj Hall, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presided and in his concluding observations called attention to the important influence which Indian religious philosophy has had on Emerson, Whittier and other great American writers. Professor Buck has made many friends in Bombay and his visit has been one of the most intellectually profitable that we have had.

Mr. Das in Bombay: After a stay of an arduous fortnight in Bombay, Mr. C. R. Das left for Calcutta on Tuesday last. As Pandit Motilal Nehru was not able to come to Bombay, the task of conducting the conversations with various persons here, fell wholly upon him. We are not in a position to say what exactly has been the result of these conversations. He has, we think, achieved a great deal in reconciling differences and in finding a pro-

gramme acceptable to persons who have been detached from politics for the last two or three years. It is hardly possible that this could have been achieved without some readjustment of Mr. Das's own views. Those who had occasion to meet and discuss matters with him, were impressed by his sincerity, earnestness, and single-minded desire to do whatever is best from the national point of view. One thing which Mr. Das could not have failed to notice, is that not only in the Congress but among the Liberals as well, there is dissatisfaction with merely negative methods and an anxious desire to co-operate with a really effective organisation to press forward to the goal of full responsible government. Mr. Das is too great a patriot to be a purely party man. If he finds that he can better achieve his object of focussing all the best thought in the country upon this great object, by means of a neutral organisation which, while belonging to no existing political parties will exclude none because of his affinity to any of them, he is not the man to hesitate to adopt that course. Country first and party a long way next, is his watchword. There is to be a meeting of those Congressmen who are in agreement with Mr. Das on the 20th instant at Allahabad, and some representative men who have not joined his or any party may also attend it. It will be settled there, whether and to what extent Mr. Das is able to carry the Congress pro-Council party with him.

Report of the Racial Distinctions Committee. The two principal recommendations in the Report of the Committee appointed by the Government of India to consider the existing racial distinctions in the Criminal Procedure applicable to Indians and non-Indians and to report on necessary modifications of the law, are:—That Indian accused should have the same right as Europeans to demand that one half of the Jury should be persons of their own nationality and that in certain cases the accused and the complainant should each have the right to apply to the trying Magistrates that the case be sent to a bench of two Magistrates of the First Class, one Indian and one European, for trial. The latter is an extraordinary recommendation, and it must inevitably lead in course of time to a demand for communal representation on the bench in every case according to the community to which the complainant or the accused belongs. We are sure that we shall soon have the demand that a Mahomedan Magistrate should be associated in the trial of cases in which the complainant or accused are Mahomedans; and we do not see how, in view of this recommendation, such a demand can be resisted. There can be only one recommendation on a subject of this kind at this time of the day. That is, that all racial distinctions should disappear from the Criminal Procedure Code, and there should be one law for Europeans and Indians in this country. Anything that falls short of this, is really not a step in the right direction but a new difficulty thrown in the way of progress in that direction. The Secretary of State

has modified even some of the moderate recommendations made by this Committee. The Bill as it stands is an anachronism and will not satisfy the legitimate demands of the Indian people. It is utterly inconsistent with the professions made when the Reforms were introduced.

The Management of the Buddha-Gaya Temple: The *Hindu Message* of Srirangam endorses the statement of the Rev. U. Ottama of Burma that the relationship that binds India and Burma together is organic and adds: "This is also why, while the Mahant of the Buddha-Gaya temple with the support of the Hindu masses in North India is prepared always to offer every facility and help to Buddhists from all parts of the world to visit the scene of the Buddha's enlightenment, he is refusing to hand over the temple and its forms of worship to them." As we said last week, we strongly deprecate the idea of depriving the Mahant of his rights, whatever they are in the temple, except with his own free consent and after adequate compensation being paid to him. The temple should be placed in immediate charge of Buddhist devotees, under the management of a Committee consisting of representatives of Hindus and Buddhists in India, Burma and Ceylon. We are as anxious as our contemporary that the forms of worship in the temple should be Indian and our anxiety in this respect was quickened when we saw quite recently one who looked like a Chinese woman throw with the utmost nonchalance a pair of old shoes, belonging to her husband who was performing some worship there, into the place where the sacred Bodhi-tree stands and near the Vajrasana on which the Lord Buddha meditated. It seemed nobody's business to prevent such sacrilege. The broad *namam* on the forehead of the Buddha image and the ridiculous bib fastened on its chest, jars upon one's sensibility. If it is true that goats are killed near the temple, it can only be described as abominable. We do not see what exactly the Mahant does at present to justify his stewardship. A Government supervisor looks after the temple and the Mahant apparently does nothing but appropriate the gifts of the pilgrims. The *Message* quotes Swami Vivekananda's statement that "if China, Japan and Ceylon follow the teachings of the Great Master, India worships him as God Incarnate upon earth." Nobody who visits Buddha-Gaya will see much evidence of India's worship. It is with the view of making the worship at the temple worthy of India and worthy of the Great Master, that we strongly urge the reform in its management.

Sir T. B. Sapru and the Forthcoming Royal Commission: An English friend sends us the *Pall Mall Gazette* of January 24, containing an article on India in which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is claimed as endorsing Mr. Lloyd George's pronouncement regarding the eternal indispensability of the English services. The Journal says:

Sir T. B. Sapru, formerly one of the advanced politicians and later Law Member of the Viceroy's Council, in an interview with an English correspondent at Delhi on January 17, has practically reaffirmed the policy in regard to British Services announced by Mr. Lloyd George on August 2. He would fix the minimum strength of the British element in the various Services, and recruit accordingly, giving security of tenure and adequate overseas allowances. That, no doubt, is the view of Indians who are wise enough to foresee and bold enough to state the ruin and chaos—of which indications are already visible—that would overtake the "people of India" if the British Services disappear. Is it too much to hope that the Government here and in India have at last found a policy? If not, one is contained in the two utterances quoted above. And the sooner they set about getting their Royal Commission to work in giving effect to it the better for India, and, incidentally, for the unfortunate Services whose role for years has been that of the "toad

beneath the harrow."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, we think, is opposed to the Royal Commission, but whether he is one of the Indians "who are wise enough to foresee and bold enough to state the ruin and chaos that would overtake the "peoples of India" if the British Services disappear, we do not know.

An Australian View of American Prohibition: We have received by this mail a copy of a pamphlet by Mr. Gifford Gordon of Melbourne, Australia, containing the conclusions formed by him of the effects of Prohibition in the United States on the various aspects of national life and well-being. He sums up:

Now, after twelve months of thorough investigation, I am convinced that *Prohibition in the United States has succeeded*. Moreover, I have collected facts and statistics, and direct testimony, which support this verdict, and which I believe will be accepted as conclusive by any fair-minded, impartial judge. When I landed in New York my first impression was one of doubt and discouragement. I found many excellent Christian people who believed that Prohibition had not achieved its purpose. The cause of their discouragement soon became evident when I read the newspapers and listened to the talk of groups of average citizens, men and women, who had made no attempt to learn the facts and whose only source of knowledge was idle gossip. I went to a great editor and asked him why the newspapers had so much to say about violations of the law, and the apparent failure of Prohibition, and little or nothing about the beneficial results of its operation. This is what he told me: "Violation of law is news. Observance of the law is not news. For example a prominent citizen may lead a life of exemplary virtue, and the newspapers will not comment upon this fact. But let him fall from grace—let him break the law—and he becomes a subject for newspaper headlines." In my travels, I have been amazed to find the lack of knowledge about the operation of Prohibition which existed in every part of the country. Not only a lack of knowledge, but a distorted belief due to newspaper accounts of "bootlegging" and deaths due to drinking poisonous liquor. Whenever I have delivered my message, the people have flocked about me. "Mr. Gordon," they said, "the people of this country do not know these facts. Most of them have no idea that Prohibition has been so successful. You can do no greater service to the Prohibition cause than to publish the results of your investigation." I agree with them, and for that reason have written this report to leave behind me in America for the encouragement of those who are working for the final triumph of Prohibition here. For the whole world is watching this experiment of yours. As goes Prohibition in America, so will Prohibition go in Australia, and eventually all over the world. America, hold fast to that which thou hast! Let no man, or set of men, rob you of your prohibition crown.

Civil Disobedience: We reprint to-day a thoughtful leading article in a recent issue of the *Bombay Samachar*, a staunch Non-Co-operation Anglo-Gujarati daily newspaper. The *Bombay Chronicle* has not so far accepted the invitation of our contemporary to find an interpretation of its statement,—that Indian Mahomedans should look to the Government of India in case of a breach between Great Britain and Angora—which could be squared with the programme and principle of Non-Co-operation. For the rest, we welcome our contemporary's endorsement of our views regarding the relative values of obedience and disobedience. We find it not easy, however, to reconcile its concluding observations with its agreement with us on the question of civil disobedience.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1923.

POLITICS AND SOCIAL REFORM.

It will be generally agreed that what India wants is that she should be governed primarily with an eye to her interests. There is a surprisingly large amount of agreement even among the so-called extremists that once this is assured, India should do all that she can to help Great Britain. In connection with the proposal to boycott British goods, one heard in the most unexpected quarters at Gaya the objection that there was no sense in penalising British interests which, next to those of India, we were bound to consider, for the benefit of other foreign countries which would take advantage of the boycott to advance their own trade. Where India can produce the goods herself, it is our duty to keep out those of other countries which may imperil her incipient industries. But where this is clearly not possible within a measurable distance of time boycott of British goods can only mean a bounty to the industries of other countries. This undercurrent of feeling in regard to Britain as entitled to the second place in the consideration of Indians next to their own country, cannot come to the surface so long as India is not a self-governing country. But all the same it exists, and only the neglect of British statesmen to avail themselves of the present opportunity to enlarge the bounds of Indian freedom, can dry it up. There is a similar consensus of opinion that India should not contemplate freedom outside the British Commonwealth, until it is made manifest to the whole world that she had sought in all legitimate ways and failed to find it within that Commonwealth. We began by saying that what India wants is that she should be governed primarily in her own interests. The first thought of the Indian statesman should be to ensure the prosperity and the cultural greatness of India. Experience has clearly shown that this is extremely difficult unless Indians themselves hold the helm of the State. Religious, social and industrial reformers who started with the notion that political reform may wait and should wait till those other reforms had been accomplished, have been slowly and reluctantly forced by the logic of facts to the conclusion that a nation which has no political initiative has no power of initiating reforms in any department of life. That is why, to-day, so many religious and social reformers feel that they have to work for *Swaraj* as a condition precedent to any great reform in those directions.

At the same time, Indian politicians of every class have awakened to the truth that political freedom to be permanent and substantial should be the outcome of religious and social freedom. When a people begin seriously to aspire for political freedom, they are immediately confronted by the claims of those sections of the community which have not had their due measure of social and religious freedom.

The social reformers were the first to discover and insist upon this aspect of the National problem. In the early days of the Congress, however, Indian politics had not attained sufficient consistency to enable this to be realised even by the educated classes. It was possible to ask for simultaneous examinations, the separation of executive and judicial functions, and the moderation of the land tax, without awakening any slumbering social force in the country. But when politics began to assume a less formal shape, it impinged upon the social life with the result, to begin with, of the Mahomedan demand for communal representation. The National Congress was compelled to acquiesce in and endorse the demand, though to do so went against its whole past. The Lucknow compact was made. The electorates under the present Reform scheme are based upon that compact. A new and unexpected turn was given to Indian politics, the results of which have been far-reaching. The non-Brahmin party in Madras and Maharashtra, is another and later and an even more emphatic case of the same kind. In his address to the National Social Conference at Poona in 1895, the late Mr. Ranade foreshadowed the coming struggle in the South. "On the Madras side"—he might have added Maharashtra, too—"the Brahmin element is preponderant, and as a result the lower classes are borne down with a weight which they are not able to bear. But there are thoughtful men among them for whom we all feel the highest respect." If Madras had listened in time to the earnest counsel of these "thoughtful men" there would have been no non-Brahmin political party today. What is happening in the Punjab is just the same result of lack of sufficient social spade-work. The Hindu-Mahomedan problem is acute. The Sikhs are divided among themselves. Even the several political camps when examined, are seen to be co-terminous with sects and provincialisms. The Madras Moderates are all Aiyars, while all Madras Congress Brahmins, with the solitary exception of Mr. Satyamurthi, are Aiyangars (Sri Vaishnavas.) In Bombay, the Maharashtrians generally are for Council-entry, the Gujarathis, against it. In other words, Indian politics is still largely communal rivalries carried to a new plane, with the Englishman as the common rival of all. Now, nationalism begins where communal rivalry ends. Till this rivalry is ended, there can be no nationalism. This does not mean that there is no place for creeds and communities in a nation. Creeds and communities there will always be, but the relation among them should be one of co-operation and not rivalry. This was one of the first planks of the constructive Bardoli Congress programme. And it should be the first thing in the programme of the National Social Conference as well.

Mr. Ranade, when he founded the Indian National Social Conference, intended it to have a larger and wider scope than the Congress. Although in practice its Presidents and General Secretaries have been Hindus, and its resolutions have dealt chiefly with Hindu customs, its membership was never restricted to Hindus. Mr. Ranade was gradually feeling his way,

and in his famous Lucknow address in 1899, he dwelt largely and significantly on the mutual influence of Hinduism and Islam and spoke of the National Social Conference as specially intended for the propagation of the great *din* or *dharma* of Hindu-Mahomedan unity for which the illustrious Emperor, Akbar, earnestly strove. He laid stress on the benefits that had accrued to Hindus from contact with Islam and to Islam from contact with Hinduism. He, in fact, in that address gave one of the first hints towards the synthetic view of Indian History, which is the first and most urgent task that awaits a national historian of the Indian people. The National Social Conference was thus intended from the first to be a common platform for all castes and creeds. Their problems are diverse, it is true, but each may learn from the experience of the other. The *pardah* provinces cannot fail to be influenced by the example of those where women are not restrained by that institution. The toleration of the Hindu, the solidarity of the Mahomedan, the discipline of the Sikh, the enterprise of the Parsi, and the freedom of the Indian Christian, are all lessons to be learnt by all. Mr. Ranade had also another end in view in the National Social Conference. Indian States were excluded from the National Congress owing to their different political jurisdiction. But the people of these States are as much part of the nation as those of British India. "If the heart of the nation can be traced anywhere in its ancient strongholds", Mr. Ranade said in Madras in 1894, "you will certainly see it strongly entrenched in the Native States. If any movement stirs the Native States, which are impervious to your political and industrial propaganda, that is a sign that the heart of the nation has been touched." Ranade, therefore, followed with deep interest the social reform events in Indian States, and social reform measures adopted by the rulers of Mysore, Baroda, and other States, and always prominently referred to them in his annual addresses. The Social Conference, it was clearly his purpose, should be the great common platform where representatives of Indian States can exchange and confer with those of British India on the social questions which determine to a large extent the happiness or misery of the people, and whose right adjustment was necessary to impart organic unity to the new nationalism. It was, thus, in an even larger sense than the Congress, to be the national institution of India. The time is come when a strong effort should be made to reconstitute it on the broad lines described above.

True Temperance: A few days ago we received a finely typed article headed "Drink and Non-Co-operation" from the Secretary of "the True Temperance Association," Kashmere Gate, Delhi. On reading the article, we find that the writer condemns not only the Non-Co-operationists for their picketing of liquor shops but he also holds the excise policy of Government responsible for a great deal of illicit distillation. His "true temperance" policy is not defined but it is apparently to leave the publican loose on the country. The Indian public should be on its guard against insidious propaganda of this kind under misleading headings.

LONDON LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

London, January 18th, 1923.

REVIVAL OF HAND-WEAVING IN ENGLAND.

It must come as something of a surprise to many Indian visitors to this country of machinery to find what a large amount of hand work is done by women in the making of clothing for themselves and their children. During the latter years of the war, it was seldom one saw women sitting with idle hands anywhere. They were always busy, in buses, trams, trains and meetings; hands could be seen busily plying knitting needles and making scarves, socks, hats, or gloves, for the men folk, or garments for themselves or their children. This habit has continued, and though meetings and public vehicles are no longer universally used in this manner, a tremendous amount of handwork is made and worn. Hand-weaving has always had its votaries in this country, and shops in some of the busiest centres sell only hand-woven material for dresses or house furnishings. Just lately the desire for hand-weaving has received a new impetus, and a society of hand-weavers, started some years ago in Canterbury, but having branches elsewhere in England, is making many new converts. Many gentlewomen with the need to support themselves have studied it, and after mastering the technicalities of the craft, have either set to work to help to support themselves by such labour or opened studios to teach it to others. It is hoped that this revival of the hand-loom will react upon the countryside and that once again the spinning-wheel will be heard singing in country cottages. Some of the places that specialise in hand-woven fabrics are also specialising in hand-spun wool for the same. Should this movement continue to grow, it will provide profitable work for the poor cottager and help to solve the problem of unemployment outside of the big cities.

THE RENT MUDDLE.

A peculiar position has arisen affecting landlords and tenants, chiefly of small working-class houses which is now known as the "rent muddle." A few weeks ago a "rent strike" commenced in Scotland. This being very successful, it almost immediately extended to the Midlands in England and soon reached London. The facts of the case are very simple, and it seems extraordinary that it is only now, after two years of working of the Rent Restriction Act, that the present trouble has arisen. The Rent Restriction Act of 1920 enabled landlords to raise their rents in a certain definite way, but they were first compelled by the statute, to give their tenants notice to quit the premises and thus form a new contract embracing the enhanced charge. Many landlords, however, omitted giving the necessary notice but increased the rent, the tenant acquiescing in the increase. Then someone in Scotland discovered that such an increase was not a legal contract, and that the landlord had, therefore,

collected money he was not entitled to ; this discovery carried to its logical conclusion meant that the tenant could claim the increased rent back again, and a test case was brought to the House of Lords from Scotland at the end of last year. The result was a decision that where the requisite notice had not been given, the excess rents were recoverable from the landlords. It was then that rent strike commenced, the tenants refusing to pay any further rent until the excess had been worked off. The essence of the difficulty lies in the fact that the moral and legal claims clash. The landlord has never been loved by the poor tenant, so that when the latter sees a chance to score against his enemy he rejoices exceedingly. Of course, this is not true in all cases ; there are many tenants of small places who would not think of questioning the moral claim of the landlord, even though it has been technically illegal, and who are much too honest to take advantage of the position now created. On the landlords' side, it has been suggested that Government should immediately pass an Act cancelling their indebtedness. Retrospective legislation, however, does not find favour in the eyes of many, and were such legislation passed, a tremendous uproar is certain. The law had definitely said certain things and laid down certain rules for regulating the relationship between the landlord and the tenant. The landlords sought to take full advantage of the new power given to them ; if they failed to comply with the rules governing their power, they were surely at fault and, however unfortunate the individual case may be, must abide by the consequences. On the other hand, the tenants cannot be allowed to administer the law in the way that best suits them. The only way out of the muddle seems to be that the landlords should admit the money their tenants are legally entitled to recover and come to terms with them for its repayment. In the meantime the Government ought to do something to show that they cannot allow the rent strike to spread or to continue.

THE DEMAND TO ABOLISH CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

The hanging of the man and woman last week for the murder of the woman's husband has once again made the question of capital punishment acute. Thousands signed a petition for the reprieve of both the man and woman concerned in this tragedy, and did so not because they did not believe them guilty of murder, but because they believed that our civilisation should have progressed beyond that point where we found that our only means of dealing with a person who had caused the death of another was to kill him. A big meeting was recently held by the Society of Friends (Quakers) at which a resolution was put forward demanding the abolition of capital punishment. It is very likely that some member of the House of Commons will endeavour to introduce a Bill on this subject during the forthcoming session. It is to be hoped however, if this is done, that it will be done by a prominent man who will canvass a good backing ere the Bill is introduced, for a badly introduced Bill

with a poor backing will not only not serve its purpose but retard it.

CHILDREN OF UNMARRIED PARENTS.

A deputation is to wait upon the Home Secretary in regard to the "Children of Unmarried Parents Bill". The policy that has hitherto guided our actions in the problem of illegitimate birth has been to impose a legal deterrent upon unmarried parentage, and as was usual in dealing with such problems in the past, the whole onus of the illegitimate child was placed upon the mother. It is true that she could and sometimes did claim something in the nature of part maintenance for the child from the father. But the number that claimed this help was negligible, compared with the very large number that did not, and even when it was claimed and received, the sum allowed was so small that it did not pay more than a third of the child's upkeep in most instances. A few years ago a Bill was piloted successfully through the House of Commons but was delayed so long in the House of Lords over the difficulties of legal succession that it never had time to become law. However, since then public opinion has been tremendously educated and enlightened on this subject, and there is every reason to believe that a measure now brought forward, which aims at giving equal responsibility to both parents and above all, to ensure the child a chance in life, will receive ample support from all sides. Very little vital opposition would be shown to a Bill based upon the two following main clauses, one, the legitimatising of children born out of wedlock by the subsequent marriage of the parents, and the other, the raising of the amount payable by the father.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

This week the League of Nations has celebrated its third birthday. That it deserves congratulation upon the great event goes without saying, for to have achieved a third anniversary of its existence, in the face of a chaotic world, and to have actually increased in prestige during that brief period is indeed a remarkable achievement worthy of record and encouraging to all believers in the League. The Chilean President of the third assembly at Geneva last September summed up the situation in the following terse sentence :—" In its first year it was an impulsive child ; its second year schooled it ; and in its third year it has stepped as a peace-maker into the international arena." Its greatest success so far has undoubtedly been the economic salvation of Austria. The League's Court of Justice is already in operation, and already a dispute between Britain and France, as to the liability of British subjects in Tunis to French military service, has been referred to that august international tribunal for adjudication. The first question is whether or not the dispute is a French domestic affair. If the Court decides that it is not, it will be asked to adjudicate upon the main question.

LORD MILNER ON THE PRESENT ECONOMIC SITUATION.

A pronouncement of the utmost importance is being made on the present economic and industrial situation in this country by Viscount Milner, in the

Observer. Reviewing the period that has elapsed since the Armistice, Lord Milner says:—"Many of us, it must be admitted, had hoped for better things. We had been encouraged by the great increase of work and production of which, under the stress of war, the nation had proved itself capable, and by results of the much abused and certainly very imperfect but rightly inspired control, which during the war it was possible to exercise over private cupidity in the public interest. And so we looked forward to a time when, by applying the same energy, in the same spirit, to the works of peace, we should make a better use than in the past of our national resources and attain a higher level of general well-being." Instead, as Lord Milner points out, we have temporarily lost our appetite for reconstruction and schemes too hastily developed have been scrapped. Lord Milner then proceeds to criticise our present social system on purely economic grounds. Says he:—"It is really remarkable how many educated people still fail to realise on what grounds, apart from what may be called humanitarian considerations, the case for Labour rests...The question whether Labour gets its fair share of what Labour produces is not the only question. Dig a little deeper, and you come to the far more fundamental problem, whether our present national production is anything like as great as it might be and ought to be. And, if it is not, where does the blame of inadequacy rest? An annual income of fifteen hundred, or even two thousand million pounds, does not spell prosperity to fifty million people...The real gravamen of the charge against our present industrial system is not that it involves an unfair distribution of the product, but that it mismanages, misdirects, and therefore unduly limits production itself. It is this contention which the out-and-out defenders of Capitalism will find it most difficult to meet...Compared with the great and rapid growth of our capacity of production, the growth of prosperity, among the mass of the people, has been lamentably slow." Lord Milner has, I believe, always claimed to be in substance a socialist. It would be remarkable if, as a veteran journalist and social reformer, he had not received some inspiration from the miseries of the people. At any rate, he says here, without gymnastics, what brainy Socialists like Bernard Shaw, Sydney Webb, and Ramsay MacDonald, have said for years. Coming from so powerful a mind as that of the tried statesman, the argument comes with tenfold striking power and conviction. In further articles, Lord Milner will develop his thesis and put forward some remedies. But is any remedy likely of success unless it is based upon a sense of human oneness, man's humanity to man? Perhaps the best way to make men realise the tragedy of injustice to another is to make them understand that they, too, suffer equally with their victims, and if they would avoid this suffering for themselves, they must cease to injure others and follow the higher selfishness.

WIRELESS TELEPHONY.

It has been tritely remarked that this is the age of miracles. We have proved it this week. The

broadcasting of wireless telephony has attained such remarkable perfection already, that large numbers of people, all over the country, have been enabled to listen to the rendering of the famous opera, "The Magic Flute", during its performance at Covent Garden. It has been stated that the singing and music were heard as clearly as though the listener were actually on the stage during the rendition. It may be safely prophesied that, in the new age that is being prepared amid much suffering and tribulation, and when the dross of present mistakes has been burnt away, the human faculty of enjoyment of lofty themes and the development of the deeper and truer emotions, will have been greatly enhanced. We are only just beginning to appreciate all that the human mind and spirit are capable of.

POSSIBILITY OF TRADE REVIVAL.

The Board of Trade returns just published show a very large increase in the value of exports for this year over the last, and the imports approximately lower. Judged on broad lines there seems to be some ground for satisfaction. There are certainly signs of a trade revival shown, and a number of unemployed ships have been put into commission again. Notwithstanding the terrible problem of unemployment among workers, the figures shown by the Board of Trade have considerably decreased during the year and the year's income from foreign investments was one for congratulation rather than grief. The lower cost of living makes it possible in many instances to reduce the cost of production, and this should help British manufacturers to enter the world's markets by quoting figures that will enable them to compete with their neighbours. All this looks quite cheering and if only proper cooperation can be established between capital and labour here, there is every hope that the year 1923 may be one of improvement for all in this country if foreign complications, as Mr. Bonar Law has warned us, do not undo the work of reconstruction and re-establishment of industry already begun.

THE FRENCH OCCUPATION OF RUHR.

Much, however, depends upon the result of the present French action in the Ruhr district. Germany has defaulted in her payments under the Peace Treaty. France insists that she can pay, but will not, and that the only thing to make her pay is to bring her face to face with a situation even worse than that of the necessity of payment. Generally speaking, we in this country are sceptical of Germany's capacity to pay, even were she willing, and the view held here is that France's action is calculated to destroy every chance of reparations, and is even possible to reduce Germany to economic chaos, thereby throwing her into the arms of Russia.

THE SITUATION IN KENYA.

The situation in Kenya has again become acute. The proposals agreed upon by the Colonial and India Office and by the Government of India for a settlement, so far as possible carrying out the intention of the Imperial Conference resolution, have been received. Telegrams from Nairobi, however, appear to indicate that, since they are said to be fairly favourable to the

Indian contentions, the Governor has informed the Duke of Devonshire of his disinclination to give effect to them, and Europeans are threatening violence. Mr. Polak, on behalf of the Indians Overseas Association, has addressed a sharp protest against this attitude to the *Times*. It is clear that an attempt will be made once more by the hostile European community to brow-beat the Colonial office into a refusal to apply the principle of equal citizenship.

THE SOCIAL EVIL.

(BY AN INDIAN LADY.)

In these times when social, moral, religious and political values are changing and we are all eager to see Right established in its true place, we can no longer afford to ignore the deep problem of man's inhumanity to woman, the inhumanity which has given birth to the so-called social outcasts and untouchables called 'prostitutes' and all that come in that category.

When women talk of all possible enfranchisements for them and want to claim equality of sexes in every sphere of the work-a-day world, and want to explore all the till-now-forbidden regions that had been marked as men's prerogatives, can they skip over this problem, and allow it to remain unsolved—the evil that has held women down for centuries, and which will hold them down yet for a long time to come, unless and until a right solution is arrived at? Man equally with woman must move within the moral bounds; he must be equally made to share the burdens and responsibilities of a new life which he may bring into this world along with women, and outside of law he ought to be an equally moral leper with the participator of his guilt, the woman. Until this be effected and the man be made to respect these primary laws of life, what hope is there for women's equality with men? A privileged few may attain real emancipation but the general social life is corroded with this deadly poison.

If we probe deeper into this form of untouchability created by man, we see nothing written there but pages and chapters of man's insatiable desire for the gratification of his lewd and mad passions, generation after generation. We, who sleep the sleep of the just! Do we give one thought to the blasted life and suffering of the joyless unfortunate sister moving about in a house of living death, who is made to live in it lest any ray of light may reach within and the mind and heart may perchance see the true life and light, and that this human prey may break its prison bars and escape! Escape from one long dreadful series of debaucheries, escape from a life that is one long dark night of infamy!

What about the children of these sisters of ours? If we go back and trace the childhood of one such fallen woman, what do we see? There is a child endowed with a child's wondering reverent soul, open to receive the first impressions of life, two bright pure eyes eager to see the world around it, ears eager to hear the song of universe. Imagine such a child to be

a daily witness to promiscuous horrors, whose ears must hourly hear the foul language of mad ravaging passions, greed, crime, anger, and jealousy pervading the choking atmosphere around, the innate purity of the child dying its hourly death. This little angel who should be the harbinger of God's good teachings, is made to run on dirty errands, bearing on its innocent little shoulders the huge toppling burden of man's shameless guilt. No pure life can begin with heavier odds against it for its fulfilment. The child is a sweet normal child, a child that you or I could have had and given a fair chance, would have sheltered under a joyous happy home and devoted love of parents. With the careful upbringing of a true tender mother, life gently would have revealed to it a series of pure uplifting thoughts and sweet joys. Such a child is thrown into the hell on earth, to use a mild term for brothels. Oh child, dear child, what wouldst thou not have been! When I think of thy fate and think of what thou art made, can I help weeping? Art thou not betrayed woefully? Art thou not treacherously robbed of thy birthright to live, to joy, to love, the birth-right that is of every born creature on earth? And the childhood is slipped behind, and there is now a girl who is already half a woman aged with the ways of her world around. This will be the best time of her life, and yet she is allowed to gather no memories that may soften some moments of her hard, cold life that is in store for her. The soul tries to peep out here and there to gather joys for its growth, but is thrown back mercilessly again into darkness by hands which had never held tenderly and which are ignorant of all tenderness. Where can she turn to for a breath of life? Outside of her world what does she meet with? Cold stony stares that hurt her. A class socially higher, a class who makes her and others like her, a class that trampled upon and kicked the bodies of her mother and sisters, sees in her the marks of her race, and heartlessly thrusts her back to her own world, and she returns to it, humiliated, wounded like a hare to its cave. This insult goes deep into her heart, corroding her life, and she looks to the day when she can pay back to her tormentors an insult for an insult, and a push for a push. And, Oh, wives! she sends back to you your deceased, shameless husbands! Mothers, your enticed broken sons! Sisters, your ruined brothers! Daughters, your Godless lewd fathers! There cannot be any other justice; your near and dear ones make them suffer, and you suffer, in return. Pain acting and reacting everywhere, and no sign, no way of escape!

Having come to her womanhood, that innocent child of the past, placed as she has been amidst such poisonous surroundings, begins to know that she has a marketable value in her world where human flesh is being daily bought and sold. The more attractive a girl is in appearance, a greater chance she has of bringing more money into her world. She is made to drown all her remaining scruples, all the remains of a faint glow of life are extinguished. Fairly painted, gaudily dressed

and bedecked, she is pushed into hands of the highest bidder and there she is broken like a toy! Nobody gives her another thought! She comes back to her world a woman bruised, broken, abhorring and abhorred, a half-marked receptacle of man's passions and sins, a chattel henceforth to pass from hand to hand, without relaxation until the all merciful God relieves her with death, and takes into His bosom His sweet little maltreated child.

Womanhood, the fairest flower in God's earthly paradise, womanhood the essence of all life, womanhood that dwells within the heart of hearts of every daughter on earth, womanhood, the crown, the glory, the joy of the earth, Oh! thou to be so crushed, disfigured, insulted and torn, that no trace of thy grace, thy goodness, thy greatness to be found! And thou woman, in whom this essence, this womanhood has been thus cruelly slain, thou that carriest the brand inflicted on thee, on thine brow, by the sin of man—thou the untouchable, to whom come the touchable beasts and vipers and accept the very essence of untouchability, the sin of adultery, but refuse to accept thee, thou to whom come these hypocrites, vipers, beasts to quench their foul thirst of lust and by their foulness poison thy very life-springs—God be judge between thee and they! He is all Mercy, all Love, all Purity! On the day of judgment thou wilt not stand before Him the rejected, but those that have judged thee here, shall be judged in their turn in His court, where there will not be inequity.

Then what is the task before us to-day, we who have been more favourably placed not by any special virtue, but by circumstances, by birth? Can we any longer refuse to see things as they are, seeing as we do with our own eyes, and be the silent spectators of the horrible crimes being daily perpetrated on our unfortunate sisters? And in as much as we lift not our voice, and in as much as we raise not our hands in protest against the deadly sin of "commercialised vice" and the miseries it brings in its train to the mute victims, are we not sinning against them, against our own conscience, against God?

CHILD LABOUR IN THE UNITED STATES.*

In spite of wide-spread disapproval of child labour in the United States, the United States census bureau reports that there are 1,000,000 children between the ages of ten and sixteen engaged in gainful work in industry in the United States. Approximately 660,000 of these are employed in the sugar-beet fields, cotton fields, and onion fields of the land where whole families are engaged by the contractors. The children work with the adults, often from sunrise to sunset, huddling over the ground, crawling between the rows, and rarely getting any relief from their cramped positions.

In the textile factories of America more than 50,000 children are employed as spinning girls and doffer boys. In the cotton mills children work sixty hours a week, and those over fourteen and a half years of age work at night. Thousands work at

home stringing beads, pulling threads from lacework, and doing the monotonous tasks bringing in so little that the children of the family are forced to contribute their work to those scant earnings of the adults.

Even while the national child labour laws were in force, children laboured under the supervision of their parents, this condition being apparently beyond the reach of the protective laws which had been secured.

How persistent are the attempts of certain employers to have child labour is indicated by the fact that they actually cause the suspension of the immigration laws on the Mexican border to permit the importation of Mexican families for the purpose of working in the cotton and sugar beet fields.

Forty-two states out of the forty-eight have adopted so-called child-labour laws, some of which are highly developed and rigidly enforced. Others are rather rudimentary and indifferently enforced. The manufacturers in the state where children under the age of sixteen years are not permitted to work at all and where those above sixteen and below eighteen are permitted only to work under certain restricted conditions and regulations complain that they are subject to unfair competition by competitors who manufacture in states where there are no child labour laws or where they are not comprehensive and not enforced.

Under the American system permitting the Supreme Court to pass upon the constitutionality of enacted laws, two recent decisions of that court have destroyed former attempts to do away with legislation forbidding child labour. One was the decision of the Supreme Court, given last May, which broadly stated that the tax designed to put a stop to child labour was unconstitutional. A previous decision had declared unconstitutional the act which closed the channels of interstate and foreign commerce to the products of child labour.

The court made it plain that a federal restriction would have to be abandoned and reliance placed upon the states to deal with it, or that there would have to be an amendment giving Congress the right to pass a child-labour law. Both the first and second federal child-labour laws sought only a minimum national standard. State laws were still operative, and were enforced by state machinery under the attempted federal laws.

Among the organizations advocating an amendment giving Congress the right to establish a federal minimum are the trade unions, the National Child Labour Committee, and the National Consumers' League.

President Harding in his recent message to Congress, said: "Closely related to the problem of education is the abolition of child labour. Twice Congress has attempted the correction of the evils incident to child employment. The decision of the Supreme Court has put this problem outside the proper domain of federal regulation until the Constitution is so amended as to give Congress the authority to act in this matter. I recommend the submission of such an amendment."

A bill authorizing an amendment to the Constitution regulating child labor, is now pending, and it is believed that the favourable consideration and passing of the measure will surmount the legal restrictions imposed upon the former laws by the Supreme Court.

L. O.

* The Foreign Press Service.

DEV SAMAJ AND FLESH EATING.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

Your correspondent "A Jawharian," objecting to Dev Samaj principles says that he is a vegetarian himself but takes up the cudgels on behalf of flesh-eaters generally. That were a worthy attitude to take if it were a question of cosmopolitanism, e. g., it must be really high-minded of him to have said; "I am a Hindu, but I object to such and such an institution being reserved only to Hindus, —I would like my Muslim brethren to enter, too," and so on. But in his defence of flesh-eaters and flesh-eating, your vegetarian correspondent has committed some fallacies which I would show up as briefly as possible. I do not wish to enter into all the pros and cons of this subject, favourite of our debating clubs, humanitarian journals, physical culture faddists, *et hoc genus omne*.

I will say at the outset that I am not myself a strict vegetarian: my diet includes fish, crabs and other crustacea; and I would not scruple to take eggs if medically advised to do so. Yet I have an inner conviction that fish-eating is wrong; but I cannot easily get over the habit because I was brought up on it from a child. There is an irrepressible craving for it although I know that I could get as good as or even better nutriment from a purely vegetarian diet if sufficiently varied. Though I indulge my palate, I am persuaded that flesh-eating in any shape is wrong at least on moral (or conscientious) grounds, if not on dietarian (or physiological) grounds also. For though I do not do the killing myself, I pay and encourage somebody to do it for me. And to take animal life either selfishly or wantonly, for pleasure or in sport is what no true Hindu, Jain, or Buddhist (esp. the two latter) will do or encourage consistently with his religion. To go no higher—that primer for beginners of Sanskrit named the *Hitopadesha* pleads to us so sententiously; "When enough of nourishment can easily be obtained from that which grows spontaneously on the earth, who will commit such a great sin as to kill animals for filling his stomach and deriving a little pleasure of taste?" Again, "Compare the eater with the animal that is eaten. The one has pleasure which lasts for a few seconds, and the other is deprived of all the pleasures of life." (द्वितीये विषयः कलः). Seneca expresses a similar idea when he says: "Vegetables are sufficient food for the stomach into which we now stuff valuable lives." (though I shall find it difficult, I mean to get over my flesh-eating habit, and if Mr. Horniman, late of the *Bombay Chronicle*, and the late Mr. F. T. Brookes (itinerant Theosophist) to name only two, originally greater flesh-eaters than myself could overcome their palates and become pure vegetarians, there is surely hope for me.

Morality is involved in the question because of the reaction which the act of killing or getting killed animals for our selfish sake has on our mental and moral fibres. The doing to death of thousands of innocent creatures, often attended with horrible cruelty cannot but blunt the feelings and gradually lower in the subject's eyes even the sanctity of life of the highest animal, viz., man. It is well-known how slaughterhouses turn out the greater number of hired assassins, kidnappers and desperadoes in the West, especially in and about Chicago. And vegetarianism rests upon a recognition of this principle as well as on the sanctity of animal life and "animal's rights." The vegetarian who is such from humanitarian motives (and the generality of vegetarians is so disposed) will abstain not only from the eating of animals but will abrink

from doing anything which encourages and patronises the infliction of cruelty on God's or Nature's sentient creatures, e. g., he will not wear those kinds of silk which he knows come from worms which are boiled alive in water;—he will not wear shoes that are made of the skins of slaughtered animals;—he will not taste honey the gathering of which involves treacherous cruelty to the bees in the hive;—if a female she will eschew furs, feathers etc. in the obtaining of which, she knows, are involved processes of torture to beasts and birds. In fact vegetarianism is only an aspect of humanitarianism. It may be considered as a synecdochical term for "humanitarianism"—as "Cow-protection" stands for the "sacredness of all animal life" implied in *Ahimsa*. (Plant-life and microbes might generally be excluded as their destruction, witting or unwitting, does not react upon man's or the average man's moral sensibility.)

This is the moral aspect. But your correspondent credits flesh-eating races with certain virtues like the power of self-defence, heroism, chivalry, and what not. The reasoning by which he arrives at these "truths" seems to be vitiated by a type of fallacy worse than the *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc* type. In this way one might say that cannibalism conduces to artistic skill, for, did not the Caribbean Indians, the aborigines of Mexico and Peru, who were addicted to a taste for human flesh offered in sacrifice or other, develop a type of civilisation characterised by wonderful artistic skill? To disprove "Jawharian's" generalisation one might cite these instances; the Deccani Brahmins (or Maharatha Brahmins) who led the armies that overran the length and breadth of the Indian continent and reduced the Moghul Empire to a name and a shadow were all pure vegetarians. The Sikhs too are probably all vegetarians. The Japanese who checked Russia's advance in the East in the early years of this century and are now one of the "Big Powers" are mainly and predominantly a vegetarian people who were not so long ago looked down upon as "rice-eating monkeys". On the contrary are not the Negroes flesh-eaters, and yet do they not slave for their European masters as in Belgian Congo of the "Red Rubber" fame? Athletes living on vegetarian diet have proved superior in strength and endurance, as shown in racing, weight-lifting and other competitions, to their flesh-eating antagonists. In the animal world the herbivorous elephant and the horse as compared with the ferocious tiger, lion, etc., are animals capable of much greater muscular endurance and staying-power. These instances are sufficient.

"Jawharian" makes one mistake. He writes as if all Brahmins were even at the present day vegetarians. It is not a fact. I know a story of how a certain Deccani Brahmin tourist arriving at a place near the foot of the Himalayas and resting at a Brahmin-owned inn was surprised to find venison served for dinner and asked the landlord why he had served flesh for his meal and whether he did not know he (the guest) was a Brahmin; upon which the host appeared to be surprised in turn and told his guest that he (the landlord) was a Brahmin himself ("Ham bhi Bhaman hai!").

As for chivalry and the rest, is there also not fanaticism to be observed amongst flesh-eaters, as shown e. g. in their witch-burning, heretic-roasting, hag-drowning, negro-lynching, Jew-baiting—counterparts to their chivalry and heroism! As also cannibalism amongst the savages? (Sati-going in India, it must be noted, was an act of voluntary self-immolation in theory and very largely in practice, but it was never a punishment which the "stake" was for the heretic and the witch in Inquisition times).

Finally I would personally wish that the Dev Samaj had insisted on respect for all forms of life—of which non-flesh-

eating is a corollary,—rather than interdicted flesh-eating as a "gross sin." On moral grounds I would not object to eggs. But milk, known to be taken by depriving the calf of its due share, would be *haram* for me.

"Jawharian" says that the wife and children of a drunkard come out and protest against his drunkenness and testify against the evil. True; and so also would the victims of cannibal tribes protest against cannibalism, and if the lower animals could speak they would testify, too, against man's selfish and wanton brutality vehemently! As for the contempt which vegetarians are accused of feeling towards non-vegetarians,—why, every virtue, even temperance, is open to the same charge; and meat-eaters cannot be absolved of an imputation of similar conduct as against vegetarians. Aye, their contempt and disdain for vegetarians—I do not speak of conditions in India only—is fiercer, like the tiger's for the sheep. The carnivorous are carnal, as a rule.

Yours, etc.,

"A KARWARIAN."

Karwar, 30th January 23.

KEMAL PASHA ON TURKISH WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The great leader of the Turks, Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha, in declaring the harems out of date, made a striking pronouncement at Brussels in favour of the emancipation of Turkish women. Contending that women should leave the harems to take up equal position with men, he said: "Traditions have been pushed too far. Women ought not to hide themselves, otherwise the whole society suffers. They should become savants, novelists, lecturers and teachers and help forward the national life equally with men." (*The Times of India*, 30th January). I believe that these words will serve as an eye-opener to those Hindu and Mahomedan nationalists who oppose compulsory education of girls. These Indian Nationalists want our national life to flow freely and vigorously with the full co-operation of women. But they want it without their education. They must know that uneducated women are an impediment and a burden to our national life. I have seen a lot of uneducated Hindu women who sincerely advise their brothers and sons not to take part in "swadeshi." They will slavishly request their husbands to spend money even beyond their means to support all the priest-crafts. They cannot appreciate the self-sacrifice of those sons and daughters of India who suffer willingly for the sake of their country. If opposition to female education in our sister-community becomes less stiff, it will not fail to have its healthy effect on our society.

Yours sincerely,

JAWHARIAN.

Devlali, 31st Jan. 23.

THE LIQUOR MENACE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The Indian Messenger, a Brahmo Samaj paper published in Calcutta, in an able editorial on "The Moral Atmosphere of the Brahmo Samaj" laments the growth of intemperance among the younger generation of that community and pleads for "greater efforts to preserve the pristine glory of the Samaj as regards temperance."

The condition that troubles this editor is by no means confined to the Brahmo Samajists. Educated young men

of most communities in India are being more sorely tempted to drink than their fathers were. The loosening of the restrictions of caste, the weakening of social and domestic discipline and the assumption by the rising generation of individual liberty in regard to many customs formerly decided by caste or community action have resulted in an increase of drinking.

If the real benefits of democracy, now so loudly acclaimed and so earnestly sought, are to be generally enjoyed in India, greater efforts must be made to save the sorely-menaced young people of every community from slavery to drink. An evil habit is a hard master. Any alleged liberty which brings one under the domain of drink is a delusion.

A strong reason for united effort against the drink evil is suggested by the *Message* as follows:—"We Brahmos cannot retain the purity of community if the moral atmosphere of the whole country is vitiated. Our boys mix with other communities and often misled by their bad example." Mahomedan, Arya, Christian or orthodox Hindu Editors might write the same way with as much reason. In the new India every community reacts on every other community. No groups can boast of immunity from public influence. The only way to save any class of India's people is to save all classes. We can't supply drink for the European and count upon all Indians refusing it. We can't license liquor shops for the depressed classes only. As long as the liquor trade is allowed, the life and liberty of the boys of every community are in peril.

Arrah, Bihar.

J. W. PICKET.

A BRAHMIN WIDOW REMARRIAGE

Under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, a widow re-marriage was celebrated at Mr. Bhagwandas Madhavdas' Bangalow on Thursday the 18th December at 6 P. M. in the presence of influential ladies and gentlemen. The bridegroom, Mr. Nanal N. Kavishwar, is a Sathodra Nagar Brahmin of Rajkot aged 35 years and the bride, Bai Mani, is a Modh Chaturvedi Brahmin lady aged 25 years. The ceremony was performed according to the Arya Samaj rites by Pandit Dwivendra Nath Sarma. Bai Mani, who unfortunately had lost her previous husband 6 years ago, took the protection of the Ashram 4 months ago. This is Mr. Nanal's first marriage and he is a very well known writer in Kathiawar. He has published many books depicting the horrors of widowhood and he is a strong Arya Samajist. He gave Rs. 500 as *stridhan* (*sic*) and transferred his life policy to the bride's name. Arya Samaj Bhajan Mandli recited prayers and songs of blessings to the married couple.

A BOMBAY MINISTER'S DIFFICULTY

The Indian Social Reformer comments on the statement of the Hon. Mr. C. V. Mehta, Minister for Excise, and other departments in Bombay Presidency. Mr. Mehta acknowledges that the limitation of hours and the reduction of the strength of the liquor are not sufficient to stop the drink evil. The recent death of the Chairman, Rao Bahadur Sathe, has stopped the work of the Sathe Committee, which was appointed to investigate and recommend the best course to adopt to put down the drink evil. There has been difficulty in securing another Chairman to carry on the work. The Editor of *The Indian Social Reformer* thinks that one reason for this is the lack of confidence that measures suggested will be put in force by the Government. We are sorry to believe this; but the experience of some other provinces, notably the Punjab, leads one to question how much the Government is ready to carry out the will of the people, concerning its dealing with the drink problem.—*The Indian Witness*.

DISOBEDIENCE.

(The *Bombay Samachar*.)

The *Indian Social Reformer* in its issue of February 3rd put a very curious interpretation on one of the passages which it quoted from the *Bombay Chronicle* and proceeded to judge that "in the opinion of Mr. Pickthall, the time is come for Indian Mahommedans to abandon the policy of non-co-operation with the Government of India." We shall leave the learned Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* to make his own reply and rest contented with stating that the interpretation seems to us to be very curious and unjustifiable. The *Bombay Chronicle* has always believed so far as we have been able to interpret it that the only method open to Indians to bring pressure on the Government of India is thorough-going non-co-operation and we are still under the impression that the passage quoted by the *Reformer* advised Indian Mahommedans to intensify their non-co-operation with the Government of India and thereby to force it into advising the British Government to adopt a more reconciliatory attitude towards Turkey.

While disagreeing with the *Indian Social Reformer* in this respect and refusing to admit that non-co-operation has failed, we are entirely in agreement with him when he says: "Obedience is the crowning virtue of public and private life. But when we have a higher principle to obey, it may be incidentally necessary to disregard a lower one. Disobedience, however, is not an end in itself. Training for civil disobedience, mass or individual, is wrong. What we have to train people to, is the higher obedience. Not until we have ensured the social and general conditions indispensable to a higher and better system have we the right to disobey the existing system." This is what Mahatmaji himself would have said. Non-co-operation is an exception, co-operation is the law of life. Similarly obedience is the rule, disobedience a rare exception. Whoever non-co-operates, whoever disobeys undertakes a tremendous responsibility. He is bound to see that the necessity for non-co-operation and disobedience is supreme and such that cannot be obviated on any account. He is responsible for taking care that as soon as the points of non-co-operation or disobedience are settled and circumscribed within very accurately defined limits, the other points of contact and obedience are correspondingly strengthened. For a non-co-operator co-operation and obedience become greater duties than for an ordinary indifferent citizen. Otherwise anarchy results, loyalty disappears and the world becomes a hell. The aim of Non-co-operation and disobedience becomes impossible of achievement. We recognise that this view has not been laid before the country in all its emphasis. But Mahatmaji was never under a delusion, and he was always for discipline and obedience within the non-co-operation camp. He tried to strengthen the points of co-operation between different communities, between the Englishmen and Indians and between the Moderates and Extremists. It was also for this reason that he took upon himself the responsibility of preserving law and social order and was harsher to non-co-operators at the time of the Bombay riots than to the hooligans. It was because he felt that the law of higher co-operation and obedience was not fully understood by the country that he refused to embark on his campaign of disobedience and even when pressed to raise the ban, he only consented to do so on condition that it was restricted to individuals who fulfilled in all respects the conditions of the Ahmedabad pledge. That pledge is the minimum that appeared to guarantee to him discipline and obedience in the extremist ranks. The Civil Disobedience

Enquiry Committee found to the good fortune of the country that the pledge should be maintained. At the same time all the members unanimously found that the country being weak, indisciplined, and unorganized was not fit for embarking on a campaign of disobedience. The Gaya Congress while seeming to adopt this finding, resolved to enlist fifty-thousand volunteers. The purpose of enlistment as explained by various leaders was individual civil disobedience. The meaning of the resolution therefore is that the Gaya Congress undertook to train the country to habits of discipline, organization, co-operation and obedience within four months to such an extent as to justify embarking on a campaign of disobedience to law and disorganization of Government machinery.

If this interpretation of the resolutions of the Gaya Congress be accepted, we have to admit that nothing has been done by us in the month and a half that has lapsed except the delivery of a few speeches. We have been enmeshed in controversy and our morale is degenerating every day. We once more urge upon the leaders of the majority to realize the grave responsibility they have undertaken. Money may be collected, volunteers may be enlisted, but the necessary conditions of disobedience require greater accentuation. We suggest to our leaders therefore that when the time comes for recruiting volunteers for civil disobedience, sufficient emphasis should be laid upon the conditions of the pledge, so that disobedience may be effective and may conduce us to our goal without our having to fall back as at Bardoli.

AKHILA DRAVIDA RASHTRIYA SANGHA.

The Editor, The "*Indian Social Reformer*."

Sir,

A meeting of the South Indian residents of Bombay was held at Dadar on Sunday the 4th February 23, under the presidentship of Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, when it was resolved by those present to form themselves into a Political Association with the name "Akhila Dravida Rashtriya Sangha". The objects of the above association are: (1) to foster a spirit of brotherhood and service among the South Indian residents of Bombay and suburbs irrespective of caste or creed, (2) to carry on the activities of the Indian National Congress among the South Indian community, (3) to co-operate with the Congress Committees in South India in all possible ways, (4) to organise a Volunteer Corps for general national service, especially in Bombay and suburbs. Membership is open to all those who come from the Madras Presidency and South Indian States. South Indian residents of Bombay and suburbs are expected to rise high to the level of the present situation and join the institution forthwith. The following have been elected Provisional Secretaries of the Sangha:—M. R. Anantha Krishna Iyer, 80 Abu Mansion, Parel, and C. V. P. Shivam, Congress Office, Lady Jamshetji Road, Dadar.

The Sangha will be pleased to look to the comforts of South Indian leaders coming to, or passing through Bombay, for which purpose the leaders and the various Congress Committees in South India are requested to communicate with the Secretaries. C. V. P. SHIVAM.

THE PUNJAB VIDVA VIVAH SAHAIK SABHA.

Reports of 68 widow marriages have been received from the different branches and co-workers of the Vidva Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore, (Punjab) during the month of January 1923, as detailed below:—Brahmins 8, Khatri 12, Arora 27, Agarwal 9, Kaisth 2, Rajputs 4, Sikhs 2, Miscellaneous 4, Total 68.

MAGH UTSAV AT MIANWAL.

(A Correspondent.)

Magh Utsav was celebrated in Ram Mohan Roy High School at Mianwali on the 25th January 1923. The proceedings commenced with bhajans, and speeches were delivered on the life and teachings of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. L. Narain Das, B. A. B. T., the head master of the school, impressed on the audience how the best study for man was man. He was followed by Mr. M. Mela Ram B. A., who said that the Hindu nation is indebted to Raja Ram Mohan for his work in connection with the sacred *Vedas* and *Shastras*. "The Raja was a great soul and puissant worker who laid his hand in Bengal and shook her out of her indolent sleep." L. Alamchand and L. Tekchand followed with their instructive speeches. Malik Uttamchand, the manager of the school, then gave a bird's eye view of the teachings and professions of the Brahma Samaj. After *upvasa* and *arti* the meeting came to a close.

In connection with this a ladies' gathering was arranged. Mrs. Mela Ram B. A., read a short paper on the duties of Indian women. Sweets were distributed, Bhajans were sung and after exchange of greetings and conversations, the meeting dispersed.

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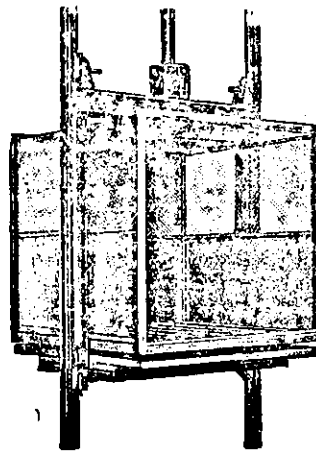
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INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1923.

MEMBERS AND MINISTERS.

When Sir Chimanlal Setalvad was re-appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University after he became a Member of the Executive Council, we pointed out that the dual position, which had for forty years been considered incompatible with the interests of the University, had become still more so owing to the transfer of education to a Minister. An evidently well-informed correspondent, writing in the Madras Ministerial organ, *Justice*, more than suggests that the defeat of the Irrigation Bill by the Ministerial majority in the Legislative Council, and the resignation of his office by Sir Srinivasa Iyengar, the Member of Government who was in charge of the Bill, was partly due to differences that had arisen between the latter in his capacity of Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University and the Minister of Education on matters pertaining to the University. "Constitutionalist" writes :

The duel between the Law Member and the Ministry began when the former continued in his Vice-Chancellorship even after he became Executive Councillor and, worse still, had his term extended after experience had shown that the relations between University and Government had become meanwhile strained. He was colleague as well as subordinate 'vis a vis' the Education Minister, and a person who combines self-contradictory functions is bound to suffer self-stultification. His Excellency, too, must bear his share of responsibility for this, especially as the Secretariat knew how difficult the transaction of University business had become when Sir Sivaswami Iyer acted in that dual capacity. Sir K. S. Iyengar, not content with the inherent difficulties of a situation which would have taxed the finesse of the finest temperament in the world, aggravated it by his omissions and commissions—omission to give the Legislative Council the benefit of his advice as Vice-Chancellor in any of the debates concerning the University and, above all, when its transformation was being effected; and commission of a speech at Chidambaram, where he was beyond the range of our guns, in which he practically attacked the Bill and told a bewildered world that what was wanted was more money and not constitutional reform, an attack which went to the root of the Bill and its very soil.

Sir Srinivasa's fault in the eyes of the Ministerialists was that, as Vice-Chancellor of the University, he held and expressed views not in accord with those of the Minister. And for it, among others, he was defeated on a Bill pertaining to the Irrigation Department of which he had charge as a Member of the Government, and has had to resign office, though he held office from the Crown. Ministers, supposed to be responsible to the Council, have continued to hold office notwithstanding that their proposals have been thrown out in the Councils, and, in one case, a Legislative measure brought forward by a Minister, was thrown out by the Provincial Council without anything happening to the Minister. We agree with "Constitutionalist" that both Sir Srinivasa and Government are to blame for a combination of

offices in which the Vice-Chancellor of the University can be secure of his position as Member of Government only by subordinating what he holds to be in the interests of the University to the views, which he considers injurious to it, of the Minister in charge of Education. If a similar situation has not arisen elsewhere where such a combination of offices prevails, it may be because of the minds of the Minister and the Member—Vice-Chancellor being tuned extraordinarily to one pitch.

"Constitutionalist" claims that the resignation of Sir S. Iyengar is the crowning triumph of the Madras Council and its Ministers. It has been suggested that the Governor should have dissolved the Council. The correspondent rightly points out that there was not the remotest possibility of the electorate returning a different kind of chamber. It has also been suggested that the Governor should have tried a new set of Ministers.

"If this Presidency had been Bombay, Bengal or U. P." "Constitutionalist" observes, "such a course would have met with success. But unfortunately for the adherents of autocracy, veiled or naked, there is discipline in the party in power. Whatever differences there may be amongst themselves—and which party is free from them or could be if it is to be progressive—they are not the sort who would betray the party to the foes outside the walls. A Ministry drawn from the rest of the House could not continue in power for two days without resort to unconstitutional expedients. Confronted with votes of no confidence and continuous defeats, it would be obliged to dissolve the Council and disappear in the electoral gulf."

Lord Willingdon adopted the easiest course open to him and that was to obtain Sir S. Aiyangar's resignation. This was possible because the latter was a non-official before he was appointed Member of Government. His Excellency could not have acted in the same way if the Member in charge of the Irrigation Bill was, as he would ordinarily have been, a Member of the Indian Civil Service. In that case, the Governor would have either had to drop the Bill or, if it was too important to be dropped, to "certify" it as the Viceroy certified the Princes' Protection Bill. With a strongly organised Ministerial majority, this can only mean the collapse of the Council system, as the Government may be reduced to having to carry on by "certification," like a sick man in the last stage of decrepitude on champagne. The Non-Brahmin Ministerialists in Madras have achieved just what Non-Co-operationists who are in favour of entering the Councils, wish to achieve. They have forced the Governor to dismiss a Member of Government who could not get on with them. They could, if they chose, have forced His Excellency to appoint for his successor a member of their own party. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer who has been appointed is not one of them but *New India*, which is likely to know, plainly says he has received assurances of support from the Ministerialists. Obviously he can hold his post only so long as the Ministerialists choose to let him. He cannot become a Ministerialist himself, as in Madras Ministerialists are born, not made.

"Constitutionalist" claims that the Ministerial party

in Madras is entitled to credit for this great step in constitutional progress. But as he himself urges that the official and English Members of Government were in the same boat with the Indian Member and should, in fairness, have gone out with him, the incident has only a limited constitutional significance. It has shown—and if Mr. C. P. Ramaswami had declined to take office under sufferance, it would have definitely established—that the non-official Indian member of the Executive Council is an anachronism and a misnomer. Indians can hold office only as Ministers responsible to the Legislature. This is not a small matter. The change from diarchy to full responsibility is undoubtedly retarded by Indian public men accepting office in the reserved half of the Provincial Governments. The Indian Members are supposed to temper the bureaucratic spirit of their English colleagues, but they as often as not are themselves infected by it. Not that bureaucracy is an evil in itself. It is at any rate a necessary evil. We cannot do without it when we have Swaraj, and we are not able to do without it even in the Congress or the Liberal Federation. What is evil is that a bureaucracy should be the master, not the servant of the Administration. It should have no hand in shaping policies. Its functions should be solely to carry out policies shaped by responsible Ministers. Some Indian public men have pretended that by becoming Members of the reserved half of Government, they have not forfeited their character as public men. But nobody has been deceived by this pretence which, indeed, could be maintained only by effacing the dividing line between fact and fiction. The Madras incident indicates that the departments now entrusted to Indian members should be immediately transferred and the number of Ministers correspondingly increased in the provinces. No Indian should hold office in the Government except in a relation of direct responsibility to his countrymen.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

(BY THE REV. STANLEY JONES.)

The Phillipine Islands present an interesting study to those who love to see humanity on the upward march. There is scarcely a more striking example in the world.

Magellan "discovered" the Phillipines to the Western World on March. 16, 1521. At the time of the Spanish conquest the Filipinos numbered less than half a million. Now there are 10,500,000. The islands number 7,084, of which 462 have an area of a square mile or more. The total area is 114,406 sq. miles. They are about the size of England, Scotland and Wales put together. They are exceedingly fertile and sustain a population of 60,000,000.

The people are a mixture of Indian and Mongoloid, generally called Malays. There have been found Hindu idols, showing early connection with India. There are many words in the Tagalog language

which show early Indian connection, for example, the word for teacher is "guru." Of the population, 9,495,272 are Christians while there are 855,368 Non-Christians including a quarter of a million Moros who are Mohammedans. The remaining Non-Christian tribes, 27 in number, are in a low state of civilization; until quite recently many of them were addicted to head-hunting. These were the aborigines in the Islands.

The Phillipinos are the first Malay race that has ever attained to anything like being a nation. The rest have always remained in a more or less unorganized state and where organized it was the tribal stage. Moreover, while it is questionable whether the rest of the Malays will hold their own and survive in competition with the more hard-working Chinese and Indian (many think they will not do so), there is certainly no question about the Phillipinos surviving. They are not only surviving, they are rising and rising rapidly. With the possible exception of Japan no people are rising more rapidly.

America came into possession of the Phillipines without planning to do so. When she captured Manila from the Spaniards she intended to hold that city and no more. Cuba, taken at the same time was given her independence, but the Phillipines were surrounded by powerful neighbours who were land hungry; so they could not be turned adrift so quickly. Besides there is much to be done to weld the people into a real nation.

Since the American occupation in 1898 the Phillipines have had four forms of Government. The first was the Military Government which lasted from August 1898 until February 1900. Next came the Government of the Phillipine Commission which ruled the Archipelego for upward of seven years. Then followed a dual Government composed of a Phillipines Commission and a Filipino Assembly elected by popular vote. This was followed in 1916 under the Jones Bill by a form of Government to all intents and purposes autonomous. The whole of the legislature is Filipino and there are only three officers whose appointment is not subject to it. The Governor-General, the Vice Governor, who is also the Commissioner of Education, and the Auditor, are the only officials who are appointed by the President of the United States. The Governor has the power of veto over the Legislature, which I understand has never been exercised.

The Woods-Forbes Commission was sent to the Phillipines in 1921 to report to the President of the United States on the question of whether the Phillipines were ready for immediate independence. After a most thorough enquiry they came to the following conclusions and gave the following recommendations:

We find the people happy, peaceful, and in the main prosperous and keenly appreciative of the benefits of American rule.

We find everywhere among the Christian Phillipinos the desire for Independence, generally under the protection of the United States. The Non-Christians and the Americans are for continuance of American control.

We find a general failure to appreciate the fact that independence under the protection of another nation is not true independence.

We find that Government is not reasonably free from those causes which result in the destruction of Government.

We find that a reasonable proportion of officials and employees are men of good character and ability, and reasonably faithful to the trust imposed upon them; but that the efficiency of the public services has fallen off, and that they are now relatively inefficient, due to lack of inspection and to the too rapid transfer of control to officials who have not had the necessary time for proper training.

We find that the Filipinos have shown a marked capacity for Government service and that the young generation is full of promise; that the civil service laws have in the main been honestly administered, but there is a marked deterioration due to the injection of politics.

We find that there is a disquieting lack of confidence in the administration of justice, to an extent which constitutes a menace to the stability of the Government.

We find that the people are not organized economically or from the standpoint of national defence to maintain an independent Government.

We find that the Legislative chambers are conducted with dignity and decorum and are composed of representative men.

We feel that the lack of success in certain departments should not be considered as proof of essential incapacity on the part of Filipinos, but rather as indicating a lack of experience and opportunity and especially lack of inspection.

We feel that with all their many excellent qualities, the experience of the past eight years, during which they have had practical autonomy, has not been such as to justify the people of the United States relinquishing supervision of the Government of the Philippine Islands, withdrawing their Army and Navy, and leaving the Islands a prey to any powerful nation coveting rich soil and potential commercial advantages. In conclusion, we are convinced that it would be a betrayal of the Philippine people, a misfortune to the American people, a distinct step backward in the path of progress, and a discreditable neglect of national duty, were we to withdraw from the Islands and terminate our relationship there without giving the Filipino the best chance possible to have an orderly and permanently stable Government.

We recommend that the present general status of the Philippine Islands continue until the people have had time to absorb and thoroughly master the powers already in their hands.

We recommend that under no circumstances should the American Government permit to be established in the Philippine Islands a situation which would leave the United States in a position of responsibility without authority.

In making enquiries from the Filipinos we found that there was a general sentiment of the student and

political classes for immediate independence. Others who are more conservatively inclined called our attention to the following facts:

That the Filipinos are not truly united. That there is still a good deal of jealousy between the different language areas. The Moros are against the proposition of immediate grant of independence. That 86% of the business of the Philippines is in the hands of the Chinese, 8 per cent in the hands of Europeans and Americans and only 6 per cent in the hands of the Filipinos themselves. This is in spite of the fact that restrictions of various kinds have been placed in the way of the Chinese. That the men who are in the places of leadership are nearly all men of mixed blood, particularly with Chinese blood; Aguinaldo, the leader of the Revolution against Spain and America, Mabini, the brains of the Revolution, Rizal, the great national hero, who was unjustly shot by the Spaniards, Quizon, the present leader of the Nationalists and other men of prominence are all men of mixed blood. It may be remarked in passing that the remarkable thing in contrast to many other countries is that the people of mixed blood identify themselves with the Filipinos and to all intents and purposes are Filipinos in dress, thought and outlook. This is certainly in contrast with India.

They also reminded us of deterioration in many departments. The most damaging thing mentioned was the fact that the Government had gone into business and had involved itself until it was on the very verge of bankruptcy. The Legislature had founded a Philippine National Bank and had loaned huge sums to friends and relatives on most insufficient securities and according to the Auditors had "violated every principle which prudence, intelligence and even honesty dictate." There was a total loss of twenty two million five hundred dollars. I saw Gen. Concepcion who had been at the head of the Bank while he was serving out his sentence in jail.

On the other hand many things can be cited in their favour. Much as has been written to the contrary, the Filipinos are hard working and industrious, although the lower classes are improvident and easily exploited. A close student of Filipino life estimates their temperament as "nervous, but quiet and reserved and at first distrustful." Among the Filipino's moral qualities, he places courage very high. He is a natural soldier and he stands up under calamities in a most remarkable way and begins again with unbroken courage. He is very ambitious, in fact he will do anything to get an education. They have made very remarkable strides in education. In 1898 there were 4,504 in the public schools, by 1914 there were 489,070 and by 1920 there were 925,678; in other words ten per cent of the population are in schools. In 1920, 6,869,654 dollars were spent for education. The education is practical as well as theoretical and stresses the dignity of labour with the industrial and agricultural sides emphasized. Each school has its own school garden where vegetables and other things are grown in a scientific way. The Filipinos are "restless for progress."

In one thing particularly they stand out in the East. Woman is the full social equal of man in the Phillipine Islands. "In Filipino society the woman occupies a place respected and assured: she is more prudent and balanced than the man, more skillful in business and negotiation, more judicious and self-controlled. There is no country less in need of a Woman's Movement or alteration of the relationship of the sexes." While the Filipino is amorous "his attitude towards women is never brutal, and it is usually characterized by respect and something approaching to chivalry."

The Filipino is intelligent and quick, inclined to be a little superficial, but makes a delightful companion and is warm in his friendships. In regard to personal cleanliness I do not think there is a cleaner race of people in the world. They are immaculate in their clothing and their persons.

I did not feel the strained relations between the Americans and the Filipinos which I had expected. But the Americans are developing a type of mind different from what I found six years ago. Then everything in the way of race relationships seemed on a simple, natural basis of practical, social equality, now I find a tendency to exclusiveness in social matters and those who marry Filipino women are not socially acceptable in many quarters.

Taken altogether the Phillipines are a fine example of a people rising in every way.

A MEMORY OF VIVEKANANDA

(BY MR. REEVES CALKINS)

My first impression of the Swami was not a happy one. He had come to the World's Fair as India's representative at the Chicago Parliament of Religions, and I, a young preacher fresh from the University, did not greatly admire the magnificent ease with which he waved aside Christian history and announced a new Star in the East. I think it was his lordly manner that disturbed, somewhat, my American sense of democracy. He did not argue that he was a superior person, he admitted it. Afterwards, when I learned that several cities, notably Boston, had formed Vivekananda Clubs, I was prepared to credit the report that, not his ideals, but his eyes, were leading captive silly American women, which was manifestly unfair. Then, for several years, I heard nothing further of him.

I reached India in December, 1900, embarking at Naples on the "Rubattino" of the old Italian Line. It chanced that my seat in the saloon was at the end of one of the center tables—which has considerable to do with my story. Mr. Drake Brockman, I. O. S., of the Central Provinces, occupied the first seat on the right, and another English Civilian whose name has escaped my memory sat opposite him. At Suez there was a shift at table, some of the passengers having left the vessel, and our first meal in the Red Sea saw a strange gentleman, in Indian habit, seated next to Mr. Drake Brockman. He was silent that first meal, taking only a ship's biscuit and soda water, and leaving before the meal

was finished. There was some question up and down the board as to the identity of the distinguished stranger, for, as was quite evident, he was no mean personage; whereupon a rough and ready traveller, disdaining delicacy, called to the chief steward to bring him the wine orders. Ostensibly looking for his own wine card, he drew forth a modest soda water slip which was handed round the table. "Vivekananda," in pencil, was what passed across my plate. In a moment I remembered the furor he had created at the Parliament of Religions, and looked forward with some interest to the coming days at sea.

My earlier impression of the Swami was still strong upon me, so I did not immediately seek his acquaintance; a bow at table answered every requirement. But I chanced to overhear one of the passengers speak his name, and add, "We'll draw him!" I suppose my instinct for fair play pulled me toward Vivekananda as his unconscious ally in the intellectual rencounters of the next ten days. Perhaps he discerned my unspoken friendliness, for, almost immediately, he sought me out.

"You are an American?"

"Yes."

"A missionary?"

"Yes."

"Why do you teach religion in my country?" he demanded.

"Why do you teach religion in my country?" I countered.

The least quiver of an eyelash was enough to throw down our guards. We both burst out laughing, and were friends.

For a day or two, at table, one or other of the passengers proceeded to "draw" the Swami—only he refused to be drawn! His answers were ready and usually sufficient; but, more than that, they were brilliant. They sparkled with epigram and apt quotation. Presently the lesser wits learned the valor of putting up their swords, all excepting Mr. Drake Brockman; his keen and analytic mind constantly cut across Vivekananda's epigrams and held him close to the logic of admitted facts. It worried the Swami a lot! The rest of the company soon lost interest and permitted our little group at the end of the table to hold uninterrupted forum, breakfast, tiffin, and dinner.

One night I participated in a discovery. Vivekananda had been particularly brilliant. His conversation was like Ganga at high flood. There was really no interrupting him. A question might deflect him for a moment, but presently he was moving again on the main current of his speech. At the close of an unusually eloquent period he bowed slightly to each of us, then arose and quietly left the saloon. The Civilian sitting opposite Mr. Drake Brockman leaned across the table.

"Have you noticed that when the Indian gentleman is interrupted he begins again where he left off?"

"Yes, we both had noticed it."

"He is repeating one of his lectures for our private benefit."

And so it was. But, even so, it was an amazingly interesting performance, many leagues beyond the ordinary chit-chat on board ship.

Vivekananda was a patriot much more than a philosopher. I think his passion for the Vedantic propaganda was because this seemed to him the best way of fostering Indian nationhood. I believe at this he was mistaken; nevertheless, my recognition of his patriotism washed away completely my first unhappy impression of him, and enabled me to know him as I think he would be glad to be remembered by his countrymen—not as a religionist propagating an ancient creed, but as a lover of his own land seeking to promote her good in the society of modern nations.

It was this passion for his country, short-circuited by a misapprehension of the purpose of Christian missions, that brought on an explosion. One evening, over the nuts and coffee, the conversation had turned on India's preparedness for self-government. (By the way, that conversation took place more than twenty-two years ago, when as yet the Chelmsford-Montagu Reform Bill was nebulous and far away; similar conversations may logically continue for one hundred and twenty-two years to come, for no nation ever yet was "prepared" for self-government).

Suddenly Vivekananda blazed.

"Let England teach us the fine art of government," he burst forth, "for in that art Britain is the leader of the nations;" then, turning to me, "let America teach us agriculture and science and your wonderful knack of doing things, for here we sit at your feet—but"—and Vivekananda's pleasant voice grew harsh with bitterness—"let no nation presume to teach India religion, for here India shall teach the world!"

That night we walked over the deck together and talked of the deeper things where there are no Britons, no Americans, no Indians, but only our hungry humanity and of one Son of Man whose sacrificial Blood, somewhere in the shifting sands of Asia, still abides. I think I helped the Swami to understand that no missionary in his senses is seeking to teach "religion" in India, but only to help India know and love that Man.

During the last day or two of the voyage our understanding of each other increased greatly, and, as I believe, our mutual respect. The mysticism of Vivekananda was a fascination and wonder. For I was not affected. When our conversation touched, as it was bound to, on the hidden things of the spirit, his heavy eyelids would droop slowly and he wandered, even in my presence, into some mystic realm where I was not invited. When, on one such occasion, I remarked that a Christian's conscious fellowship with the Supreme Person must be alert and awake, (as all personal fellowships must be), and therefore is essentially and necessarily different from a Hindu's immersion in the all-pervading Brahma, he looked at me with a quick glance of scrutiny but made no reply.

The last night, before the "Rubattino" reached Bombay, we were standing on the forward deck. Vivekananda was smoking a short sweet-briar pipe—the one "English vice," he said, which he was fond of. The wash of the sea and the unknown life which would begin on the morrow invited quietness. For a long time no word was spoken. Then, as though he had made up his mind I would do India no harm, he laid his hand on my shoulder.

"Sir," he said, "they may talk about their Buddhas, their Krishnas, and their Christs, but we understand, you and I; we are segments of the All-One."

His hand remained upon my shoulder. It was such a friendly hand, I could not rudely remove it. Then he withdrew it himself and I offered him my own.

"Swami," I said, "you will have to speak for yourself and not for me. The All-One of which you speak is impersonal, and therefore must remain unknowable, even though we be immersed in it as this ship is immersed in the Indian Ocean; He Whom I know, Whom I love, is *personal* and very very real—and, Swami, in Him all fulness dwells."

The sweet-briar went swiftly to his lips, and the drooping eyelids as he leaned against the rail gave token that Vivekananda had gone forth on a far quest.

Was it the All-One, or the One in all, the Swami sought that night?

Lucknow, February 1923.

THE OPERATION.

Here wait I in silence
For ninety slow minutes,
Whilst under the surgeon's knife
Fate is worked out—
Fate, whether that which I love a thousand
times better than life
Shall die, or shall live.

Fate, said I?
Nay, here as I wait
(My soul gathered and crouched at God's feet
In a long dumb anguish of prayer),
Of a sudden the barriers fall,
The curtain of sense rolls back—back—back,
And is gone :
Still my eyes look out on the sunlight,
The song of the birds still comes to my ear,
And the slow deliberate march of the clock :
Yet my spirit is lifted clear of it all,
Clear from this fragile and changing world,
Beyond and away.

Around my soul
Lift and strain the tides of eternal life,
Lift and strain, and bear me away :
Around my soul
Thunders in slow majestic rhythm
The surge and beat of Thine endless love,
O Father—
Not Fate, O Father, not Fate, but Thy love.

O Thou, in whom all love
Is born, and for ever lives :
O Thou, who gavest this love,
Who rejoicest for ever in all true love :
Father, whose love for that single soul
Is love for a world of souls focussed and
fixed upon one :

Father, upon whose bosom
Lieth that white soul now
(Mind dulled by the drugs,
Body shorn by the knife) :
Father, in life and death
To be utterly trusted :
Father, Thy will be done.

12, February, 1923.

KASHMIR.

THE PRESENT STANDSTILL.

AN APPEAL TO SOCIAL REFORM WORKERS.

The problem of social reform has been agitating the minds of the leaders of thought in Maharashtra for a very long time, and determined and continuous efforts have been made since the days of the late Justice Ranade and Mr. Agarkar who were the foremost in leading the attack on the old order of things. The cause of Social Reform which they made their own and espoused with their life fervour made a powerful impression, but at the same time roused the reactionary from his age-long slumber. And Mr. Tilak who looked only for political emancipation, led the reactionary forces in opposing the Reform Party, tooth and nail. But that controversy happily is now almost a thing of the past. The Social Reformer has at last won the day, though greatly in a moral sense, and the Indian National Congress and other allied political bodies have also begun to pass resolutions pressing for the removal of untouchability and better treatment of their women-folk.

As I have said above, the Social Reformer has at last come out triumphant after his arduous struggle, but the work which he undertook is far from being complete or even half done. The grim reality is still before us. The success achieved up to now is no doubt encouraging. But the movement, if we look below the surface, is not making the progress it should. It has ceased to make any great headway, and has come to a standstill. We could not follow up the victory and gain further victories. Now the moral forces are decidedly on the side of the Social Reformer, and still he is handicapped, and has to glory over his past achievements and present meagre gains. So in my humble opinion, if the movement is to make any advance and achieve what it is intended for—Social Regeneration—we must change the methods followed so far. The old methods of achieving social progress have outlived their usefulness and we must improve upon them and even change them where necessary.

To make myself clear, I suggest that a conference should be periodically held to which the chosen representatives of each leading caste should be invited, and this assemblage with common responsibility and collected wisdom should try to define our immediate objective and find out workable means. The vague and, in a certain sense, irresponsible talk about the need of Social Reform must now cease, and some definite shape must be given to the movement of our social uplift. We sometimes vaguely talk of inter-caste dinners,

forgetting the insurmountable difficulties peculiar to India. For instance, there is a perfect cleavage in two groups of castes. One group consisting of vegetarian castes such as the Bramhins, Gujarathis, Jains, Lingayats, etc.; and the other group, numerically much larger, consisting of the Marathas and its allied sub-castes, and depressed classes who take animal food. This wide gulf is separating the two groups and no attempt is ever made or even thought of, of converting either group to one of them. Even if such an attempt were made, it is bound to fail as certainly as the sun shines in the sky. Their union in the kitchen and in the dining room will be limited. To transgress those limits in favour of greater unity will be just like sounding a war-horn. What those limits should be must be clearly thought out and decided by a responsible representative and influential body, such as the one suggested. When matters affecting one's religion and caste are concerned, the man in the street is so very suspicious and sensitive that he must first get assurances that he will not be led astray or eventually placed in a hopeless position. If he has nothing definite before him, he will be scared away by even just and small measures of reform and stick to his original position through weakness and fear.

Some will say that this is perpetuating caste-differences. In a certain sense it is true. But close observation of things both from inside and outside has led me to believe that total abolition of castes is well-nigh impossible. It may be and should be a distinct goal. I do not quarrel over it. But I fear that like some of the N. C. O.'s the extremists of the Social Reform party too are indulging in airy ideals. Can any one mention even five gentlemen from the Brahmin community who have given up their caste, wholesale both in private and public affairs? A man born in the Maratha community, however educated and progressive he may be as Mr. V. R. Shinde of the Depressed Classes Mission undoubtedly is, will never renounce his caste. He will remain a Maratha though a liberal Maratha. Therefore what I suggest is that leading men from all the big castes should be brought together in a round-table Conference. The people from all communities will look up to this common body as their own, and look to its deliberations with genuine interest and devotion. The power in social matters usurped by one community or one individual such as the Shankaracharya ought to be restored to a representative body. This body should try to bring about harmony by removing unjust things and rigorously abolishing the privileges of the classes. The depressed classes will no longer feel themselves depressed when they sit shoulder to shoulder on a common platform with equal dignity and status. They will thus have full chance of laying their case clearly before their Hindu brothers in order to get their answers. If we take human nature and the inner working of the mind in consideration, I am sure it will be very difficult for the representatives of higher castes to give unreasonable replies and still more difficult to repeat them. And supposing that even then they do not change their attitude towards their less fortunate brethren, the instinct and sympathy of the hearing masses unconsciously will go to the side of the aggrieved party. And thus the Social Reformer will stand to gain more and lose less. The bitterness which is bound to appear at the outset will give place to mutual goodwill. A change of heart complete and thorough cannot be expected all at once. But it is sure to follow in course of time. As Mrs. Besant once said: "If each owner of the house sweeps the street before his own house, the whole city will become clean within half an hour." Likewise if leaders of every caste take counsel together

and to work in their own limited sphere, instead of wasting their energy in tall talk and expressing mere wishes, they will do much solid work.

A round-table conference of the above description, besides throwing into more insignificance the tottering Jagadguruphas, will also serve another great purpose. The mischief of part of the agitation carried on by some of the so-called Brahmin leaders, simply with the view to create bad blood and corner only one community, shall have its very source knocked out of it. And at the same time the Round Table conference will provide us with a good machinery which will work with least friction and give us greatest possible results. It will be a slow yet sure means for gradual social evolution and will make all the communities feel the warmth, reasonableness and urgency of reform and will liberate us from the present stagnant state.

Problems like widow re-marriage, *Hunda*, infant-marriages which are not common to all but are peculiar to certain castes, should be attended to by these respective caste leaders. But problems of inter-caste importance such as untouchability, social dinners, use of public schools, wells etc., and re-Hinduising or Hinduising of men outside Hinduism ought to be considered and solved by common consent by the common body. This must be our new Shankaracharya giving us guidance in social matters. Those of the social reformers who do not pay any attention to such knotty problems as Vegetarians-versus-Meat-eaters, the inborn and inseparable love of bearing the name of our ancestral caste, and still hope to achieve the objects of social reform are foredoomed to failure. I doubt whether such men are serious enough and mean business. I appeal in all humility and sincerity to such people to re-examine their ground in order to face the sacred task with better preparedness and precision.

409 Sadashiv Peth,

Poona City.

G. R. HINGNEKAR.

HINDUS IN A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

(From A Correspondent)

A novel attempt at approaching some of the controversial social problems was made in Poona last week when on the invitation of Mr. Hingnekar, the organiser, a small round table conference was held in Kibe Wada. The chosen representatives of the Mahar and Mang communities were present. The Chairman of the Brahmin Sabha, Poona, and its Secretary though in their individual capacity, were present at the meeting and took part in the deliberations along with men like Mr. V. R. Shinde of the Maratha community and Mr. Manurkar a leading Lingayat gentleman. Mr. V. R. Shinde was voted to the chair.

The subject matter of the day was the use of public places such as Dharmashalas, schools, meeting places, markets, wells etc. The spokesmen of the depressed classes demanded that all these public places must be thrown open to the depressed classes people, a right which is at present denied to them. This demand was admitted in principle by all gentlemen of the higher castes and then each item was discussed looking into some details. After some discussion it was agreed that boards should be placed at public Dharmashalas indicating that they are open to all including the depressed classes. This event should be proclaimed through the neighbouring village by tom tom and village officers should be directed to see that nobody obstructs the depressed classes in the right of their enjoyment.

As regards public schools it was suggested that Government should stop the grant of those aided schools that do not throw their doors open to all classes. The leaders of the depressed classes contended that according to the new law of compulsory primary education they would put their children in schools. But this could be effected if only the public schools and aided schools were open for their children? We won't tolerate, they said, any invidious distinctions in school rooms. The Brahmin gentlemen admitted the force of their demand but some gentlemen held that aided schools must be treated differently.

As for the public meetings, reading rooms, markets, law courts, and railway stations even now the people of the depressed classes are not quite barred and hence this question is not very serious. However, it was suggested that people of depressed classes should not hold themselves back through over-courtesy or timidity and the higher class people should not slight or discourage their brothers in religion. The depressed classes, however, in turn were asked with great emphasis to discontinue the observance of untouchability amongst themselves and were asked to be more clean in their habits.

The question of public wells, pipes, tanks etc. was a very difficult one indeed. The leaders of the Mahars and Mangs appealed that these places too ought to be opened to them. But most of the Brahmins present were in no mood to listen to this proposal while some of them showed strong disapproval, while Mr. V. R. Shinde and Mr. Manurkar admitted this demand too, as worthy to be conceded.

The meeting terminated after some such discussions. Although it was purely a deliberative meeting it will help a great deal in clarifying the thought. There was no question of pollution by touch at the meeting as all the people assembled took seats on a common Jajam.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

Only recently a despatch has arrived here from the Secretary of State for the Colonies which the Governor has instructions not to disclose—but the European members have got the information from some source or other—that the Colonial Office intends to grant common franchise to Indians. They consider that this would be equal to granting equal status to Indians which they are bent upon opposing at all costs.

There is a large number of level-headed and fair-minded Europeans in the country who consider that it is only equitable that the Indians should be granted some rights as a proof of sincerity of the resolution passed by the Imperial Conference in 1921, but the small clique known as the "Reform Party" are agitating and exciting the minds of the general European population by making them believe that if a common franchise is granted to Indians it means that the Europeans will be ousted from the country in course of time.

As a result of mischievous propaganda carried on by Europeans, the innocent and just Europeans also are being dragged into becoming party to use violence against Indians in case the common franchise is granted. Papers also suggest that the Government cannot enforce this policy without bloodshed, and rumours are, in fact it is being stated openly, that the intention of the Europeans is to shoot down every Indian in the colony. It sounds too ridiculous and wild to believe but the class of settlers that reign here have been encouraged

to indulge in this sort of lawlessness which has been resorted to frequently by them in the past, and on every occasion they have succeeded in intimidating the Local and Imperial Government and have had their own way.

On one occasion, a party headed by a noble Lord went to the Government House, threw stones at the Governor and behaved themselves in a disgraceful fashion and asked the Governor to resign. On another occasion, an assembly of Europeans including a number of European leaders gathered in front of the Court House and flogged certain natives because they thought it was useless to take the case to the Courts as the Magistrates did not and would not punish them sufficiently. Then again a responsible and very much respected settler took the law into his own hands and went and set fire to the huts of several natives whom he suspected of having stolen his cattle or sheep. Another settler, a very high personage, shot a native dead because he suspected him of having stolen his sheep. He was tried for murder, pleaded guilty, and yet the Jury returned a verdict of "not guilty" and he was consequently discharged. All this, you will say, sounds like yarns but the fact remains, nevertheless, that these are solid facts. It is no wonder that these sorts of happenings have given the country the reputation, according to Lord Cranworth, as being the place "where they shoot the natives and stone their Governors".

Only recently a few Europeans went to the houses of certain Indian shop-keepers at a station called Gilgil, at night tried to effect an entrance into the married quarters by breaking doors and tearing the roofs, and threatened to shoot and set fire to the whole location. They were, however, prevented from doing this by some others. They were tried but some of them eventually apologised to the Indians and the case was compounded. This has never appeared in the local papers although it is common knowledge that this took place only a few months ago.

The pity of the whole matter is that the Government instead of suppressing these sentiments of lawlessness manifests its weakness by saying that they believe that such an action by the settlers is improbable to be taken and in fact this bullying attitude of the settlers is used as an argument against granting the equality of status to Indians. In any other country such a propaganda would be crushed ruthlessly by the Government but here the Local Government actually confess that they cannot put into practice a policy which has such a strong support of the Government of India, is said to have been approved by the Imperial Government and is sanctioned by the Imperial Council.

As far as our information goes, the despatch that is kept secret up to now does not give the Indians anything in the shape of equal rights. It reserves all the highlands for Europeans, allows about 10 per cent. of the Indian population being brought on the common electoral roll and on the other hand the immigration is to be restricted.

We expect that the threats of the European community may be carried into practice at any time or at least an attempt made to do it, and I expect you to take up this cause and to give the matter the publicity it deserves and show the utter absurdity of the European population of this country.

Yours faithfully,
SHAMS-UD-DEEN,
General Secretary,
Eastern Africa Indian
National Congress.

Nairobi,
18th January, 1923.

"SCIENCE AND POLITICS."

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

SIR,
Anent your remarks and the correspondence appearing

in your paper on this subject the following taken from A. B. Patrika (art. "Science and Swaraj," issue of Jan. 18, Bi-weekly Ed.) also makes pertinent reading;—the journal after referring to the early difficulties of Bose and Ray proceeds:—

"An Indian Mahomedan gentleman of the U. P., who was employed in the Government Telegraph Department, recently invented an instrument for the transmission of wireless messages through water. He wanted leave to carry on his researches which was first denied. When this leave was granted, he was brought to Calcutta and allowed to carry on his experiments inside the premises of the Central Telegraph Office here, and a European Assistant was placed to watch his work constantly. All this shows the mentality of the ruling caste towards the prosecution of scientific researches and investigation by Indians."

¶ Sir, is it not up to the Director of Information in Bombay or Delhi to shed light on all such allegations?

Yours, etc.
"INTERESTED."

Karwar, 30th Jan. 23.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

The *Indian Social Reformer* writing about the 'Congress parties' rightly interprets the view-point of Mr. Das towards Civil Disobedience. No intellectual with a clear vision and foresight can ever think of Civil Disobedience as a permanent phase of public life of a country and Deshbandhu Das does not hold it as such, whatever may be the views of its protagonists in the high circles of orthodox Non-co-operation. It can come in, only when in obedience to a higher principle, obedience to a lower one has to be disregarded. In this sense it is used as a political weapon to be used only in the war of emancipation of one's country. The *Reformer*, continuing in the same strain, exposes to the view the distinction between the method of Deshbandhu Das and the Liberals. —The *Mahratta*, 11th February.

II.

The *Indian Social Reformer* in its issue of the 3rd instant advances a rather curious sort of logic. Since obedience is the crowning virtue of public and private life, and since disobedience is not an end in itself, therefore, concludes the journal, all training for Civil Disobedience whether individual or mass is wrong, and asks non-co operators to abandon their preparations for it. We heartily agree with the journal in its remark that disobedience is not an end in itself, but we fail to see how all training for Civil Disobedience can be wrong on that account. All education in what the journal calls the 'higher laws' is at the same time a training and preparation for the disobedience of immoral or unjust laws. The journal emphasises the duty of training people to a 'higher obedience.' We submit that non-submission to unjust or immoral laws is as much a duty as obedience to 'higher laws'. In fact the one follows from the other as a natural corollary.

It is not, however, to train people to *disobedience* that the Congress has set itself about just now, but to train them to *civility*. The spirit of disobedience there already is in the country—and to a very dangerous extent too. And it is bound to remain there so long as bad laws exist. The Congress is not concerned in augmenting this spirit but in preparing the people for giving expression to it in a civil manner, by training them to those very 'higher laws' which the *Social Reformer* commends. —*Young India*, 8th February.

PROHIBITION AFTER THREE YEARS.

The Manufacturers' Record has performed a valuable public service in writing to the signers of America's most influential petition to Congress in behalf of prohibition, five years ago attacking them whether they still favour prohibition as vigorously as they did at that time, and in publishing their replies. Several hundred other leading manufacturers also were requested to state their views, which were, at the time, entirely unknown to the editor. Of about one thousand five hundred who replied, 98.50 per cent. are in favour of prohibition in some form, and 85.50 per cent. favour the strictest form. Only 7 per cent. are for beer and wine. Among the number, there are, in addition to manufacturers and business men enough representatives of other callings—trade unionists, university men, engineers, public officials, lawyers, farmers—to give a general survey of what America thinks about prohibition to-day. Warren S. Stone, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, is as positive about the good social effects as is Judge Gary, or President Wilbur of Stamford University. There is as yet no statistical evidence sufficiently accurate or on a large enough scale to prove the material benefits; but in the absence of statistics, the opinions held by men with a vast area of observation before their eyes are good evidence. The editor of the symposium says:—

"The whole world is watching this country. Every drinker on earth who wants to continue to be a drunkard, every wine-grower in France, every beer maker in Germany, every whiskey producer in England and Scotland, and every other liquor interest in all the world is struggling with all possible energy to break down prohibition in this country."

We have had distinguished visitors, such as Gilbert K. Chesterton and Mrs. Asquith, who have gone back to Europe saying that prohibition is a failure. "One can get a drink almost anywhere in the United States," they say. But the margin of non-enforcement, as viewed by the contributors to this symposium, however evident, is almost insignificant in comparison with the good results that have already come from enforcement. Here is a typical reply to the questionnaire, coming from the general manager of a great steel company:—

"There is more interest taken in home life, which is reflected in a greater number of men paying for their homes, improving their furnishings, providing better shoes and clothing for their little ones, and increased savings deposits.

"School attendance in both day and Sunday schools had improved. Merchants as well as families have been benefited in that sales have increased and the collections are better. The morals of the community have made wonderful progress.

"Notwithstanding the fact that all our principal industries were shut down by a strike in 1919 for six months, and operated only for about six months in 1920, three months in 1921, and none so far this year, there has been comparatively little suffering. Comparing the last twenty-seven months in which there has been only fifteen months of employment, with any shut-down of three months' duration under the saloon regime, conditions in our city have been easily one hundred per cent. better. In fact, 'What would be our lot if we had saloons with the great unemployment of such long standing?' has been the common saying in our city."

He also testifies to the fact that not the workingmen, but the well-to-do in the community, are the law-breakers. The importance of this testimony, and that of others, lies

in the fact that it proves the value of prohibition at a time of depression. In 1919 and 1920, when industry was booming, it was almost impossible to disentangle the good effects of prohibition from those of the prevailing general prosperity. To-day, the permanent results are becoming more and more strikingly manifest. Judson C. Welliver, in the current issue of the *American Review of Reviews*, concludes an article based upon another investigation, by saying:—

"Complete enforcement will never be attained. The completest possible enforcement has not yet been attained. But no fair consideration of conditions as they stand can justify any other conclusion than that prohibition has already accomplished much of what its advocates expected, and that it is on its way to accomplish much more."—*The Survey*.

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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
hesitate, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Compromise between Congress Parties: There was a schism amongst the followers of the Sakyamuni some of whom wanted to observe habits of extreme asceticism, while others were inclined to be more sparing in their self-denial. The great Teacher tried to bring about a reconciliation on sensible principles, but when he found he did not succeed, he left both, and went to another place. After his departure the schismatics quarrelled with one another so much that the lay votaries got disgusted and ceased supplying the wants of the monks in respect of food and clothing. This brought the latter to their senses, and some of them from both parties went on a deputation to Buddha to request him to return and restore peace among them. When they came in the presence of the great Teacher, the leader of the deputation laid before him the object of their visit, namely, to effect a compromise. We commend the Sakyamuni's pronouncement to those who are striving to bring about a compromise between the Congress parties. He said:—

There are two ways of re-establishing concord; one is in the letter, and the other one is in the spirit and in the letter. If the Sangha declares the re-establishment of concord without having inquired into the matter, the peace is concluded in the letter only. But if the Sangha after having inquired into the matter and gone to the bottom of it, decides to declare the re-establishment of concord, the peace is concluded in the spirit and also in the letter.

The controversies arising out of the Congress split, have already disgusted the public and if they are continued longer, there can be no doubt that both parties will have public support withdrawn from them. Concord is, therefore, an urgent duty. But it should be a concord established on a recognition of the realities of the moment. One of the terms of the proposed compromise, that we have seen, fails on this test. To speak of Civil Disobedience as a possibility of the next three months, seems to us to be a palpable self-deception which leaders on both sides should know to be such.

Removal of Untouchability: Prominent among Mahatma Gandhi's services to the country, is the emphasis he laid upon the removal of

"untouchability" as a test of the country's fitness for *Swaraj*. So long as some millions of our fellow-men are regarded as being so degraded as to pollute by mere physical contact, so long the state of mind and heart upon which alone an enduring *Swaraj* can be raised, is absent among us. Mahatma Gandhi proclaimed this great truth by word and by deed. Since his incarceration, this important reform has not received the attention which it demands. It is no doubt there on agenda papers but not much good comes of that. Sometimes academic discussions are held as to how the object may be best achieved. The disabilities of the untouchables are catalogued, and the question is debated as to which of them should be first dealt with. All this, we think, is useless beating about the bush. The one sure way to get rid of the whole detestable scheme of untouchability, is for the other castes to mix with the "untouchables" in ordinary social intercourse. We are pleased to announce that arrangements are being made to hold in Bombay in the course of the next few days a dinner, followed by a Conference, to which members of the untouchable classes will be specially invited, as also members of all other castes and communities.

Special Class Bombay Prisoners: The Government of Bombay, after protesting that they would never consent to make any special concessions in the case of political prisoners, have introduced some improvements described in a resolution reprinted in this issue. Those concessions, so far as they go, are satisfactory. They provide for prisoners wearing their own clothes, having their own bedding, getting their usual food from outside, and obtaining stationery, magazines and books at their own expense. The interval for interviews and letters is reduced to one month. No provision seems to be made for the provision of light for reading and recreation in the time between sun-set and bed-time. The Jail Commission specially recommended that it should be made. These concessions are available to all prisoners sentenced to simple imprisonment, on the order of the Judge or other authority. It may be that it is in contemplation to prescribe only simple imprisonment for political offences. If this is done, these rules will be nearly all that is desired. But till this is done, the limitation of the concessions to prisoners sentenced to simple imprisonment, will leave political prisoners sentenced to rigorous imprisonment without the benefit of them. It is largely a matter of chance and the Judge's temperament now, whether a political offender is sentenced to simple or rigorous imprisonment. It would be highly improper for the Executive Government to instruct Judges or Magistrates to give only simple imprisonment to political offenders. The change can be made only by the legislature. Meanwhile, the rules may be so altered as to include also prisoners sentenced to rigorous imprisonment, in suitable cases. The action of Government, in making these humane changes, is much appreciated.

Sir George Lloyd on his administration. The Governor of Bombay opened the Budget Session of the Legislative Council. His Excellency reminded the Council that this Budget would be the last of his regime as well as the last with which the present Council would deal. His Government is entitled to credit for having cut down expenditure without the adventitious aid of Lord Inchcape's or any other extraneous axe. The scissors have been applied too closely to some vital spots, while they have passed lightly over some ornamental ones; but the net result is one which could not have been achieved without earnest and honest application to the ungrateful task. One of the improvements in financial method, for which His Excellency claimed credit was "that revenue was properly applied and was not, as in the past, misused for works and undertakings that could more economically and profitably be financed out of borrowings." It is an equitable principle that, where the benefits of an undertaking are likely to extend to future generations, the burden of its cost should not be laid upon a single generation and may be distributed among future generations. The test here is clear and definite. When, however, we leave this concrete line and begin to apply general considerations, we are in the realm of opinion and not in that of facts, and opinion is to some extent affected by temperament. The results of the borrowing policy of Sir George Lloyd's Government cannot be known, until many years after His Excellency bids farewell to Bombay. Sir George Lloyd might have spared himself the trouble of answering those who criticise the Legislative Council as worthless. But as His Excellency has thought fit to answer them, we may point out that the Ministerial achievements for which he claimed credit, are really not so very credit-worthy. According to the recent admission of the Excise Minister himself, something more stringent than his policy of rationing is needed to cope with the drink evil. The Bombay Municipal Act was really carried through in spite of the Minister, and his contribution to the Local Boards Act is the introduction of the communal principle. The Primary Education Bill is but an enlarged edition of Patel's Act extended to Local Boards. Even His Excellency's eagle-eyed optimism could not discover any very notable achievement of the reserved departments. Sir George was significantly silent about the Development Department. His Excellency cannot but know that the weight and volume of condemnation of the chawls built by the Department are increasing. It is desirable that, before more chawls are built, a competent Committee should be appointed to consider what improvements should be effected upon the present model. One high authority described these chawls to us as probable future Bolshevik seminaries, calculated to breed the spirit of revolution among their inmates.

Indian-Officered Regiments: The Commander-in-Chief announced in the Legislative Assembly last week that eight Indian regiments, infantry and cavalry, would be immediately officered entirely by Indians. We do not doubt the excellence of the intention underlying this decision. But we venture to think that it is not a fair way of meeting the Indian demand for admission to the higher ranks of the Army. The project was described as an experiment. The value of an experiment in the physical sciences is commensurate with the extent to which the conditions of it approximate to normal conditions. When you are experimenting with human beings, you should not only reproduce normal conditions, but you must do this in such a way as to make those experimented upon believe them to be normal conditions. The eight regiments selected for the experiment and the Indians selected to be their

officers, cannot but feel that they are in an invidious position where their faults must appear magnified and their merits correspondingly reduced in scale, in the eyes of those who are to judge the results of the experiment. It is a matter of everyday experience that in official comparisons between Indians and Englishmen, the presumption is always in favour of the latter and equally always against the former. One of the most onerous incidents of British rule is this heavy handicap on Indian effort. We should be surprised if an experiment under such conditions succeeds, not if it fails. We do not wish to prejudice the chances of success of the experiment, but we do wish at once to state that the failure of such an experiment will be no proof of the incapacity of Indians to make as good Army officers as Englishmen. Nor can the Indianisation of the Army be deferred until this experiment is admitted to have been tried long enough to yield reliable results.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Forthcoming Royal Commission: In the *Reformer* of the 10th February, we called attention to a statement made in the *Pall Mall Gazette* about Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's view of the future of the English Services in India. The English friend who sent it to us, urged that a prompt reply should be published in England to the *Pall Mall's* statement. We hope our friend will get as much publicity as possible in Britain for the following categorical contradiction by the *Leader* of Allahabad with which Sir Tej Bahadur was closely connected prior to his translation to Delhi, and which, perhaps, knows his views better than any other journal since his return to Allahabad. Our contemporary writes:

The *Pall Mall Gazette* has made a wonderful discovery. 'Sir T. B. Sapru, formerly one of the advanced politicians and later Law Member of the Viceroy's Council', states the journal, 'in an interview with an English correspondent at Delhi on Jan. 17 has practically reaffirmed the policy in regard to British services announced by Mr. Lloyd George on August 2.' Sir T. B. Sapru did nothing of the kind. The interview was published in India as well and the inference drawn by the *Pall Mall Gazette* is entirely unwarranted. Sir T. B. Sapru has never reaffirmed Mr. Lloyd George's policy. The sooner the *Gazette* and other British papers disabuse their minds of this notion the better it would be for their readers. It is however not for the first time that gross misrepresentation of this kind has passed for knowledge of India among some British newspapers.

We hope our friend will do what he can to get this direct contradiction widely published in England

Mr. Sastry and The Servants of India Society: There is some curiosity as to why Mr. Srinivasa Sastry should have chosen the occasion of the eighth anniversary of Mr. Gokhale's death, to contradict the statement, said to have been made now and again, that on his death-bed Mr. Gokhale nominated him as his successor and committed the Servants of India Society to his (Mr. Sastry's) charge. There would have been nothing derogatory to Mr. Gokhale or to Mr. Sastry, if Mr. Gokhale had done so. If Mr. Sastry's object in making the contradiction was to prevent history being put on a false scent, the natural place for it would be in the biography of Mr. Gokhale which he is believed to intend to write. His attempt to explain the omission on the part of Mr. Gokhale as due to "the deeper motive" of not doing anything to tie the hands of the surviving members by a posthumous mandate, though qualified characteristically by other possible motives, seems to be a little forced. Our own impression, gathered from reliable sources at the time, was that though Mr. Gokhale did not expressly leave any injunction as to his successor, he had indicated in various ways previous to his demise, his preference for Mr. Sastry among the members who were then enrolled in the Society.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1923.

SCHEMES AND PARTIES.

It was understood when Mr. C. R. Das was in Bombay that the scheme of Swaraj which he has drafted in collaboration with Babu Bhagwandas, was to be published after the new party which he was seeking to form, had come into being. The scheme was, in fact, to form the basis for discussion by that party of the Swaraj that is to be. It was, therefore, with surprise that we read of the publication of the scheme on the 18th instant, while yet the formation of the new party has not been decided upon. This has led to a curious result. While Mr. Das' determination to form a new party seems to have steadily weakened since he left Bombay,—he is reported to have agreed to a compromise which would virtually mean shelving the idea—the publication of his scheme has led to new differences between Congressmen. The *Swarajya* of Madras, the most thorough-going Non-co-operation organ in the country, has earned the plaudits of the *Leader* of Allahabad, an equally thorough-going opponent of Non-co-operation, by its description of Mr. Das' scheme as "an Utopian scheme, worthy of Harrington's *Oceana* or some other text-book of futile nonsense." It is our impression that Mr. Das' keenness to enter the Councils is almost wholly due to his anxiety to have an opportunity of challenging Government to reject his scheme. No government that is likely to be in power in this country during the next ten years, however, can be more uncompromising in its rejection of his scheme than the Madras Congress organ. In its denunciation of the Das-Bhagwandas scheme, it becomes momentarily forgetful of its Non-co-operationist antipathy to Government and even appreciative of its achievements. It writes:

He (Mr. Das) wants an entirely new constitution. He would break down the judicial, legal and administrative machinery that India has developed during the course of the last one century. Mr. Das's objection is probably that it is foreign. Nothing is more untrue. The roots of the present British administrative machinery, with the exception of its bureaucratic superstructure, are firmly planted in the soil of India as we know it from the time of the Nandas. Between the organisation of Government that Chanakya has described and that which exists in India to-day the difference is mainly if not entirely in the fact that the interests served are not Indian but English. We are for nationalism, for self-government, for the complete independence of India if need be; but we are not for the destruction of the Governmental machinery that exists in this country, a proposal which Mr. Das and others are making evidently in the fond hope that they are nationalising the administration or building up something to suit the race mind of India.

This is an altogether new interpretation of Non-Co-operation which, we have been told times without number, was out to paralyse Government and to break down its judicial, legal and administrative machinery. It appears that this was all nonsense.

In the deliberate view of Mr. Prakasam's daily, it is Deshabandhu Das that cherishes vandal designs on the ancient and deep-rooted structure of British rule, and the Non-Co-operationists who oppose entry into the Councils, are its true custodians and protectors. The British Government ought to be grateful to Mr. Das for provoking the *Swarajya* to this mood of appreciation of its achievement in this country. It is impossible to say how far the *Swarajya's* view of the Das-Bhagwandas scheme is shared by the Congressmen who are meeting at Allahabad. The majority of them probably do not take the scheme as seriously as the Madras journal. They might even be willing to accept it as a basis for future discussion, if meanwhile Mr. Das agrees to assist in enrolling fifty-thousand volunteers and in collecting twenty-five lakhs of rupees. And Mr. Das' affection for his scheme is so great that it is possible that he may accept any compromise which would promise consideration for it.

The chief defect of the Das-Bhagwandas scheme is that it totally ignores the vast strides that science has made in annihilating time and distance since village communities flourished in India. The self-centred village community was a necessity of the time when the means of locomotion were limited to a man's legs or to rude cart-wheels revolving in ruts of caked clay. The unit of administration then was very appropriately an area which a middle-aged man can comfortably walk round every morning on his way to his own fields. The administrative principles and methods suited to such conditions, do not become suitable to our days, because they were reiterated in Mr. Das' presidential address to the Congress at Gaya. It must have taken Hionen Tshang as many hours to trudge the distance between the city and the temple at Gaya as it took minutes for Mr. Das's car to speed from his bungalow in the city to the improvised Swarajyapuri where the Congress sat. Ignoring this is the main defect which, to some extent, vitiates the whole scheme. But there is nothing revolutionary or iconoclastic about it to justify the tirade which *Swarajya* has pronounced on it. Indeed, our contemporary shows itself prone to an inverted form of the same defect as Mr. Das, when it solemnly avers that "the roots of the present British administrative machinery are firmly planted in the soil of India as we know it from the time of the Nandas". Our contemporary, it is true, qualifies its declaration by excepting "the bureaucratic superstructure" of British rule, but apart from the fact that machinery has no roots to it, what is "the present British administrative machinery" except the "bureaucratic superstructure"? The *Leader* probably knows little of and cares less for the Nandas. But it enjoys a quarrel between Congressmen, and is ready to swallow the mixed metaphor, roots, superstructure, and all, in its Gargantuan appetite for the fun of seeing Non-co-operationists belabouring one another. In the present case, there is no reason why the *Swarajya* should have felt it incumbent upon itself to use the cudgels so vigorously on the infant—and almost

still-born—scheme of Messrs. Das and Bhagwandas. "We cannot emphasise too much," observes our contemporary, "that the Swarajya movement in India does not stand for any Utopian, pedantic or antiquarian theories of Government. Our demand is essentially parliamentary democracy and even Mahatma Gandhi, hostile as he was personally to that particular method of Government, publicly stated that the object of his corporate activity in India was the achievement of that ideal." If we remember, what the Mahatma actually said was that he would be satisfied for the present with Parliamentary Swaraj, which is very different from making "the achievement of that ideal" the object of his corporate or incorporate activity. He did not cherish it as an ideal but accepted it as a sort of Hobson's choice, because he found that the imagination of his politically-minded countrymen could not soar beyond it. Mr. Das is antiquarian only in his choice of names. His Panchayat is nothing but Parliament Indianised. The use of a Sanskrit for a Norman-French word should not have upset the equilibrium of our contemporary. We have not seen the full scheme, only a precis of the contents of its several chapters. Judging from it, we do not see any essential difference between Mr. Das' scheme and that of Mrs. Besant who, in fact, acknowledged that there is much in common between the two. And Dr. Besant is a whole-hearted believer in Parliamentary democracy.

Mrs. Besant held her Conference at Delhi on the 11th February, but her scheme did not figure much in it. When Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who presided at the Conference, dwelt ominously on the inherent dangers of drafting a Constitution within two or three days and presenting it as an accomplished fact, or of tampering with political constitutions on *a priori* grounds, Dr. Besant took the hint and dropped her scheme so far as the Conference was concerned. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, after this exordium, went on thinking aloud about his experiences and discoveries when he was a member of the Government of India not so long ago. His general idea of political method was summed up in the following sentences:—

A Parliamentary form of Government was the only form of representative government known at the present moment. On those who wished to depart from that form of government lay the duty of proving that their alternative was a better one. Originality in the political constitution was not always to be commended.

The first sentence is about as illuminating and exact as a definition or description of Parliamentary government as the school-boy's definition of a circle as a round straight line with a hole in the middle. The present British House of Commons has a majority of members elected by a minority of voters. Government by it is Parliamentary government, but can it be said to be representative government? Parliamentary government, as illustrated in the present British House of Commons, is not representative government: it is a contradiction of it. The duty of proving this is not at all an onerous one. Originality not only in politics but

in any subject is always risky and the pursuit of the humdrum has always the advantage of perfect safety. But the world always honours pioneers, though long after they have passed away, it may be in prison or at the end of a rope. Parliamentary government existed in the reign of Charles I, but it had ceased to be representative and it required Cromwell's sword to make it representative again. The word most often on Sir Tej Bahadur's lips, is "dangerous." He scents political danger in the least departure from the track of the Montagu reforms. Sir Tej Bahadur was supported by the Right Hon'ble S. Sastry who, however, did not think the occasion important enough to require his presence. In his absentee oration Mr. Sastry demands "faith"—much or little, it does not matter—in the reforms as a condition of having the honour of working with him and his party. Like Bishop Blougram, he pleads:

Once own the use of faith, I'll find you faith.

We're back on Christian ground. You call for faith.

I show you doubt to prove that faith exists.

The more of doubt, the stronger faith, I say,
If faith o'ercome doubt.

Since Mr. Montagu's fall, doubts about the future of the reforms have assailed Mr. Sastry's bosom. But these doubts have but strengthened his faith in them. He will have nothing to do with unbelievers in the Montagu dispensation. The Act of 1919, with its offensive pre-amble, is the greatest stumbling-block on the road to Swaraj. Within that Act, no substantial gain can be achieved for the country. Those who seek to do so, are seeking to square the circle. It is the great, if only, merit of the Das-Bhagwandas scheme that its authors have tried to construct a scheme with reference to what they believe to be the requirements and aptitudes of the people of this country.

Mahatma Gandhi:—We have received several requests for a short sketch of the life of Mahatma Gandhi and the Non-Co-operation movement. This is attempted in the paper the first part of which is printed to-day. Reprints of it in pamphlet form will be available soon after the publication of the whole in these columns.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

On the second October last fell the fifty-fourth birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, according to the Hindu method of computation, which counts the day on which a person is born as his first birthday. The occasion was availed of by adherents of the Indian National Congress to hold public meetings in many places, at which Gandhi's portrait was exhibited and speeches were made in appreciation of his services and sacrifices for the country and exhorting the Indian people to carry on the national work which he set before them in absolute loyalty to his ideal of non-violence in thought, word and deed. Three hundred Indian women, several of whom had gone from Bombay and Ahmedabad, went in a procession to Yeravde jail, near Poona, where Gandhi is imprisoned, and sought permission of the Superintendent to be allowed to see the distinguished prisoner. The Superintendent very politely expressed his inability to grant their request, as it was, he said, beyond his powers. The women then requested him to hand over their offerings of flowers to Mahatma Gandhi. After this, they gathered at the jail gate, and sang a birthday song and offered prayers in total silence for his early release. This over, they went back the way they came. This incident illustrates one great secret of the great hold

which Gandhi's movement has obtained on the popular mind. He himself regards it as the best part of his work that he had given the women of India the place which is their due in the public life of the country. His personality and his influence have certainly been the means of widening the horizon of many thousands of women of all castes and classes in all parts of the country beyond the narrow circle of their domestic interests, to which it has been limited so long. And women in India, as all the world over, notwithstanding outward differences of custom and manners, exercise a compelling influence on public sentiment.

HIS CASTE AND RELIGION.

English writers, including the Publicity Officer of the Government of India, have referred to Gandhi as of "lowly birth." This is incorrect. He belongs to the Vysia or trading caste of Hindus, which is one of the *dwija* or twice-born castes. Of the four stages prescribed by the Brahmanical code, three, namely, *Brahmacharya* (student,) *Grhastha* (householder) and *Vanaprastha* (contemplative retirement) are common to all *dwijas*. Only the fourth, *Sanyas*, or complete renunciation of all worldly ties, is the special prerogative of the Brahmin, the sacerdotal caste. Even this rule, however, has been relaxed in practice, as in the case of the late Swami Vivekanand who, though not of Brahmin caste, was recognised throughout India as a great *sanyasi*. The fact is that the Hindu social system, except where it has been made rigid by the decisions of British Indian Courts of Law, still possesses much elasticity and is being constantly, though tacitly, modified to suit changing conditions of life. Nor was Gandhi of "lowly birth" as regards his parentage. His father was Dewan or Chief Minister of a protected Indian State in Kathiawar, known as Porbandar. Gandhi was sent to England at a very early age, soon after matriculating at the Bombay University, to study for the Bar. Indian boys sent at tender ages to England have, as a rule, turned out badly. Gandhi himself was not immune from the influences which beset Indian youth in London. But before leaving India, his mother had exacted from him a promise to forswear meat, wine and women. While almost on the brink of the precipice, his promise to his mother flashed upon his mind and helped him back. During this period also seems to have occurred a spiritual struggle in Gandhi's mind. With reference to this, he wrote in his paper *Young India* last year: "I have always claimed to be a Sanatan Hindu. It is not that I am quite innocent of the scriptures. I am not a profound scholar of Sanskrit. I have read the Vedas and the Upanishads only in translations. My knowledge of them is in no way profound but I have studied them as I should do as a Hindu and I claim to have grasped their spirit. By the time I had reached the age of 21, I had studied other religions also. There was a time when I was wavering between Hinduism and Christianity. When I recovered my balance of mind I felt that to me salvation was possible only through the Hindu religion and my faith in Hinduism grew deeper and

more enlightened." But though the pull towards Christianity passed off, it left a permanent impress behind. There is a good deal of Christ's thought in Gandhi's Hinduism. This is true to a considerable extent of the Hinduism of modern India, but in Gandhi's case it is predominantly so.

HIS WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Gandhi did not remain long in India after his return on being called to the Bar in London. He accepted a professional engagement from an Indian firm trading with Natal and sailed to that British colony. The hardships and disabilities of Indians in Natal were so great that he felt that he should settle down there and organise an Indian movement for their redress. Indian labourers were first sent to Natal in 1850, under the indenture system which was devised in about 1834 on the abolition of, and as a substitute for, Negro slavery. The first indentured Indian labourers were recruited for Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica. These men and women were bound by their indentures, which many of them being illiterate but faintly understood, to work for any employer to whom they were allotted for a period of five years at wages which were invariably lower than that paid to free labour around them. They had to live on the estates of the employers, must not go anywhere without a special permit, and must do whatever tasks were assigned to them. They were placed under a special law which made the most trivial breaches of the contract a crime punishable with imprisonment. The worst feature of the system, however, was the frightful immorality admitted by all who have studied the question to be inseparable from it. A quota of forty women was provided by the law relating to indentured emigration for every one hundred male labourers. This quota was generally made up of women of loose morals, and independent observers have commented on the immoral relation existing not only between many of these women and the men for whom they were taken from India but also between them and some of the planters themselves and their overseers. Mr. Jenkins, who was afterwards Agent-General of Canada, said in 1870 that "women are not recruited for any special work, and they certainly are not taken there for ornamental purposes". The benefits conferred by the indentured Indians on Natal have been testified to among others by Sir Liege Hulett, ex-Prime Minister of the colony, who said in 1906 that Natal had been turned from a decaying condition into one of the most prosperous parts of South Africa and that Durban was absolutely built up by the Indian population. General Smuts has quite recently spoken in similar terms of the contribution of Indian labour to the prosperity of Natal. The original condition on which the indentured Indians were drawn, namely, that they should have equal rights as free citizens on the expiry of their indentures, was gradually whittled down and, in its place, harassing restrictions were imposed upon them with a view to make them re-indenture or quit the country which they had made so prosperous. Against these injustices and hardships,

Gandhi found his countrymen struggling. He settled down in South Africa. He first endeavoured to get the Indian grievances redressed by representations to the British Government in South Africa and by demonstrating in practical ways the loyalty and goodwill of the Indian community to that Government. During the Boer war Gandhi organised and personally led a volunteer ambulance corps of his compatriots in South Africa. Its services were acknowledged by the British Commander under whom it served. Later during the Zulu rebellion, he again took a group of Indian stretcher-bearers and ministered in person to the wounded Zulus. Finding constitutional representations and demonstrations of loyalty useless, he started the Passive Resistance movement which stirred public feeling in India to such an extent that Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy, openly ranged himself on the side of Gandhi in a public speech delivered in Madras. The speech led to protests from South Africa and in England on the ground of constitutional impropriety, but it endeared Lord Hardinge to the Indian people. Ultimately a compromise was arrived at between the Indians and the South African Union Government. Some leaders in India thought that Gandhi had conceded too much in agreeing to forego the claim to the free right of entry of Indians, in consideration of a promise to treat Indians domiciled in the colony on a civilised footing. Recent attempts in Natal and Transvaal show that, having secured South Africa against any further Indian immigration, it is now sought to crush out the domiciled Indian population by laws prohibiting the holding of land and refusing trading licenses. The abiding results of Gandhi's Passive Resistance movement, have been the abolition of the nefarious indenture system and arousing in India, till then indifferent to her children overseas, a keen feeling of solicitude for them. This has had very important consequences on Indian politics. In recognition of his work in South Africa, the Government of India conferred on Gandhi the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal, a decoration generally bestowed for philanthropic and humanitarian services.

HIS ATTITUDE TO THE BRITISH CONNECTION.

It is necessary to emphasise that Gandhi's labours on behalf of his countrymen in South Africa received the approbation and recognition of the Government of India because in the latest report, presented to Parliament, of the Chief Publicity Officer of the Government of India, it is suggested that Gandhi returned to India resolved to start a Passive Resistance movement in this country on the model of his South African campaign. This is absolutely incorrect. Gandhi left South Africa for good in 1914, and before coming to India went to England. When he was there the Great War broke out, and he at once set about the formation of an Ambulance Corps from among the Indians in England. He came to India in 1915. Speaking in Madras in April of that year at a dinner given by the members of the legal profession, he explained why he was attached to the British Empire. "The British Empire," he said,

"has certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of those ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energies and honour and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true of the British Empire, as it is not true of any other Government. I am no lover of any Government and I have more than once said that that Government is best which governs least. And I have found that it is possible for me to be governed least under the British Empire. Hence my loyalty to the British Empire". Gandhi attended, by invitation, the Delhi War Conference called by the Viceroy in 1918, and spoke in support of a resolution declaring the loyalty of India to the British connection. He started a campaign for recruiting soldiers in his native province of Gujarat, holding that the easiest and straightest way to win self-government, was to participate in the defence of the Empire. Even after the passing of the Rowlatt Act—an Act continuing some of the most objectionable features of war legislation restraining the liberty of the subject—and the martial law administration in the Punjab, Gandhi spoke at the National Congress held at Amritsar in 1919 in support of the scheme of constitutional reform introduced by the late Secretary of State for India, Mr. E.S. Montagu. At the Ahmedabad Congress in December 1921, when the Non-Co-operation movement was in full swing, he strenuously opposed a resolution brought forward by a Mohamedan leader declaring that complete independence should be the political goal of India. And in the course of his trial in March last when the charge against him was read, that of bringing into hatred or contempt the Government established in India, he said: "I plead guilty to all the charges. I observe that the King's name has been omitted from the charges and it has been properly omitted". In one of the articles on which he was charged, he declared that what they had to do was to destroy the present governmental system which, he held, had done irreparable injury to the people of India. What Gandhi and most other Indian politicians demand is full responsible Government, as in Canada, Australia and South Africa.

(To be continued.)

LONDON LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, February 1st, 1923.

DIFFERENT CURRICULA FOR BOYS AND GIRLS.

An interesting report has just been issued by a Board of Education Consultative Committee on the differentiation of curricula between the sexes in secondary schools. The Committee had been asked to advise the Board as to whether greater differentiation was desirable in the school curriculum for boys and girls, and has been making an inquiry into this question extending over the last two years. The inquiry has been a fairly exhaustive one, all kinds of witnesses having been examined, including parents, teachers of all types, and experts in medicine and psychology. It is found as a result of the investigation that while a girl's mental capacity is in no way

inferior to a boy's, her sense of conscientiousness makes her a much keener worker, and this working strain being put upon her during the age of 14 to 16, when her body and mind require relief from excessive strain, results often in a breakdown and loss of mental and physical vigour. In the case of the normal boy there is such a strong repugnance to overwork that he eases the position for himself, refusing absolutely to be led into a condition of overstrain. The Committee, therefore, recommends that shorter school hours are a necessity for the girl, with the examination age to be put at 17 instead of 16. The Report is a very interesting one for all interested in education and in the differences in mentality of boys and girls. That distinct difference is shown, specially during the critical years of 14 to 16, is evident. Briefly the general differences are shown in boys having a more mathematical mind and girls excelling in such subjects as literature and history.

LORD RONALDSHAY ON INDIAN UNREST.

A very distinguished audience assembled at the Royal Society of Arts to hear a lecture by Lord Ronaldshay on "A Clash of Ideals as a source of Indian Unrest." The Secretary of State for India was in the chair. During his lecture Lord Ronaldshay said "the source of unrest which seemed to him of fundamental importance was the heat generated by the clash of two conflicting ideals, the offspring of two different outlooks upon the universe. The motive force behind the swing of the pendulum in India—formerly it was the fashion to mimic the Englishman in everything—was sufficiently plain. It was fear lest before the triumphant assertiveness of Western civilization all that was essentially and distinctively Indian was doomed to perish. If we were to dry up this potent source of racial animosity we must make a supreme effort to restore the confidence of Indians in two things—in the integrity of our own intentions not to thrust upon them a civilization they do not desire, and in the capacity of their own civilization to exact our sympathetic interest and respect." Lord Peel, in his Chairman's speech, said that Lord Ronaldshay had passed over lightly some of what they hoped were temporary causes of Indian unrest. He had said little of the disturbance in Moslem feeling owing to troubles in Turkey and difficulties set on foot by the war, all of which they hoped might disappear as the years went on. Sir Valentine Chirol made a short speech chiefly eulogising Lord Ronaldshay's sincerity as shown in his work while in India. Other speakers also took part in the proceedings. Among the audience were the Austrian Minister, the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar, Lord Meston, Lord Islington, Mr. Montagu, Sir M. O'Dwyer and the Under Secretary for India, Sir William Duke.

A ROYAL BETROTHAL.

The announcement of the King's second son's betrothal to a non-Royal British girl of aristocratic parentage has caused general rejoicing. The increasingly close association of the British Royal family with the people of the country, whilst departing widely on the practice of the Victorian era and earlier—

save in marriages morganatic—is a reversion to the still earlier practice when English sovereigns sought alliances with the well-born families of the land as a means of strengthening their hold upon the affections of the people. For a long time it had been hoped that the Prince of Wales would set the example of marrying to the remainder of the King's children, but he was anticipated by his sister, Princess Mary, Viscountess Lascelles, and now his younger brother, the Duke of York, has stolen a march upon him. The young couple are very popular and the nation's feelings have been generously aroused by the spectacle of a love match, such as appeals to the romantic instinct of most of us. There seems to be little doubt that this romantic attachment has existed for some time. I came across accidentally, the other day, a two-years-old picture of a group in which the Duke is standing immediately behind his present betrothed's chair.

REVISION OF PRAYERS AND COMMANDMENTS.

The clergy and laymen of the Anglican Church are busily engaged in the preliminary discussions as to the advisability of making changes in the Book of Common Prayer. It is held, among large numbers of thoughtful people here, that, in many respects, the language employed and the ideas embodied in the present Prayer Book, including some of the Commandments, are not calculated to inspire men and women of to-day with that reverence for a lofty morality that they doubtless did in days gone by, when people were less critical and knowledge was not so widespread. It is argued that many of the prayers and the form taken by some of the Commandments require revision in order to bring them into conformity with accumulated experience. The revisionists think that religious experience is a never-ending thing of growth and they feel that modern society cannot be expected to rest satisfied with the attitude towards private and public morality that sufficed in cruder times. For long there has been a tendency among more sensitive members of the Church to retain the essentials of worship and to leave out the cruder elements of the old liturgy, and the attempt is now being made to regularise this attitude by giving formal authority, within certain well-defined limits, to those who wish for greater freedom.

THE SITUATION IN IRELAND.

The situation in Ireland seems to be getting worse instead of better. The Irish people appear not to understand the meaning of authority in government and to regard the present struggle between the Free State Government and the Sinn Feiners or ultra-Republicans as being a sort of struggle between opposing factions between whom it is desirable to remain neutral. However that may be, there is no doubt that public opinion has not rallied to the Free State Government to nearly the extent that it should have done, and the characteristic Irish devil-may-care habits are as much to be seen in this attitude as in the relative lack of discipline of the Free State Army. There is a tendency among Irishmen to judge the new untried Administration by the high standards of ability and conduct to which the British had accus-

toned them, and this unwitting tribute to Great Britain may, perhaps, be some consolation, when other sources of comfort are denied us, to this country. But that anarchy is rife in Ireland is beyond dispute. Over the greater part of the country there is but a loose military control and the railways have been put out of action. Within the last two days, in Dublin itself and the suburbs, there have been a series of successful attempts to destroy the residences of prominent Irishmen. The very worst case of this kind, so far, is the destruction by a bomb, during his absence in America, of the residence of Sir Horace Plunkett, to whom Ireland owes so much and who should have been without an enemy. But it is becoming the common fate of benefactors of their country to be treated as though they had betrayed it, because they do not hold the perverted views of the small, unscrupulous minority who are bent upon terrorising their countrymen into acceptance of an unpopular political system. Mr. De Valera has a heavy responsibility, but he seems to be oblivious of it.

KENYA INDIANS.

The Kenya Indian question is being "solved." That is to say, the Colonial Office and the Government of India have agreed upon certain proposals aiming at giving practical effect to the principle of equal citizenship laid down at the 1921 Imperial Conference. These proposals do not go the whole way and therefore do not satisfy the entire Indian demand, but because a real attempt appears at last to have been made to enforce and apply the resolution of the Conference, and in recognition of the difficulties of the situation consequent upon such long mishandling of the problem, the Indian community in Kenya, without surrendering any question of fundamental right or principle, have agreed to accept the proposals as a substantial step in advance, provided they are not changed. The White settlers, on the other hand, have made it known that they are quite unwilling to accept the terms. They want definite and final reservation to themselves of the Highlands, the stoppage of Indian immigration, no common franchise, and the permanent fixing of community representation upon such a basis as to give them always a majority of non-official elected members. It is to be hoped that the Imperial Government will not allow themselves to be moved from their object by threats of violence on the part of the settlers, and I have no present reason to suppose that the Colonial Office is recoiling from its position. It is not the sort of thing that Mr. Ormsby Gore, whose resignation is demanded by the white settlers, would, if left a free hand, tolerate. But one never knows in these days of perverted propaganda, when might is right. What is quite clear is that a grave struggle is now being carried on, upon whose result will depend the allegiance to the British Commonwealth of the non-white members. Either racial equality is to be a reality or it is not, and it is just as well that the issue should be clear-cut and well-defined.

FRANCO-GERMAN DISPUTE.

Whether Germany or France will win in the present dispute will not be revealed for a long time, by all

appearances, but one wonders what use it will be to any one if either wins. Both seem to be bent upon destruction, and what is now going on in the Ruhr makes a future war almost inevitable between the two countries. France is determined to get her pound of flesh, and it is not at all certain that reparations is her real or at any rate her final object. She does not want to see a Germany strong enough one day to turn and rend her, and she knows that if Germany's industrial life is organised to the height to which it must be in order to pay reparations, it will mean an enormously powerful Germany neighbouring a far less powerful France. Germany, on the other hand, has no special inducement to make even that reparation that she can afford, since the total is still an unfixed sum, and she regards France's present action in the Ruhr as mere camouflage for an attack upon German integrity, in accordance with the principles of France's old Imperialism. Meanwhile, France is asking her taxpayers to add 20 per cent. to their taxation at the very moment when, in foreign eyes, France's assets, as judged by the rate of exchange, are 20 per cent. less in value than they were before Mr. Bonar Law went to Paris and the Conference broke down. It is believed that both countries would like to disengage themselves from the present impasse if a suitable opportunity were found, but none such is immediately forthcoming. The real danger lies in the possibility, and perhaps even the prospect of a general European war between the recalcitrant members of the "comity" of nations making up Europe, who have not yet lost their zest for Imperialist adventure and who have to provide occupation for unemployed soldiery. The League of Nations will have its work cut out to survive the present troubles.

The late R. B. Mahajani:—Rao Bahadur V. M. Mahajani, M. A., retired Educational Inspector, Berar, who died last week at Akola, was in several respects a unique personality. Born in 1851 he graduated in his 19th year from the Deccan College and was on Dr. Wordsworth's recommendation appointed 1st Assistant at the Akola High School. Mr. Mahajani was soon promoted to the Headmastership of the Amraoti High School and as such, was the ever respected *guru* of the first generation of Berar graduates and undergraduates. A scholar and philosopher and above all a man of unblemished character, Mr. Mahajani held unquestionably and for years the position of the guide, philosopher and friend of Berar. He was *persona grata* with Government too and his services as President, Akola Municipality were highly appreciated. In his honour all Courts and Schools of Akola were closed for a day last Saturday. R. B. Mahajani's claim to grateful memory rests however on a still wider basis. He was the acknowledged chief and leader of the Marathi writers and scholars of the British era. He has rendered into excellent Marathi, Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*, *Winter's Tale* and *All's Well that ends Well*. His *Pushpanjali* contains some of the best Marathi poems of modern times. He has left a work on Political Economy. Of reviews and essays, there must be more than a hundred, all finding an honoured place in the premier Marathi Magazine, the *Vividhadnyan Vistar*. No wonder he was unanimously chosen from year to year to be the President of the Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad which is a Presidency association working for the general progress of Marathi literature. One work of his remains unpublished and that is *Versions in English poetry of Saint Tukaram's Abhangs*. It is to be hoped that they will be printed and published.

The Indian National Social Conference.

The Indian National Social Conference was started in 1887. During its existence of thirty-five years its scope has gradually developed and increased in keeping with the progress of ideas in the country. But it has practically no organisation, and it is thought that the time is opportune to make a beginning. The Conference, in the words of the late Mr. Justice Ranade, does not aim at superseding or controlling local societies which are doing, each in its sphere, good honest work. The important function of the Conference is, while not superseding local associations, to strengthen their local efforts, by focussing together the information of what is being done in these matters in the several communities and provinces and castes, and thus stimulating mutual co-operation by extending sympathy and help. "Every local body," said Mr. Ranade, "must grapple with its own evils; but in this struggle it is very necessary that it should know what are the common principles on which the struggle is to be maintained, what are the methods to be followed, and the conditions and limitations to be observed. It is in respect of these principles and methods and limitations, that the work of the local associations presents common features, and it is in respect of this common element that our deliberations in this Social Conference are likely to be very helpful to us all."

A central organisation is necessary to enable the Conference to do its work, as outlined above more regularly, systematically and completely than is possible without organisation to work up material for each annual Conference.

The objects of the National Social Conference now include the following principal objects :—

- (1) The promotion of reforms affecting the position of women, including education, improved marriage and domestic arrangements, and removal of restrictions on their participation in the national life.
- (2) Reform of the caste system, including prominently the removal of the evil custom of "untouchability."
- (3) The rapid reduction of illiteracy in the country.
- (4) The furtherance of movements to raise the standard of health and life of the people.
- (5) The regulation on just and equitable principles of the relations of employer and employed in the industrial sphere.
- (6) Combating the evil of drinks and drugs and the early adoption of total prohibition.
- (7) The promotion of sentiments of goodwill and unity among all the communities of India.

This list is not exhaustive, but it covers all the main categories of reform so far dealt with by the Conference. It will be necessary to keep in touch with local activities in all these directions, to form district and provincial Conference Committees, to collect and co-ordinate their reports, to present them at the annual session of the Conference, and to help the local Reception Committee with information and advice in regard to arrangements for holding the annual session.

An Executive Committee is being formed in Bombay where the central office is located for the current year. The Indian National Social Conference held at Gaya last December adopted a resolution urging the immediate need of organising the Social Conference with a view to carry on a sustained agitation throughout the year by forming District and Provincial Conference Committees and raising subscriptions for the purpose of maintaining the office of the Central Committee.

We invite subscriptions from all those who sympathise with these objects. They should be sent to Mr. G. B. Trivedi, B.A., M.L.C., 201, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay, who has kindly agreed to act as Treasurer. It should be clearly stated in the money order coupon that the amount is for the Indian Social Conference. All subscriptions will be acknowledged in the columns of the *Indian Social Reformer*, Bombay. All other communications should be addressed to the General Secretary, Indian National Social Conference, Empire Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

M. R. JAYAKAR,
President.
K. NATARAJAN,
General Secretary.
S. SADANAND,
Assistant Secretary.

A COMRADESHIP OF LOVE.

AN ALL-INDIA MOVEMENT.

Lovers of India are recognizing as never before that, if this great and beautiful land is to realize its high destiny to the full, it can only be in an atmosphere of love; that is to say, an atmosphere in which love can release all the wonderful gifts that the dwellers in India can bring into its treasury.

At present India is divided by different languages, nationalities, castes and sects, and such division always spells waste of wealth. Every language, every nation, every caste and every sect has something to bring into the common treasury, but as yet each gift is hoarded in private coffers, and only love can unlock those hoards.

Yet India stands at the crisis of her life history; never before has she so needed every particle of the spiritual wealth which her children possess. How is this wealth to be made available? How can her children help their Mother now in her hour of need? Only by spreading the atmosphere of love.

Every rude action, every boorish word spoken to one of her children, every carping, whining criticism locks out of sight some talent that might perhaps have altered the history of the Orient. How are we to guard against this impoverishment of India's untold spiritual gifts? How are we dwellers in India to spread the atmosphere of love, and so release all her potential wealth?

Slander, prejudices, foolish criticism, unlovely acts, all breed dark foul clouds of suspicion, and it is only in the clear sunlight of love that India's statesmen will be able to reconstruct her future.

Let us as individuals realize our personal responsibility: what can we do to clear the air? How can we at least avoid increasing the fogs and mists? How can we help to let the sunshine into our own part of India?

Some lovers of India, feeling very humbly, yet very intensely, their own responsibility, are banding themselves together into a "comradeship of love," a comradeship which shall include Indian and English, Hindu and Mahomedan, Jain and Parsi, European official and Christian missionary, Brahmin pundit and humble labourer, village farmer and city clerk, merchant and professional man. The comradeship is to be neither political nor missionary, sectarian nor racial. Nor will those who join it have to leave their ordinary daily avocations. It only aims at binding together men and women of goodwill who love India in common effort to spread everywhere the happy, trustful atmosphere of loving kindness. It has no organisation, no office-bearers, and no subscription. It has, however, stringent rules:—

Those who join it pledge themselves in the sacred name of Love that they themselves will strive to live always in an atmosphere of love, and particularly:—

(1) That they will love in *deed* trying every day to do something that will make someone else happy and to show some act of courtesy to a member of another community.

(2) That they will love in *word*—neither speaking harshly to any one, nor repeating any unkind slander or criticism of any one, least of all a member of another race; but that instead they will deliberately pass on any kind thing they hear about any one else, specially one from whom they differ.

(3) That they will love in *thought*—sending out loving thoughts to all against whom they bear a grudge, forgiving any unkindness that may have been done to them, and abstaining from imputing any wrong motive to those from whom they differ.

Lastly, in order that they may be able to carry into practice this threefold Jewel of Love in Thought, Deed and Word, every day at some fixed hour, morning, evening, or noonday, they will deliberately for two minutes open the doors of their being, that True Love may enter in and take possession of their whole personality.

Any one who desires to link himself or herself to this Comradeship of Love does so by simply signing the following declaration:—

For the sake of India, I,.....solemnly and deliberately pledge myself to a life of Love in Thought, Word and Deed.

THE PRESENT STANDSTILL.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Mr. Hingekar of Poona deserves credit for his practical suggestion that the chosen representatives of different Hindu castes should periodically meet and discuss social problems and should try to arrive at a definite scheme of our social uplift.

I believe his appeal will not fall on deaf ears, and social reformers of Maharashtra will make a point to be present at such meetings whenever their presence is required.

With full sympathy for his work I beg to suggest to your correspondent to think twice before giving practical shape to his other suggestion of having two groups, one of vegetarian Hindus and the other of Non-vegetarian Hindus. I believe he has not given enough mature thought to his other idea. Otherwise he would never have suggested it, if he is really well-meaning. Non-vegetarian Hindus don't use as much flesh as the Europeans. They are more vegetarians than flesh-eaters. Our different dishes are as much relished by them as by us. So in inter-caste dinners, for the convenience of all, flesh must not be used.

The scheme of two groups, though it looks to-day innocent and workable, is fraught with mischief. Your correspondent wants to put Brahmin, Gujarati, Jains and Lingajats in one group and Marathas and Depressed classes together in another. I ask your correspondent in what group he would accommodate Prabhus and Saraswats. Will not the sturdy Marathas feel the sting to join with the Depressed classes, when these unfortunate poor brethren of ours are hated and kicked by all? It is hanging the burden of the hated depressed classes round the Marathas' shoulders to be ourselves free with a pious look. Here the cunning Brahmin is out. If Marathas really join with the Depressed classes, they will not fail to rise against the pious group, which in the end will hang on the shoulders of the Mahomedans or the Government. In the interest of Brahmins and Banias, never harbour an idea of such groups.

Indirectly the agricultural masses will be encouraged to strike against their Brahmin, Bania and Marwadi landlords and money-lenders. The Marwadis being humanitarian vegetarians will come in the group of the pious and the holy.

The only solution is to foster the idea of Hindu fraternity over the ashes of *Varnashram*. We are only Brahmins and not Hindus. We blame the Non-Brahmins and never look within us. That is the source of mischief. As regards diet in public dinners, let there be only vegetarian food to respect the feelings of the minority. But in other affairs, we must tolerate our non-vegetarian Hindus as we tolerate our own Brahmins eating flesh in Iran's shop. Among Saraswats there are vegetarians and non-vegetarians, but they both tolerate each other. If we want to progress with the peoples of different nations, don't make fuss over your vegetarian diet and encourage aloofness.

In developing the sentiment of Hindu fraternity, in no way encourage anti-Mahomedan, anti-Christian or anti-Parsi feelings. Let us all feel that we all are children of India.

Yours etc.
JAWHARIAN.

THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
BOMBAY.

GRIEVANCES OF CLERICAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I beg to crave for a little space in your valuable paper for the following few lines :

The clerical establishment of the Accountant General's office has been long labouring under a number of grievances. But the past grievances sink into insignificance when compared with the present. The "Fundamental Rules" apply to the whole public service in India and form the very basis of the contract of that service. The open infringement of these Rules by superior officers in matters relating to the treatment of the clerical staff, therefore, becomes a matter of grave concern to us, clerks, as it involves the question whether clerks in Government offices have any right to claim at least such treatment as may be expected from the right application of the "Fundamental Rules" which are supposed to govern matters connected with leave, pay and pension etc. The difference between the clerical staff of a commercial firm and that of a Government office is, it is often said, that the position of the former entirely depends on the whims of their employers while that of the latter depends on certain definite Rules the proper application of which they have a right to expect.

Among the numerous grievances of the clerks employed in the Accountant General's office are (1) the non-acceptance of medical certificates from registered Medical practitioners, (2) the refusal to send applicants before the Presidency Surgeon, (3) granting shorter leave than that recommended by the Civil Surgeon, (4) recalling men who are on leave on medical certificate and (5) giving half pay—and sometimes no pay at all—where full pay was due according to the Rules. The climax seems to have reached in a case where a man who was on leave on the Civil Surgeon's certificate was recalled on pain of suspension, which in course of time must end in dismissal, as if falling ill was a crime to be punished with summary dismissal!

Will anybody care to enquire on behalf of the poor clerks of the Accountant General's office whether such state of things is in accordance with the "Fundamental Rules" or whether the Rules do not apply to the clerical staff of the Accountant General's office. Our grievances were several times ventilated through the columns of a local daily, but somehow, it seems, they have not attracted the attention of the Accountant General. I hope this will receive the attention of the authorities concerned and may result in some good to the suffering clerks.

BOMBAY.

Yours faithfully,

31st February, 1923.

SORROS.

SCIENCE AND POLITICS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

May I refer you to a letter published in your issue of January 27 headed "Science and Politics"? The writer seems to be entirely misinformed as to the attitude of Government towards wireless telegraphy, as enquiry at any Post and Telegraph office in India would have shown him. Government is only too anxious to foster the development of radio telegraphy in India, not only in Instructional establishments and by amateurs but also for business purposes.

Under the existing rule any reputable British or Indian subject of not less than 27 years of age can take out a license to erect, maintain and work radio apparatus in

British India. For bona fide experimenters, Experimental and Instructional establishments and amateurs, the total cost of the license is Rs. 10 per annum. For those who require to use the apparatus for private or business communications an annual royalty is charged in addition, which depends on the class of apparatus used and other factors. In no case, however, does the royalty exceed Rs. 500. Similarly a person may import and sell wireless apparatus under license from the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs.

Moreover, arrangements are now being made to permit "Broadcasting" by private enterprise in British India and Burma.

Office of the Director
of Information
22nd February 1923.

J. F. GENNINGS.

SPECIAL CLASS PRISONERS.

The following is published in the Bombay Government Gazette of the 15th instant.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 60 of the Prisons Act, IX of 1891 and in supersession of rule 1003 of the Bombay Jail Manual, the Governor in Council is pleased to make the following rules to be inserted as Chapter XXXIX-A in the Bombay Jail Manual for the selection of prisoners sentenced to or undergoing sentences of simple imprisonment for treatment in a separate division:—

1. Any Court sentencing an offender to simple imprisonment is at liberty to recommend that the prisoner be treated in the separate division in consideration of the character, education or status and the circumstances of his particular offence. The recommendation should be endorsed with full reasons in writing on the warrant and should be referred by the Superintendent of the Prison through the Inspector General of Prisons for the orders of Government. Similar recommendations may at any time be made by the District Magistrate or the Superintendent of the Prison through the Inspector General of Prisons to Government.

2. Prisoners ordered to be treated in the separate division should be provided with separate accommodation apart from ordinary prisoners but not so as to involve anything of the nature of separate confinement unless specially ordered as a prison punishment.

3. They should be given the diet prescribed for ordinary prisoners of their own social class but where the sanctioned scale of prison diet would cause undue hardship having regard to their normal standard of living, articles of food may be brought in from outside the prison at their own expense as a supplement to, or in substitution for, the prison diet. The concession should be subject to the conditions that the food should be of the simplest character and that no luxuries should be allowed. Applications for this concession should be subject to the approval of the medical officers of the prison and to the general control of the Superintendent.

4. They should, if they so require, be provided with ordinary jail clothing without the regulation stripes but they should be permitted, if they prefer it, to wear their own clothing subject to the approval of the medical authorities of the jail and to the general control of the Superintendent of the Prison.

5. They should be permitted to use their own bedding and, if they so require, their own beds subject to the approval of the medical authorities of the jail and the general control of the Superintendent of the Prison.

6. They should be permitted at their own expense writing materials, books and periodicals subject to the approval of the Superintendent of the Prison. But newspapers should not be allowed except with the special orders of Government.

7. They should be permitted to write and receive one letter once a month strictly limited to private matters and

subject in other respects to the general rules relating to letters and the control and discretion therein provided of the Superintendent of the Prison.

8. They should be permitted interviews once a month limited to private matters and subject in other respects to the general rules relating to interviews and to the control and discretion therein provided of the Superintendent of the Prison.

9. They should not be required to perform menial duties. These should be performed by the ordinary menial staff provided for this purpose in the prison.

10. They should be permitted to use their own cooking and feeding utensils and a reasonable amount of other private furniture at the discretion of the Superintendent of the Prison.

11. They should not be handcuffed or fettered except when necessary to prevent attack on the staff or escape or when specially prescribed as a prison punishment. The Superintendent has authority to withdraw individual privileges in the event of misconduct and to inflict ordinary punishments, but they should not be punished with standing handcuffs or bar fetters or whipping without the sanction of Government.

12. They should in all other respects be subject to the ordinary rules relating to prisoners. They should not be removed from the separate division without the sanction of Government.

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Correspond with Lajpat Rai Sahani, Hony. Secretary, Vidhya Vivah Sabaik Sabha, Lahore, (Punjab).

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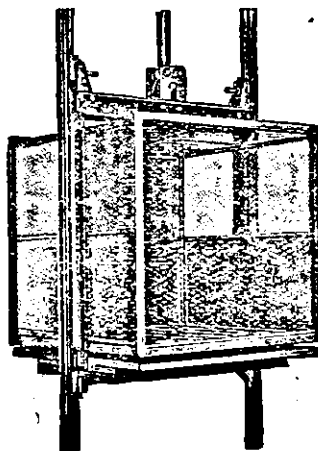
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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office—EMPIRE BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT.

Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

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Vol. XXXIII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1923. 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
hesitate, 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 Compromise: The compromise effected between the majority and minority parties of the Congress at Allahabad, is of importance chiefly as evidencing the earnest recognition of both of their duty to the country to maintain the integrity of the Congress. The on-looker often sees more of the game than the players. What the Congress means to the country, and even to those who are its determined opponents, is brought out in the remark, in its last issue, of the *Guardian*, the new Christian weekly of Calcutta, that "the radicalism of the Congress has been the mainstay of the Liberals' position within and without the Councils." The weakening of the Congress cannot but mean the weakening of all political activity in the country. The patriotism of the leaders on both sides in arriving at the present compromise, will be appreciated by all thoughtful Indians and friends of India. The actual terms of the compromise, obviously do not disclose the full mind of its authors in accepting it. The new Party will have no hand in enrolling volunteers or collecting money for civil disobedience, but will co-operate with the other party in raising funds and enlisting workers for the constructive programme. This does not seem very promising even on paper. The Council propaganda is to be suspended till the 30th April, in order no doubt to give the majority party time to realise, what the new Party has realised, that civil disobedience is not a question of practical politics. The terms of the compromise should not, we think, be taken literally. It signifies to our mind nothing more than this—that both sides feel that they will be in a better position to agree with each other two months hence than now, and that something may also happen in the meanwhile which may precipitate them into an agreement. The compromise is accompanied by a postscript to the effect that it is conditional on Government not dissolving the Councils earlier than the time of their nominal termination. This seems to give a clue to the compromise. Questioned in the Legislative Assembly on Wednesday as to the probability of an early election, the

Government Member professed complete ignorance of what would happen.

A Doctor and a Police Superintendent: The Government of Bombay suffered a bad defeat in the Legislative Council last Saturday on a motion brought forward by Mr. J. B. Petit demanding that a Police Superintendent should be adequately punished for arresting and detaining in custody a Medical practitioner, Dr. S. P. Kapadia, on a charge of purchasing stolen property. Two subordinates of Superintendent Carter, the Prosecuting Inspector, Mr. Guider, and the Chief Presidency Magistrate agreed in thinking that there were no grounds for the doctor's arrest. The Chief Presidency Magistrate, in declaring that Dr. Kapadia left the Court without a stain upon his character, passed severe strictures on Superintendent Carter's conduct in the case. The Bombay Medical Union took up the matter and made representations to Government. Government maintained that the Superintendent acted in good faith and there was no ground to censure him. Mr. Petit's motion received support from non-official members from every side of the Council, and was carried, in the face of the strong opposition of the Home Member, by a large majority. The Home Member virtually maintained that Superintendent Carter was entitled to act on his belief, however ill-grounded it might have been, and Government would take no action against him. On looking through the papers, we see no reason to think that Superintendent Carter was actuated by a corrupt motive. Corrupt persons are seldom so self-opinionated as he showed himself to be. But it is quite clear that he allowed his judgment to be warped by the fixed idea that no reputable medical man would buy medical things from a hawker. A man so incapable of calm, cool reflection, should not be invested with the responsible powers of a Police Superintendent. We do not know anything of Superintendent Carter's previous record. But even if it showed that his failure of judgment, on this occasion, was exceptional, Government, if they cared for the liberty of the subject, should have warned him that it should not occur again. The Government defeat on Saturday was wholly due to the Home Member's incapacity to put himself in the place of men who are not Executive Councillors or Police Superintendents. The non-official members were in no vindictive mood. Some sign that Government had a feeling for the liberty and reputation of the subject, would have satisfied them. But Mr. Hayward's attitude in his first speech—though he seems to have toned down in his reply—was aggressively and even offensively hostile to the demand that Superintendent Carter's grave error of judgment should be brought home to him in some manner. The Ministers are said to have voted against Mr. Petit's motion!

"Untouchables" in Primary Schools: The Government of Bombay have taken an important step calculated to facilitate greatly the removal of the prejudice against contact with certain castes, by

ordering that henceforth children of the "untouchable" castes should be admitted to all schools on equal terms with children of other classes. We print the Press note on the subject in another column. There is practically no difficulty in the matter, as the Press note observes, in High Schools and Colleges. When a boy or girl has advanced beyond the primary stage, no question arises regarding their caste in the higher educational institutions. That shows that the problem of the removal of untouchability is largely the problem of education of the castes concerned. The Government order is likely to remain a dead letter in many places unless inspecting officers pay special attention to its enforcement. Our own experience in a suburban municipality has been that, if the school masters are approached and spoken to in the right way by their superiors, they are nowadays almost always quite able to appreciate that patriotism and national duty demand that they should put aside any traditional prejudice they may entertain in this matter. Inspecting officers will do well, therefore, to rely less upon their authority and more upon their powers of persuasion for ensuring general acceptance of the righteous policy of the Government order. While congratulating the Education Minister on his courageous and patriotic policy, we feel that the view that no assistance from public funds can be given to schools which the "higher" castes may maintain exclusively for their children, is unsound in principle and is calculated needlessly to antagonise these castes against this much-needed reform. The education of children is as much a public as the parent's concern. The prejudice against the "untouchables" is the outcome of long-standing tradition. It is wrong, and opposed to the public interest, to penalise children for the incapacity of their parents to rise above this prejudice. It is education that can enable their children to get rid of the prejudice of their parents. It is right that no child because of its caste should be invidiously discriminated against or excluded from public schools. It is equally right that no child because of its parent's caste prejudice should be denied such assistance for its education as the State gives to aided schools maintained exclusively for Christian, Mahomedan and European children.

The Bombay Excise Minister on his Policy. We understand that the Hon. Mr. C. V. Mehta, the Excise Minister in Bombay, denied in the Legislative Council on Thursday having made the admission that something more stringent than his policy was needed to cope with the drink evil. We quote below what the *Times of India* published in its issue of January 24, as from a correspondent, in a communication chronicling the events of the Excise Minister's tour in West Khandesh, mentioning even such small details as that the Minister started for the Satpura forests in a motor car, the names of the officials and others who accompanied him in the sylvan excursion and that the Tapti was crossed after an hour's journey.

The Hon. Mr. Mehta gave a public lecture on "the Work in the Council" in the Municipal Hall, which was crowded. Rao Bahadur S. D. Gard, M. L. C., presided and introduced the lecturer to the public. The Hon. Mr. Mehta speaking on his Abkari policy said the reduction of the number of shops, the limitation of hours and the reduction of the strength of liquor, was being steadily followed, but this policy would not do as more drastic remedies were required to stop the drink evil. For that purpose the Government has appointed an Excise Committee the report of which would be considered. The work of the Committee was postponed on account of the death of its Chairman, Rao Bahadur Sathe, had the Minister

regretted that though several gentlemen were approached for the Chairmanship, he was not able to induce one of them to accept the post and carry on the work.

We called attention to these striking remarks in the *Reformer* of January 27, and congratulated the Minister on his candid admission. Over a month has passed since then, and there is a Publicity Officer of the Government of Bombay. If Mr. Mehta did not make the statement attributed to him by the *Times of India* correspondent, it was his duty to have promptly issued a correct version of his remarks on such an important matter.

Reservation of Seats instead of Communal Electorates: In a speech delivered recently at Calcutta, the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry suggested the expedient of reserving seats instead of communal electorates to ensure representation of special communities. The Mahomedans of Bandra at a meeting held on Wednesday night resolved unanimously that they did not want communal electorates if an equitable number of seats in the Municipal Council were reserved for them. This charming and progressive suburb of Bombay set the example to the whole of India by introducing free and compulsory primary education for both boys and girls simultaneously under the Patel Act some years ago. The system has been working smoothly and satisfactorily. Contrary to the general opinion, the Mahomedans of Bandra have been as forward as other communities in sending their girls and boys to school. The resolution which they adopted on Wednesday is another proof of their enlightenment as well as of the cordial relations prevailing among the several communities in Bandra. The resolution was passed with reference to the suggestions of Government in the Local Self-Government Department to District Municipalities to extend their franchise, so far as it can be done within the existing Act. One of them is the introduction of communal electorates. We trust that the Minister for Local Self-Government will not come in the way of Mahomedans in the Bandra getting what they want. We refer in our leading article to the advantages of the reservation of seats over communal electorates to the Mahomedans and to all other communities.

Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa's Birthday. The Western India Vivekananda Society announces an address by Swami Sharvananda, President of the Ramakrishna Math, Madras, on the "Message of Shri Ramakrishna" at the anniversary celebration on Sunday the 4th March at Hirabaug (near C. P. Tank, Girgaum). Sir Narayan Chandavarkar will preside. We print to-day the programme of public lectures which Swami Sharvananda will deliver in Bombay under the auspices of the Western India Vivekananda Society.

Manager's Notice: *The Manager begs to request subscribers whose subscription has fallen in arrears to be so good as to remit their dues promptly, as much inconvenience is caused, besides expence owing to the enhanced postage, by having to send frequent reminders.*

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 3, 1923.

THE NEW CONGRESS PARTY.

We print to-day the statement agreed upon at Allahabad at a conference of the party of Congressmen who dissented from the resolutions of the Gaya Congress on the question of entering the Legislative Councils and who under the leadership of Mr. C. B. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehrū constituted themselves into a distinct party within the Congress. The statement is not remarkable for its terseness or elegance. It has been described by hostile critics, and not without reason as clumsy, verbose, lacking in simplicity and symmetry. These very critics have on other occasions contemptuously dismissed statements which were free from these defects, as being too simple and asymmetrical to solve the complex problems of India life and administration. It is, therefore, a wise conservation of energy to ignore such critics whose sole object, now that direct attacks on Indian Swaraj have become antiquated, is to endeavour to kill by sneers and ridicule every genuine effort to bring it within easy reach of the Indian people. The sympathetic observer, on the other hand, who examines the Allahabad statement with the honest purpose of finding out whether and how far it is a genuine advance upon previous plans for the same purpose, cannot but be impressed by the transparency and sincerity of those who have adopted it. They have not sacrificed truth to elegance; they have frankly faced every difficulty which confronted them; they have not tried to conceal that on some issues they have to be satisfied with inconclusive decisions; they have not hesitated to state where the path diverges from that chalked out by the majority resolutions at Gaya. The statement bears on its face the scars of much severe struggle in the protracted debates at Bombay and Allahabad. There are obvious interpolations by several hands at different occasions. The adjustments that had to be made to reconcile opposing points of view are plainly visible and no attempt has been made to varnish them out of sight. There is no drawing room finish about any of the propositions; there is more of the artisan than the artist in the whole statement and in its parts: rough chunks of thought are tied up together by any piece of yarn, coir, plantain fibre or even red tape that came handy on the spot. The manifesto is clearly not machine-made but hand-spun and hand-woven throughout. It is unmistakable Kathiawar *Khaddar*, rough, coarse, but genuine in every one of its few counts. To us, this statement, and the work behind it, is one of the most striking evidences of the rapid growth of our leaders in the art of political accommodation without sacrifice of political principle.

The statement is by no means final, and that itself is no small merit in such a document. It does

not make the mistake of trying to confine a growing child in a cast-iron jacket. It is elastic without being vague and definite without being categorical. Much of its contents is valuable cargo, but room has also been wisely found for some ballast which may be thrown overboard in an emergency. The leaders of the new party had not a clean slate to write upon and the attempt to pass the sponge over the entire past would have been both foolish and futile. Non-violent non-Co-operation has failed in many of the particular items of the accepted programme, but it has been unexpectedly successful in the political awakening of the masses and the total cessation of anarchical crimes such as disfigured the anti-Partition agitation and had not altogether disappeared since then. To discard it altogether would be dangerous and disastrous from every point of view. The Allahabad statement, therefore, adopts it but with the determination to apply it rationally and to prevent it from degenerating into a lifeless dogma as it has tended to do especially since the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi. The new party is careful to distinguish between Government *through* and Government *by* bureaucracy. It is against the latter that it proposes to use non-co-operation should occasion arise. It has no quarrel with bureaucracy as such so long as it is the servant and not the master of the Government, bureaucracy being merely machinery, to be used under proper safeguards, for carrying on the daily routine of administration. On the other important issue of civil disobedience, the statement unreservedly recognises that such disobedience can only be based on obligation to obey a higher law, and lays down in unmistakable language that the application of civil disobedience must depend upon the vivid realisation of such duty by the people of India. The country, it is acknowledged, is not now ready for such disobedience. As to the principle of disobedience in pursuance of a higher law, there can be no question among religious and social reformers who in their daily lives discard forms of worship and social practices which have the sanction, more imperious to historic feeling than the Penal Code, of tradition sanctified by countless generations of ancestors. Those who have a correct appreciation of Mahatma Gandhi's point of view, will readily recognise in these declarations on Non-violent Non-co-operation and civil disobedience, his essential spirit and meaning. Mr. Das and his co-adjutors have, by their exposition of these two principles so clearly and prominently in the statement of their aims and methods, greatly facilitated the right apprehension of their stand-point by orthodox Congressmen who, like all orthodox people, cling to old forms more from habit than from conviction. By doing so, they have shown themselves to be genuinely anxious to work, not only within the Congress, but *with* all other Congressmen. We trust that their advances will meet with an equally hearty response from the other side.

The statement says in so many words that the immediate objective of the party is the speedy attainment of full Dominion status. Dominion status

is defined as the securing of the right to frame a constitution, adopting such machinery and system as are most suited to the conditions of the country and to the genius of the people. Dominion status is much more than that—in the case of Canada it includes the right to negotiate directly with a foreign Government and to have its own Ambassador at Washington. Opinion is divided as to the right to separate from the British Commonwealth if and when a Dominion feels that it has outgrown the conditions that the Commonwealth affords. The immediate demand of the new party, thus, does not cover the whole of what Dominion status has come to mean. Those who left the Congress because they thought that the change in the creed implied a departure from the former creed of freedom within the Empire, may feel re-assured by the explicit declaration of the new Party on this point. This is what is evidently intended by the statement that the new party will endeavour to increase the number of members on Congress rolls. On the central issue of entry into the Legislative Councils, it is declared that the new Party will put up candidates at the forthcoming general elections and do its best by educating and canvassing the electorates to get as many of them returned as possible. The members, when elected, will take their oaths and their seats but will not accept office. On the last point, the statement is definite. This emphatic declaration is needed to reassure the electors and the country that Congressmen do not mean "to work the reforms" in the same comfortable way as the official Liberals. It is true that as Ministers, Congressmen will have greater facilities for carrying through their scheme of self-Government, provided, of course, they have a majority in the Legislative Councils. The Non-Brahmin Ministerial party in Madras, is an instance in point. It is doubtful, however, whether even the Madras Non-Brahmin party will be able to show the same united front in the next Council as in the present one. On the whole, taking present circumstances into consideration, we think that the decision not to accept office is right and necessary.

We are unable to see for what purpose or with what object the boycott of British goods is introduced in the statement. It has no relation to what preceded or follows it. On this question, the Congress majority has taken the sounder view. Boycott of all foreign goods may be justifiable in the interests of Indian industries, if it can be shown that they compete unfairly and injuriously with them. This is best effected by a judicious fiscal policy rather than by a haphazard system of picketing. The boycott of British goods, in respect of which the country is not able to produce all her requirements, merely means giving a bonus to other foreign countries. Mahatma Gandhi's instinct was sound when he rejected the boycott of British goods as being incompatible with the non-violent principle of his political philosophy. This question, however, is not finally decided, as a Committee is to be appointed to recommend which British goods may be boycotted. If the

Committee consists of men who are not likely to be carried away by political passion, there can be little doubt as to what its recommendation will be. This item in the new programme, can be regarded only as put there for ballast purposes, and we should be glad to see it thrown overboard at the first suitable opportunity. We are glad that the new Party has clearly declared its resolve to give full support to the constructive programme. There has been a doubt as to whether some of its leaders had faith in that programme, which seemed to be justified by some of their utterances. We trust, however, that the new Party will not be content with according its support to that programme. It should itself energetically apply itself to carry it out, and it will be able to do this the more effectively as it can do it both within and without the Councils. The subjects of Labour, the National Pact and the Asiatic Federation are non-controversial ones. Only with reference to the second, we would suggest that a serious endeavour should be made to modify the Lucknow Compact to the extent of substituting reservation of seats for separate electorates. This is really not a modification, because the Lucknow compact only fixes the proportion of seats, not the manner in which members should be elected to them for the Mahomedans. Mahomedans and other minorities would thus be able to take part in electing Non-Mahomedan members to the Council; while the Mahomedan members elected will be such as command the confidence not only of Mahomedans but of all communities. In this way, we shall get into the Councils men of all communities who most recognise their nearness to one another—necessarily a broader type of men. The greatest advantage, however, will be that there will be free interplay of the beneficent influence and example of our communities on one another, which is impossible under the present water-tight system.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

(Continued from the last issue.)

Gandhi himself declared in his statement before the Court in March last why he started the movement which developed into that of Non-Co-operation. "The first shock," he said, "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 Jallianwala 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 Mussalmans of India regarding the integrity of Turkey and the holy places of Islam was not likely to be fulfilled." The Rowlatt Act was repealed by the Indian Legislature in March last on the motion of the member of the Government of India who introduced it in 1919. As for the Punjab horrors referred to by Gandhi, it is enough to quote the testimony of Sir Sankaran Nair, who was the Indian Member of the Government of India in 1919, becoming subsequently

a Member of the Secretary of State's Council in London, and who published early last year a widely read book entitled "Gandhi and Anarchy" in which he denounced the Non-Cooperation movement and its leader as plunging the country into anarchy. In that book, Sir Sankaran Nair says: "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." Sir Sankaran Nair is being sued before the London Courts by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Governor of the Punjab responsible for the occurrences in 1919, for statements made regarding them in his book assailing Gandhi and Non-Cooperation! The Hunter Committee, it may be explained, was appointed by Government and had Lord Hunter for its Chairman, to enquire into the martial law administration in the Punjab. The Congress Sub-Committee was appointed by the Congress and Gandhi was a member of it. Mr. Montagu, who was dismissed from the British Cabinet a few months ago by Mr. Lloyd George for authorising, as Secretary of State for India, the publication of a despatch from the Viceroy of India impressing on the British Government the urgent need of revising the Treaty of Sevres in order to placate Indian Mahomedan feeling, was then Secretary of State for India. He recently wrote a letter to the London *Times* pointing out that the terms now offered to the Angora Government were what he had always pressed for as a member of Mr. Lloyd George's Cabinet as demanded by the pledge to Indian Mussalmans to the effect that the Allies were not fighting to deprive Turkey of Constantinople and Thrace.

THE CALCUTTA SPECIAL CONGRESS.

Of the reality and gravity of the grievances, therefore, there can be no two opinions. But in spite of these grievances Gandhi, to use his own words, fought for co-operation and working of the Montagu reforms at the Amritsar Conference in December 1919. He told the Ahmedabad Court that he did so hoping that the Prime Minister would redeem his promise to the Indian Mussalmans, 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. In September 1920, however, a special session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta, adopted, on the proposal of Gandhi, and against the strong opposition of several other Congress leaders, the Non-co-operation idea. The programme laid down by the Congress consisted of (1) the surrender of titles, honorary offices and resignation of seats in local bodies to which nominations were made by Government; (2) refusal to attend Levees, Durbars, and other functions held by Government officials or in their honour; (3) the gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government and the establishment of National schools and colleges in the various provinces; (4) the gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of private arbitration courts for the

settlement of disputes; (5) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for services in Mesopotamia; (6) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Legislative Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who might, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election; (7) the boycott of foreign goods and (8) the use of swadeshi (country made) cloth and inasmuch as the existing power-mills of India do not manufacture sufficient yarn and cloth to meet the whole demand, the extension on a large scale of hand-spinning and hand-weaving to supply the deficiency.

WHAT BROUGHT THE CHANGE.

What made Gandhi change his mind and launch his Non-Co-operation programme within nine months of the Amritsar Congress? The report of the Hunter Committee on the Punjab occurrences, with the Government of India's despatch thereon to the Secretary of State, was published on the 3rd May 1920. The Turkish Peace Treaty was handed to the Ottoman delegation on the 11th May 1920 at Paris and the terms of that Treaty were published in India with an apologetic passage from the Viceroy to Indian Mahomedans. Gandhi at once addressed an open letter to the Viceroy inviting His Excellency to lead the agitation against the Treaty whose terms totally violated Mr. Lloyd George's pledge; and in that letter, he explained why he would be obliged to adopt "Non-violent Non-co-operation" if Lord Chelmsford did not make himself the mouthpiece of Indian Moslems. Gandhi wrote: "Your Excellency must be aware that there was a time when the boldest, though also the most thoughtless, among the Mussalmans favoured violence. I venture to claim that I have succeeded by patient reasoning in weaning the party of violence from its ways. I confess that I did not—I did not attempt to—succeed in weaning them from violence on moral grounds but purely on utilitarian grounds. The result for the time being at any rate has been to stop violence. I hold that no repression could have prevented a violent eruption, if the people had not had presented to them a form of direct action involving considerable sacrifice, ensuring success if such direct action was largely taken up by the public. Non-Co-operation was the only dignified and constitutional form of such direct action. For it is the right recognised from times immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrules. At the same time I admit that Non-Co-operation practised by the mass of people is attended with grave risks. But in a crisis such as has overtaken the Mussalmans of India, no step that is unattended with large risks can possibly bring about the desired change. Not to run some risks will be to court much greater risks, if not virtual destruction of law and order."

GANDHI'S GREAT ACHIEVEMENT.

Gandhi's immediate object in launching the Non-Co-operation movement was thus to prevent Indian Mahomedans, under the impulse of their resentment at

the terms of the Turkish Peace Treaty, from breaking out into violence. Testimony to Gandhi's success in this object is borne by Mr. Rushbrook Williams, Central Publicity Director to the Government of India. In his "India in 1921-22", he remarks that "anarchical crime had practically ceased" and that the physical force party in Indian politics "has been largely captured by the idealism of Mr. Gandhi's movement." Government, too, recognised the essentially non-violent character of the movement and allowed it to go on without interference, in the confidence that it must work itself out in course of time. Lord Reading who succeeded Lord Chemsford as Viceroy of India in 1921 followed the same policy. When two prominent leaders of the Khilafat movement, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Mahomed Ali, delivered speeches which seemed to verge on violence, Gandhi intervened and induced Lord Reading to drop their prosecution, which had been ordered, by obtaining a statement from them to the effect that they did not intend to preach violence. The apology of the Ali brothers and the fact that Gandhi obtained it from them in order to placate Government, occasioned the first breach in Non-Co-operationist solidarity. This was in June 1921. Gandhi explained at length in his weekly English journal, *Young India*, why he, the author of Non-Co-operation, should have sought to see the Viceroy, and that the Ali brothers' apology was not made to Government but was addressed and tendered to friends in order to preserve the entirely non-violent character of the Non-Cooperation movement.

DECLINE OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

These pleas failed, however, to satisfy the average Non-Cooperationist, and there can be no doubt that Gandhi's influence suffered its first set-back on account of this incident. In other directions also the movement, after the first flush of enthusiasm, failed to make much headway. Not many men of note, Hindus or Mahomedans, renounced their titles or offices at the call of the Congress. Government Levees and Darbars were not deserted by Indian citizens. The withdrawal of children from schools and colleges, the rashest and most mischievous part of the Non-Co-operation programme, was keenly resented even by many who were inclined otherwise to regard the Non-Co-operation principle as having a rightful place in politics. This resentment increased when hundreds of those who had left their schools found that few national schools had been established, which they could join, and had to rejoin their old institutions. A few prominent lawyers gave up their practice, but many of those who did so had not much practice to give up. There was not much recruitment for Mesopotamia going on, when the Non-Cooperation resolution was passed, and the part of it relating to this matter did not attract much attention. Few seats in the new Legislative Councils remained unfilled, although undoubtedly several capable men, who could have been a source of considerable strength in the Councils, abstained from the elections in consequence of the Congress resolution. The most surprising fact was that the communal Mahomedan seats were all filled, notwithstanding that Gandhi had advocated the adoption of the Councils boycott

principally on the ground that the Mahomedans would consider it a breach of faith for Congressmen to enter the Councils. The boycott of foreign goods was accepted by Gandhi against his own judgment as a concession to some Congress leaders who wanted some ginger in the Non-Co-operation programme, but beyond some desultory picketing of shops selling foreign piece-goods, very little was done to give effect to it. The hand-spinning and hand-weaving propaganda was very near Gandhi's heart, and his personal example and influence gave a strong impetus to it. But there are enormous practical difficulties in the way of developing a handloom industry against the keen competition not only of the products of Indian mills, but that of British and more especially Japanese goods under our free trade policy. The *khaddar* (Indian hand-woven cloth made of hand-spun yarn) propaganda was, therefore, not progressing rapidly. Sympathetic observers from outside noted these signs as evidence that the Non-Co-operation movement was distinctly weakening. The serious outbreak of the Moplah Mahomedans in Malabar in August 1921, and the atrocities committed by them on the Hindu population in the district, was the severest blow so far received for the Non-Co-operation movement. The Moplahs are an ignorant and fanatical sect of Mahomedans, and it was alleged that they sought to carry out Gandhi's promise to establish Swaraj by proclaiming a King of their own, and to cement the Hindu-Mahomedan unity by forcible conversions of Hindus to Islam. Gandhi dismissed the matter with the remark that "the Moplahs were mad" but he could have hardly failed to note that the outbreak caused amongst Hindus throughout the country feelings which did not promise well for his cherished Hindu-Mahomedan unity. The prosecution and conviction of the Ali brothers at this juncture on the charge of making speeches calculated to alienate the loyalty of Mahomedan soldiers, would have excited more public feeling than they did but for the Moplah outbreak. The imprisonment of these powerful Khilafat leaders deprived Gandhi of his principal co-adjutors in the Non-Co-operation movement. The relation between Hindus and Mahomedans in the Panjab had been tending to become increasingly strained. The Multan riot aggravated it.

(to be continued.)

MANAGEMENT OF THE BUDDHA GAYA TEMPLE.

(BY THE ANAGARIKA DHAMMAPALA).

Neither the Maha Bodhi Society nor the Buddhists wish to do anything in violation of the principles of eternal justice as regards the holy shrine of Bodhgaya. The Temple and the Holy Tree are now desecrated. The Mahant is a Saivite and a follower of Sankaracharya. The Buddha is venerated by the Vaishnava Hindus as the ninth avatar of Vishnu.

The Temple was in the hands of the King of Burma from 1877 to 1884. The Bhikkhus were guarding the Tree and the Temple. They were residing in the Burmese rest house to the west of the Great Temple. They were compelled to leave the place when political differences arose between the Government of India and the King of Burma.

From 1884 to July 1890 the Temple was utterly neglected as the late Mahant rightly refused to have anything to do with it, because he transferred his rights to the King of Burma by an agreement in the year 1877.

The Temple would have remained under the Burmese Bhikkhus had the Government of India not annexed Burma in 1885.

Mr. (Now Sir) George Grivison, the then Collector of Gaya, is responsible for the present arrangement. It was he who organized the dual control in July 1890, keeping the outer control in Government hands, and entrusting the inner management to the late Mahant.

The Temple had never been under Hindu control. In 1202 A. D. it was destroyed by Bakhtiyar Khilji, and the site remained under Moslem control until 1727 when the villages Mastipur and Taradih were given to faqir Lal Gir by order of the Delhi Emperor. The village Mahabodh whereon the Temple originally stood is still owned by the proprietors of the 7 anna Tikari Raj.

The Buddhist King of Burma sent an embassy in 1875 to Buddha Gaya to inquire about the state of the Temple. They reported to the King that the Temple was in ruins. His Majesty thereupon entered into negotiations with the Government of India to have the Temple restored and to bring it under Buddhist control. The Government of India consented. The late Mahant was duly compensated and the Temple passed into the hands of the Burmese Bhikkhus. The late Mahant was very friendly to the Buddhists. The Bhikkhus from different Buddhist countries remained in the Burmese rest-house paying worship to the Tree and the Temple.

With the advent of the present Mahant in 1892, conditions changed. He began persecuting the Bhikkhus, and in February 1893 the inoffensive Bhikkhus were mercilessly assailed by the menials at the Burmese rest-house.

Buddhists and non-Buddhists visiting the hallowed site complain that the place is disgracefully neglected. The devout Buddhists who visit the Temple are not allowed to remain at the site or in the Mahabodhi Dharamsala built from the money contributed by the Mahabodhi Society. Goats are slaughtered at the consecrated spot, the historic image of the Lord Buddha is desecrated by the low-caste menials of the Saivite Mahant.

The *achala chaitya* of the Buddhists, their holiest sanctuary, is daily desecrated. This they consider an outrage. The Vishnupad Temple at Gaya is managed by the Gayalis, who are Vaishnavas, not by Saivites. Justice demands that the central shrine of the Buddhists should be in their hands. The Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem is in the hands of Christians. Mecca is in the hands of Moslems. Why should Buddha Gaya alone be allowed to remain in alien hands? The Government is wholly responsible for the present arrangement at Bodh Gaya. No orthodox Hindu enters the sanctuary to pay worship or homage. Christians and Muhammadans freely enter the sanctuary with shoes on. The Government says

that the Temple belongs to the Mahant, and when the Buddhists wish to open negotiations with the Mahant to purchase the Temple, the latter is prohibited from negotiating without the consent of the Government.

The Buddhists do not concern themselves about the proprietary rights of either the Mahant or the Government. They only desire to keep the holy sanctuary according to Buddhist form of worship. They are willing to pay whatever price the Mahant demands. The Maha Bodhi Society as the accredited representative of the Buddhists had been working in the field since July 1891. The Society does not want to own the Temple; its desire is to keep the hallowed site in accordance with the Buddhist form of worship. The President of the Society is Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a Judge of the High Court.

The Buddhists are willing to carry out the orders of a mixed Committee appointed to take charge of the holy site. In accordance with the last words of the Lord Buddha devout Buddhists wish to pass their days at the holy spot, just as devout Hindus wish to spend their last days at Benares or Brindawan.

MARRIAGE.*

IV

(BY MR. G. A. SUNDARAM)

I now come to the evil that is causing the greatest irritation, the system of enforced bridegroom price. It is needless for me to present the different forms this extortion takes. One very familiar form is demand for silver (and sometimes gold) vessels on the excuse that those who make that demand are averse to taking any bridegroom price in cash. A feeble attempt has been made to support the system of bridegroom price on the ground that, as under the Hindu Law the daughter does not share in the father's inheritance (unless where there is no son or wife) it is only fair that she should have a substantial dowry. The ground advanced is no ground at all. If the bride, generally speaking, has no expectation on her father's property, the bridegroom on his part has the right to exclude his sisters. If a law is passed allowing the daughter a share in the father's property along with the sons, the bridegroom will look to his wife's expectancy in her father's property but at the same time will have to share his father's property along with his sisters. The real cause why a bridegroom price is demanded and why it is given lies in its being thought to be obligatory on the parent's part to get the daughter married before puberty. 'Extortion' is a hard word, but it is the only word that defines it correctly. Repeated attempts have been made by several social workers to eradicate the evil by educating public opinion but the evil not only continues but, according to some observers, grows. From this I am not to be understood to belittle the effects of a proper education of public opinion. The 'education' has so far been confined to men. Every one knows that the negotia-

* The previous articles appeared in the issues of the 11th, and the 25th November and 30th December.

tions connected with the exaction of a bridegroom price are peculiarly the domain of the women-folk. They fancy that their social importance varies directly with the amount of bridegroom price obtained for their sons. Generally speaking, they seem to be indifferent to the moral aspect of the extortion. They have to be approached by social workers. Pamphlets and books written in Indian languages have to be published broadcast. Till the prospective mother-in-law is made to realise the inhumanity of driving her prospective daughter-in-law's parents to the bankruptcy court it is impossible to expect any improvement. But education alone will not be, I am afraid, sufficient to eradicate the evil. At present parents of girls submit to the exaction because of the fear of public opinion against post-puberty marriage. If a parent resists that fear, he solves at once the bridegroom price problem. Bridegrooms and their parents take an unfair advantage of the fear on the part of the girls' parents that postponement of their daughter's marriage until after puberty would be visited with various social penalties. If the parents get over that fear there will be no room for extortion.

The Young Men's Indian Association, Bangalore. We have received a copy of the annual report of the Young Men's Indian Association, Bangalore, which has completed the fourth year of its existence. The Association maintains a Reading Room and Library, has a department of games, a Health Home, and a Scouts Branch. Its members did valuable service in organising a Health and Welfare Exhibition and are keenly interested in promoting the civic spirit. Mr. V. Manickavelu Mudaliar is the President and Mr. A. G. Shankar, the Secretary of this useful institution which has our best wishes for its success.

A Non-Co-operator's Fire Ordeal: The Kumbakonam Correspondent of the Hindu writes on the 17th instant:—

Yesterday was a day of curious and sensational incidents in the city. One Manikkam Pillai, a National volunteer, published and distributed broadcast notices that he would observe Gandhi Day by kindling a huge fire and entering it as an ordeal. This he did on his own initiative without the sanction and approval of either the Congress Committee or Sjt. Pantulu Iyer. Huge crowds flocked to witness the scene but the local Sub-Magistrate, R. Vinayaka Rao, B. A., issued the following curious order:—"Whereas I have received credible information from the Kumbakonam Town Police and from the printed notices published in this town under the signatures of Sannadhi Krishna Iyer and others that you, Manikkam Pillai a non-co-operator, are going to kindle a fire and enter into it, in the name of Mr. Gandhi, in the street in front of Bhajana Matam in the West Car street of Kumbeswara Swami Temple in Kumbakonam and whereas I do believe and I am sure that this entry into fire is attended with danger to life, human health and safety, I do hereby prohibit you the said Manikkam Pillai and others who are likely to follow suit from kindling such fire and entering into it either in Kumbakonam Town or anywhere else within the limits of my jurisdiction for a period of two months from to-day, the 18th day of February 1923." The incident itself caused a great surprise in the city, as being unique and this order, yet more curious, has created quite a great sensation in the town and prominent men here are considering the legal aspects of the order. The incident itself did not take place as Manikkam Pillai, a blind zealot in the N. C. O. movement, was dissuaded by Congressmen here from attempting such things".

We wonder if Mr. Pillai thought that fire will not burn a Non-Co-operator.

THE ADVERTISING OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

The Board of Temperance of the Methodist Episcopal Church has started a campaign for the exclusion of liquor advertisements from the newspapers of India and Burma. At the request of the Lucknow Conference of this Church the Secretary of the Board wrote to the Editors of the daily papers published in English throughout the United Provinces appealing that no advertisements be accepted for publication after the expiration of the present contracts. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* of Lucknow has replied agreeing that the publication of such advertisement is prejudicial to the public welfare and promising not to make any contracts of the sort.

Temperance reformers everywhere would do well to support this appeal to the Press, for advertising in the newspapers is one method upon which the liquor trade relies for the upkeep of its evil business. The whole purpose of advertising is to stimulate trade and the stimulation of trade in intoxicating liquors is always contrary to the public interests. One certain method of decreasing consumption would be to prevent advertising.

It is believed that many newspapers are now publishing advertisements simply because the attention of the Managers and owners has not been called to the wrong they are doing thereby. There are few newspapers in India that would advocate in their editorial columns the extension of the drink habit. Why should any paper promote in its advertising columns what it would not defend editorially? One of the turning points in the Temperance campaign that led to the adoption of national Prohibition in America was the renunciation by many leading newspapers throughout the entire country of this practice and of the income that they formerly obtained therefrom.

A newspaper that depends for a part of its income upon advertising intoxicating liquors can hardly be expected to join impartially in the patriotic demand for the destruction of the traffic. Editors may contend that their attitude towards the drink problem is not affected by the contents of their advertising columns but the general public will always be wise enough to observe that those newspapers that consistently misrepresent Prohibition and do nothing to advance the cause of Temperance are the ones that publish the advertisements of the liquor trade. Surely the day has come when the newspapers of India and Burma that expect to win the favour of the majority of the Indian people and of a considerable minority of the European community must no longer qualify as assistants of the distillers and brewers in promoting the destruction of morality, the increase of poverty, crime and disease, the multiplication of accidents and the degeneration of society by inducing their readers to purchase intoxicants.

J. W. PICKETT.

[The *Reformer* has from the first never admitted liquor advertisements, and we have, therefore, no difficulty in cordially supporting Mr. Pickett's appeal.—Ed. I.S.R.]

"TRUE TEMPERANCE".

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

My attention has been drawn to the remarks you have made regarding this Association in your issue dated the

10th February 1923, and I trust to your sense of fairness (and the "Indian Social Reformer" rightly enjoys a reputation for its catholicity of views) to give my reply to it due place in an early issue of your valuable paper. But let me affirm my conviction that the fairest thing would have been to have given my article publication and let your readers judge for themselves about the 'insidiousness' or otherwise of what I wrote.

Your note does not make it clear whether under the plea that the end justifies the means, you absolve the Non-Co-operators of all blame in their resort in course of their temperance propaganda to some of the vilest and most despicable methods of personal violence and social boycott; but if you will read the second instalment of my article which I send herewith and which at least I hope you will see fit to publish, I venture to think even you will sicken into disgust at some of their barbarous ways.

You will also find in my article above the policy of the True Temperance Association stated openly and without ambiguity. I wish to make it quite clear here that this Association is also being started to promote the cause of Temperance in India and we are quite against excessive drunkenness and all the evils following from it. But I think you will agree with me that it does far more harm than good for one to be bullied into temperance, and I doubt very much whether Temperance does really mean a fanatical hatred of drink, or even total abstinence.

However this may be, I fail to see how any one can think that the cause of Temperance is promoted if the propaganda in its behalf results in driving liquor consumption underground and thereby promotes illicit distillation. In my previous article, I quoted from Government reports of the working of the Excise Departments in the Punjab and the Central Provinces and the same tale is repeated from Madras. And I have no doubt it is the case all over India.

In the Madras Report, it is stated that in a village it was found that every household was in possession of a distilling apparatus. Recently, in Dhariwal, an enormous quantity of illicit liquor was captured by the Excise authorities. Again, the other day it was reported from the Gurdaspur district that a man who gave information to the authorities of the illicit distillation going on in the place was murdered in cold blood.

I venture to assert that one of the principal reasons why this illicit distillation which gives rise to so many abuses, is going on so promiscuously is the high still-head duties and vend fees which Government levies from those legitimately engaged in the liquor business.

I am, etc.

JUGAL BEHARI LALI,

Asst. Secretary,

True Temperance Association.

Delhi, 23rd February, 23.

[We have never overlooked the evils of picketing. What we object to is the attempt under the guise of "True Temperance" to attack every restraint on the sale of liquor, official and non-official.—Ed. I. S. R.]

SOME SOCIAL LEGISLATION.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

SIR,

If a word of comment or rather enquiry in regard to a statement which you made in your leading article entitled "Some Pending Legislation" published in your issue of the 24th September 1922, is not too late to make at this dis-

tance of time, may I refer to it now? You said "that it is impossible not to regard those who oppose the passing of a simple social marriage law as active agents in the progress of social disruption which is visible in Indian life to-day." May I know, Sir, what are the signs of social disruption which, you say, are visible in Hindu life to-day? May I also know, Sir, when in your opinion this disruption commenced, what were the factors that led to the disruption and how by permitting members of Indian or any society to marry into any other race, creed or colour, we would promote cohesion? Ordinarily it would seem that it must have a reverse effect. One can understand that it may be inconvenient to such individuals as may feel prompted to enter into love or expediency matches. As for cohesion it will be secured and not sacrificed by the existing custom. Is it not so?

In the same leading article, you refer to another legislative measure of a social character, namely, to do away with the prescriptive right of Hindu priests to exact payments from residents of their villages, whether or not they officiate for them. It will be interesting to know how this custom arose and how it managed to be kept up so long. In Hindu society, status and not contract is the corner-stone. A King holds office by right of birth; and barring a revolution, no one questions his right to claim and enforce tax-payments from his subjects, whatever may be the quantity and quality of protective service which he may render to his people as the consideration for that tax-payment. The Brahmin priests likewise must have been expected to serve their congregation, if their congregations should be expected to pay them; and both parties, the priests on the one side and the congregation on the other, were responsible, in their own interests, to see that each did its duty to the other. What evidently happened in the case under reference was that both lost their sense of responsibility, each to keep the other party fit for and alive to do its duty; and while the right of the priest was enforced, his duty was left to take care of itself.

In such a situation, is it not the duty of responsible leaders to devise measures to enforce the duty and not merely to eliminate the right, which unfortunately is what is now proposed to be done? If there are difficulties, objective or subjective, they should be enquired into and corrected. This will be the scientific treatment of society's ills, of which there are no doubt many.

N. SUBRAMANYA AIYAR.

Trivandrum, 12th Feb. 1922.

THE MINISTER AND THE JOBBER.

The Editor, The Indian Social Reformer.

SIR,

Last week an incident occurred in a meeting at Elphinstone Road, which has a significance of its own. The meeting was called by Mr. Naoroji M. Wadia who has announced a magnificent donation of eight lakhs of rupees for founding a Maternity Home at Parel, to consider the question of its location and management. Among those present were some leading men of Parel, members of the Social Service League and Dr. Paranjpe and Mr. C. V. Mehta, Ministers of H. E.'s Council. In the course of the discussion that ensued Dr. Paranjpe pleaded strongly for the location of the Home as a wing of the J. J. Hospital under Government management, as according to him it was efficient and satisfactory. On hearing the argument of the learned Doctor a gentleman working as a jobber in a local mill who proposed to speak from the "Commonsense" point of view, a phrase which he emphasised at least a dozen times, enquired of the Doctor as

under :—Doctor Sahib if what you say is true of Government management, what about the J. J. Hospital scandal? Is not that hospital managed by Government? Have you as the Minister concerned carried out any investigation into the scandal? Moreover, Dr. Sahib, you became a Minister, you were the head of the Fergusson College which you and your colleagues have reared up with singular devotion and success. Do you think Government could have done that? If you think that Government management is really more efficient and satisfactory than private management, are you prepared to hand over the college to Government to manage? This is a "common-sense" question and do not please be angry for having put it to you." Needless to say the strange enquiry could elucidate no "satisfactory and efficient" reply from the Minister. This incident has many lessons to teach one of them being the oft-forgotten fact that the spirit of real democracy is abroad. Masses who so long were oblivious to what happened around them now note incidents with care, realise their significance and what is more, know how and when to use them to nonplus even so distinguished a person as the Education Minister of H. E's Council. Let those in authority grasp the meaning of this.

Yours etc.
COMMONSENSE.

WESTERN INDIA VIVEKANANDA SOCIETY.

The Anniversary of the Birth-day of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa will be celebrated under the auspices of the above Society on Sunday the 4th of March 1923 at Hirabagh (near C. P. Tank, Girgaum) at 5-30 p.m. (S. T.), when Swami Sharvananda, President of the Shri Ramakrishna Math at Madras will address on "The Message of Shri Ramakrishna." Dr. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has kindly consented to preside.

The following public lectures will be delivered by Swami Sharvananda who during his stay in Bombay, will be the guest of Mr. Surajmal Lallubhai, Diamond House, Vatchagandhi Road, Gamdevi.

Friday, 2-3-1923 at 6-15 p. m., Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall, "Aims and Work of the Ramkrishna Mission"; Saturday 3-3-1923 at 5-30 p. m., Vanita Vishram Hall, Sandhurst Road, "Vedantic View of Indian History"; Sunday 4-3-1923 at 5-30 p. m., Hirabag, Near C. P. Tank, "The Message of Shri Ramkrishna"; Monday 5-3-1923 at 6-30 p. m., (To be announced later), "Shri Krishna" (address in Hindi); Tuesday 6-3-1923 at 6-15 p. m., (To be announced later), "Bhagawan Buddha"; Wednesday 7-3-1923 at 6-15 p. m. (To be announced later), "Islam"; Thursday 8-3-1923 at 6-15 p. m., (To be announced later), "Christ".

SCHOLARSHIP FOR INDIAN CHRISTIAN GIRLS IN BIRMINGHAM

We are glad to be able to announce that two Scholarships will be available in September 1923 in Birmingham for Indian Christian girls. The Scholarships are tenable for two years by students who wish to take the Cambridge Teachers' Diploma or the Higher Froebel Certificate. The amount of each Scholarship covers full board and lodging in Kingsmead, Selly Oak, Birmingham, during two academic years and there or elsewhere by arrangement during holidays and all tuition and examination fees. The Auxiliary Committee in India of which the Secretary is Mrs. S. K. Datta, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta, are responsible with the candidates for outfit allowance, annual allowance for incidental expenses, and passage money. Preference is given to graduates. Applications with copies of testimonials should be sent to Mrs. S. K. Datta not later than April 1st, 1923.

NEW PROGRAMME.

Whereas this party within the Congress was formed and constituted at Gaya on the 31st December, 1922, and whereas by its manifesto bearing the said date it accepted the creed of Congress, viz, the attainment of Swarajya by all legitimate and peaceful means; and whereas by the said manifesto it further accepted the principle of non-co-operation as guiding and shaping its activity, but with the determination to apply it rationally, and to prevent the principle from degenerating into a lifeless dogma, now this Party declares that the policy of non-violent non-co-operation shall include on the one hand all such activity which stands to create an atmosphere of resistance making Government by bureaucracy impossible with a view to enforce our national claim and vindicate our national honour, and on the other hand it shall include for the said purpose, all steps necessary for the gradual withdrawal of that co-operation by the people of this country without which it is impossible for the bureaucracy to maintain itself; and whereas it is further necessary to define the attitude of the Party to the question of civil disobedience, this party makes the following declaration :—That whilst fully accepting civil disobedience as a legitimate weapon which must be used and applied when the country is prepared and occasion demands it, the Party recognises such disobedience can only be based on obligation to obey a higher law and determines that the application of civil disobedience must depend on the vivid realisation of such duty by the people of this country and the attitude of the bureaucracy with regard to such realisation; that in the opinion of the Party the country is not yet ready for such civil disobedience, but in the course of the work of this party according to the programme which is hereinafter set out this Party would conceive it to be its duty whenever such occasion arises to carry out such civil disobedience as circumstances may then demand; and whereas it is necessary to frame a detailed programme of work in pursuance of principles enumerated, this party resolves upon the following programme:—

The scheme of Swarajya prepared by Messrs. Chittaranjan Das and Bhagwan Dass be circulated, opinions be invited and a Committee consisting of the said two gentlemen be appointed to collect opinions submitted to them, or expressed in the country and the said Committee to submit their scheme of Swarajya after full consideration of such opinions to this party within six months from now. The immediate objective of the party is the speedy attainment of full Dominion status, that is, the securing of the right to frame a constitution, adopting such machinery and system as are most suited to the conditions of the country and to the genius of the people. The Party will formulate a definite programme of organising and instructing the electors of the legislatures of the country. The Party will set up Nationalist candidates throughout the country to contest and secure seats in Legislative Councils and the Assembly at the forthcoming general elections on the following basis:—

They will when they are elected present on behalf of the country its legitimate demands as formulated by the Party as soon as the elections are over and ask for their acceptance and fulfilment within reasonable time by Government.

If the demands are not granted to the satisfaction of the Party the occasion will then arise for the elected members belonging to the Party to adopt a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction within the Councils with a view to make Government through the Councils impossible. But before adopting such a policy the representatives of the party

on the Councils will, if necessary, strengthen themselves by obtaining the express mandate of the electorates in this behalf. Detailed instructions in this behalf will be given by the Party after the elections are over.

In no case will any member of the Party accept office. The Party will contest elections to local and municipal boards in several provinces with a view to secure the control of the Nationalists over local and municipal affairs. The Party will take steps to organise labour in the country, industrial as well as agricultural, including ryots and peasants with a view to protecting and promoting its interests and enabling it to take its proper place in the country's struggle for Swarajya.

The Party will frame a plan for the boycott of selected British goods on the advice of a sub-committee and will put it into operation as a political weapon in pursuit of its aim. The Party will accord its full support in such a manner as it thinks necessary to the carrying out of the constructive programme of the Congress in relation to Swadeshi, Khaddar, temperance, untouchability, inter-communal unity, and the promotion of national education and arbitration courts, and will also endeavour to increase the number of members on Congress rolls. The Party will take immediate steps as a temporary measure and until greater national solidarity is achieved to promote the formation of what may be called the Indian National Pact in several provinces, by means of which all reasonable communal claims may be guaranteed and disputes and differences may be settled in order that the attainment of the nation's freedom may be facilitated.

The Lucknow pact will generally govern communal representation as between Hindus and Mahomedans and efforts will be made to bring about a similar understanding regarding the claims and interests of other communities like Sikhs, Parsis, Jews, Indian Christians (including domiciled Anglo-Indians), non-Brahmins and Depressed Classes in several provinces. The party will take steps for India to participate in the formation of a federation of Asiatic countries and nationalities with a view to secure the solidarity of Asiatic nations to promote Asiatic culture and mutual help in matters of trade and commerce. The Party will take steps to start, maintain, revive and reorganise agencies of foreign propaganda for Indian affairs with special reference to the dissemination of accurate information, and securing the sympathy and support of foreign countries in this country's struggle for Swarajya.

The name of the Party will be the Swarajya Party. Every person who is a member of any Congress organisation in the country and subscribes to the constitution and programme of the Party shall be eligible to be a member of the Party. Every member shall pay an annual subscription of Re. 8. There shall be a General Council of the Party consisting of all members of the All-India Congress Committee, who are members of the Party and two members elected by each provincial council. There shall be an Executive Council of the Party consisting of the President and the General Secretary, who shall be ex-officio members, and seven persons to be nominated by the President from amongst the members of the General Council. There shall be a Treasurer of the Party who shall be appointed by the Executive Council. Every province shall have full autonomy in all provincial matters, including the carrying out of the programme of the Party and in the organisation of provincial and other subordinate, general, and executive committees, subject always to general instructions issued from time to time by the General Council or the Executive Council of the Party.

THE COMPROMISE

The All-India Congress Committee met at Pandit Motilal Nehru's residence on the 27th February with Deshbandhu Das in the chair. Sjt. Rajagopalachar proposed and Pandit Motilal seconded the following terms of the proposed compromise arrived at by members of the Working Committee and the members of the Swarajya Party Executive.

1. Suspension of the Council propaganda on both sides till the 30th April.
2. Both parties to be at liberty to work the remaining items of their respective programmes in the interval without interfering with each other.
3. The Majority Party will be at liberty to carry on their propaganda in accordance with the Gaya Programme about money and volunteers.
4. The Minority Party will co-operate with the Majority Party in appealing for and raising such funds and enlisting such workers as may be necessary for the constructive programme and also in working the constructive programme and other common matters.
5. Each party to adopt such course after the 30th April as it may be advised.
6. The above arrangement is subject to the condition that there is no dissolution of the existing Councils before the expiry of the full term for which they have been constituted.

A lively debate ensued, and after about four hours of talk several suggestions and amendments to the official draft were all rejected and Sjt. Rajagopalachari's proposition was declared carried by a majority.

ADMISSION TO SCHOOLS OF CHILDREN OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

The following Press Note dated the 23rd instant has been issued by the Director of Information, Bombay:—

Difficulties have arisen from time to time in connection with the admission of children of the depressed classes to schools maintained or aided out of public funds, and as the result of a case which occurred in 1895 it was settled, after some discussion that the boy concerned should be allowed to sit in the school-room, but at a distance of three or four feet from the other boys in the class. Since then public opinion on the subject has advanced a great deal; but in some places objections are still raised to the presence of these children in the class rooms.

2. Seeing that the depressed classes pay the same rates and taxes as other classes it is only fair that they should have equal educational facilities; those who object to the education of these classes along with their own children are of course at liberty to make their own arrangements, but Government do not consider that they are entitled to any assistance in doing so from public funds, whether local or provincial. Government therefore desire that all their educational officers should see that no disability is imposed on these children in any school conducted by a public authority in its own or in a hired building. Where buildings have been hired subject to the condition of exclusion of the depressed classes, as has happened in some cases, the local authorities should be pressed to make other arrangements, free from any such conditions, as soon as possible. Similarly where public schools are held in temples or sacred buildings efforts should be made to secure other accommodation without delay. The number of schools managed by each local authority to which admission is refused to

children of the depressed classes should be reported annually to Government together with the reasons for exclusion in each case.

3. Objections have been taken to the presence of such children in the class rooms on the ground of their insanitary occupations and habits. It should be the aim of the schoolmasters to see that all the children, to whatever class they belong, are clean and tidy and attention should be paid to this point by all inspecting officers. In assessing the work of teachers in village schools the number of children from the depressed classes attending their schools in proportion to their population in the village should be taken into consideration and due notice by way of warning or punishment should be taken of instances in which the results are unsatisfactory.

4. In the case of schools located in the quarters usually inhabited by these classes, it is desirable that teachers belonging to the same classes should as a rule be placed in charge; but there should be no bar to the appointment of such teachers to other schools. Many of these teachers are now unqualified, and they should be replaced, as opportunity offers, by the qualified men belonging to the same classes who are now becoming available in increasing numbers. The preference shown to them in making admissions to training colleges and schools should be continued as it is only by producing teachers from these classes that education can be best promoted among them.

5. No difficulty is generally experienced in secondary schools and colleges, but the same principles should be followed in such institutions; if any private grant-in-aid institution, unless it is specifically intended for special classes, discriminates against the depressed classes this should be taken into consideration and a portion of the grant otherwise payable to it be withheld.

The Indian National Social Conference: The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has granted to the General Secretary of the Indian National Social Conference, appointed at Gaya, Rupees three thousand for work in connection with the removal of untouchability, the promotion of temperance, and inter-communal unity.

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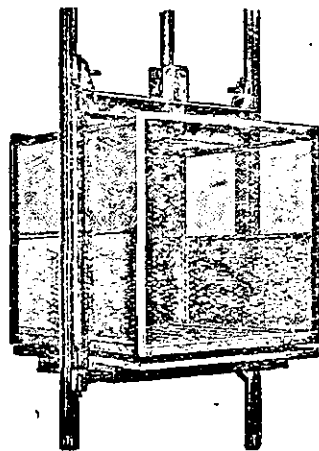
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Enhancement of Salt Duty :—It is proposed in the Indian Budget to double the duty on Salt, which now stands at one rupee and four annas per maund, in order to meet the expected deficit. On a dire necessity of life which the poorest cannot do without and which is to be had in our long sea-coast practically for nothing, a duty of Rs. 2-8 0 is to be levied. The argument used is that the individual incidence of the duty on the average will be inappreciable. This may be statistically true, but actually its incidence on the very poor, who are also the very prolific, will be heavy beyond the conception of the high-paid officials at Delhi. Lord Curzon took pride in having brought down the salt duty to the lowest level since the Mutiny. Economists like Henry Fawcett had from the first inveighed against the iniquitous impost as violating the fundamental principles of sound taxation. This is the first time that we hear that the objections to the enhancement of the salt duty are sentimental and are prompted by the near prospect of the next election. And we are sorry to see non-official Indian members accepting by implication this view by placing in the forefront of their criticism the probable use that Non-Co-operators will make of the enhancement. If this is their real opinion, then, indeed, the fear of the Non-Co-operator is three-fourths of their political wisdom. It is not the business of non-official publicists to suggest alternatives. If the Viceroy and the Members of his Government cannot find some other way of meeting the deficit, they have no right to continue in office. They must make way for those who can do so. There is a general feeling that the Government of India have some object not apparent to the public in proposing this most invidious enhancement on the eve of a new general election. It is highly improbable that they will propose anything calculated to impair the chances of re-election of the party which has supported the Reforms. Is it likely that there may be no election this year and that the life of the Assembly may be extended if it adopts the enhancement of the salt duty? But would that improve the position of the members with their constituencies? Political memories are, however, short, and a prosperity budget next year,

enabling, perhaps, the reduction of the duty, may be considered a propitious occasion for a general election. The language of Sir Dinshaw Wacha, in the Council of State, seems to lend colour to this view. He hoped, according to the telegraphic report in the *Times of India*, that from the next year the Central Budget would be such as would gladden the hearts of taxpayers. He did not say what his ground was for this hope. But he must have had some ground not evident in the conditions of Indian finance at present.

Indian Officered Regiments :—We print to-day a letter from the Rev. Mr. Macfarlane regarding our comment in the *Reformer* of the 24th February, on the experiment of officering eight Indian regiments entirely by Indians. Our object in writing that note was to repudiate promptly and emphatically the suggestion that the failure of the experiment would be a reason against the Indianisation of the Indian Army. India wants Swaraj. She cannot get along without it. Her spiritual and cultural existence even more than her national and economic life is imperilled by the want of it. Swaraj has been authoritatively declared to be the goal of British policy in India. Mr. Lloyd George's recent description of the reforms as an experiment, was resented in this country just because it implied the right to go back upon that declaration. Now Indian Swaraj with a foreign army, is meaningless. The nationalisation of the army is, thus, the first condition of Swaraj. Mr. Macfarlane does not seem to know that Indian leaders have formulated schemes for the Indianisation of the army within a term of years, and the Government of India, it is generally believed, had themselves submitted a scheme, which accepted this in principle, to the British Government. The central idea of the non-official schemes is that the recruitment of British officers should be stopped and arrangements made to replace in a period of 10 or 12 years the 6,000 British officers now in the Indian Army by Indian officers 500 or 600 of whom should be trained every year in military colleges established for the purpose. The British troops should be progressively reduced in the same way and replaced by Indian. What is proposed now is practically a going back on the promise of Swaraj. For, if the Indianisation of the army is to be made conditional on an experiment, Swaraj is also conditional on that experiment. And what is this experiment to demonstrate? That Indians can run a regiment as well as Englishmen? Does this require an experiment? What Indians ask is that they should be trained as quickly as possible to take over the entire defence of the country into their own hands. What the experiment proposes is to find out first whether Indians are fit for the task. And the judges in this experiment are to be those many of whom are apprehensive that their *raison d'être* in this country will be gone if the Services are Indianised. Apart from this, we totally disbelieve

in the experimental method as a test of national capacity. The sole test of life is to live. We need hardly say that we appreciate Mr. Macfarlane's kindly remarks about the *Reformer* and its editor.

Indians in the United States:—We publish today an article by the Rev. Reeves Calkins on the case of Mr. Bhagat Singh whose naturalisation in the State of Oregon has been cancelled by a judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States. But we cannot at all accept the reasoning upon which Mr. Calkins seeks to justify that judgment. The Supreme Court of the United States deservedly enjoys a high reputation for learning and independence, but if it has based its judgment upon the grounds—or ground, to be correct—advanced by Mr. Reeves Calkins, we can only conclude that it has shown itself to be not impervious to race prejudice which it has clothed in the garb of a concern for human freedom. Mr. Reeves Calkins' belief that the judgment has no racial reference, cannot be sustained. We find it impossible to believe that the judges of the Supreme Court could have held that a "high caste" Hindu is not "a free person." In other words, that he is a slave. This is on the face of it a perversion of the plain meaning of the phrase "free person." Even if it is to be understood to include not only objective freedom but also subjective freedom—how few of any race, even the judges of the Supreme Court, are not slaves in this sense?—it can only apply to the orthodox Brahmin who, however, is most unlikely to go to the United States. But a man who has settled in America and become an American citizen, has by these very facts proved that he does not hold by the caste conventions. What is the sense of holding that because he spoke of himself as a "high caste" Hindu, therefore he is not a free person? Mr. Reeves Calkins rightly refers to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar as the type of a cultured Indian of high character. This judgment will equally apply to him, because he too is by origin a high caste Hindu, and although he observes no caste, he is still a Hindu and nothing but a Hindu. Mr. Reeves Calkins contends in effect that a Hindu of high caste cannot under any circumstances get over his caste prejudice. The answer to it is to be found in the many cases of such Hindus who have set themselves to reform caste, who have even become Christians, and who—if that is a test—have married English or other foreign women. We do not love the caste system, but what the Supreme Court has done, if Mr. Reeves Calkins is right, is to penalise a man for his birth which none of us can help. This judgment cannot but lead to questions relating to the status of Americans in this country.

Development Department Chawls: Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas asked the following questions in the Bombay Legislative Council:—

(a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the following complaints with regard to the new chawls constructed by the Development Department:—(1) There are no opening and shutting windows in the buildings; (2) There are no *nanis* (bath-rooms) in the rooms. (b) Will the Government be pleased to state if it is their intention to remedy these complaints, and, if so, in what direction?

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad replied: (a) Yes. (b) The question of the provision of *nanis* in the rooms is at present under consideration. Government do not intend to make at present any alteration in the design of the windows, until experience has been gained from actual occupation and use of the chawls, when they will be in a better position to consider this matter.

Government apparently are not satisfied that the absence of windows—holes in the wall are not

windows—is a defect in the chawls! The following appreciation of the Development Department chawls by Mr. Sherwood Eddy appeared in the *Times of India* of the 26th February:

With great interest I visited the new "Model" Chawls for workmen, recently constructed. Viewed from a distance they appeared at first sight pleasing to the eye, but on closer examination they proved not only a disappointment but unscientific, uneconomic and inhuman. They are mere boxes for the herding of hands conceived as means of production; and if I may speak frankly, they are a disgrace to the most beautiful city in India, the gateway of this vast sub-continent. They seem to have been constructed to shut out the greatest degree possible of light or any sight of the sky. Filled with the thick smudge of coddling smoke the dark rooms soon become like gloomy prisons. They must prove demoralizing to the tenants. There are no balconies. The roofs are not utilized scientifically, where the people could take refuge, and have access to the light and air above. They are monstrous sunless prisons for the dreary existence of the toilers. Had these been constructed by the Labour Office they could not have proved such disastrous failures. Surely this plan of "Model Dwellings" can be changed before it is too late; unless Bombay is to be looked upon by the world of labour as a penal settlement, from which they will be driven to seek annual escape to their farms in God's open air.

Mr. Andrews said the same of these chawls, and some others have spoken to us in even stronger terms. But Government do not evidently wish to change their plans till actual experience has shown that the minimum of sun and air is not conducive to the maximum of health and efficiency. So the prescribed number of chawls will be built on the prescribed pattern. A later administration may create a Windows Department to deal with this matter!

The Social Ferment: That the importance of the removal of "untouchability" and the promotion of cordial intercommunal relations, are coming to be recognised in the deepest layers of Indian Society, is shown by the following letter published by the *Hindu* of Madras from Ariyalur, a small village in South India. There is a Depressed Classes Society there, and the General Secretary writes:

Among the varied activities of the Society, the day school at Ariyalur is of peculiar interest to the public. The total strength of the school is 50. Among them, children of the Adi-Dravidas number 35 (including 15 girls) and the rest are caste Hindus and Mahomedans. Under thick groves of trees the classes are being held pending completion of the school house under construction. The village school is properly located. As a result of this school it has become a common sight in Ariyalur to see the children of the caste Hindus and Mahomedans sitting together rubbing one another's shoulders, playing together with such familiarity peculiar to children alone. This is perhaps the first time in the annals of the village history for the Panchamas to mix and mingle in such a fashion with their caste neighbours. On 15th February the Society gave a feast to all the school children in commemoration of the great Indian festival the Maha Sivaratri. There was an interesting programme of games preceding the feast. The Panchama children keenly contested the competitive games and carried away the majority of the prizes. This was followed by a common bath in the village tank. After the bath the food was served in plantsain leaves, the boys and girls (caste and Panchama) all having been seated in one line on the ground. The food was distributed by an orthodox Brahmin of the place assisted by a Reddy. Most of the parents of the school children stood beside rejoicing while some of the elders volunteered to share the feast seated along with me in the line.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 10, 1923.

MR. SASTRY'S REPORT ON HIS DEPUTATION.

The report by the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastry regarding his deputation to the Dominions of Australia, New Zealand and Canada, consists of thirteen pages and is issued by the Government Press, Simla, at annas three per copy. The primary object of his mission to Australia as well as to the other Dominions, he says, was to induce the respective Governments to give practical effect to the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921 which recognised "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 parts of the Empire" and recommended that "in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth it was desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised."

A GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE.

Mr. Sastry brings out rather incidentally and casually the fact that he went to the Dominions as "a representative of the Government of India" and that he was throughout acting under instructions from that Government. If he had made this quite plain in his utterances in the Dominions there would not have been the same outcry in this country against some of his admissions which were regarded as compromising the case of India with the Dominions. In fact, the burden of the criticisms passed upon his utterances was that, being really a representative of the Government of India and acting under instructions from them, he spoke as if he was the spokesman of the Indian people, that at any rate he did not make it sufficiently clear that he was speaking under instructions from the Government of India and not in the capacity of a people's representative. To a certain extent, every Indian who is not a *bona fide* official, is bound, without intending to do so, to produce this equivocal impression in other countries if he accepts a commission of the kind allotted to Mr. Sastry. Indeed, it is not unfair to assume that the very purpose of selecting a non-official and an Indian to carry out an official mission is to secure for it a character which will be lacking to a purely official envoy. It is one of the many doubtful benefits of the reformed regime to create a class of Indians who are neither officials nor non-officials, who speak as non-officials and act as officials, and who may be called "veiled officials" though they may sometimes imagine that they produce the impression of being "veiled extremists." Mr. Sastry was also generally

instructed to look into any other disabilities of Indians in the Dominions and also to enquire into the possibility of securing admission for Indian students into the Australian universities and interchange of University Professors. We think that the Australian Universities or at least some of them, had many years ago declared their readiness to admit Indian students. The declaration was pigeon-holed by the Government of India until Mr. Andrews obtained and published independent confirmation of it from Australia.

EVADING THE REAL ISSUE.

There are about two thousand Indians in Australia, mostly Mahomedans. "A good many Indians have married Australian wives from whom they have children", writes Mr. Sastry, "and live in harmony and friendship with their neighbours." The "from" in that sentence rather jars upon one—it suggests an agricultural idea of these Indo-Australian marriages. Did Mr. Sastry enquire why so many Indians in Australia married Australian women? He seems rather to take it as a solid piece of evidence of the absence of race prejudice in Australia that Australian women have married Indian men. That may be so. But it seems to us that an enquirer of Mr. Sastry's competence could not but have asked himself the question why these Indians had not brought with them their Indian wives, or if they were bachelors when they landed in Australia, why they had not, as Indians generally do, married wives of their own communities from India. Mr. Sastry's silence upon the point is significant. If he was a non-official enquirer bent upon an independent investigation, he would not have omitted to comment upon the conditions which oblige the Indians to marry Australian wives. The policy is a deep one the object of which is to prevent an Indian community eventuating from the handful of Indians admitted to Australian domicile. But it is essentially identical with the policy of Canada forbidding Indian residents to bring their wives and children into the country and is as much an affront to Indian nationalism in Australia as in Canada.

AN APOLOGY FOR THE DOMINIONS.

This is typical of the whole tone of this report. Comparatively trivial disabilities are magnified merely because Mr. Sastry was able to get the Dominion statesmen to discuss only such things with him. Serious and real grievances are passed over with at the utmost a passing reference. On the other hand, the Dominions are declared to be practically innocent of race prejudice, to be earnestly anxious to treat the Indians on a plane of perfect equality, and only prevented from doing so by "the political situation" and "parliamentary exigencies"—phrases which seem sufficient, in Mr. Sastry's mind to justify non-compliance with

even his Imperial Conference resolution. The report is, in fact, an apology for the Dominions rather than a record of relief obtained for Indians. Mr. Sastry makes a list of eight Indians' grievances in Australia under three heads. There are three grievances under the head "Disabilities in regard to political status". These relate to the Commonwealth franchise, and the provincial franchise in Queensland and Western Australia. As regards the first and most important, namely, the Commonwealth franchise, the late Prime Minister, Mr. Hughes, wrote to Mr. Sastry that he (Mr. Hughes) "did not hesitate to repeat in the plainest possible terms that you have brought within the range of practical politics a reform which but for your visit, would have been most improbable, if not impossible, of achievement." Mr. Sastry seriously offers to this country this testimonial from Mr. Hughes as a promise—"a more definite promise was not possible in view of the political situation in Australia and the distribution of parties in the Parliament"—to enfranchise Indians. And he finds confirmation of his belief in certain after-dinner speeches and private interviews with Australian politicians. He writes: "The desire to satisfy Indian aspirations in this respect is widespread and genuine. Its fruition may temporarily be retarded by political exigencies which are incidental to Parliamentary Government and cannot be prevented." It is strange that these "political exigencies incidental to Parliamentary Government" should have created the disability and should now prevent even temporarily the carrying out of the "widespread and genuine desire" of the Australian people to satisfy Indian aspirations. Either the Australian Parliament is out of touch with popular feeling—Australia has manhood franchise, we think—or Mr. Sastry has been deceived. As for West Australia and Queensland, they are only waiting for the Commonwealth lead! That is the net result of Mr. Sastry's mission in respect of Indians' political disabilities in Australia.

MOUNTAINS AND MOLEHILLS.

Indians in South Australia are disqualified from obtaining leases of land in certain irrigation and reclaimed areas. The Government of that province has promised to amend the Irrigation Act so as to render Indians eligible for leases of land under the Act. There are 200 Indians in South Australia and when the Act is amended, they will be freed from this disability. In Western Australia where there are 300 Indians, they have been considered ineligible to acquire mining rights, but the disability is not statutory, and the Premier of the State assured Mr. Sastry that "any future applications of Indians for such rights would be sympathetically considered." Under "disabilities in regard to employment and occupation" Mr. Sastry gives the first place to bounties paid by the Commonwealth to various industries employing

white labour. But, later on, he says that the Bounties Act was only in operation during the war and is no longer applicable! "There is no need," he adds, "to seek for the amendment of what is already a dead letter." Quite true. But why place it first among Indian grievances of this class? In the same way, Mr. Sastry gives a list of five Acts which discriminate against Indian labour. He subsequently states that two of these Acts have no practical bearing on the Indian situation! Of the three others, the restriction is being removed in the case of one, namely, the banana industry. The other important disability is the disqualification of Indians to get old-age pensions. The Commonwealth Government has promised to amend the law in this respect at an early date. Two other matters engaged Mr. Sastry's attention, namely, "difficulties of Indians in connection with incomplete passports" and "the admission of substitutes." We are at a loss to know under what clause of the reciprocity resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921, the principle underlying "the admission of substitutes" comes. There is nothing in the Indian practice with reference to the admission of Australians, which this Australian rule may be regarded as reciprocating. The net result of Mr. Sastry's tour in Australia may be summed up as being a single achievement—the removal of the disability of Indians to grow bananas—and several promises of varying shades of indefiniteness.

INDIANS IN NEW ZEALAND.

In New Zealand, there are some 600 Indians. They have the full franchise just the same as other classes. "Everywhere," Mr. Sastry writes, "I saw manifestations of sympathy for India and her people and a genuine desire to establish a friendly understanding between the two parts of the Empire by the removal of outstanding differences." Enquiry from Indians revealed the existence of two disabilities—exclusion from the benefits of the Old-age Pensions Act and difficulty of securing employment. The second is hardly a grievance peculiar to New Zealand and the object of representing it as one appears at the end. Mr. Sastry recommends the creation of a Protector of Indians though he adds "doubtless the Indian population both in Australia and New Zealand will, in future, be probably a dwindling factor." When the Indians are full citizens of Australia—a consummation which Mr. Sastry claims to have brought within the range of practical politics—the recommendation to appoint a Protector is untenable. As regards Old-age pensions, Mr. Sastry was told by the New Zealand Premier that there were no amendments proposed at present in the Act, but that when the time came to revise it, Government would consider his (Mr. Sastry's) representations. Mr. Sastry satisfies himself with this reply in the following

characteristic fashion: "In view of the fact that there are probably no Indians who fulfil the conditions regarding age required by the Act, and it is unlikely that any will be eligible for some years to come, no great hardship should result from the matter being allowed to stand over for the present." In plain language, there are no Indians in New Zealand old enough to qualify for the pension, and there are not likely to be any for many years. The Indian population there would have dwindled out of existence before the time comes for the New Zealand Ministers to amend their Act!

THE CANADIAN FIASCO.

Turning to the Canadian section of the report, the outstanding fact is that the Indian population which was some 6000 before the war has now dwindled to one-fifth that number. Any ordinary observer would have devoted some attention to the causes which have led to this rapid decline. But Mr. Sastry dismisses it as "due partly to migration from Canada to the United States and partly to returns to India." Mr. Sastry's failure to enquire into the reasons which prevented Indians in Australia from marrying Indian wives, may be due to oversight, but we are constrained to characterize his nonchalant reference to the rapid depletion of Indians in Canada as a deliberate evasion of the real issues of the problem which he went out to investigate. Before he left on his tour last year, we called Mr. Sastry's attention to the passage relating to Indians in Canada in the report published by *Social Welfare* (Toronto) of a Committee on the "Oriental Situation in British Columbia" which was presented to and adopted by the General Ministerial Association of Vancouver. This report treated the Indian issue as being one of rapidly diminishing importance. "Sikhs or Hindus, as they are commonly called," it said, "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, added the report, 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 remarked: "The effort failed. Some change has been made, within the past two or three years, but the practical effect has been nil." That is to say, the bar against the entry of wives has remained unaltered in spite of the precious Imperial Conference resolution of Mr. Sastry who neverthe-

less is profuse in his praise of the sympathy and consideration of British Columbia. On this matter of the exclusion of wives of men domiciled in Canada, he has only a passing remark at the fag-end of his report. The Missionaries' Committee said that the effect of the changes made in the rules had been practically nil. Mr. Sastry complacently observes: "As regards the entry of wives and children of resident Indians, the Government of Canada are ready to administer the rules made under the reciprocity agreement in 1918 with the utmost sympathy and fidelity!" The effect of those rules has been to bring down the Indian population in Canada to 1,200, and with the "utmost sympathy and fidelity," of the Canadian Government, it may be completely wiped out in the next five years. Of the 1,200 Indians in Canada, 1,100 are to be found in British Columbia. "In British Columbia," Mr. Sastry writes, "I am not hopeful of immediate results; but of the ultimate success of continued efforts I have little doubt." There is a good deal too much of such "vacant chaff well-meant for grain" in this report. Mr. Sastry must have been conscious of it, as he finds it necessary to lay stress on the educational value of his tour. We do not doubt it. Failures are often of more educative value than success.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

(Continued from the last issue.)

THE PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT.

Left to itself, the Non-Co-operation movement would have had a hard task to re-establish its waning influence in the country after these serious reverses. The Government of India, which was well aware of this fact, would have gladly left the movement to itself, but for two circumstances. These were the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, and the ascendancy which the Tory Die-hards came to possess in the counsels of the Coalition party in power in Great Britain. His Royal Highness was to have come to India a year earlier to start the Reforms. But after a long tour in the Dominions it was considered desirable that the Prince should have a period of rest, and the Duke of Connaught was sent in his place. The Duke had served five years in India in the eighties as Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army; as such he was ex-officio member of the Bombay Legislative Council where he supported Indian leaders in pressing for the extension of the people's rights and liberties. On this account as well as on that of his being the son of Queen Victoria, for whom Indians had respect bordering on veneration, the Duke was welcomed to India notwithstanding the political discontents. Knowing the country as he did, however, the Duke had no difficulty in noticing the great change that had come over the relations between the Government and the people

since his time. His speeches, guarded as they were in view of his delicate and somewhat anomalous position, showed that he felt that the people were not wholly to blame for the change. The Duke's visit passed off without any unpleasant incidents. The Prince of Wales, it had been announced, would visit India a year later. The political situation meanwhile had grown worse and the financial condition of the country was far from flourishing. Few experienced men in India favoured His Royal Highness' visit last year. The Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, a leader of the party of co-operation with Government in the Reforms, said in the course of his presidential address last May to the Liberal Conference in Bombay: "There was one thing above all which drew the harsh character of this dual Government (the Montagu diarchy) out and exhibited it in most glaring forms, and that was the visit of the Prince of Wales. I do not think that there is anyone here who desired it most enthusiastically at the particular time—not certainly I—I counselled against the visit as long as I 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 Prince landed in Bombay on November 17, 1921, and the conflict between those who went to welcome him and those who wanted to boycott him, led to serious riots involving considerable loss of life and property. The same day there was a complete *hartal* (cessation of business) except in the English quarter in Calcutta. The Government of Bombay remained calm and the trouble passed off. But the Government of Bengal proclaimed the Congress Volunteers to be an unlawful organisation, and was followed by some other provinces. There followed a rush of men and women to be enrolled as Congress Volunteers with the object of courting imprisonment, and within a few days several thousands had been arrested for this technical offence. The Prince was due in Calcutta in Christmas week, and Lord Reading who had gone there some days before him made a last effort, in consultation with non-party Indian leaders, to secure the abandonment of the boycott of the Prince's visit. The Viceroy proposed that both sides should suspend their activities against each other, Non-Co-operationists giving up the boycott, and Government releasing those imprisoned. Some time later a conference was to be called to settle all outstanding matters by mutual discussion. It was a fair offer, and many even among Non-Co-operators felt that Gandhi committed a serious blunder in not acceding to it.

THE AHMEDABAD NATIONAL CONGRESS.

A few days later the National Congress met at

Ahmedabad, where Gandhi has established his *Satyagrahashram*, a sort of monastic settlement conducted upon Tolstoyan principles under his personal guidance. It was very largely attended and Gandhi, of course, dominated it. The Ahmedabad Congress passed a resolution reorganising its volunteers, declaring that mass civil disobedience was the only method of meeting Government repression and nominating Gandhi as a sort of dictator to prepare the country for such disobedience. Gandhi with characteristic energy set himself to the task. The number of arrests continued rapidly to swell. He chose a flourishing agricultural tract in Gujarat where there were many farmers who had worked with him in the Passive Resistance movement in South Africa, as the most suitable locality in which to start the new plan. The farmers were to refuse to pay the assessment on their lands, and to allow them without any resistance to be attached and auctioned by the officials. Gandhi took up his residence at Bardoli with a view to watch and guide the operations and to ensure perfect non-violence on the part of the people. He addressed an open letter to the Viceroy a few days before the date fixed for the opening of the campaign announcing his intentions. This destroyed the chance opened by the Malaviya Conference held in Bombay with a view to take up the broken thread of negotiations with the Viceroy.

CHAURI CHAURA AND BARDOLI.

Almost on the eve of that day, a mob consisting of Congress Volunteers and others burnt a Police station and brutally murdered several policemen at Chauri Chaura in the United Provinces. When Gandhi heard of it, he at once abandoned the projected civil disobedience, and got the Congress Working Committee to adopt an altogether new programme the main items of which were promoting unity among the several races and creeds of India, the raising of the status of the depressed classes (the outcaste tribes) of Hindus, a propaganda of total abstinence from drinks, and the popularisation of hand-spinning and hand-weaving. All aggressive activities were suspended, as Gandhi held that the outrage at Chauri Chaura and the Bombay riots showed that the country had not risen to a sufficient appreciation of non-violence which alone, in his opinion, could lead mass civil disobedience to a successful issue. This sudden change from a militant political to a constructive social programme created a big split in the ranks of the Congress. And when the resolution came up for confirmation by the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi, Gandhi was obliged to concede on the question of individual civil disobedience and picketing of shops selling foreign cloth to placate the opposition. Government had ordered the arrest of Gandhi on the day fixed for the opening of the "no-rent" campaign at Bardoli. They suspended it when the Bardoli resolutions were passed.

Soon after the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi, however, they re-ordered the arrest and prosecution of Gandhi.

GANDHI'S PROSECUTION.

Why was Gandhi prosecuted when his influence among his followers was on the wane? In the official report "India in 1921-22" to which reference has been made more than once above, it is admitted that the Bardoli resolutions marked the beginning of the decline of confidence in Gandhi's leadership. Where was the necessity when the Non-Co-operation movement was tottering to its fall, to prosecute him? The reasons given in the report for not having him prosecuted earlier, are: "In the first place there was a natural reluctance to incarcerate a man who, however mistaken might be his activities, was by all widely respected and by millions revered as a saint. Moreover, he had consistently preached the gospel of non-violence, and done all he could to restrain the more impatient of his followers from embarking upon forcible methods." The decline of his popularity, in fact, was due to his insistence on giving up the idea of mass civil disobedience because the country was not sufficiently disciplined in non-violence for it. Both reason and expediency would seem, in such circumstances, to favour leaving Gandhi free to face his following. Government had never less to apprehend trouble from his influence or his activities, while his imprisonment could not fail to be regarded all over India as an act of vindictiveness. The reason for this step is to be sought in the movement within the Coalition Government in Great Britain, which brought about the resignation of Mr. Montagu of the office of the Secretary of State for India. Mr. Montagu's resignation and Gandhi's arrest were announced within a few hours of each other in Parliament. Whatever the causes alleged, Mr. Montagu has himself stated that he was dismissed to please the Tory Die-Hards in the party. These Die-Hards have all along been opposed to the Reforms of which Mr. Montagu was the author. Mr. Montagu about two years ago had once referred in a speech in Parliament to Gandhi as his friend. That had given great offence and he was again and again taunted for it by his political opponents in the House of Commons. The general opinion in India is that Gandhi's prosecution was undertaken owing to pressure from England.

GANDHI'S TRIAL AND CONVICTION.

Gandhi was tried for sedition. He pleaded guilty and justified his action in starting Non-Co-operation. "I believe", he said in his statement, "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 deliber-

ately expressed in violence to the evil-doer. I am endeavouring to show to my countrymen that violent Non-Co-operation only multiplies evil and can only be sustained by violence, withdrawal of support of evil requires complete abstention from violence." Gandhi asked that the severest penalty that the law provides for the offence should be inflicted upon him. The maximum penalty under the Indian Penal Code for sedition is transportation for life to the penal settlement known as the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal. The judge, in passing sentence of six years' imprisonment, observed: "It is impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or am likely to have 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 those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of noble and of even saintly life." "I should like to say", he concluded, "that if the course of events in India should make it possible for the Government to reduce the period (of six years) and release you no one will be better pleased than I."

DEPRESSION IN THE CONGRESS CAMP.

Gandhi left strict injunctions that his followers should give up courting imprisonment so long as he was in jail. "I flatter myself with the belief", he wrote to Hakim Ajmal Khan, acting President of the Congress, "that my imprisonment is quite enough for a long time to come. If I may be allowed the claim, it is clear that I should not be followed to prison by anybody at all." His injunction to Congressmen was that they should give up all aggressive activities and concentrate upon the four-fold constructive programme outlined at Bardoli. Unfortunately, this programme has failed to arouse enthusiasm. It was condemned by some Congressmen as being nothing but social reform. Others thought it was necessary to re-introduce some aggressive political activity in order to stimulate popular feeling. Others, again, demanded that civil disobedience should be started as the only means of bringing Government to reason. An influential section insisted that the boycott of the Legislative Councils should cease and Congressmen should capture the Councils at the forthcoming General election with the object of wrecking the Reforms. A Committee of six leading Congressmen was appointed to tour the country and to report in what ways the Congress programme should be modified, if it was of opinion that modifications were necessary in it. The Committee submitted their report at the beginning of November. The members unanimously came to the conclusion that the country was not ready to adopt mass civil disobedience, but they recommended that individuals and provinces may resolve upon breaking any particular law or order for special

reason on their own responsibility. On the question of entry into Councils, they were equally divided. Three of the members were in favour of seeking election to them with the set purpose of obstruction: the other three held that it was both wrong and impracticable to enter them with this object, and that it would be a violation of the fundamental principle of Non-Co-operation to seek election to the Councils.

(to be continued.)

THE CASE OF MR. BHAGAT SINGH.

(BY THE REV. REEVES CALKINS)

To many persons the case of Mr. Bhagat Singh has seemed only another instance of cheap race discrimination—that deep-seated human evil which is found in every land. Closer scrutiny will, I hope, disclose the fact that a high life principle has determined this far-reaching matter. For once, at least, race prejudice has yielded to the higher law of liberty.

The facts are quickly told.

Mr. Bhagat Singh is a high-caste Hindu. Some years ago he took up his residence in America, in the State of Oregon. He seems to have prospered greatly, and to have stood so high in the respect of the community, that, in due time, he received a certificate of citizenship from the recognized authorities of the State. But American citizenship is no mean prize. As is now evident from the newspaper despatches, certain citizens of Oregon contended that Mr. Bhagat Singh was constitutionally ineligible to receive the high honour that had been conferred upon him. The State courts would not sustain them in their contention but confirmed Mr. Bhagat Singh in his acquired rights of citizenship. Whereupon these aggrieved citizens took an appeal from the State courts, and, in due process of law, the appeal was carried to Washington. Here the case of Mr. Bhagat Singh passed under the unbiassed scrutiny of the most significant court in the world—unbiassed, because nine high-minded jurists though rendering a joint decision approach each case from a separate angle of vision, with the result that in one hundred and thirty years no breath of criticism has ever touched this high human tribunal—most significant, because, unlike other courts in the world, the Supreme Court of the United States does not deal with questions of law but only with matters of human equity as these are embodied in the American Constitution.

The Supreme Court has just sent down its ruling. It digs down to the foundations on which organized government must rest. The ruling is that the State of Oregon is estopped from conferring citizenship on Mr. Bhagat Singh on the ground that a high-caste Hindu of "full Indian blood" is ineligible for American citizenship. Then follows the crushing human reason: A high-caste Hindu is *not a free person*—within the meaning of the Constitution.

The telegraphic despatch to the newspapers adds the phrase "free white person," which evidently is

an attempt to paint the lily, for philological as well as ethnological research has long since established the identity of the Indo-Aryan race throughout the world. The ruling is devoid of all racial reference whatsoever. To inject a racial slant into this decision is to advertise one's ignorance of American history, even recent history. The same Supreme Court, again and again, has re-affirmed the constitutional foundation that no citizen is to be restricted in his rights of citizenship on account of "race, colour, or previous condition." The black-faced Afro-American has enjoyed constitutional citizenship for sixty years and no sinister combination of social and economic influences (and they have been sinister indeed!) has been able to swerve the Supreme Court a hair's breadth from this just judgment. Mr. Bhagat Singh is forbidden to exercise a prematurely granted citizenship, not because his certificate of naturalization marks him a fellow countryman of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar (who will forgive my levity!), nor because the sun has kissed his cheeks almost as ruddy a tan as the hardy mountaineers of that same State of Oregon, but because Mr. Bhagat Singh is not a "free person," and, by his own confession, cannot become free.

Consider. A Frenchman, whether Christian, Jew, or atheist, may mingle as a free man in the marts of the world and move in those social circles for which he is fitted. He may be hindered but he cannot be inhibited. He may marry an English woman, if she will have him, or an Italian or an Egyptian, and his children will be free-born. If he emigrates to America—and can pass the strict, though temporary, exclusion tests that are aimed against demoralizing cheap labour—he will find himself in a land of opportunity. If he cares to become an American citizen, and there is found no physical, or mental, or moral impediment, he may achieve that honor. He may find himself up against social or economic cliques but there is nothing which he cannot surmount, nothing "in the nature of things." And so it is with any man of any race. In America he can win, *if he can*.—that is, if the human force within him is able to overcome the human obstacles which he is sure to encounter. No syllable of the American Constitution has ever been construed by the Supreme Court of the United States against the human aspirations of any "free person."

Why then the case of Mr. Bhagat Singh? Why has that high Instrument, the American Constitution, become the undoing of an Indian gentleman whose claims to citizenship were freely granted by many of his own neighbours, and actually allowed by the courts of his adopted State? The answer is clear. Every high-minded Hindu will recognize the justice of it, even though caste-Hinduism is pilloried and shamed before the free nations of the world. What facts came within the purview of this Supreme Court decision? These: The very life forces which sway the character of Mr. Bhagat Singh, the forces that are regnant within him, compel him to hold aloof from his fellows. Whatever be the outward associations

that touch him, he remains, the essence of him, a caste-Hindu. He cannot become other than what he is. The food he eats is by sufferance until he can again enter into caste. The woman he lives with is not the wife of his soul, and cannot become so. The American society with which he mingles in the drive and heat of affairs is no part of the Iron Ring which keeps him separate. He lives habitually apart, in a realm where the most idealistic American never enters. He is profoundly indifferent to the social or political or economic web of which he may seem to become a part. It is but *Maya*—Illusion. The soul and fibre of the man can never become identified with the hurly-burly of democracy, and does not care to become really a part of it. Actually democracy does not interest him, though he swears solemnly to maintain it—"so help me"—whatever or whoever be the Power he worships. And democracy cannot interest him because he himself, the unchanging soul of him, is bound up in another Order of Things. His choices are pre-determined. He is not a free man.

For four generations the Supreme Court of the United States has stood sponsor for any man, anywhere, who has demanded his inalienable human rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Can any thoughtful mind be surprised that such a High Court of Appeal has handed down its ruling, that, so long as Mr. Bhagat Singh confesses he is a high-caste Hindu and therefore in the nature of things not a "free person," he is ineligible to citizenship in a free democracy? And can any thoughtful mind be other than anxious for the future of democracy in India itself, where that same Iron Ring holds millions of high-minded men under a code of social despotism which transcends any government whatsoever?

Perhaps it shall be that the humiliation of Mr. Bhagat Singh will mean the social liberation, and therefore the political enfranchisement of millions of his countrymen.

THE BUDDHA GAYA TEMPLE.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,
I have read with interest the Anagarika Dhammapala's letter in the last issue of the *Reformer* and quite agree with him that the Buddha Gaya Temple should be entrusted to the management of Buddhists, or at least to a Committee consisting of Buddhists and Hindus. At the same time, I beg to protest emphatically against Dr. Dhammapala's statement that "No orthodox Hindu enters the sanctuary to pay worship or homage." There is no use overstating a case. The tone of Dr. Dhammapala's letter leads me to think that he appears to be the last person who could successfully lead a movement to negotiate with the Government of India or the Mahant for more rational arrangement than the one existing for the administration and management of the sacred Temple. A good cause is often spoiled by bad or over-zealous advocacy.

If Sir Asantosh Mukherji and a few leaders of Hindu thought take this matter up, I feel sure that success will soon be attained.

Yours etc.
A HINDU.

INDIAN OFFICERED REGIMENTS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have been a reader of the *Reformer* off and on for over 30 years, and have learned very much from it. I have also read much that you have spoken outside its columns and particularly the address you gave lately at a gathering of Indian Christians; and with a multitude of others appreciated it exceedingly.

Such being my experience and attitude, it is with peculiar regret that I read in your issue of 24th February your remarks on "Indian Officered Regiments." You say they "cannot but feel that they are in an invidious position where their faults must appear magnified" etc., etc.

What aid can such remarks render to the very difficult situation that has arisen? What is there of constructive help in this unjust and unnecessary criticism? I appeal to you as a very fair-minded man. It is quite true that these regiments and their Indian officers will come under very severe examination. It is inevitable. All experiments and all experimenters do. Indeed every human soul does. Your own paper and yourself are weekly being under review. How can you or we or any one escape either human or divine judgment? It is in the constitution of the world that we must be judged.

The Indian regiments and officers will come under 'invidious' judgments, *you do not well to your country to state* and to prejudice the whole position in advance. This method of newspaper criticism works extreme evil and no item of good, and is not true. The only judgment that Indian regiments and officers need fear and which they ought to fear is their own. The way to meet their own judgments is—so to qualify themselves for their responsibilities by every effort in their power as to feel and know themselves that they are capable of bearing them.

This letter is not necessarily meant for publication; but I hope you will retract somewhat your very harmful remarks, for the sake of the parties themselves; otherwise that you will suggest the adoption of some better scheme.

Yours faithfully
(THE REV.) G. H. MACFARLANE,
Convener of the Standing Committee
on Public Questions and Temperance
of the Madras Christian Council.

UNTOUCHABILITY IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The Bombay Government deserves to be congratulated upon its press note removing the disabilities of the children of the poor Depressed Classes in attending any school in public authority and removing the bar on the teachers of this class in serving in other schools. It rightly proceeds to say: "Seeing that the depressed classes pay the same rates and taxes as other classes it is only fair that they should have equal educational facilities; those who object to the education of these classes along with their own children are of course at liberty to make their own arrangements but Government do not consider that they are entitled to any assistance in doing so from public funds, whether local or provincial."

Many a time religious prejudices are sheltered under the plea of sanitation. But on this point the press note is as

clear as it ought to be. It goes on to say:—"It should be the aim of the school masters to see that all the children, to whatever class they belong, are clean and tidy and attention should be paid to this point by all inspecting officers."

Last Sunday I attended a meeting of the untouchables at Nasik. I was pleased to see the boys of this community as clean and tidy as the boys of the higher classes. It is quite encouraging to notice that wherever the opportunities are offered to these boys, they are anxious to wash off their 'untouchability' and become men on a footing of equality with their fellow-men. In treating our countrymen worse than cats and dogs, our educated orthodox people must know that they follow the policy of "Give a dog a bad name and then hang it."

Public wells are closed to them. How are they to be clean? There are some wells for them but in many cases they are not at convenient distances. If they pay the same rates and taxes, why should public wells be closed to them? This is a great handicap in the way of their being clean. I know one case wherein a poor woman of this untouchable class, serving at a Parsi's was given leave, because she was not allowed to draw water at the public well. The Parsi gentleman though himself free from the touch of untouchability had to seek another servant of a touchable community, as this woman was forbidden to touch a public well. This is a bar which stands in the way of the untouchables serving as domestic servants even in non-Hindu families. I expect the Bombay Government, with the same liberality, will remove this bar and allow the depressed classes to draw water at the public wells. Those holy men who fear their pollution should sink their own private wells, and reserve them for themselves.

Yours, etc.
KARKARE, K. G.

Devlali, 27th February 1928.

REFORM AMONG BHILS.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

The Bhils of Panch Mahals are not behind their Kalipara brethren of Surat District and of Navsari Prant of Baroda in the matter of social reform. Just before the Holi holidays they met in the Jhalod Taluka in a village two miles off the Taluka town of Jhalod in large numbers, over fifty villages being represented by their leaders and Patels, and made rules regarding standardising their marriage customs and expenses, abstaining from liquor even on festive occasions and slaughter of cattle, taking a daily bath and the removal of inconvenient leg ornaments of their women and other matters. The movement is spontaneous and no outside agency has gone to their assistance in the matter of the reform they are now attempting on a large scale. Liquor is their great enemy and the influence of Guru Govind in their midst up to about five years ago brought the gospel of abstinence from drink and other reforms to all Bhil disciples who number hundreds even to-day. Large masses of the community are following the example of these "Bhaktas" and resolve to improve themselves in matters of personal cleanliness, in their marriage and death customs and in the matter of food and drink. Like the *Kaliparajs* of South Gujārat no goddess or goddesses are at the back of the Bhils' movement on this side but some educated men and influential Patels from among the community itself are moving their own people for solid social reform.

Following are the main resolutions they passed at the Jhalod gathering consisting of about one thousand on the 27th February last in the open air under huge banyan trees in the heat of the day.

(1) The bride's father shall not receive more than Rs. 101 from the bridegroom's father, out of which Rs. 50 will be utilised for making ornaments for the bride. The penalty in case of breach will be twice the excess amount paid.

(2) At the time of the betrothal "Gool" should be distributed instead of liquor as at present.

(3) The custom of elopement by girls should no longer be recognised as marriage and those who assist the parties will also be penalised by the Caste *Punch*.

(4) The man who keeps as wife a woman who is married to another but not divorced with the sanction of the Caste *Punch* will be fined upto Rs. 200 and the woman at fault will be returned to her first husband.

(5) Divorce on the application of a woman may be granted if the *Punch* sees valid reasons for the separation and in that case the second husband, if any, will pay the first husband the sum of Rs. 101 and some other expenses.

(6) The period of "Ghar Jamai" or resident son-in-law's compulsory stay with his father-in-law is reduced from 7 years to 5.

(7) Use of liquor on occasion of death, dinner, marriage and other social functions is prohibited. The Patel or the "Bhagat" of every village to report the head-quarters breaches if any may occur.

(8) No cattle or goats should be killed in any death ceremony or on in cases of sickness or on any other occasion.

(9) Water should be used after answering nature's call and a daily bath is prescribed for all adults male and female.

(10) Women shall remove from their legs brass ornaments called "jhanjharia." These are tapering pieces of brass cylinders from the knee down to the ankle and cause great discomfort while at work in the fields.

(11) A committee of leading Patels was appointed to go round the villages, acquaint all the people with the rules made by representative *Punch* and appoint local committees to watch the working of these rules and to deal with the defaulters.

Dohad, 3rd March 1928.

A CORRESPONDENT.

NEW SALVATION ARMY EYE HOSPITAL AT ANAND.

An interesting function took place at Anand on Monday the 19th February, when in connection with the New Eye Hospital, S. R. Covernton Esquire, I.C.S., Collector of Kaira District, presided at the stone laying ceremony.

The gathering was large and representative, an indication of the appeal which this eye work makes to all classes of people.

In his opening remarks the Chairman said that in Gujarat there was great need for facilities for the treatment of maladies of the eye, and this hospital would help in that direction.

Dr. Draper mentioned some of the circumstances which had led to the inception of this scheme, and said that in spite of difficulties, he had been greatly inspired by the words of the prophet Nehemiah: "The God of Heaven, He will prosper us, therefore, we His servants, will arise and build." The doctor referred to the recent visit of the General, and said that when he had laid this hospital scheme before him the General asked, "Will it meet a need?" A mo

emphatic reply in the affirmative with reasons for it so satisfied him, that he gave his whole-hearted approval and assured a sum of Rs. 60,000 from the London Headquarters towards the cost of erection. Dr. Draper also made grateful reference to C. G. Henderson Esquire, I.C.S., Collector of the Bijapur District, who has done much splendid work on behalf of those suffering from eye trouble, and who would have been present to lay a stone had not pressure of duty prevented him. At this point the doctor gave a practical demonstration of the deep need for work such as is to be done in the hospital. He had brought on to the platform a child who had been carried to him that morning. The child's parents said he had been suffering with his eyes for the past two or three days. They had waited this long time before taking any useful measures to relieve the child, and now the doctor explained, both eyes have become hopelessly blind. It was a pathetic but forceful illustration, and brought tears to many eyes. This was one example of hundreds of similar cases which exist. The tragedy is continually going on.

Commissioner J. Hoskins, on rising to lay the stone, said that a few months ago he had dedicated a motor ambulance for eye work in and about Anand. That was doing very useful service. During the first two months it had enabled the hospital staff to treat 850 cases, the majority of which had been treated in the villages, the remainder being brought to the hospital. They were extremely grateful to the donors of that car, but still depended upon the public for its upkeep and for needed extension of this work. They had been doing village work, but ward work was very essential. The present scheme will benefit people who are in dire need. The complete plan embraces two wards of 50ft. X 24 ft., an outpatient department 18 ft. X 28 ft. and an operating theatre 18 ft. X 16 ft. with verandahs running round three sides of the building. For the present, one ward is not being built, but it is hoped that before long the necessary money will be donated.

After this the stone laying ceremony took place and the gathering dispersed.

WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

India freed from alcohol and narcotic drugs was the vision before the national executive of the Women's Christian Temperance Union that gathered in Lucknow on February 21st for consultation and renewal of inspiration. The U. P. division of the Union was holding its annual convention on the 21st, and its members welcomed those of the executive who came from other parts of India representing Assam, Bengal, Punjab, Rajputana, Gujarat, Bombay Presidency, Madras Presidency, and C. P. It was a pleasure to find Miss Campbell, National Organizer safely back from her tour in the West, where she and five others from India were delegates to the World's Women's Christian Temperance Convention in Philadelphia last November. She also attended the Conference of the World's League against Alcoholism in Toronto where one of the most striking addresses was that of Dr. Saleeby, the great authority on Eugenics, showing from history and recent research that alcoholism means race suicide. The Women's Convention was designedly spectacular proving that the once-despised Women's Christian Temperance Union is now a powerful organization whose delegates can fill the largest hall in the third city of the United States of America and whose friends can entertain those delegates at the best hotel. Two indeed arrived from Albania in an aeroplane, while another large contingent was

entertained at the White House on their way from the Western States.

One of the many fine speeches delivered in Philadelphia was by the Assistant Attorney General of America—a lady who in a long closely-reasoned address pointed out why she considered prohibition had come to stay.

Miss Campbell's experience in the States tallies with that of many other observers in that she could not find any open drinking. It is done no doubt; indeed she smelt the forbidden thing when talking to a custom official even! But it is hidden most carefully and the temptation to casual passers-by has been completely removed. The general impression is one of great well-being and of a wonderful cleansing having taken place.

Miss Campbell had ample opportunities to tell in America, Canada and Scotland of how India is seeking to free herself from the shackles of the liquor traffic and of how many different sections of the community are aroused on the subject.

One of the results of her visit is that the three above-mentioned countries have agreed to support 5 Indian organizers for 3 years to extend and strengthen the movement in India in the hope that after 3 years the Indian Christian Temperance Union will be self-supporting. By the end of the committee at Lucknow two ladies were definitely appointed, viz., Miss Daisy Singh, sister-in-law of Principal Chitambar to help with the Literature Department at headquarters and Miss Helen Maya Das, a graduate of Columbia University, to accompany Miss Campbell in her tour through India during the next two years.

It is hoped that others will be forthcoming later to further the scientific temperance teaching in schools, and to help the Editor of the *Indian Temperance News* in Madras. The Blue Ribbon Association, a union of men of all castes and creeds, (affiliated to the Women's Christian Temperance Union) reported a large increase of membership. It was arranged to enlarge the scope of the monthly *Indian Temperance News* 4 pages being given to *Blue Ribbon News*, these being also published separately as the Blue Ribbon Magazine. The *News* is obtainable from "Bishopville, Vepery, Madras for Rs. 1-14-0 per annum. A great many other points were taken up which cannot be all reported. The following were some of the goals adopted to double the circulation of the Magazine, to double membership and the number of local unions, to obtain support for a worker in the Army and another to the railway communities.

At a meeting of Temperance workers of various societies including Mr. Mira, M.L.C., some thought was given to the need of songs for use in public meetings so attractive in poetic form and setting that they will pass into common use and become a powerful means of arousing public opinion. Other songs, suitable for special castes or religious communities are also needed and a committee was formed (Convener Rev. J. W. Pickett, Arrah, Bihar.) to collect songs, and to stir up poets and musicians to produce them.

H. M. R.

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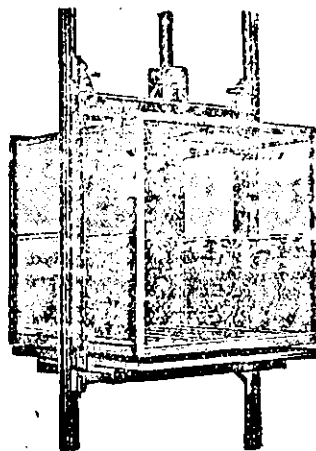
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"I will be as bare as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

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Mr. Montagu on his Reforms: The Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu, late Secretary of State for India, contributes an interesting article on "Self-Government for India" to the March number of *Asia*. The article is largely a defence of his scheme against his critics. Mr. Montagu does not claim, as did Dr. Sapru, that the English Parliamentary form of Government will be the ultimate form of self-government which India will adopt. "The ultimate constitution of India," he writes, "will take shape in India, and not in London; it will possibly adapt western institutions to Indian needs rather than imitate them without qualification. But we have now taken the step of devising the machinery by which the wishes of India can be ascertained through its elected representatives and have instituted a franchise which is designed to be extended as the years go on and to become more and more representative." This is a very important statement because it disposes of the contention that all future constitutional progress in India must be within the terms of the Reform Act of 1919. According to Mr. Montagu, the new Councils are chiefly meant as organs for expressing what kind of self-government India desires to have. This is entirely consonant with the plan of Mr. C. R. Das to present to Government in the Legislative Councils a scheme of full responsible government upon which all parties in India are agreed. Mr. Montagu answers effectively all the principal objections raised against the introduction of democratic institutions in India. His remarks regarding the Indian Civil Service are in striking contrast to those of Mr. Lloyd George in his "steel frame" speech. Mr. Montagu writes:—"As time goes on, the Indian Civil Service must become less of a governing body and more comparable to the Civil Services, the Executive instrument of government, of other countries. And when self-government is finally attained, although I believe that India will often look to England for executive assistance, the executive instrument of Government will be, in the main, Indian, and chosen from the population of a self-governing India." A very commendable feature of Mr. Montagu's article is his restrained

reference to the party of non-co-operation. He frankly recognises that there were causes which provoked, if they did not justify, some strong aggressive movement, and expresses his great satisfaction that there are now signs that in the approaching elections the Congressmen will probably take their part. The tone and temper of this article are that of a real statesman who regards the political destiny of India from a broad and wholly sympathetic point of view.

European Members and Social Legislation: It is not a little surprising to see that, during the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the amendment of the Indian Penal Code regarding traffic in girls, Mr. Joshi's motion for raising the age limit of minor girls from 16 to 18 met with the opposition of European officials. The International Convention had resolved to prevent minor girls from being led into prostitution and had fixed the age limit at 21. Mr. Joshi's motion was in accordance with the resolutions of the Convention for the suppression of traffic in women making it penal to sell or procure a girl under the age of 18 *even with her consent* for illicit intercourse. Except the inevitable opposition of Mr. Rangachari of Madras, almost all non-official members seem to have been in favour of raising the age limit. The reason given for the opposition of official members is that the age limit is 16 as regards more serious offences under section 372. It may be necessary to raise this limit, but none to oppose the raising of the limit for other purposes. There are both individuals and public bodies among Europeans, like the Salvation Army and other missionary bodies, deeply interested in social reform and we are sure this attitude of Europeans will be resented by them, as will be seen from the following comments of the *Dnyanodaya* on the opposition of Sir Leslie Miller to the Priests' Emoluments Bill:

It seems unfortunate that an Englishman should oppose the efforts of Indian reformers to break some of their bonds. It would appear as if the Bill proposed to do what was done by the British Parliament in 1868 when the compulsory imposition of Church rates was abolished, without, as far as we are aware, any compensation being given.

Of the Provincial Governments consulted, Bombay, North West Frontier Provinces, Assam and the Central Provinces had expressed themselves in favour of raising the age limit to 21 as adopted by European parties to the Convention; Burma, Behar and Orissa and Punjab had favoured the raising of the age limit to 18 and only Bengal, Madras and the United Provinces had expressed themselves in favour of retaining the age limit at 16. In the face of this it is strange that the Government of India have thought it necessary to oppose the raising of the age limit. It must also be mentioned that, among the European members, Sir Montagu Webb and Mr. D. Linsay voted in favour of raising the age limit to 18. We are glad that, in spite of the opposition of Government officials and European members, Mr.

Joshi's motion for raising the age limit to 18 was passed by the Legislative Assembly by 43 votes against 40.

Indian Mercantile Marine: Questions relating to the encouragement of a shipping industry for India are beginning to engage attention. We have received the Questionnaire for witnesses who wish to give evidence before the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee appointed by the Government of India. The terms of reference are to consider what measures can usefully be taken (1) for the liberal recruitment of Indians as Deck or Executive officers and Engineers in the Royal Indian Marine; (2) for the establishment of Nautical College in Indian waters for the purpose of training Executive Officers and Engineers of ships; (3) for ensuring the entertainment of Indian apprentices for training as such Officers and Engineers, in the ships owned by shipping firms that enjoy any subsidy or other benefits from Government on any account, and for the creation of an adequate number of State scholarships for providing instruction in the Nautical Colleges and training ships in England, pending the formation of a Nautical College in India; (4) for the encouragement of shipbuilding and of the growth of an Indian Mercantile Marine by a system of bounties, subsidies and such other measures as have been adopted in Japan; (5) for the acquisition of training ships by gift from the Imperial Government or otherwise, and (6) for the construction of the necessary dockyards and engineering workshops in one or more ports. We have also received a copy of the Bill which Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer is introducing in the Legislative Assembly for the abolition of the deferred rebate system and for the fixation of maximum and minimum rates of freight. *Apropos* of this subject, Mr. S. N. Haji delivered an interesting address before the members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, a copy of which has been kindly sent to us. This address must be very useful to the layman in gaining an insight into this rather technical subject.

The Inchcape Committee's Report: We must confess we are agreeably disappointed by the method, the manner and the conclusions of the Report of the Indian Retrenchment Committee presided over by Lord Inchcape. Out of a total of 221 crores, the Inchcape Committee recommends retrenchments to the extent of 20 crores in the expenditure of the Government of India. The main reductions are:—10 crores in the Military Services, 6 crores in the Commercial Departments, 2 crores in Civil Administration, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ crore in Charges for Collection of Revenue. The reductions proposed under each of these heads are justified briefly but convincingly in the sections relating to them. The Hon. Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas has appended important notes to the sections dealing with the Indo-European Telegraph Department, the India Office Expenditure and Ecclesiastical Expenditure. This report is one of the most lucid and informing produced by recent Commissions, and apart from its practical value which must be very great, it is a valuable contribution to the literature relating to Indian finance.

Politics and Filth: The East African clergyman, Shaw, to whose mad pranks Mr. Andrews calls attention in his feeling article on the Indian position in that Crown Colony, has been thrown overboard by his own party. At the Convention of Associations held on February 26th, the following resolution proposed by Lord Delamere and seconded by

Mr. R. F. Mayer, was passed without any discussion:—"This Convention emphatically dissociates itself from the comparison made in the Rev. W. H. Shaw's letter published in the local press in February, between Belial and the Prophet Mahomet and considers such a comparison to be a wanton insult to a faith for which the Convention has the greatest respect, in common with the rest of the world." The Bishop of Mombasa and other Christian missionaries attending the Convention as invited visitors, according to the Nairobi correspondent of the *Mombasa Times*, also expressed their desire emphatically to include themselves in this expression of dissociation. The situation is black enough without introducing religious passions, and we are glad that the East African Europeans have repudiated the fanaticism of Rev. W. H. Shaw. If there was any suggestion in the writings of the Indian journalist referred to by Mr. Andrews, reflecting on English women, the Indians in East Africa ought promptly to follow the example of their political opponents. No reputable publicist will indulge in scurrilous attacks on religion or women, and if any one does so, he should be promptly repudiated. Politics is seldom wholly separable from dirt, but it should be the aim of all sensible persons to keep it from becoming mere filth.

Indians in the United States: We are much indebted to Professor Clark A. Warburton of the Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, for his very clear exposition of the naturalization law of the United States with reference to Mr. Reeves Calkins' article, on the decision of the Supreme Court on the case of Bhagat Singh, which we published last week. He is, however, not so clear when he argues that the Hindu cannot understand the difference between race discrimination and race prejudice because he is brought up under a social system of rigid distinctions carrying with them ideas of superiority and inferiority. It may be our Hindu upbringing, but we must confess that we are ourselves unable precisely to understand what the Professor means by race discrimination dissociated from ideas of superiority or inferiority, as distinguished from race prejudice which involves such ideas. Such a distinction is not possible outside biology. Nor are we able to accept from our own mental experience that the Hindu caste involves such ideas in a larger measure than the exclusion laws of the United States and the self-governing British Colonies.

The Intercommunal Dinner: We print a detailed report of the very successful inter-communal dinner held in Bombay on Sunday last, which was attended by many members of what Sir P. O. Ray, whose presence added to the success of the function, called the suppressed classes. All sat together without distinction of race, creed or caste. A photograph of many of those who attended the dinner was taken. We have seen a proof of this photograph and it is an admirable example of group photography. Those who wish to have copies should communicate with the General Secretary, Indian National Social Conference, Empire Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. The price per copy will be announced in the next issue. Warm acknowledgement is due for the successful organisation of the function—at the last moment provision had to be made and was made for about a hundred additional guests from the suppressed classes—to Mr. V. S. Sohoni, late Superintendent of the Bombay Depressed Classes Mission Society's Hostel, and to his fellow-workers. Every one present expressed high appreciation of the care with which every detail had been attended to.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 17, 1923.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

(Concluded)

THE GAYA CONGRESS AND AFTER.

The Gaya Congress met in December last. It was the first Congress session held after the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi, and there was a very natural reluctance on the part of the majority of the delegates to adopt any resolution which seemed to be a turning-back from the line chalked out by him. This reluctance was inflamed into resentment by hasty and ill-judged remarks by advocates of a change in Congress methods, not marked by a proper appreciation of the judgment and insight which inspired the several stages of Gandhi's leadership. Owing chiefly to this feeling of resentment the Gaya Congress rejected not only the proposal in favour of entry into the Legislative Councils but also other proposals some of which had been unanimously recommended by the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee. The Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee have been, in consequence, obliged to define and limit in some respects the significance of the action of the last Congress. Mr. C. R. Das and the minority of the Congress who did not approve of the attitude of the Gaya Congress, lost no time in announcing the formation of a new party within the Congress to convert the majority to their views. After prolonged and protracted consultations at Gaya, Benares, Calcutta, Bombay and Allahabad, the Das party drew up a prospectus of its aims and objects which we printed and commented upon in the *Reformer* of the 3rd March. Almost simultaneously the majority and minority parties agreed to suspend their separate activities for two months. There was an important condition attached to this truce. It was that if Government decided upon an early dissolution of the Legislature, both parties were free to follow their respective courses. On Tuesday last, it was announced in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, that there would be a short session in July at Simla and, in answer to a question, the President of the Assembly told a member that he understood that members would be meeting their constituencies in September next. The condition contemplated having thus arisen, the Das or minority party will begin their preparations for the forthcoming election.

ONE YEAR SINCE.

Tomorrow (the 18th March) marks the first anniversary of Mahatmaji's incarceration. For a whole year the country has been without the help and inspiration of his great personality. He was thrown into prison within about a month o

enunciating the constructive social programme which goes by the name of the Bardoli programme. If he had been free, he would have clearly brought home to all Congressmen and to the country at large the full bearing of that programme upon India's political future. Owing to his imprisonment, the country has been deprived of the aid and assistance of the designer and best interpreter of the constructive programme. A large number of politically-minded people among us have grown up in the tradition of a distinct line of demarcation between politics and social reform. This is an evil inheritance which we owe to the founders of the National Congress as a purely political organisation. Even Mr. Gokhale but imperfectly realised—and that too towards the close of his career—that a political constitution has no sap or vitality except such as it can derive from the social soil in which it is planted. The social reformers have always insisted upon this truth, but they had great difficulty in breaking through the prejudice of politicians. It is the greatest service that Mahatma Gandhi has rendered to the cause of Indian progress that he, by the sheer force of his personality, imposed a social programme upon the Congress movement at Bardoli. Many of his followers acquiesced in rather than accepted the change, and his incarceration left them without the authority which alone could have held them to it sufficiently long to admit of the necessary change in their angle of vision. The Government acted within the law in prosecuting and imprisoning him, as Mahatma Gandhi himself declared at his trial. But there is a law higher than any act of a Legislature, and if Government had been mindful of that law, they would have left Gandhi free, as their best auxiliary in preserving peace and order in the land. What causes the greatest anxiety to thoughtful leaders of the Congress party, is the difficulty of keeping within the limits of non-violence the non-co-operation movement without the guidance and support of Mahatma Gandhi. Some of them have adopted entry into the Legislative Councils because they cannot think of any other alternative to Non-co-operation without Gandhi, which may not imperil the condition of non-violence so essential to political and social progress. They are obliged to devise formulæ for bringing Council entry within the text of Non-co-operation, because to the rank and file of Congressmen non-violence has become so closely knit with Non-Co-operation as to be almost unintelligible without it. If Non-Co-operation is thrown overboard, non-violence, it is feared, may go with it. Hence it is that they have to speak of Non-Co-operation from within the Councils. Between Government who will not set free Gandhi and the Congress majority which will not let go of non-co-operation, the leaders have a difficult task in their endeavour to find for political

discontent an outlet which would guide it into a channel not open to the inflow of ideas of political violence.

It is impossible to think that Mahatma Gandhi will not be freed before the expiry of the remaining five years of his sentence. Rumours regarding his suffering from melancholia, have been found to be baseless. But it is inevitable that the enforced inactivity and seclusion should tell on a temperament so active, energetic and social. There is little in the treatment of the Mahatma in jail to show that the authorities realise and regret, as did the Judge who passed sentence upon him, the greatness of the man and the necessity of having to keep him in prison. It may be necessary to restrain his political activities, but there is no justification whatever for denying him the means of keeping himself acquainted with what is passing in the world from which he is secluded. The rules for special class prisoners which we printed in the *Reformer* of the 24th February require that such prisoners should be permitted at their own expense writing materials, books and periodicals, subject to the approval of the Superintendent of the Prison. And even newspapers are permissible with the special orders of Government. When some months ago, a question was asked in the Legislative Council as to whether any newspapers were being allowed in the case of Mahatma Gandhi, the answer was that he had not asked for any. In answer to another question during the current session, however, it appears that the Mahatma has been allowed only one Hindi magazine named *Saraswati*, and that he had been refused such periodicals as the *Indian Review*, the *Modern Review*, and the *Weekly Illustrated Times of India*. One would have thought, that, subject to the necessary restriction on his political activities, a prisoner like Gandhi would have the utmost consideration shown to him under the rules for special class prisoners. This is evidently not the case. Not only is he to be kept in prison, but he is not to be allowed any news of the world without, or any means of diverting his thought, so far as it is possible for the authorities to prevent it, from his situation in the prison. We are unable to think of any reason upon which such treatment of such a prisoner can be justified to humanity. If the present mood of Government is to continue, we may at once make up our minds that Mahatmaji in his present body will never again be amidst us. All the greater, therefore, is our duty to lay to heart his constructive message to the country and to do what each one of us can to carry it out in our lives, according to our opportunities. But, as we said, it is unthinkable that Government will continue long in their present frame of mind. The leaders of the people can do much to hasten the day of the Mahatma's deliverance by working without noise and without fuss to promote unity and brotherliness among the communities of India.

THE KENYA IMPASSE.

(BY MR. C. F. ANDREWS.)

No one, who has not had the actual experience of living in Kenya Colony for a time, can possibly have any idea of the explosive atmosphere which prevails there. It is present among the Indians themselves and we have just had Reuter's telegrams informing us about the deportation that threatens Mr. Sitaram Achariar for a libellous attack on European women. Mr. Achariar has married an English woman himself and we have no means of knowing what kind of an attack he made on the fellow countrywomen of his own wife. But we have abundant evidence in the papers, which came by last mail and were written before Mr. Achariar's own article, concerning the vile things, which had been said by the Europeans, in this highly inflammatory air of Kenya, concerning Indian women. I can well understand how the insults, which had been gathering force week after week, came to a head. What hurts the Indian in Kenya most of all, as I have witnessed with my own eyes a hundred times, is the universal attitude of European superiority which is exaggerated self-consciously in order to make the Indian feel that he must keep his distance. There is also the contempt ever present in every look and gesture,—it is not even decently veiled. Therefore, I can well understand the difficulty of long drawn patience, and the almost superhuman effort needed to prevent impatience and resentment breaking out. I have watched Mahatma Gandhi, under such an infliction of racial contempt, maintaining all his sweetness and forbearance; but my own nature rebels.

To show to what a point matters have reached in Kenya Colony, I wish to quote in full a short article on the 'Indian Question,' which has been printed in the *East African Standard* as coming "from an English woman". She writes as follows:—

In the 20th century when in England our sex are doing noble work on School Boards, Hospital Boards, and every sphere where their knowledge and influence are invaluable we in Kenya are threatened with Indian rule. Do our sisters at home realise what it would mean? Live side by side with Indians and under their rule,—such a prospect is unthinkable!!! To be ruled by a race of polygamists, a race who practise child marriage and a race whose ideas of women are what?

We want our divorce laws reformed and equality between the sexes. Their treatment of the widows of their own race shows only too plainly the Indian idea on such subjects—often mere children in years, these helpless unfortunates become the drudges of the household and the common property of the male members.

Again in illness, what is the lot of the Indian woman? Fortunately our Zenana Missions have to some extent ameliorated their sufferings.

Happier, far happier, is the Kikuyu woman. Any way she lives in the open, and not in the morally and physically foetid atmosphere of a zenana. Also though she is a chattel she is a valuable chattel and for that reason gets some consideration from her owner—he has given many cows and goats for her!

Laws to be made and administered by Indians,—laws for white women!!! How is such a thing possible? That "the law is a 'hass'" is proverbial, but any way the law, as we know it is an incorruptible "hass" and the Indian does not want our incorruptible law. Bribery and *buk-shessh* are his ideas of the natural order of things. He likes them, he means to have them, but he will not have them in Kenya.

By the 'Kikuyu woman' is meant the East African woman of the Kikuyu tribe, who has just emerged from savagery. It is with these poor half-savage African woman that the comparison is made. But that comparison itself is not so hard to bear as the two horrible slanders (i) that the women of the Indian zenana are the 'common property of the male members', and (ii) that the atmosphere of the zenana is "morally and physically foetid."

I pass on, from this, to a letter, which has been inserted in a prominent position, from the Rev. W. H. Shaw, a clergyman of the Church of England, who evidently, when in England, was a squire and parson combined, a type of 'religious man' which cannot be found, I believe, outside the Anglican Communion. He writes, what he evidently feels to be a cheery and jovial epistle on the great and burning question of the day,—the Indian Question. The Editor of the *East African Standard* in a leading article had compared the struggle, which the Europeans were making against the Indians, for the upholding of their 'rights', (these include the irreducible minimum of ultimate prohibition of Indian immigration altogether!) with the famous struggle for liberty of John Hampden. This gives the reverend writer his case. He begins:—

I feel I should like to thank you for two things. First, there was your article on John Hampden. I thought it was excellent and most timely. It will keep in memory what may be forgotten, that the Indian question is essentially a religious one, and I venture to most fully endorse as being most true, those words which you think he would utter concerning the crisis here, "You stand, gentlemen, for God as well as King. Equal rights with a heathen nation is an impossibility. To propose it is an attack on religion. You owe it also to the tribes of Africa to give them the best which is in your power to give. To give them anything less than a Christian civilization and a Christian example would be wrong." Well Sir, thank you sincerely for putting these high ideals in the forefront of the battle here.

In the second place may I thank you for publishing a photo of "our custodian." The photo itself does not perhaps do you so much credit as usual, as it is not over clear in the copy which reached me, but it is sufficiently good to make me feel that our custodian is a gentleman whom I have had the pleasure of meeting several years ago, when he occupied a humble position under the Board of Trade, probably his first post under Government. It was the reminiscence of that meeting which prompted me to write so much in my lengthy letter about "breed," because Mr. Gore then in his official capacity made an amusing mistake about a certain breed of pigs which I kept, a mistake which caused me to ask myself, "what on earth do you know about your business," and it is curious to find that once again when exalted to a high post under Government, he seems to me to make a similar mistake concerning breeds, and I am once again

forced to ask myself "what do you know about the various breeds of men in Kenya."

The photo which you have published has enabled me to write to Mr. Gore reminding him of the little mistake he made in days gone by about the breed of my pigs, a mistake which I was obliged to correct, and I am telling him that I venture to think he is making now a similar mistake in not being able to distinguish between the various breeds of men in Kenya. I need not trouble you with this letter for publication, but I enclose a copy for your private edification or otherwise.

But as I am writing you, there is just one thing on which I think it would be well to have a little enlightenment if possible. Could you get any authoritative information as to the number of applications for land which the Land Office have received in the last few years, which they have been forced to turn down because they have been held up by the Home Government, in not being allowed to part with a single acre, pending the settlement of the Indian question.

Two years ago I applied for a few acres of land at Nyeri and was told that the Land Office here could sell nothing, and others whom I know, have recently received a similar reply.

Just fancy, the Land Office of this Colony held up for over two years at least, unable to sell land to individuals, all because the Colonial Office at home has not made up its mind. Two years of thinking and talking, two years of holding up this Colony, when so many have been wanting land, two years of keeping back settlers and capital!! No wonder Kenya has not gone ahead very rapidly.

Just one fact like this is enough to condemn for ever the policy of ruling a Colony from Downing Street. Will you, Sir, kindly tell me what benefits the Colony receives from Downing Street to counteract such a hindrance to progress as this? But it is folly like this which makes me hope all the more that our elected Members, at least, will insist upon an immediate settlement of the Indian question, so that Kenya shall no longer be hung up in regard to land settlement.

(It should be explained, in a parenthesis, that the sole reason why the land sales were held up was because the Europeans insisted on racially segregated areas even in townships.) This amiable clergyman, in a playful mood, wishing to be amusing (to use his own word) circulated a public notice on January 25 which was a religious festival in honour of St. Paul, calling the attention of his congregation to a text, written by the apostle, which appeared to him exactly to fit the occasion. St. Paul had written, concerning some impurity in the Church at Corinth,—“What concord hath Christ with Belial?” The Rev. W. H. Shaw, in his public notice, placed in brackets the information, for the use of his congregation, that Belial meant the Prophet Muhammad. There could therefore be no intercourse with those who followed the Prophet Muhammad and the followers of Christ.

Not content with advising his own flock and congregation about the meaning of St. Paul's words, he actually cabled the text to Major Ormsby Gore, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, telegraphing also at the same time his reference to the Prophet Muhammad as Belial, the Devil. It is not surprising that the Muhammadan community in East Africa did not find such an allusion to their

Prophet 'amusing'! But not content even with this, he sent to Major Ormsby Gore a letter, which he forwarded also as related above, to the 'East Africa Standard' to publish if it cared to do so. In this second letter he reiterates his allusion to the Prophet Muhammad, as Belial, and then referring to what he describes as the 'amusing' incident, in England, of Mr. Ormsby Gore's failing to recognise the breed of a certain type of pigs called 'black', he adds:—

"While the ignorance of old, which you showed as to the breed of pigs was only amusing, it is a most serious mistake for any politician at home to treat alike Britons and Indians here. You can no more mix breeds politically, than you can socially, and any attempt to do so is doomed to failure.

"Now, Sir, let me urge on you not to forget, that there are very strongly marked differences between the various breeds out here, which, if not recognised, or forgotten, will lead any politician at home into a wrong and hopeless policy. I most sincerely hope that, with the strong representations of your own flesh and blood out here; we shall hear nothing more of equal political rights. In the last year, I have paid hundreds of pounds to Indians, showing that, like every other Briton here, the Indians are well treated out here by the Britons.

"The same characteristics make the British breed here as at home,—firm determination to rule free from the domination of every other race, whether German or Indian, the same love of fair play and justice, which has done so much here for the natives, as in so many places elsewhere. You may trust your own breed here to uphold British honour and British ideals: for the men, who are out here, have for the most part merited the greatest confidence... Give the British here Home Rule, and do not fetter them with Indian ideals and Indian creeds. Do not worry them by interference,...and it will not be long before Kenya will be the brightest gem in the crown of our King."

I have quoted these utterances at some length, because the Rev. W. H. Shaw is so self-revealing. One can almost see the picture which he is unconsciously drawing of himself—the parson-squire, with his breed of pigs, and his amusement over his little joke about the different breeds of men which are like his breeds of pigs, not to be mixed or allowed to inter-breed. And then, his cant about the Briton's 'love of fair play and justice' at the very time that he is trying to filch from the Indian his land rights and drive him out of the country and last of all his nauseatingly sanctimonious hypocrisy about the native.—"You owe it" he says to his fellow-countrymen, who have just stolen nearly all the natives' land and have even compelled them by legal enactment and by the rhinoceros lash to forced labour which has only just been stopped,—"You owe it to the tribes of Africa to give them the best (sic) which is in your power to give. Equal rights with a heathen nation, such as India, are an impossibility. To give the African native anything else than a *Christian* civilisation and a *Christian* example would be

wrong." And, with a gesture towards the Editor of the E. A. Standard, he concludes, "Well, Sir, thank you for putting those high ideals in the forefront of the battle here. Thank you!"

What can be done with hypocrisy so gross? Can reason prevail, where there is such bigotry, such stupidity, such self-deception? Is it possible to bring light into such black density of darkness? Is it possible to make an Englishman like this, and an English woman like this, understand, that they are doing everything in their power to drive the Indian, not merely out of Kenya, but out of the British Empire?

THE CASE OF MR. BHAGAT SINGH.

(BY PROFESSOR CLARK A. WARBURTON.)

As a citizen of the United States, I feel that a reply should be made to the fantastic interpretation by Rev. Reeves Calkins of the recent action of the United States Supreme Court regarding the citizenship of a high-caste Hindu, as well as to Mr. Calkins' obvious ignorance of the constitution and naturalization law of the United States.

Says Mr. Calkins: "The case of Mr. Bhagat Singh passed under the unbiassed scrutiny of the most significant court in the world—unbiassed, because nine high-minded jurists though rendering a joint decision approach each case from a separate angle of vision, with the result that in one hundred and thirty years no breath of criticism has ever touched this high human tribunal—most significant, because, unlike other courts in the world, the Supreme Court of the United States does not deal with questions of law but only with matters of human equity as these are embodied in the American Constitution." The eulogy is much overdone. While it is true that the judicial decisions of this court during the century and a quarter of its existence have been remarkable in their uniform justice and sound judgment, and while the court is by its nature and constitution as nearly unbiassed as it is possible for any court to be, its judgment is not infallible. In fact, students of the American Government recognize that in some cases the Supreme Court has been swayed by changing public opinion, and that in some cases decisions have been made which were inconsistent with former decisions, as, e.g. in the case of the interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Furthermore, the Supreme Court does deal with questions of law as well as equity, the clause in the Constitution defining its powers (Section II, Article III) being as follows: "The judicial power shall extend to all cases of law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made, under their authority." The case of Mr. Bhagat Singh was clearly a case of law, and not of equity, as will be pointed out below.

Mr. Calkins gives as the reason for the decision: "A high-caste Hindu is *not a free person* within the meaning of the Constitution." The fact is that the clause in the Constitution defining citizenship in the United States does not contain the word "free" or any equivalent therefor. The clause reads as follows (14th Amendment, which became effective in 1868, for the original constitution contained no definition of citizenship of the United States): "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." The 15th Amendment, which Mr. Calkins seems to refer to (when he says: "The Supreme Court, again and again, has re-affirmed the constitutional foundation that no citizen is to be restricted in his rights of citizenship on account of race, colour, or previous condition"), deals only with the rights of citizens, and has nothing to do with the fact of being or not being a citizen. Mr. Calkins' whole argument, therefore, is absolutely without foundation.

Now what are the facts? All persons born in the United States are citizens, and Mr. Bhagat Singh's children, if any be born in the United States, will be citizens regardless of their Hindu faith or pure Hindu blood. Here there is clearly no race prejudice or discrimination of any kind. As to persons not born in the United States, they must be "naturalized," and since Congress is given the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, we must turn to the Naturalization Law. The present law was passed in 1906 and provides that any alien, white, or of African nativity or descent, may, after five years' residence in the United States, be naturalized by taking the oath of allegiance two years before naturalization and by complying with certain formal requirements. Chinese are expressly excluded by the law, but other Asiatics are not mentioned. In interpreting this law in the case of Japanese, the Supreme Court has logically (and this is a question of law, not of equity) maintained that since the law states positively what people may be naturalized, others cannot be naturalized, and that the Japanese are not white persons. The decision in the case of Mr. Bhagat Singh, which appears to be the first case of a high-caste Hindu to come before the Supreme Court, has been the same. It is obvious, of course, that many definitions could be made of a "white" person, and upon what grounds the Supreme Court based its decision does not appear in the telegraphic press dispatches. It should be noted, however, that the Supreme Court has often defined words so indeterminate as this by attempting to find the idea in the minds of the framers of the

law, and the decision may be that a high-caste Hindu is not a white person under the meaning of the law as passed. But whether or no, the decision of the Supreme Court having been made, so it will remain the law of the United States until Congress amends or alters it. Under constitutional practice, it is now the duty of Congress to change the law if it does not agree with the decision of the Supreme Court. If it does agree, nothing need be done.

It is not upon the Supreme Court, then, but upon Congress that the responsibility for race discrimination rests, for the law is, obviously and frankly one of racial discrimination. It was intended, as is well-known, to exclude Chinese and Japanese. The probabilities are that the case of Indians was not discussed, though without a file of the Congressional Record, I am unable to say whether it was or not.

Regarding "race prejudice," it must be admitted that it exists to a considerable extent in the United States, to her shame. But at the same time there is a great difference between "discrimination" and "race prejudice." There is not necessarily any feeling of inferiority or superiority in the former. Being brought up, as the Hindu is, under a social system of rigid distinctions carrying with them ideas of superiority and inferiority, it is hard for the Hindu to dissociate discrimination from the idea of high or low status. It is especially hard for the high-caste Hindu, who excludes others from an equality of social position with himself because of birth, and who considers other castes as inferior, to realize that when he himself is excluded there is no idea of inferiority involved. The United States naturalization law, intended to exclude the Chinese and Japanese, was not based on any such idea, but on the experience of the Pacific Coast States, which showed that there was sufficient incompatibility between the "yellow" races and the "white" inhabitants to create difficult social and economic conditions when they mixed in large numbers. As a matter of fact, the people of the United States do have a high regard for the innate capacities, physical stamina, intellectual qualities and moral standards of the Chinese, whom the law especially excludes from American citizenship.

One more thing should be noted. Mr. Bhagat Singh, without being a citizen, has the protection of the laws of the county equally with any citizen, for the 14th amendment to the Constitution also provides that no State "shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws." Also the state of Oregon, or any other state in which Mr. Singh resides, may, if it so desires, give him the right to vote in all elections and to hold state offices. In fact, under the Oregon state laws he has already had the privilege of suffrage.

INTER-COMMUNAL DINNER IN BOMBAY.

In pursuance of the resolution passed at the Indian National Social Conference held at Gaya during the Congress week in December last, that the work of the Conference should be carried on during the coming year, the President and the General Secretary of the Conference decided to commence the year's activities by taking up in right earnest the work for the removal of untouchability. Accordingly they resolved upon holding an inter-communal dinner in Bombay at which members of various communities would be given an opportunity to dine with members of the Depressed Classes. It was arranged to hold the dinner on the 11th March and about 200 invitations were issued. The letter of invitation read as follows :—

"As an effective means of removing the bane of untouchability from our social life and of promoting inter-communal relations, it is arranged to have a dinner at the Depressed Classes Mission Hall, Parel, at 11-30 a.m. on Sunday the 11th March 1928 to which about fifty prominent men of the depressed classes are being invited. We request your presence and participation in the function, as it will greatly assist the purpose for which it is held. Any contribution which you may be pleased to make towards the cost of the dinner, will be thankfully received. A group photograph of those attending the function will be taken.

After the dinner, a Conference of those present will be held to consider and devise means for the early removal of untouchability as a feature of Indian social life.

Kindly fill in and return the enclosed postcard early and oblige.

The expenses of the function including the photograph will come to about Rs. 800. Guests from the depressed classes are not expected to contribute."

About 70 replied accepting the invitation. Letters expressing sympathy with the movement but regretting inability to attend owing to other pressing work or engagements were received from Drs. Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and R. P. Paranjpye and Messrs. N. B. Divatia and Y. K. Padwal. Sir Narayan and Dr. Paranjpye said in their letters that they were very busy with Council work. Dr. Paranjpye added that it was hardly necessary for him to say that he was fully in favour of such dinners and had attended such before, and he enclosed a sum of Rs. 5 as his contribution to the expenses of the dinner. Dewan Bahadur Vijayaraghavachariar, the Indian Commissioner for the British Empire Exhibition, who is now touring in India, sent the following telegram from Rajkot :—

"Much regret unable attend. Wishing function every success." Besides the ordinary invitations several personal invitations had also been issued.

The dinner, which was a purely vegetarian one, took place on the 11th March and was a very successful function. There were present over 250 members of various communities—Hindu, Moslem, Parsi and European—including about 100 prominent members of the depressed classes. It was extremely gratifying that the guests had the honour of the company of Dr. Sir P. C. Ray, who arrived in Bombay by the Gujarat Mail that very day and was kind enough, at the request of Mr. N. H. Belgaumvala, to accept the invitation sent to him and join the dinner, immediately after getting out of the train. Another happy sign of the times was the fact that a number of persons of various communities including ladies came to the place shortly before dinner-time in the hope that even without previous intimation they

might be allowed to join the dinner. And they were not disappointed. The following among other persons participated in the dinner :—

Sir P. C. Ray, Mr. C. F. Andrews, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. V. J. Patel, Mr. and Mrs. M. R. Jayakar, Messrs. K. Natarajan, R. M. Gray, H. R. Hamley, D. Munro, P. H. C. Constable, T. Ripley, Rao Bahadurs Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth and R. R. Kale, Messrs. G. K. Devadhar, R. B. Lotwala, B. F. Bharucha, F. J. Ginwala, N. H. Belgaumvala, Dr. Rajabai V. Patel, Mr. Fazul Ibrahim Rahimtulla, Mr. Osman Sohiani, Dr. N. R. Ranina, Dr. A. L. Nair, Messrs. G. L. Narasimham, D. G. Dalvi, Bhagwandas Madhavdas, G. B. Trivedi, L. B. Nayak, V. S. Sohoni, B. V. Warkerkar, Dr. T. C. Khandwala, Dr. A. P. Kothare, Messrs. P. B. Gothoskar and K. T. Shab, Dr. Miss Kashibai Nowrange, Miss Bachubai R. Lotwala, Misses Natarajan, Mr. and Mrs. R. S. Padbidri, Mrs. Ratnabai V. Sashital, Mrs. Shanthabai R. Sashital, Miss Indubai V. Nair, Miss Kusumavati V. Nair, Miss Sohoni, Miss Khandwala, Messrs. D. D. Gholap, Nikaljay, Balaji Ambodkar, Sambhaji Gaekwad, Lokpriya Wagnare, Maruti Bhaudas Salve, Janba Mohanaji, Sitaram Shurtakar, Maruti Shavaji Gaekwad, C. V. P. Shivam, R. K. Golikere, B. M. Anand Rao, R. K. Prabhu, G. Y. Chitnis, D. G. Vaidya, R. A. Turkhud, K. E. Verghese, B. S. Turkhud, D. V. Shrikhande, G. N. Sahasrabudhe V. B. Velankar, S. S. Karnik, Ramoo Thakkar, S. Sadanand, Dr. D. S. Mankikar, S. G. Devrukhar, E. R. Menon, V. M. Nair, U. K. Oza, R. S. Prabhu, K. S. Iyer, S. R. Bhise, M. V. Doude, A. V. Chitre, S. V. Deshpande, S. Ganeshan, R. B. Iyer, Jagadish and Swaminath Natarajan, J. N. Vaidya, G. L. Vaidya, S. Badve, S. A. Dange, S. G. Tipnis, B. R. Bhise, V. A. Tamhane, K. V. Chitre and L. D. Surve.

After the dinner a group photograph of those assembled was taken. Mr. M. R. Jayakar as President of the National Social Conference then thanked the guests for their presence and expressed the hope that the day's function would be the precursor of many more such in the future, which would serve to remove the existing communal inequalities in Indian society. Sir P. C. Ray responding on behalf of the guests expressed his pleasure at being given an opportunity to show his practical sympathy for the so-called depressed classes, whom he would rather call the suppressed and oppressed classes. He hoped that the Indian nation of the future would be composed of only one class, namely, those who would consider themselves as Indians first and Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians etc. afterwards.

A small Conference was then held which was addressed by various speakers, who included Messrs. D. D. Gholap, S. N. Marwadi, Rao Bahadur Kale and G. K. Devadhar, all of whom expressed the opinion that untouchability was a disgrace to Hinduism and a bar to national unity and that it had no religious sanction behind it. Grateful tributes were paid to Mahatma Gandhi for his labours for the removal of untouchability, and Mr. Devadhar suggested that the numerous Congress Committees widely scattered over the country should actively work for the removal of this curse.

The contributions from the guests received in cash amounted to Rs. 276, and about Rs. 98 more remains to be collected. The expenses of the whole function have not yet been totalled. Two members of the depressed classes insisted on contributing their humble mite to the expenses. The President and the General Secretary of the National Social Conference feel that dinners of this kind would serve a double purpose—effective removal of untouchability and promotion of a strong sense of brotherhood and common in-

terest among the various castes, classes and creeds in co-operating towards the great national end, which was the only stable foundation on which the future democracy of India could be built as so often emphasized by Mahatma Gandhi.

Attention may be called to another noteworthy feature of the dinner, namely, that leading members of the Congress like Mr. Jayakar, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. V. J. Patel and others as well as leading men of the Liberal Party like Mr. Devadhar, Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai M. Nilkanth and R. R. Kale joined in the dinner showing that the work of the National Social Conference is independent of all party politics.

Letters suggesting the holding of similar dinners had been sent by the General Secretary to Poona, Mangalore, Madras, Patna, Benares, Allahabad and Lahore. Encouraging replies have been received from Madras, Poona, Mangalore and Allahabad. In Madras the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Patro, Dr. Sraminathan and Mr. A. Rangaswamy Iyengar expect to be able to hold a similar dinner in the near future. From Mangalore Mr. K. Sadashiva Rao telegraphs that a dinner of the kind will soon be held. From Poona Mr. Kelkar and Mr. Shinde write in encouraging terms, and from Allahabad a sympathetic reply has been received from Mr. S. Ranga Iyer.

A BENEFIT PERFORMANCE IN AID OF TILAK SWARAJ FUND.

The Lalit Kala Darsha Natak Mandali, which more than once on previous occasions have generously responded to the appeals for funds from public bodies, staged on Wednesday night at the New Imperial Theatre, Grant Road, Mr. Warerkar's Marathi play *Toorungachya Darant* (At the Prison Gate) in aid of the Tilak Swaraj Fund under the patronage of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. In view of the importance of the cause for which the play was staged on that day, it must be said that the attendance fell short of the expectations.

It seems the author's intention is to bring home to the public the injustice Hindu orthodoxy is doing by considering a considerably large number of those belonging to the Hindu fold as "untouchables," and he has, through the characters in his play, succeeded in depicting the fact that "untouchability" is a disgrace to Hinduism and a curse to the nation. That a *Chambhar* when converted to Christianity or Mahomedanism finds a more kindly reception given to him in a Hindu household while as a Hindu he is despised and shunned shows the mockery of observing "untouchability" in the name of Hindu religion. And in his play Mr. Warerkar has depicted such anomalies in such a way as to make them more appealing to the public.

Before the end of the last scene, Mrs. Naidu as president of the Provincial Congress Committee speaking from the stage paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Warerkar the author for embodying in his dramatic piece the removal of untouchability which was very dear to the heart of Mahatma Gandhi. She spoke in felicitous terms about the actors and thanked them for the generosity and public spirit displayed by them in staging the drama in aid of the Tilak Swaraj Fund. She spoke with characteristic eloquence on the course of "untouchability" to which, in spite of several speeches from public platforms, the conservative Hindus cling as a precious heritage. On behalf of the Provincial Congress Committee, she then awarded two gold medals to Mr. Pendbarkar and Chapekar, the prominent actors. Shet Lakmidas Tairsee then spoke in Gujarathi in similar terms after which a gentleman representing the depressed classes also spoke in Marathi, all

speakers emphasising the need for the removal of untouchability. Mr. Chapekar on behalf of the Dramatic Company thanked Mrs. Naidu and the organisers for their kind words and for the opportunity given to them for contributing their mite to the national cause. The proceeds from the sale of tickets are reported to have amounted to more than Rs. 3,000.

We cannot omit referring to one particular point in the speech of the gentlemen representing the depressed classes. We do not understand what he means by saying that "diners could do little good". Apparently he seems to have forgotten the last scene in the drama wherein the author has brought together members of different communities—Hindu, Moslem, Parsi and Christian—with those of the depressed classes and it must certainly have reminded those who were present at the inter-communal dinner last Sunday that the latter function was a practical demonstration of the scene they have just seen. We are sure that in the ears of many, the words of Dr. P. C. Roy that "the Indian nation of the future would be composed of only one class, namely, those who would consider as Indians first and Hindus, Parsis, Mohamedans, Christians etc. afterwards," in the course of his speech last Sunday at the inter-communal dinner, must have been ringing when they saw the last scene in the play. While we do not hold that such dinners are the *only* means for the removal of untouchability, we cannot agree with this representative of the depressed classes in his belittling the significance of such functions in creating better social intercourse between the various communities forming the Indian nation.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN ENGLAND.

(From the *Student Movement*, London.)

There are three distinct kinds of students that come to this country from India. First, there is the intensely nationalistic type, too critical, perhaps naturally, of the land of the Anglo-Indians. He comes full of prejudice, and returns fuller of it with possibly a feeling of hostility against his political adversaries. Next, there is the more frivolous type, who makes his acquaintance with dress suits and dances, visits theatres, and finally returns home a broken, a sadder, but not a wiser man. If he can he would remain here a little longer and flutter a little more in the Butterfly Land he has discovered for himself; but finances are a consideration, and he must needs return home. Third, there is the type that takes work seriously, England and friendship seriously, who covets not only academic distinctions, but, as well, all mental and moral culture acquirable here. Perhaps he is a little idealistic, and, when he came, was looking forward to seeing a people who had as great a soul as their reputation had implied. It is with this type and with his relationship with the people of this country that I wish to deal mainly in this article.

First of all, then, the section of the British public that cannot tolerate the Indian may be ignored. Such an attitude of mind is inevitable where half-education is so general as here; for whereas ignorance means only absence of ideas, half-education is frequently proof against forming broad ideas and good impressions. To such India is merely the country of the "native," where women are secluded and burned, and where men and women are, by a just Providence, given a swarthy skin the better to cover their wickedness. And so it is, possibly, we hear of cases where Indians are not admitted into certain boarding houses and hotels, and rude remarks are passed in trams and omnibuses, and why mothers teach their children appropriate colour names to

describe the Indians with. This attitude, while especially at the beginning it mortifies the sensitive Indian inordinately, serves in the long run only as a mental discipline; and it is fortunate that it is characteristic of only a small section. The majority of people here, however, are quite impartial in their indifference towards the Indians, a very natural thing. If addressed they are quite polite; if introduced they candidly exchange ideas on the weather, and may even go so far as to utter a joke. At worst they can only be accused of a not very ostentatious desire to patronise, and that is not surprising when the political relationship of the two countries is considered. There is a third section also, perhaps fewer than the intolerant type, which tries, for various reasons, to understand the Indian.

The Indian mind is, in the case of the student at any rate, really easily understood. It is simple, primitive, if you like, unmade, inexperienced; it has plenty of intellectual courage, generosity and is lavish in hospitality; it is confident and communicative. But it is also suspicious, sensitive, excitable, sentimental. All these defects and qualities are covered with a somewhat dignified and placid exterior that hardly suggests the petty currents running underneath. The English mind is on the other hand highly standardised and a type by itself. Society life has both hardened and polished it—polite and kind according to standard, thrifty in habit, correct, mechanical, prompt in returning hospitality like discharging a commercial contract, reticent about all personal matters, the Englishman strikes the Indian as very unlike the friends he is accustomed to. The Indian who at first imagines that the kindness and politeness he receives are marks of personal regard is soon disillusioned, and soon he finds out that these attentions are mere mechanical vibrations of society life, and that they are really the beginning as well as the end of the desire for human association. And so the Indian withdraws the feelers he threw out, after discovering in England nothing more than an expensive hotel, the boarders of which are interested only in "ballot boxes, cricket bats and joint-stock companies," and not a bit at all in humanity.

The problem is to discover a common basis which will be strong enough, on the one hand, to break the thick and rigid crust of standardised character, and, on the other, overcome the cross-currents of too much simplicity and littleness and vanity. Tea parties are no good; they are merely imitation hospitality, a sort of bridle upon a generous impulse. Group conferences are no good; they serve only to display a little intellectual arrogance, the power of ignorance on the one hand or silence on the other. Public meetings are no good; they serve only to hide one's thoughts. Religion does not provide that common basis; for perhaps the Indian and the Englishman disagree about it far too violently. These are all standardised methods if I may say so, of wasting time without doing violence to one's conscience. The attempt must be to go a little deeper than where all these would carry us. It seems that cultural understanding is the only one thing that will help. It should be easy and possible to bring together, say, English students sincerely interested in Indian philosophy, art and literature, and Indians interested as deeply in things European. Sincerity and intensity are of first-rate importance. Friendship is occasionally born by first impressions but it can thrive only on community of interests; and if common interests are few the problem assumes great difficulty. Thus if one such interest only is available, intensity in that becomes much more essential than usually. And therefore it is that emphasis must be laid on two friends only of similar cultural sympathy meet-

ing together. Two such men thrown together under the auspices of philosophy, science, or even sports, will prove much more valuable to one another, and in the long run to the two nations, than acquaintanceship with scores of the who have only time to nod and to shake hands and to forge Cultural sympathy, if nothing else, will cut through the crust of standardisation and also furrow the shoals, and will not be long before each discovers the inherent humanity in one another.

Things are not, perhaps, as bad as I have made out. There seems to be a distinct change in the attitude of the peoples of the two countries. War and adversity humiliate and on the one side insularity seems to be wearing off and silence is no longer cherished as a gift; neighbours at least speak to one another—a great step forward. On the other hand, in India conservatism and caste are no longer parts of essential religion. Improvement in means of communication is of necessity cutting at the root of too much exclusion. The will to friendship, as little of half-education as possible and more of culture, a little depth and a little less of standardisation, these are what is required to make England a better place for Indian friendship to thrive.

K. VURGESSE THOMAS.

WORLD LEAGUE AGAINST ALCOHOLISM.

The Chairman, British National Birth-Rate Commission demands Prohibition and declares drink destroys race. One of the great addresses at the Toronto Convention of the World League Against Alcoholism was delivered by Dr. O. W. Saleeby, M. D., F. R. S. E., Chairman of the British Birth-Rate Commission.

Dr. Saleeby described the Prohibition as "the greatest health measure in history". He described alcohol as a racial poison "one of those agencies possessed of the quality of destroying the children through their parents", and declared that Prohibition is not only desirable for the elimination of drunkenness on the streets, the reduction of accidents and crime, but is necessary for the preservation of the life of nations.

The speaker cited testimony from ancient and biblical writers to show that there existed, even in those days, a recognition that mothers were imperilling their children by the drinking of wine. Alcohol not only poisons the body but, more than any other tissue, it injures the germ plasma. This is its worst sin against mankind. Experiments have shown that the offspring of guinea pigs subjected for one hour a day to merely the fumes of alcohol show visible deterioration.

Here he struck at the plausible opponents of Prohibition. 'Moderate drinking,' he said, causes moderate drunkenness. It may be ever so respectable, and never involve police interference, but it effects a 'moderate' deterioration of the stock. It is the steady, respectable drinking, which so many people defend, that destroys the races.

He went on to arraign alcohol as the chief accomplice of venereal diseases, in that it broke down judgment, control and sensibility. It was significant that in many cities, with the closing of the saloons, the 'red-light' districts, to which the former had sent recruits, had also more or less disappeared.

SAVING WOMEN'S SOULS.

'Why, that alone would justify us in our world league,' he said hotly. 'What is all the yellow gold in the world compared with one girl's soul?' Reports from the Federal

Bureau at Washington and other departments, showed that the 'curve' of venereal diseases had decreased since prohibition, though no new cures or treatments had been discovered.

He pointed out that the infant mortality of the last year in New York, where the law was enforced with the greatest difficulty, was only 71 per 1,000 while in wet Montreal in Canada it was 125. But babies, he observed, 'did not interest politicians.' They did not have votes.

He went to New York again for figures on the deaths due to pulmonary tuberculosis. In 1918 these had been 160 per 100,000. Last year the number at the same ratio was only 89, and the credit was given by the Tuberculosis Association of that city to Prohibition. The death rate was always higher, he said, where the most saloons were.

'Guard your race' was his final admonition. It was, he said, a most touching sight during his recent visit in Scotland to note the contrast between the children there and the children in Prohibition territory. "No country could live on the records or tradition of the past, for its future lay in the babies—the citizens-to-be." The following are the Resolutions of the International Congress of the World League Against Alcoholism held at Toronto in November, 1922.

PLEDGE CO-OPERATION FOR A DRY WORLD.

1. We, members of the great human family, deeply and tenderly sympathize with all in every nation who are suffering from the ravages of alcoholic liquor. We have watched with thankfulness the progress of the world-wide campaign against alcoholism. We rejoice with them in the first fruits of victory and wish Godspeed to those who are now fighting for the same end on any field. We call upon all men and women of goodwill to unite in common action against this common foe, and pledge ourselves and those whom we represent to this high task, until by the blessing of Almighty God this age-long curse shall be no more.

2. Recent action of wine-producing countries in exerting unwarranted economic pressure upon small Prohibition countries has again called the special attention of all friends of liberty, to the principle of self-determination for all countries. This Convention reaffirms the right of every country to suppress alcoholism within its own borders; indignantly protests against pressure by any country upon any other to break-down such self-determination; and urges that insistence upon this fundamental principle should be the official business of every free Government, should be the object of united effort by all Prohibition countries; and shall be definitely embodied in international law.

3. That this Convention urges immediate effective international action against the international illicit traffic in alcoholic liquors which is a menace to the sobriety and the peace of the world.

4. That since intelligent public opinion is essential to intelligent public action against alcoholism, this Convention urges that every possible agency be employed to acquaint the peoples of all nations, and especially the rising generation, with the facts of modern science demonstrating the injurious effects of alcohol upon personal, national and racial well-being.

5. That in view of the havoc being wrought by alcohol among native races, this Convention earnestly appeals to the responsible powers to stop this wicked and shameful traffic.

6. That in view of the development in mechanical transportation on land and sea and in the air, the increasing intricacy of the machinery employed, the enormous increase in the number of passengers and the great risk to their safety in the use

of alcoholic beverages by persons engaged in such transportation service this Convention commends the action of employees throughout the world who, in the interests of public safety, abstain from such beverages, and urges upon all transportation services the high importance of extending this practice.

7. That this Convention appeals to students, especially those studying for the ministry and for the medical, legal and teaching professions, to prepare and consecrate themselves to lead in the deliverance of the world from alcoholism.

8. That this Convention thanks such part of the public press as has impartially published the truth as to the effects of Prohibition wherever in operation, and appeals to the whole public press to deal fairly with this issue.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION SOCIETY OF INDIA.

At the general meeting of the Society held on Sunday the 25th of February, 1923, the following members were elected to the Executive Committee:

President—Shet R. B. Lotwala.

Vice-President—Shet L. R. Tairsee, B. A.

General Secretary—Mr. L. B. Nayak, B. A.

Organising Secretary—Mr. V. R. Shinde, B. A.

Treasurer—Mr. P. B. Gothoskar, B. A.

Asst. General Secretary—Mr. A. M. Sayyad.

Members.—Mr. M. B. Jayakar, Bar-at-Law; Mr. V. J. Patel, Bar-at-Law; Mr. O. D. Dhuru, J. P.; Mr. G. B. Trivedi, B. A., M. L. C.; Mr. V. S. Sohoni; Mr. G. G. Thakar, B. A., L. L. B.; Mr. J. K. Parulkar; Mr. S. G. Ranade, (Captain I. M. S.) Mr. K. G. Patade; Mr. D. N. Patwardhan.

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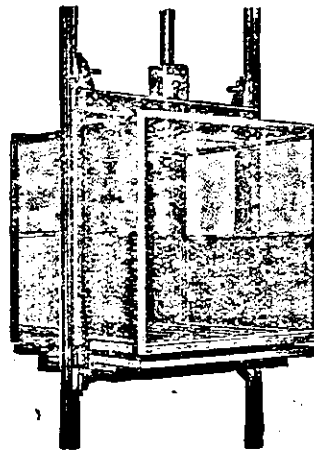
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Indian Budget Crisis:—A constitutional crisis of the gravest kind has arisen by the action of the Viceroy in having the Finance Bill doubling the salt duty, on its rejection by the Legislative Assembly, introduced in the Council of State with a recommendation from His Excellency that it should be passed on the ground that it is essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India. It will be remembered that the Princes Protection Bill was introduced in this form last year. What makes the introduction of the present Bill a grave constitutional matter, is that it relates to finance and the Council of State, as the second Chamber, has no constitutional authority in financial matters. Some members of the Council of State had left Delhi under the impression that Government will not seek to get the salt duty doubled by their Chamber. The Council is so constituted that ordinarily the Government can have little difficulty in getting through it any law that they wish to see enacted. In this case, the Liberal leaders in the Council, in the debate on the Budget statement on the 8th instant, spoke in an uncertain tone about the enhancement of the salt duty. Dadabhai Naoroji called the salt duty "the most cruel revenue imposed in any civilised country." Sir Dinshah Wacha is reported to have said in the Council of State that "the salt tax was good", though, he added, "its effect would be diminution in consumption of salt which leads to a low vitality." Evidently in the opinion of this great Liberal leader a tax which leads to loss of vitality may be a "good" tax. Mr. Gokhale spoke of it as an offensive duty and quoted the words of Henry Fawcett, that such a prime necessary as salt should be as free as the air we breathe and the water we drink. His successor, Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, maintained a studied silence during the debate on the salt duty in the Council of State. It may, therefore, be taken to be a foregone conclusion that the Council of State will pass the Bill. If it does so, it will be impossible even for consistent advocates of a second chamber, like ourselves, to resist the conclusion that the Council of State, in its present form, does not serve the interests of the country.

Dominion Status:—Canada has pushed her interpretation of Dominion status an important step further than she has yet done. So far, she had claimed—and her claim has been acquiesced in—to concurrent title with the British Government to send representatives to negotiate with foreign Governments on matters in which she had an interest. According to a Reuter's message, which we give below, she now claims—and her claim has been allowed—to have the right of dealing directly with foreign nations in matters which concern her only, to the exclusion of the British Government. The message reads:

Correspondence tabled in the Canadian House of Commons shows several messages which passed between Ottawa, London and Washington before the Government obtained the consent of the Colonial Office not to have the British Ambassador in Washington associated with Mr. Ernest Lapointe, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, in signing the Fishery Treaty with the United States. Lord Byng, the Governor-General, cabled on January 16th to the Colonial Office asking for conferment of full powers on Mr. Lapointe to sign the treaty on behalf of Canada. This was apparently not clearly understood; for, so late as on February 28th Lord Byng cabled to the Colonial Secretary that his Ministers were surprised to receive an intimation from Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Ambassador in Washington, that he had been instructed to sign the Treaty in association with Mr. Lapointe. Lord Byng added "the view of my Ministers is that the Treaty concerns solely Canada and the United States and does not affect in any particular any Imperial interest. The signature of the Canadian Minister should be sufficient." The Colonial Secretary replied that the Canadian Ministers' wishes had been telegraphed to the British Ambassador in Washington.

"Reconversion" of the Malkanas:—It is a well-known fact that in the long contact extending over a thousand years between Hinduism and Islam, certain intermediate communities have sprung up which, while yet retaining many Hindu characteristics, also adopted some Mahomedan practices. One such intermediate community, is the Malkana Rajputs whose "re-conversion" to Hinduism has caused some excitement among both Hindus and Mahomedans. The *Leader* of Allahabad quotes the following description of the Malkanas from the Agra District Gazetteer.

Numerous descendants of converted Hindus who go by the name of Malkanas are to be found all over the district, though the majority of them belong to five or six villages of Kiraoli.....They only occur elsewhere in any strength in Muttra, but a few are to be found in Etah and Mainpuri. They were classed as converted Rajputs, but they ascribe to themselves a different origin in different parts, though in all cases their ancestors appear to have belonged to the superior

land-owning classes. They describe themselves, though reluctantly, as Mussalmans, but generally give their original caste and scarcely recognize the title of Malkanas. Their names are Hindu; they mostly worship at Hindu temples; they use the salutation 'Ram, Ram'; they scrupulously preserve the topknot of their hair; they inter-marry with their own class only, and they profess to be addressed as Mian Thakurs. On the other hand, they sometimes frequent a mosque, they practise circumcision and they bury their dead; but with Mussalmans in general, they have nothing else in common. They sometimes condescend to eat with them, but they think the same mat too small to seat themselves and any Mussalmans, with whom no particular friendship exists. In former days, indeed, Rajputs would eat food cooked with 'gbi' at their hands, but this practice has become obsolete.

These people have obviously remained outside the Hindu fold merely because its doors so long were barred and bolted against them. The religious and social reform movements within Hinduism are at last beginning to wear down what had so long seemed to be the invulnerable ramparts of orthodox Hinduism, and the community is waking to its duties to the suppressed castes and to those who fell away from it owing to the iron yoke of caste.

Hindu Mahomedan Unity :—The *Bombay Chronicle*, in a fit of despondency caused by attacks from some of its Hindu readers for its attitude in respect of the reclamation or reconversion of the Malkana Rajputs, declares that it is forced to recognize how fragile was the structure of Indian unity that Mahatma Gandhi with the strong assistance of the brothers Shaukat and Mohamed Ali, was able to erect. Our contemporary would not have parted so easily with its faith in Hindu-Mahomedan unity, had it not made the initial mistake of regarding it as the invention of Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali Brothers. If it had been so, we would never have attached the slightest importance to it. What is the fact? For a thousand years and more the two great religions have been in close contact. The great bulk of Indian Mahomedans are of the same race and blood as their Hindu countrymen. They have lived under the same sun, drank of the same streams, breathed the same air, for centuries. These influences have operated powerfully to produce the most stable elements of unity among them. But they are not all. Many statesmen, saints and sages have wrought devotedly to give conscious political and spiritual expression to these very elements. If the respected editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* will read the late Mr. Ranade's History of the Marathas, and also his address to the Lucknow National Social Conference in 1899, he will find this thesis worked out with great learning and observation. Mr. Ranade maintains that the reconciliation of the two communities in mutual recognition of the essential unity of Allah with Rama, was almost complete when Shivaji appeared on the scene. It is this historical evolution which provided the momentum to Mahatma Gandhi's great effort. We, for our part, have never doubted that, as Hindu Mahomedan unity was not the outcome of the Khilafat movement—which merely was the occasion of its most striking manifestation in recent times—it will survive it in a greatly strengthened form. No Hindu or Mahomedan who has studied the history of India from the national and synthetic point of view, will share our contemporary's despondency. The principle of religious freedom cannot be sacrificed to any political expediency whatsoever. The theory of religious mass conversions, however, requires carefully to be examined, and if, as we think, it is seldom brought about by a real spiritual conversion, all religious leaders should seriously consider the rightness of undertaking them.

The Waning of Caste :—Mr. Ranade bade us look to Indian States for sure proof that a movement has penetrated to the deep currents of national life "If any movement stirs the Native States which, are impervious to your political and industrial propaganda," he observed in one of his addresses to the National Social Conference, "that is a sign that the heart of the nation has been touched". There is no Indian State so orthodox and conservative as Travancore, and the following event, reported by the Trivandram correspondent of the *Swarajya* of Madras, is, therefore, of considerable significance in more ways than one.

In celebrating the first birthday of 'Gandhi Das'—the son of Mr. V. Achutha Menon, B. A., District Court Vakil—a cosmopolitan dinner was held in which several prominent men of the locality took part. In the centre of the hall where the dinner was held, was seen a charka with the photo of Mahatmajee and the other great Indian leaders leaning on it. Ezhawas, Christians and Nairs forgetting for a moment their petty jealousies and animosities behaved as real brothers—as sons of the same parents. It was indeed surprising to note that not one Brahmin was present at this function. That an Anglo-Indian also, Mr. Hoodgerf, Editor, "Standard" participated in the function shows the nature of the feelings that exist between the Indians and the Anglo-Indians of this locality.

Ministerial Responsibility : Lala Harkishen Lal, the Minister for Agriculture in the Punjab, has taken the public into confidence as to why he did not resign his office when his Rent Bill, to use his own words, "miserably failed to achieve the approval of the Council." He said :

Without disclosing any official secret, the speaker had no hesitation in saying that his resignation was prevented by an assurance that the bill did not constitute his policy but that he was in charge of it as a matter of administrative convenience. However, it is a moot question whether a single Minister can have a policy of his own.

According to the Punjab Minister, a Minister need not resign even if he be defeated a hundred times, unless a direct vote of censure is carried against him or a reduction of his salary is voted, "not as a measure of retrenchment" but as an indication of disapproval of the Minister's conduct. This was also the view taken by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani when he was defeated the other day in the Allahabad Legislative Council on a non-official motion virtually asking for the abrogation of his Allahabad University Act. This, we need hardly say, is not the view taken by English Ministers where, owing to the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility, all the Ministers have often resigned when Government was defeated on a Bill or even on a resolution brought by a private member. Only in exceptional cases, as in the case of the House of Commons resolution on simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service, have Ministers remained in office without giving effect to the decision of Parliament.

The Ram Mohun High School :—The Hon Mr. Paranjpye presided, and Mrs. Paranjpye gave away the prizes, at the last annual prize distribution of this institution conducted by the Bombay Prarthana Samaj. The Ram Mohun school is one of our pioneer schools in that it combines co-education, freedom of caste prejudice and non-denominational religious instruction in all its classes. Two of the boys who took a prominent part in the acting, belonged to the "untouchable" classes, though it was impossible to make them out as such by their speech or appearance. In the course of its brief existence, it has, under its able and devoted Superintendent, Mr. V. S. Sohoni, established its claim to be regarded as one of the best-conducted schools in Bombay.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 24, 1923.

INDIANS IN AMERICA.

We print to-day a second letter from Mr. Reeves Calkins on Bhagat Singh's case. It is now clear that this Indian gentleman could not have been declared by the Supreme Court to be ineligible for becoming a naturalised citizen of the United States, for the reason surmised by Mr. Reeves Calkins, namely, that, being by origin a high-caste Hindu, he could not be regarded as a "free" person. So far as this decision is concerned, the point is irrelevant because, as stated by Professor Warburton in the last issue, neither the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution nor the law of 1906, upon which the present decision rests, makes any reference to "free" persons as a category of eligibility for naturalisation. The law of 1906 does, however, specify alien "white" persons (and Africans) as eligible for naturalisation. As a Hindu is not an African, he must come under the category of a "white" person, in order that his naturalisation may hold good. Chinese have been expressly disqualified by the law, and the Supreme Court has held that Japanese are not "white" persons. Who, then, is a "white" person? The Legislature could not have intended that the Judge in each case should decide by personal inspection whether a candidate for naturalisation has what he considers to be a white skin. If that had been so, Albinos of all races would be eligible, while several Europeans who are scarcely more "white" than many Indians, would be barred on account of their colour. Some broad definition, other than the complexion of the individual concerned, is necessary, and the Oregon Court which naturalised Bhagat Singh evidently accepted the interpretation adopted by other States in the cases of some other Hindus, namely, that a person of Caucasian, otherwise Aryan, race is a white person under the law. Bhagat Singh's origin from a high Hindu caste became relevant because of the belief that the higher Hindu castes are descended from the Aryan race.

We can hardly believe that the Supreme Court of the United States, which occupies a position of commanding prestige as a judicial tribunal, has given a decision that would leave all the Indians who have been so far naturalised and who have been for many years enjoying the status of American citizens, without any nationality; since they cannot revert to their original allegiance by the mere fact of being deprived of their adopted allegiance by a belated judgment of the Supreme Court. As a Court administering not only law but also—and pre-eminently—equity, the Supreme Court cannot be hastily assumed to have given a judgment which cannot but prove extremely inequitable and even iniquitous in its incidence upon several persons who never suspected that their naturalisation in the country of their adoption might be declared invalid. Mr. Reeves Calkins mentions that Prof. R. C. Rankin,

writing in the *Indian Witness*, thought that the decision of the Supreme Court was a straightforward recognition that America cannot endure the strain of attempting to absorb any more non-European elements. The Legislature, one would think, would be the proper authority to make such a recognition—if it was needed—because, for one thing, it could have done so, without destroying the rights of those who had already been naturalised. We cannot think that the Supreme Court has been guilty of usurping the function of the Legislature. We are inclined to think that Miss Jane Addams was right when she told a Bangoon audience that there were probably special circumstances connected with Bhagat Singh's case which obliged the Supreme Court to nullify his naturalisation by the State of his domicile. If, however, the judgment is couched in general terms applicable to all Indians, the only way in which it can be prevented from having retrospective effect, is for Congress to pass a validating Act saving all past cases. This would be but bare justice. An Act declaring Hindus (by which term all Indians are known in America and should be known everywhere) eligible for naturalisation—and thus overruling the judgment of the Supreme Court—may not be within the range of practical politics until India, like Canada, sends her own envoy to Washington, but ordinary justice with, if need be, the influence of the British Ambassador, should be enough to prompt the passing of such a validating Act.

In the circumstances, the question of the relation of caste to personal freedom does not arise from the judgment, and it is useless to discuss it in connection with the judgment. To say, as we did, that if the judgment had, as Mr. Reeves Calkins thought it had, proceeded upon the opinion that a Hindu born in one of the higher castes of India is not a "free" person, it would have betrayed race prejudice, is not to say that "caste Hinduism is free and, therefore, is in no urgent need of reformation." We cannot, and do not wish to, strengthen our arguments against caste by taking advantage of what would have been an inequitable judgment. Mr. Reeves Calkins contests our view that one who is not a free person is a slave and refers, in support, to well-known decisions of the Supreme Court against "contract foreign labour"—an extreme form of which was known in India as "indentured labour." We admit the correction so far as "indentured labour" is concerned, because "indentured" labour, as Indians had always contended, is but veiled slavery and, historically, was introduced as a substitute on the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies. Even here an exception must be made, because there are many Americans in India serving in various capacities under "contracts" with their employers, which they could not do without forfeiting their citizenship, if every contract of service abroad is to be taken to derogate from the freedom of a citizen. But is a high-caste Hindu—taking even an orthodox Hindu living in India—an unfree person in the same sense as an indentured labourer? The restraints

which his caste imposes upon him relate to his personal and social life, food, habits, occupation and marriage. Some of these restraints are wholesome, others are indifferent from the point of citizenship, some are detrimental to the development of citizenship. Men like Bhagat Singh are actuated by the desire to get away from the second and third kind of restraints which they are too impatient to reform, when they go to a foreign country and seek to settle down there. "Previous condition of servitude" is expressly declared by Amendment XV to the American Constitution to be no bar to the right to vote. That a man was born a caste Hindu, can hardly be greater disqualification than that he was born a slave. Caste has many evils but none of them are such as to justify the deprivation of a man of his right to be regarded as a free man for international purposes. If the submission of the Roman Catholic to the Pope is not regarded as impairing the freedom of a person, why should that of the Hindu to his caste do so? Referring to this matter, Viscount Bryce in his "Modern Democracies" observes: "Difficulties arise where there are differences of religion, especially if ecclesiastics have power at their command, but it so happens that this sort of power does not count for much in serious affairs among Hindus, Buddhists, or Moslems, though fanaticism is sometimes a source of danger." Vol II, p. 555. These observations apply to the power of caste whose domain is strictly limited to domestic concerns.

A DEPRESSED CLASSES HOSTEL.

(BY MR. M. R. JAYAKAR.)

At the invitation of the Non-Brahman leader, Mr. Valchand Kothari, I opened the new premises of the hostel of the Depressed Classes, which he has started at Bavi at a distance of a couple of miles from Modlimb near Pandharpur. Mr. Belgaumwalla, the great expert on Khaddar, who has done so much in Bombay to push forward the Khaddar programme of the Congress, had accompanied me. On reaching the place we were taken to a clean, well-constructed and plain-looking building, through a row of well-clad and intelligent looking Mahar and Chamar boys, who saluted us with great enthusiasm. The whole place had the appearance of being under the supervision of a person of business tact and mastery over details. Mr. Valchand is a Non-Brahman leader of great unselfishness and patriotism. His father was a magnate of the village, of great piety and public spirit, who in his life time spent large sums of money for the purposes of religious and social charity. His son has imbibed his father's doctrines, his generosity and unselfishness, which in the son have taken a form more suited to the present requirements of the country. The hostel was originally started, a few years ago, in a plain and rough-looking building constructed in the form of a quadrangle. There Mr. Kothari for many years did the pioneer work of collecting and educating Mahar and Cha-

mar boys. His effort was rendered easy through the active co-operation of a very devoted worker, Mr. Aidale, who had received his training in a similar institution in Maharashtra, and who happily combines with the practical skill and tact of a teacher the higher qualities of sympathy and imagination. Gradually, as the work of the institution came to be appreciated, Mr. Kothari received greater encouragement, and he was ultimately emboldened to sink, out of his own funds, nearly Rs. 14,000 in the new building, which is a ground-floor construction standing in solitary dignity amidst large grounds. There are at present about 25 to 30 boys in the hostel, of the ages of 8 to 12, mostly collected from the neighbouring villages. They are first put through a course of training in personal cleanliness and taught several other habits, which to the "upper classes" may appear rudimentary. For instance, they are taught to get up early, to wash and keep themselves clean, to speak correct Marathi and to take, in clean surroundings, their simple food, not different from that they get at home. They are given well-cooked *bhakri* made of inferior corn, *chutney* and onions. These are chiefly their articles of food, and they have thriven wonderfully on them. The experiment has thus worked a miracle in the way of economy, in so far as the average monthly expense on food for each boy is Rs. 2-8. We had the opportunity to examine closely the boys presented for our observation and also of looking into the books of account showing the pecuniary state of the institution.

As a result of our detailed enquiry conducted for over an hour and a half, we were satisfied that the boys were well-fed and looked after, notwithstanding the cheapness of their living. The success of this institution would solve the problem of mass education and remove many difficulties in the way of making education free and universal. At present, Mr. Kothari is conducting the experiment with the aid of his own funds, but sooner or later, as the needs of the institution increase and its utility extends, it will be necessary for the public to take up the burden which Mr. Kothari has so generously borne all these years. The whole institution is his idea, worked out in brick and mortar, its chief aim being to give the boys, in a cheap and efficient manner, such education as would create in them a desire to lead their simple life in an orderly and useful way. The attempt is, therefore, not to tear them from their village surroundings, nor to surround them with comforts and luxuries, which are regarded as inevitable in towns, and which are often unattainable by poor villagers except as the price of a complete disruption of their life's methods and habits. It is an old Hindu ideal, that each man taught to perform, with skill and proficiency, the humble duties of his calling, produces a social

restfulness, without which the nation's progress is not secure. Mr. Kothari hopes that when their education is complete and these boys leave the Ashram they will not be ashamed of going back to their village home or taking up their simple duties there, in a cheerful spirit, spreading in their native village a desire for self-improvement and self-expression which their education will have created in them. "Yoga is excellence in action"; this is an old Indian ideal, which had grown popular at a time when the sharp conflict between class and class had given place to social peace and harmony, based on a generous recognition of the dignity of human exertion, however humble. Mr. Kothari hopes to revive this ideal of an humble, self-contained and dignified village life, which has its own occupations and even productive arts and crafts.

The industries which are at present taught to boys in this hostel are spinning, weaving, and brick-making. I had the privilege of observing their working and was not a little surprised when told that the bricks used for the new building were all locally manufactured, and the clean and ample clothing which the boys and the teachers wore was also supplied by local agencies. The institution is at present just able to pay its way, but it is obvious that, if its extent is enlarged and its activities made more useful, it will want public support.

In the afternoon, the opening ceremony of the Hostel took place. It proved a very pleasant and instructive function. The decorations, though simple, were artistic. Beautiful songs, composed for the occasion in pure Marathi, were sung in well-chosen melodies by two Mahar girls, whose accent and technique were perfect. Mr. Kothari then explained, in a few well-chosen sentences, the object of his mission, the vicissitudes through which it had passed, its present aims and ideals and the necessity of public co-operation. He was followed by other speakers, about 20 in number, most of them being leaders of the Depressed Classes in the province. They spoke in a language full of purity and earnestness. Their arguments were cogent and forceful. Their patriotism was allied to ours. Few traces could be seen of any bitterness for the "higher classes." They quoted freely from Hindu Scriptures with pride and fervour and often cited Sanskrit texts with ease and familiarity. I have always thought that the surest way of knocking the bottom out of the superior sense of the "higher classes" is to spread amongst the "lower classes" an appreciative study of Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit is rightly regarded as the 'open sesame' of Indian culture. If this claim is well-founded, the "lower classes," as being inheritors of that system of culture, have every right to participate in its gifts. As I heard these speeches I felt that the non-Brahman had his nat-

ral aptitude for these studies and that it was purely a question of a few more years when they would recite the *Gāyatri* and the *Purusha Sukta* in the purity of Vedic accent.

Mr. Belgaumwalla was during the day constantly inquiring, noting, observing, and commenting, and he had collected many important facts and figures as he has an idea, with which I am closely associating myself, of starting a similar institution in the suburbs of Bombay. A Parsi friend has already promised to me some aid for such an effort, and as it is a most important part of the constructive programme of the Congress and was nearest to the Mahatmaji's heart, I see no reason why the Congress Committee should not set up or aid such an institution in or near Bombay. I have a dream that some day, in the near future, we may be able to establish in the suburbs of Bombay a quiet Ashrama, presided over by a pious and learned *Sanyasi*, an important feature of which will be a hostel and school conducted for the benefit of the Depressed Classes. The courses of instruction will include Sanskrit, and at an hour when most of us in towns are in our bed in early morn, the *Sanyasi* would teach his pupils of the Depressed Classes pure and devotional songs composed in the "language of the Gods." This would be a fitting contribution to the Congress programme, which will with one bound, bring the "higher" and "lower" classes in the common grip of a national language and a national literature. It would please the Mahatma when he is once more amongst us. There are funds in the hands of the Congress which are earmarked for the benefit of the Depressed Classes and which are awaiting utilisation for want of a proper scheme. Is it not possible at an early date to devise such a scheme and draw out the funds lying idle so long? Mr. Valchand Kothari and his associates have promised all necessary assistance for organizing such schools in the province. Will Congress Committees take up this work on behalf of the poor and lowly?

THE REBIRTH OF JAPAN

(By MR. SHERWOOD EDDY.)

Upon arrival in the Far East we found a new Japan. A nation is being re-born. The old feudal Nippon of a generation ago laid aside its bows and arrows and leaped to the forefront among the nations in militarism, in politics, and in industry. Modern Japan is as rapidly learning the lesson that militarism is now discredited and with equal earnestness is entering a new era of liberalism, disarmament and democracy. No nation in history so quickly learned the art of war, of commerce, and material progress, and perhaps none will more quickly learn the art of peace. The Washington Conference has cleared the air of the dark war clouds that threatened the Far East, and a new

and liberal Japan, which we did not see four years ago, is emerging before our eyes.

We saw the great audiences of students and young men in Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe and Moji listening, no longer with a blind exclusive patriotism, but with a new interest in international, racial, and industrial problems, and with a new heart hunger for vital religion. Many have turned away from the materialism and agnosticism of the last decade and are seeking with new eagerness for the truth which alone can satisfy. Never have I known such an encouraging situation in Japan nor such an opportunity to achieve great good.

We had the opportunity of meeting the new leaders in all departments of life and thought. We began with an interview with the Premier, Baron Kato, who returned from the Washington Conference with an honest determination to carry out the policies agreed upon for disarmament and peace. Not only the reduction of the navy, but of the army as well, and the recalling of Japanese troops from Siberia, Shantung and Hankow show his willingness to follow the policies of the conference of open diplomacy, the open door and mutual goodwill.

We had an interview and luncheon with the Home Minister and his entire staff, including the head of the forty thousand police, and a conference with them on the liberal movement and labour. We also had lunch with the Foreign Minister, Count Uchida, and Count Chinda, the chief adviser of the Prince Regent. We had interviews and conferences with Viscount Shibusawa, the great captain of industry, Baron Sumitomo, Mr. Matsukata, and other manufacturers, some employing from twenty to thirty thousand men each. We also met the younger liberal leaders and under-secretaries who will be the makers of the new Japan. We had meetings and conferences with some of the leading capitalists at their Society for the conciliation of Capital and Labour, followed by conferences with a dozen or more labour leaders in their squalid poverty. We had dinner with Baron Goto, the Mayor of Tokyo and probably the coming Premier. We met the liberal leaders of the Diet, who are now fighting the battle for universal suffrage, and the liberal and radical professors who are leading the way in freedom of thought, of speech and of the press. We also had conferences with the leading Japanese pastors and educators. We visited the steel mills, silk mills, cotton factories and other plants to investigate the conditions of labour.

We saw the liberal students with their bold antagonism to militarism and imperialism, and their new interest in religion, labour, and democracy. Many of them are more eager for Japan to give justice in Korea, in China and in Siberia, than to demand it for their own people

living in other countries. We have seen the rising army of the young men of the poor, the white collared proletariat, or "foreign clothes paupers," with their growing demand for justice. We were surprised at the unrest among the agrarian toilers and farmers who are combining with more rapid and successful demands for economic freedom and social justice than the peasants and farmers of most of the western world. We saw the new freedom of thought, of speech and of the press, and we enjoyed a liberty ourselves which was impossible four years ago. We found a new press with its bold attack upon social injustice, a wide knowledge of international affairs, discriminating editorials and a large amount of world news. We observed the apparent determination of the government to follow the path of democratic freedom with an open safety valve of free speech, rather than the discredited methods of militaristic Russia with its resultant volcanic upheaval of revolution.

There is a growing readiness on the part of capitalists and leading business men to meet labour half way in a fair settlement of their disputes, and to grant justice to the demands of the rising labour movement which may save Japan more than a century of the struggles through which some of the countries of the world have passed. We interviewed several Japanese business men who after thorough investigation, have adopted the best features of the leading industries of the Western nations with an eight-hour day, insurance against unemployment, welfare work and a sense of obligations to labour that has gone far beyond the average big business firm in America and England. We saw a manufacturer of battleships, with his future contracts cancelled and many of his men unemployed, rejoicing over the Washington Conference and honestly asking that the nations go still further and scrap all large ships over three thousand tons and merely police the waters of the world for peace. We saw professors and writers and leaders of the Diet who are demanding immediate universal manhood suffrage, a cabinet and Diet responsible to the people, the abolition of militarism and of Dual Government, the reduction of the army, the policy of the open door in China, the withdrawal of the Japanese troops from all disputed areas, justice for labour, rights for the new woman and numerous other reforms. As one of the leaders expressed it, like a chick breaking from its shell, the liberal Japan is to-day breaking through the hard and crusted repression of feudal militarism and a new nation is coming to birth.

Japan's position is not fully understood by the nations of the world, but there is one thing that her worst enemies cannot accuse her of: she has not been slow to learn from other nations, nor failed to read the signs of the times. Almost

no nation in the world has so deeply taken to heart the complete failure of Prussian militarism. Four years ago when the writer visited the former Premier, Count Terachi, he had just been reported in his interview with the correspondent of one of the leading American newspapers, as proposing a possible alliance between Imperial Germany, Czarist Russia and militaristic Japan. When we saw the new Premier, Baron Kato, we were convinced that he belonged to the new world of democracy, in full accord with the purpose of Secretary Hughes and the plan of the Washington Conference. He realizes the rising power of labour, of the farmers, the students and the people as a whole and appreciates the significance of their demand for justice and freedom.

The new Japan is also evident in the rapid industrialization of the country. It is here that we see the darker side of the picture. The number of her factory workers has increased nearly nearly one hundred-fold in thirty years. With prices still at the peak of the war boom, with low wages and long hours, this overcrowded population is beginning to show signs of breaking under the strain of the competition of the modern world. In some factories we found girls toiling from fourteen to seventeen hours a day the latter from four o'clock in the morning until eight at night. Not only is the population overcrowded, but it is increasing at the rate of some 750,000 a year. Japan is forced to import food-stuffs and most of her raw materials. She is caught in the relentless competition of the modern industrial world, between the sweated and cheap labour of the East and the massed wealth, machinery and better equipment of the nations of the West.

We spent a night in the slums where thousands are trying to live on a few annas a day while forced to buy in one of the most costly markets of the world. Ninety-two per cent. of Japan's population are earning less than a living wage. There the rich are growing richer and the poor are becoming poorer. We went to the slums from one of the ten richest families in Japan. There we were shown art treasures costing nearly a crore of rupees which represent but a portion of their war profits. The number who paid income tax on fortunes declared at Rs. 1,50,000 increased during the war from twenty-two to three hundred and thirty-six, but the poverty of the poor increased yet more rapidly. In the slums which we visited we found multitudes crowded into miserable hovels. From such families eighty per cent. of the prostitutes have been driven to the present life on account of poverty. A father of a starving family can now lease his daughter for three years for the sum of Rs. 2,000. Eighty-six per cent. of the crimes of Japan are said to be the result of naked poverty. In each dark and filthy alley twenty-eight families have to use two reeking

latrines. In this section of the slum in Kobe there are hundreds of persons who are ex-convicts, defectives, insane, deformed or deceased. In near-by Osaka, the "city of dreadful night", there is the highest death rate of any city in the world; while Kobe ranks fourth in the world following two starving German cities.

In Kobe I spent a day with my friend Kagawa, whom I saw six years ago as a student at Princeton University in America. We found him living in the heart of these slums. He is the St. Francis of the poor, the Gandhi of the labour movement of Japan. This brilliant young genius of thirty-four has buried his life in the slums, and has survived tuberculosis and imprisonment, though he has been arrested five times in connection with his fight for sweated labour. In six years he has written some sixteen books, drawing his own illustrations and pen sketches; he is writing for a dozen magazines and editing three newspapers; he has organized several industrial unions; he is leading the farmers in their great movement for justice, and is speaking almost daily to great audiences. He is the friend of the poor, the organizer of the despairing peasants. The account of his life, appearing in three volumes, has exhausted more than two hundred editions and, according to the publishers, has been read by a million readers. When he is announced to speak on religion, politics or industry, he can fill the largest hall in any of the leading cities. He is earning some Rs. 45,000 a year by writing, but he invests every anna of it in starving humanity. The suit he was wearing cost less than four rupees. For years he has been living in a foul alley in a dark room less than ten feet square. But upstairs in his new office we found several hundreds of the most recent books on every phase of the labour movement, sociology, politics, art and religion. He is the busiest man in Japan, the modern saint, the thinker and practical idealist who has carried his gospel into the slums of these cities of toiling millions. Like the title of his book he is living "Beyond the Death Line."

We left his humble little home with our hearts burdened with the patient suffering of these toiling masses in those reeking slums. There were cries of little children that rise to heaven. There was injustice meted out to the nine million underpaid families of our toiling brothers who are trying to sustain life in poverty in what is now one of the most expensive countries in the world, caught in the grinding forces of the modern industrial revolution, between the sweated labour of China and the organized wealth of the Occident. Amid the clash of forces old and new, of feudalism and industrialism, wealth and poverty, autocracy and democracy, in travail of soul, the new Japan is being born.

OUR TRAVANCORE LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

The nineteenth session of the Travancore Sri Mulam Popular Assembly was opened on Monday, the 12th March, 1923, under excellent auspices. The address delivered by the Dewan, Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, set forth the main features of administrative and political advancement made by the State during the Malabar official year 1097 (1921-22). On a perusal of this official document, one is tempted to the irresistible conclusion that the Dewan Bahadur has rendered an excellent account of his stewardship of the State. The year is a memorable one in the annals of the State. For, it was during this year that the largest measure of constitutional reforms ever conceived or carried out in any Native State in India was made available to the people. A non-official majority of 35 out of 50 is the highest water-mark of political power ever conferred by any of the Indian Maharajas. The Dewan gratefully acknowledged the help rendered by the accredited representatives of the people and for their fairness in their demands and discussions. How the power of the vote has been recognised and realised by the people is an object lesson to the other parts of India. The maximum percentage of the electors who polled in a constituency reached the high figure of 85 while the lowest—in the hilly constituency of Peermade *cum* Devicolum—was 40.9. The Dewan says that "this is a fitting tribute to the high literacy and advanced political consciousness of the people of Travancore, especially when we remember that the highest percentage of voters who participated in the election in British India under the Reform Act was only 70—in some of the urban constituencies of the Madras Presidency—while the average proportion of voting for the Provincial Councils only ranged between 20 and 30 per cent, and in Burma, the only Province in India with about the same level of literacy as Travancore, the proportion was even less than 10 per cent. as against 64.4 here". This is a fair index to the high political and social advancement of the people of the largest State under the Madras Government. Consistent with this remarkably high level of progress, there are other features too worthy of mention. When the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions is broadly discussed in British India and when the Madras Government have only gone to the stage of appointing a Committee to consider the various aspects of the problem and submit a report as to the feasibility of the introduction of this great reform, and when the Mysore State is still hesitating in a step-motherly fashion to work out the scheme to a practical conclusion, Travancore has been quietly and unostentatiously—as is its wont—engaged in giving full and beneficent effect to a scheme under which complete separation of judicial from executive functions is a *fait accompli*. Out of 30 taluks in the State as many as 25 have enjoyed the advantages of this reform. Perhaps a few words of explanation are necessary and will be found to be instructive, as the conditions of Travancore are peculiar and probably unique. The duties of the Tahsildars were threefold. He has had the supervision and management of Hindu temples and other religious and charitable institutions of the State, besides land revenue and magisterial work. The non-Hindu and non-caste Hindu subjects of His Highness the Maharaja have been complaining of their exclusion from the Land Revenue Department and the reason urged for this exclusion was that the Tahsildars had charge of Hindu religious and charitable institu-

tions under them. The cry for their being admitted into the land revenue branch of the State Service was insistent and the best solution that appealed to His Highness' Government was the separation of the Devaswam management and hand it over to a separate Department. This was done last year and this opportunity was availed of to free the Tahsildars from their magisterial work and make them responsible for land revenue work alone. Special stationary Magistrates with second class powers were appointed to try criminal cases. All this was possible as the number of taluks was reduced from 34 to 30 and the Revenue Divisions from 5 to 4. This is a reform that has been carried out efficiently and satisfactorily and the Dewan deserves great credit for it.

Travancore is famous for the highest percentage of literacy in all India, 28 per cent, (except Burma). A glance at the figures for the past year shows that this high level has been maintained. The education of females has made equally admirable progress and specially in collegiate education the progress is unapproached by any other Province or State in India. It is, therefore, nothing but right that the coping stone of such a stupendous edifice should be a University. The Government of His Highness the Maharaja have resolved to have a University of their own. Seeing that there are excellent materials in the existing institutions, *viz.*, a First Grade College, a Second Grade College for women, a Sanskrit College, a Law College, a Training College, an Ayurvedic College—all maintained by the State—and four other Second Grade Colleges maintained by private agencies, the prospects of a University are very bright. The Government propose to appoint a Committee to suggest the lines of work. Another memorable act of statesmanship which cannot escape notice is the series of continuous and sustained endeavors made to elevate the depressed classes of His Highness' subjects. The concessions granted by the State include grant of land for house-building and cultivation, free and half-free system of education and opening of most of the schools in the State. Besides these, they are helped to represent their own grievances and wants at the popular institutions like the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly and every endeavour is made to relieve them of their disabilities and shackles. These are some of the main features of the address delivered by the Dewan. I have had occasions to narrate in these columns the various measures of administrative improvement initiated and carried out by the Dewan with the statesman-like advice and under the wise guidance of His Highness the Maharaja. I shall resume this subject later.

THE SOCIAL WORKERS' SAMMELAN, SURAT.

Social workers have been of late realising the common want of a systematic investigation of social problems. They have found that many of the vital social endeavours of the utmost importance to the nation have proved practically ineffective in curing the social maladies that now seem to have reached a chronic stage. This is due, it will be readily acknowledged, to the fact that social workers and institutions in this country have been hitherto accustomed to work independently, more or less as isolated units. There are, it is generally believed, no common agencies where they could effect the necessary economy of time, energy and endeavour by an exchange of opinions, suggestions or information, or by a common estimate of their general difficulties and obstacles. The time has arrived when social workers need the expression,

with courage and absolute candour, of their common experience and difficulties. The Seva Mandal of Surat has, therefore, resolved to invite social workers and institutions from Gujarat, Kathiawar and Bombay to a gathering of the workers to be held in Surat on the first of April 1923. It is hoped that social workers and institutions on this side of the country will welcome this opportunity of mutual help and attempt to evolve out of their common experience and knowledge some effective remedies for the common social evils. The following are some of the main questions proposed for discussion:—

Education—Primary, Adult, Industrial, Technical or Vocational, Education of the Infirm and the Derelict, of Women and Children, of the Masses, the working and the Suppressed classes, Education and training in handicrafts and cottage industries. Free reading rooms. Free, travelling and circulating libraries. Night and continuation classes. Extension lectures. Education in Civics.

Health—Public sanitation. Hygiene. Maternity Homes. Nursing Homes and institutions. Public dispensaries and hospital and similar institutions affording medical relief. Medical inspection of school children. Provision of healthy food to school children. Inspection of food drinks supplied at hotels, restaurants and at stations and other similar places of popular resort.

Temperance—The question of prohibition, or organisation of healthy amusements, of leisure and of recreation facilities.

Housing—Over-crowding, congestion, slums, transport and means of communication. Town-planning, and Civic Design.

Co-operative Efforts—Debt redemption. Credit and non-credit societies. Stores. Consumers' and Producers' societies. Housing societies. Co-operative purchase of tools and raw materials.

Public Entertainments—Cinemas, theatres, music and lecture halls. Fairs, Festivals and Pageants.

Civics—Museums, Parks, Art Galleries, Places of religious worship and similar facilities for co-ordinating educational and social activities.

Hardship of travellers—In railway trains and stations, in steamers and harbours. Dharmashallas.

The Organisation, Conduct and Maintenance of Social Institutions—Reformatories, Technical and Vocational schools, Night and Continuation Classes, Extension lectures. Reading Classes and Study Circles. Foundling Homes, Boarding houses and Hostels. Orphanages, Widows' Homes and Homes for the care, shelter and reformation of beggars, prostitutes and other derelicts. Homes for the Unemployed. Social Clubs. Institutions specialising education to women and children, the working and the suppressed classes. Industrial and Vocational schools and classes. Co-operative organisations. Organisations dealing with the Boy-Scout, Girl-Guide and similar volunteer movements. Free, travelling and circulating libraries and reading rooms. Organisations dealing with famine relief, flood, fire and similar accidental happenings.

The Periodic Collection of Information.

The Periodic Investigation of Methods of Organisation.

Methods of Publicity and the evolution of Co-ordinating Agencies.

The list is, obviously, not exhaustive. But it is fairly indicative of the character of the work the workers in Surat desire to attempt. They welcome the help of all interested in the questions, particularly the help of those who have

given special attention to and have practical knowledge of them. The workers can, no doubt, help their colleagues here in two ways, by personal attendance and discussion and by contribution of papers on the social questions they have specialised. The time at the disposal of the workers being extremely limited the papers must reach here before the 25th of this month.

Correspondence and enquiries may be addressed to the following:

Kansyalal Hardevram Vakil.

DAYASHANKAR BHAIHANKAR SHUKLA.

Hon. Secretary,

Social Workers' Sammelan.

"Seva Mandal," Soni Falia, Surat.

THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION SEVASHRAMA, KANKHAL

Swami Kalyanananda, Honry. Secretary, the Ramkrishna Mission Sevashrama, Kankhal, P. O. Saharanpur District, writes:—

I beg to bring to the notice of the kind readers of your much esteemed paper that through the grace of God and help from charitable and generous public, we completed four General wards for the accommodation of the poor sick and helpless people as well as an up-to-date outdoor Dispensary Building. We can now accommodate 66 indoor patients at one time but to maintain them permanently we require for each Rs. 15 per mensem. This amount may be secured permanently from 6 per cent interest of Rs. 8,000. I shall be highly obliged, if any one wishing to perpetuate the beloved memory of one's relations in connection with the alleviation of the sufferings of Mahatmas and the poor pilgrims, who come to Hardwar from every part of our motherland will lay out Rs. 8,000 to maintain one bed permanently in memory of any of his or her dear relations in the Holy Tirtha. A small brass tablet with inscription may be fixed on the bed to bear the memorial of the beloved relations. We are struggling these 22 long years to serve the sick and the helpless amongst our less fortunate brothers and sisters; and the kind and generous public supplied us with funds to maintain the sick and the helpless these 22 long years and to build almost all the necessary buildings. Is it too much to ask now for a permanent Endowment Fund to maintain the Sevashrama permanently, the utility and the urgent need of which is proved beyond doubt within these 22 long years of devoted and ever increasing service? Any person may send whatever amount for the Permanent Endowment Fund to:—

(i) Swami Kalyanananda, Honry. Secretary, Ramkrishna Mission Sevashrama, Kankhal P. O. Saharanpur District, or to (ii) The President, Ramkrishna Mission, Belur P. O., Howrah District (Bengal).

N. B:—For particulars about the Sevashrama, please communicate with the Hon. Secretary.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The Director of Information sends us the following:—

Much time and money has been wasted by Indian Students who have gone to Great Britain for further education and on their arrival have discovered that the facilities they desired were not immediately available or that their preliminary qualifications were inadequate or that they were unable to comply with some essential rule or regulation of the Institution concerned. The only way to avoid these difficulties is to obtain

reliable information before leaving India so that all necessary arrangements for admission to the University or College may be made before the student arrives in England. There is in Bombay a Students' Advisory Committee whose Secretary is Professor F. M. Dastur of the Bombay University and from whom a student can obtain the necessary information. In addition, a Hand-book for Indian students has been published by the High Commissioner in England and copies of it can be obtained through the principal booksellers. This hand-book forms an excellent guide to the facilities for University and Professional studies and Training in the United Kingdom. It deals not only with the educational facilities available, the necessary preliminary qualifications required and various concessions and exemptions which may be secured in virtue of qualifications already obtained in India, but it is devised as a general guide to help the inquirer to form some idea as to the course of study he desires to pursue and what is almost as important the approximate expenses both scholastic and personal which the student will be required to pay. The annual cost varies from £. 350 to £. 400 a year at Oxford or Cambridge to £. 300 a year at other Universities.

THE CASE OF MR. BHAGAT SINGH.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

If the meagre telegraphic information that has reached India is correct, then two facts seem clear. First, Mr. Bhagat Singh obtained certificate of citizenship in the State of Oregon several years ago; second, that certificate was recently declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. The cabled report as it appeared in the daily press of India, dated Washington, February 19th, was as follows: "The Supreme Court to-day ruled that the high caste Hindu of 'full Indian blood' was ineligible for American citizenship on the ground that he was not a 'free white person' within the meaning of the law."

The Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* judges that the point of the Court's decision is indicated by the words "white person," while my own opinion is that the emphasis rests upon the words "free person." In the absence of further information from the United States I have no desire to contest the Editor's vigorous dissent from my interpretation as published in the *Reformer* of the 10th instant.

It is only fair to say that such an alert observer as my friend, Prof. Robert C. Rankin of Lucknow Christian College (writing in the *Indian Witness*) thinks this decision of the Supreme Court is a straightforward recognition that "America cannot endure the strain of attempting to absorb any more non-European elements"—referring of course to citizenship only, for Indians and other Asiatics will continue to "be welcomed as students, merchants, or visitors, and will be subject to no restraints." Therefore, as is quite evident, my own interpretation of March 10th is not the unanimous opinion, perhaps not the general opinion, of the American group in India. The Editor of the *Reformer* will not find himself alone when he expresses the judgment that it was race, not caste, that turned the scale of judgment.

The point at issue, I need not say, is not the naturalization laws of the United States but whether or not those laws have been approached from a new angle as indicated by the insertion of the words "free person" in the cabled report of the Supreme Court's decision. The American Constitution, the broad spirit and purpose of it, has its rise in equity and

not in law; for "law" in the United States is not as in Great Britain a part of the Constitution but is itself valid in the courts and in the life of the Republic only as it arises under the Constitution. Whether the case of Mr. Bhagat Singh was, in fact, a case in equity or in law is precisely the matter that has been under discussion. The naturalization laws that heretofore have excluded the Chinese and Japanese seem to have been given a new slant—assuming the cabled report to be correct—and this precisely is what concerns the the Indian people. Indians have scant interest in the laws of the United States, but a matter of human equity transcends national bounds and is immediately related to the programme of reformed Hinduism.

Although meagre information makes it unprofitable longer to discuss the case of Mr. Bhagat Singh himself, the Supreme Court's decision has pressed home a vital human question. The question reaches farther than a high judicial decision in a friendly foreign land, it touches the meaning of freedom in India itself.

Is a caste Hindu, in point of fact, "a free person?"

The Editor finds it "impossible to believe that the judges of the Supreme Court could have held that a 'high caste Hindu' is 'not a free person'" and that my own interpretation "is on the face of it a perversion of the plain meaning of the phrase 'free person'". If the Editor is right in his contention that one who is not a free person "is a slave"—meaning that his person is held as property—then the judges of the Supreme Court were laboriously re-writing constitutional history rather than performing their duty of interpreting the Constitution. For, since the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, in 1863, and the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, no "slave" has set foot legally within the United States and no such person conceivably could have 'come within any American legal jurisdiction, except to receive a judgment of immediate deportation. Even temporary citizenship, such as seems to have been granted to Mr. Bhagat Singh, would have been unthinkable.

But, I submit, it is too late in the world's history for the word "slave"—meaning property—to be held as the social antithesis of the word "free". As a matter of fact (referring once again to well known decisions of the same Supreme Court) the whole reason for the exclusion of "contract foreign labor" from the ports of the United States is that men ostensibly free to enter upon the economic development of American resources, especially in the mining and metal industries, are actually under the domination of contracts entered upon in foreign lands. Such men are not "slaves" in the sense that they are held in involuntary servitude, for the contracts are of their own volition, but they are "not free" within the meaning of the law. Therefore they are excluded not only from citizenship but from actual entry into the country. And this by constitutional limitation as well as by specific statute.

Moreover, since the Chartist Movement in England and the widespread social revolutions of 1848 on the continent of Europe, fundamental human rights have been compelled to be admitted into the decisions of the civil courts, not as these rights were interpreted in other centuries but as they must be recognized in a modern world. The one question that this discussion has raised, and the only one that is relevant, is whether the caste Hindu, in point of fact and in human equity, is "a free person." The cabled report may be in error. The words "free person" may have been a press comment and have had no part in the Court's decision. In

that case an irresponsible reporter has shot a perfectly tremendous problem into the midst of forward looking Hinduism.

Sincerely yours,
HERVEY BEEVES CALKINS.

Lucknow, March 19

A NEW MARATHI PLAY.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I want to point out a serious blunder which Mr. Warerkar has committed, perhaps unconsciously, in the delineation of the character of Sarjerao Salvi, who appears in the role of the guardian of a Brahmin minor, who is the son of the founder of a Bank. This in itself is a sufficient misrepresentation of the actual state of affairs, for in nine cases out of ten I know from my experience in some of the premier Maratha states that it is the uneducated Maratha minor who is made the dupe by his Brahmin guardian or Karbhari. Apart from it, Sarjerao Salvi is the President and a pillar of strength of the Depressed Classes Mission (page 27.) In his private life, however, he is so orthodox that he hates to be polluted by the shadow of a shoe-maker (page 8.) His sole idea of the Mission is to have an annual social dinner and publish a lengthy report of the same in the newspapers (page 8.) He has no scruples in dallying with the adopted daughter of a singing-girl, but expresses his pious horror when he is told that she is Mahar by caste (page 30.) Again at the time of the annual gathering of the Mission, where we find a cosmopolitan gathering Sarjerao warns the untouchables to sit at an arm's length. Mr. Warerkar has done a great injustice to the whole Maratha community by stigmatizing it as orthodox and deadly opposed to the removal of untouchability. For Sarjerao is nothing if not the caricature of the community which he represents. Such is the impression that is produced in the minds of the audience. Personally I am a thorough cosmopolitan and a such a staunch opponent of the caste-system. Still common courtesy requires that an author, above all a dramatist, should respect the sentiments of a community. Mr. Warerkar has, therefore, no business to wound the sentiments of the community by caricaturing things which are so conspicuous by their absence. The Maratha has always stood forward as a broad-minded and liberal citizen both in peace and war from times immemorial. A shoemaker deploras the lot of the untouchables (page 24.) at the present time and with tears of gratitude recalls the golden days of yore when they had the apostle of the untouchables in the personality of the late lamented Lokmanya amidst them. Personally I have a great regard for Mr. Tilak as a political and literary thinker, but to describe him as the apostle of the untouchables is indeed the grossest misrepresentation. As a matter of fact, he and his followers in Poona and elsewhere have times without number shirked their responsibility in the cause of social reform. Mr. Warerkar has betrayed his ignorance of the history of untouchability during the last four decades by studiously avoiding even the mention of the real apostles of the untouchables like H. H. the late Maharaja of Kolhapur, H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda and last but not least Mr. V. B. Shinde. It is a curious coincidence, perhaps Mr. Warerkar will say, that they happen to be Marathas. If it is so, I challenge him to point out any other workers from non-Maratha community on this side of India, who have done even one hundredth of the work of these leaders. Let me tell Mr. Warerkar that the two

enlightened Maratha Maharajas have succeeded in doing by legislation and actual support what the Congress has not been able to achieve by its resolutions. In spite of the fact that Mahatmaji has put the removal of untouchability as one of the items of his constructive programme very little has been realised as yet in that direction.

L. D. SURVE,

Bombay, 14th February 1923.

THE HYDERABAD HINDU SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

The fifth Annual Session of the Hindu Social Conference Hyderabad (Deccan) has been arranged to be held at Gulbarga on Sunday and Monday the 22nd and 23rd April 1923 respectively. Forms of application may be had from the Office of the Secretary to the Conference, Gulbarga. The rates of fees are as mentioned below:—

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His Majesty's Government have decided to appoint a Royal Commission on the Services in India. The terms of reference are:—Having regard to the necessity for maintaining a standard of administration in conformity with the responsibilities of the Crown for the Government of India and to the declared policy of Parliament in respect of the increasing Association of Indians in every branch of the administration and in view of the experience now gained of the operation of the system of Government established by the Government of India Act in respect of the Superior Civil Services in India to enquire into (1) the organisation and general conditions of service financial and otherwise of those services (2) the possibility of transferring immediately or gradually any of their present duties and functions to services constituted on a provincial basis (3) the recruitment of Europeans and Indians respectively for which provision should be made under the constitution established by the said Act and the best methods of ensuring and maintaining such recruitment and to make recommendations.

Copies of the group photograph of those present at the Inter-communal Dinner held on the 11th instant of which reference was made in the last issue can be had from the Manager, *The Indian Social Reformer*, Empire Building, Fort, Bombay, on payment of Rs. 3-8 per copy.

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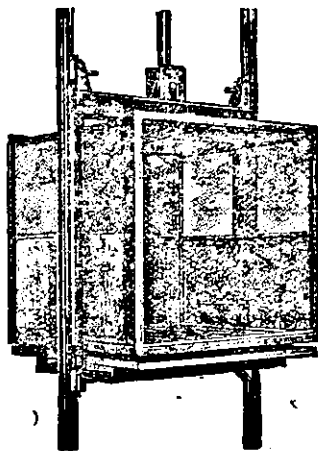
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Vol. XXXIII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY, MARCH 31, 1923. No. 31

"I will be as bare 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.

—:0:—

Lord Reading on the Salt Duty: The Governor-General has certified, under the emergency provision of the Government of India Act, that the doubling of the salt duty is essential to the security of India. If his Excellency had merely used the formula prescribed, and not entered into any further justification of the course he has felt himself obliged to adopt, his action might have been regarded as dictated by constitutional considerations. But, unfortunately Lord Reading has not done this. He has sought to show that the doubling of the duty is no great burden on the people and, more than that, that the salt duty itself is a good duty on economical grounds.

The Viceroy says that he had given most careful consideration both to the economical and sentimental reasons against the salt tax. The tax is said to have historic unpopularity, but it existed before British rule. The economic reasons against the tax stood on shadowy foundations. Perhaps, never in the recent history of India has there been a year in which such an enhancement will press more lightly on the poor, due to the marked fall in prices.

Every one of these statements is open to contradiction. A tax might have existed before British rule, but that does not necessarily mean that it was popular. Even if it was not unpopular, the fact that the proceeds of it were spent in the country where it was raised, might have contributed to make it bearable. Lord Reading has agreed to the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the grievances of the Indian Civil Service. The same Lord Reading tells us that the economic objections to the salt duty rest on shadowy foundations. It is quite clear that Lord Reading knows very little about the lives of the people he has been called upon to rule. His Excellency says that never in the recent history of India was there a time when the enhancement would press more lightly on the poor. Unless by "recent history" we are to understand the last two or three years, the statement is a gross travesty. Even as regards the last two or three years, though prices

to-day may be somewhat less, they are still much higher than they were when Lord Curzon felt it incumbent upon him to bring down the duty to the level where it had stood since his time. Sir Muthiah Chetty, the President of the South Indian Chamber of Commerce, summed up the opinion of the country upon the enhancement when at the annual general meeting of the Chamber on Thursday, he said of "the doubly iniquitous impost on salt", that it was "draining the lifeblood of the nation to sustain huge Civil and Military services."

Travancore Administration:—Our Travancore correspondent whose letter we printed last week, reviewed in general the address delivered on the 12th March by Dewan, Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah to the Sri Moolam Popular Assembly on the administration of the State during last year. The following observations of Dewan Mr. Raghaviah on the Excise policy of the State is in refreshing contrast to the anxiety expressed by the Dewan of the neighbouring State, Cochin, Mr. Narayana Menon as regards "the invasion of the temperance movement". Mr. Raghaviah observes:

The system of abkari administration underwent no change in the year except for the reduction of the issue strength of country spirits with the avowed object of discouraging the drink habit. With the new abkari contracts for the biennial period of 1098--99, a further enhancement of tree-tax and of the excise duty on toddy arrack has been effected, the number of arrack and toddy shops has been further reduced, and an earlier closing hour has been prescribed, in furtherance of the same object. The outstanding feature of the year 1097 is a large fall of about Rs. 4 lakhs in the abkari revenue, inclusive of opium and gunja. As I have stated more than once elsewhere, it is not the desire of the State to make revenue out of drink to the detriment of the welfare of its subjects, and nobody would be more pleased than the Government if this fall in revenue was a true index of the growth of temperance.

The Government of Travancore should follow the example of Indian States like Bhavnagar, Palitana and Bhopal where total prohibition is enforced by legislation. Another important reform in the administration is the provision made during the year for imparting primary education to the illiterate convicts in the Central Prison. The general educational progress of the State is only next to Cochin as the percentage of pupils to the population of the school-going age is 72.5 as against 80.4 in Cochin. The figures regarding the percentage of boy and girl pupils to the male and female population of the school-going age are not quite clear. The establishment of a separate University for Travancore is under consideration. The education of the depressed and backward communities has engaged the sympathetic attention of the Government and the progress of girls' education is also satisfactory, more especially in Collegiate education.

On the whole, the Report is a record of progress which the State has made during the year and seems to justify the Dewan's claim that the Government have been striving their best to improve the efficiency of the administration.

Indian Women Poets: The March number of the *Young Men of India* contains a sympathetic and appreciative article on "Indian Women Poets" from the pen of the Rev. N. Macnicol. Dr. Macnicol begins with a reference to the women philosophers and practical women of affairs. "Abilyabai yesterday, Pandita Ramabai to-day," he writes, "there never, we may be sure, have been lacking such broad-minded, steadfast, capable managers, whether it be of a kingdom or of a household, who spread round about them order and contentment and trust." The first Indian women poets were, of course, the Vedic women seers. The Buddhist Sisters were several of them also poets. Then come the women saints like Mirabai, Andal, and Lal Ded. Zeb-un-Nissa Begum, a daughter of the Emperor Aurangzeb, was a poet. Then come our modern women-poets Toru Dutt and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Of the work of the latter, Dr. Macnicol says: "Its perfection of finish and technical accomplishment win one's astonished admiration. She expresses herself with complete ease and charm in this foreign medium (the English language)." Dr. Macnicol concludes: "From the days of Sita to the days of Toru Dutt there have never been lacking in India women of true and loyal and passionate hearts, who could both live poetry and make it. When Indian women look back upon that long and notable inheritance, they may well be filled with pride in the past and with hope for the future. The spirit of India is still, to use the Bengali poetess's word, a "sky-flier," and there "broods in the sky-flier's breast the pride of wings."

A Short-Sighted View: The report of the Bombay Retrenchment Committee has been just published. The Committee seems to have gone beyond its depth when, transgressing the limits of its inquiry, it took upon itself to lay down a policy for all India. In the chapter on Public Services it is remarked:—"We would here observe that we see no advantage whatever in an arrangement which enables an Indian recruit to be posted to a province which is not his own and requires higher pay on that account. In our opinion the only basis of recruitment for Indians should in future be Provincial, and the rates fixed should be those which are sufficient to attract Indians of suitable qualifications for service in their own province without any reference whatever to the pay of All-India Services. *The latter should thus be confined to Europeans recruited in England.*" The italics are ours. We do not think that the Committee had considered all the implications of these observations when it put them on record. If All-India Services are to be recruited exclusively from Europeans in England, and Indians are to be confined to provincial appointments in their own divisions or provinces, the days of self-government for India must be indefinitely postponed. We quite understand the logic of the recommendation that the Indian scale of salaries should be fixed with reference only to Indian conditions. If the Committee had stopped here it would have done wisely. But the Committee shows itself to be completely lacking in commonsense when it goes on to recommend that no Indian should be employed in the All-India Services. This would mean that there should be no Indian in the Customs, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs and in the Army. This would mean that Indians should be completely

without the means of training in the four greatest departments of national life.

Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill: Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill, as revised by the Select Committee to which it was referred by the Legislative Assembly, has restricted in its application to Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains. Marriages under the Bill will be deemed to effect severance from an undivided family. Rights of succession to ancestral property will be affected, but persons marrying under this Bill will be deprived of rights to any religious office, or service, or management of any religious or charitable trust. "Charitable", we assume, means charity associated with a religious trust. We think these changes are all reasonable and should remove objections to the much-needed measure. The Legislative Assembly has passed the Bill in the modified form, among its supporters being such conservative Liberals as Sir Sivaswami Aiyar and Mr. T. Rangachariar. It has now to go to the Council of State.

A Serious Indictment: One of the observations in the chapter on Military Services in the Inchcape Committee's report, which startled us was that "it must be borne in mind that a large portion of the Army is maintained for internal security." This is the most serious indictment, in recent times by an authoritative body, of the present Government of India. How was it possible for Lord Hardinge to "bleed India white"—his own phrase—to provide armies for service in France and Belgium, in East Africa, in Turkey and in Mesopotamia on the outbreak of the War? In the most critical time in the history of British rule, when its fortunes trembled in the balance, it was possible to deplete India of troops without any serious danger to internal security. Something, no doubt, must be attributed to Lord Hardinge's personal popularity, but even after he left India, even after Turkey had entered into the War, a large part of the Indian army served in various theatres of War. The Committee would have been more precise if it had said that, unless there was a complete change in the point of view from which the British Government views India at present and moulds its policy towards this country, a large army entailing heavy military expenditure was inevitable for internal security. In other words a military Government is the inevitable corollary of an imperialistic Indian policy.

Swami Vivekananda's Legacy: The *Prabuddha Bharata* concludes an appreciation of the life of Swami Vivekananda with a reference to what it calls his greatest legacy to India. Says our contemporary: "The crowning glory of the Swami's life was his unbounded love and sympathy for the poor and the miserable—the Daridra Narayanas as he preferred to call them. He represented in full the spirit of true Democracy, and always stood for the dumb millions whom we in our ignorance and vanity look down upon with pity and contempt. With the vision of a true prophet that he was, he saw that the India that is to be will arise "out of the peasant's cottage, grasping the plough, out of the huts of the fisherman, the cobbler and the sweeper." He saw that New India will spring "from the grocer's shop, from besides the oven of the fritter-seller, from the factory, from the marts and from markets." And the greatest legacy that the Swami has left to us is his deep love and unbounded sympathy for these so-called lowly and humble people." We are glad to say that the movement to establish a branch of the Ramakrishna Mission in Bombay has been much assisted by the presence here for some weeks past of Swami Sarvananda, head of the Madras branch.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MARCH 31, 1923.

THE INDIAN BUDGET FIASCO.

The Indian Legislative Assembly rejected on Monday the Finance Bill which had been returned to it with the amendment of the Council of State reinstating the clause enhancing the Salt duty. A few words are necessary as to how the Finance Bill was sent to the Council of State, as our reference to the point last week was made under a misapprehension. The Finance Bill contained some minor proposals other than the enhancement of the salt duty, which was its central and most important proposal. We assumed that when the salt duty clause was thrown out by the Indian Legislative Assembly on the first occasion after the introduction of the Budget, it was not possible for the Council of State to reinstate it, as that Council was believed to be, even by some of its own prominent members, to be without jurisdiction in a matter concerning new taxation. Government, however, treated the striking out of the salt clause by the Assembly as an amendment just like an amendment to any other Bill, and took the Bill before the Council of State, taking care, however, to get a recommendation from the Governor-General, in order evidently to remove the scruples of the Council about tampering with a Money Bill, asking and inciting the Council to restore the enhanced salt duty. The Council of State, of course, did as it was told to do by the Governor-General. Several of its prominent members had returned to their homes not expecting that the Government would bring up the salt duty before the Council for sanction after its rejection by the Legislative Assembly. Between the springing of the Bill before the Council of State and the day fixed for its disposal, there was not sufficient interval to admit of their going back to Delhi in time for the debate on the Bill. We do not think Government deliberately manoeuvred to this end, but if they had wished to do so, they could not have done anything better calculated to achieve it. The few non-official members who attended the Council made a bold stand, but they were overwhelmed by a majority made up of officials and representatives of vested interests in the Council. As we referred last week to Mr. Sriivasa Sastry's silence on the introduction of the Budget in the Council, it is necessary to mention that he spoke in the discussion on the Bill and voted against it. Sir Dinshah Wacha had left Delhi, but he sent from Bombay on behalf of the Western India Liberals a strong telegram of protest to the Government of India against the enhancement of the salt duty. We ought to say that, since the last issue was published, we have read the full text of Sir Dinshah's speech on the Budget on the 7th March in the Council of State. The unfortunate statement "that salt tax is no doubt a good tax" is there, but not only did he not say a word by way of justifying it, but all the rest

of his remarks on the salt tax, constituted the most weighty pronouncement uttered against it in the debate. Sir Dinshah vehemently attacked the representatives of the Chambers of Commerce who supported the enhancement, and quoted with great effect Lord Cromer who, when he was Finance Member to the Government of India, refused to raise the salt duty. In these circumstances it is clear that the remark that the salt duty was a good duty, was rather in the nature of the compliment which adds so much to the weight of the criticism that comes on its back. This was not clear from the telegraphic summary on which we based our comment last week, but we admit that, in view of Sir Dinshah's previous distinguished record, we should not have been in a hurry to conclude that he had given up the position which Indian leaders had consistently taken in regard to the salt duty and which was so pithily described by Dadabhai Naoroji in his phrase which we quoted last week.

The Legislative Assembly threw out the enhancement of the salt duty for the second time when it was brought before it from the Council of State on Monday. On Thursday, when we write this, we have no news of what the Governor-General intends to do. "Certification" of it as necessary for the security of the country under the emergency clause of the Government of India Act, is reported from Delhi to be considered inevitable. But such "certification," whatever justification it might have had when applied last year to the Princes' Protection Bill, will be flagrantly absurd in the case of a proposal to meet a deficit in a particular way which is opposed to the practically unanimous opinion of the Indian people. We are, therefore, still not without hope that Lord Reading may shrink from tearing aside so utterly the veil of constitutionalism with which it has been so sedulously sought to hide the nebulous charms of the reformed Legislature. Those who assisted in fostering this illusion among the Indian people, are naturally apprehensive of the disillusionment which the action of the Government, in forcing through the enhancement of the salt duty, may cause among those in whom they had succeeded in creating the illusion. But we share the opinion of an eminent Liberal, who is also a great and true patriot, that it is all to the good that the real character of the Reforms should be plainly and nakedly made manifest to the public. When we know the worst there may be some chance of achieving some real results. Sir Basil Blackett, on the other hand, is entitled to some credit for having steadfastly refused to sacrifice what he considers to be sound and honest financial principles for the purpose of helping the present members to get back into the Assembly at the next election. Sir Basil has sought to vindicate a very sound and strong principle of finance, held by Mr. Gladstone. It was that the generation which undertakes a war should pay for it out of current revenue, and should not pass on the burden to subsequent generations. This canon of Army-finance is the best safeguard against

a nation being rushed into an unjustifiable war by soldiers and Jingoos. Sir Basil resisted, as being improper and unsound, all suggestions made by some members to balance the Budget, without the salt duty, by carrying certain items to capital expenditure. These members missed the important point that the deficit was due not to the debiting of those items against revenue, but to our crushing Army expenditure. Sir Basil Blackett by his proposal practically conveyed to the Assembly that with the present military expenditure, they had no alternative but to enhance the duty on salt. The special expenditure provided in the Budget for Waziristan is Rs. 4.25 crores, the deficit is exactly 4.25 crores and the enhancement of the salt duty is expected to bring in additional revenue "just sufficient to cover the deficit of 4½ crores, to give us a balanced budget and to leave us a small surplus of 24 lakhs." The remarkable coincidence between the amount of the deficit and the amount budgetted for Waziristan drew a comment from Mr. J. Chaudhari, but Sir Basil Blackett at once repudiated any connection between the two. The Foreign Secretary, Mr. Denys Bray, also jumped upon Mr. Chaudhari for his audacity and delivered a remarkable speech which he concluded in the following words :

In the domain of India's foreign politics, I know of one fixed and immutable rule only: What India has, let India hold. India is large enough to covet not a single square mile of ground that is not already her own. But India is not large enough to allow any invader of India—be he independent tribesman or foreign power, from south or north or east or west—more of her soil than a plot of ground 7 feet by 2½ and 4 feet deep.

We are not told whether the Assembly applauded this gasconade so out of place in a Budget debate. But whether it did so or not, Mr. Denys Bray's peroration reveals the mentality of those who control our Foreign Policy. In the historical disquisition in which he indulged in justification of the Waziristan expedition, he omitted one important historical fact, namely, that the Sikh Confederacy had effectually settled the Frontier question before the British took charge of the problem. It is, however, too much to expect a British official of the type of Mr. Denys Bray to recognise that there was an India previous to British rule or that an Indian rule achieved something which British rule has been trying to achieve. We repudiate the doctrine that "What India has let India hold" without regard to how India came, to have what she holds. This is a doctrine utterly repugnant to the traditional pacific policy of India, and we protest against the attempt of the Foreign Secretary to inoculate the members of the Assembly with the poisonous virus of Jingoism which is entirely responsible for our heavy military expenditure. Since the above was in type, it is announced that the Governor-General has certified that the enhanced salt duty is essential to the security of India.

Leprosy in India. By Mr. T. S. Krishnamurthi Iyer (Tagore & Co.), price annas eight. This is a carefully written account of the problem of Leprosy and the efforts so far made to combat it.

THE AVATAR OF DUTY.

While in the case of departed ancestors the Hindu practice is to commemorate the day of death, in the case of Avatars, or incarnations, it is to commemorate the day of birth. The Ram Navami—the birthday of Sri Rama—which fell on Monday last is one of the most ancient as it is one of the most sacred of the second class of celebrations. Mr. F. E. Pargiter in his recent book entitled "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition" insists with much learning on the superior importance of Indian tradition, embodied in the Itihasas and Puranas, as guides to the history of Indian antiquity, over the Vedic literature which has been so largely and exclusively relied upon for the purpose. "The general trustworthiness of tradition", he writes, "is the fact demonstrated, wherever it has been possible to test tradition by the results of discoveries and excavations, and we should distrust scepticism born of ignorance." Whether or not as some scholars suspect, the Rama tradition can be traced in the Vedas, it is certain that it was familiarly current at the time of Buddha who incorporated it, as He knew it, in His two well-known Jatakas or stories of the Buddha's former incarnations—the Dasaratha Jataka and the Janaka Jataka. In another Jataka, there occurs a casual allusion which is of great significance. In the Vessantara-Jataka, Queen Maddi speaks of herself as a banished prince's wife who cares for her husband "as Sita did for Rama." This shows that two-thousand five hundred years ago, as to-day, Sita was the traditional ideal of a Hindu wife. There are serious discrepancies between the Rama tradition as it is found in the Jatakas and the orthodox Hindu tradition as crystallised in Valmiki's Ramayana, but both agree in holding up Rama as the ideal Hindu man and monarch, and Sita as the ideal Hindu wife. The antiquity of the Rama tradition would seem to confirm the view of some scholars including, we note, Mr. Pargiter, that it had come down from pre-Aryan times. It is the fact that the Avatar of Vishnu, most widely worshipped in the South, is Rama and not Krishna. Kamban's Ramayana is as great a Tamil classic as Tulsi Das's Ramayana is in Hindi. Ramanuja, the great philosopher and Vaishnavite apostle, was a devotee of Rama, and Krishna plays but a minor part in the worship of the Sri Vaishnavas of the South. Rabindranath Tagore has propounded the theory that Sri Rama was a reconciler of the Aryan and Dravidian cultures. This is borne out by the fact that the worship of Rama is and has been one of the best uniting factors between Brahmin and non-Brahmin in Southern India. The great temple of Ramesvaram at the southern extremity of the Indian continent is the emblem and monument of the Indian synthesis achieved by Sri Rama.

The Rama Navami ought to occupy a central place in the Indian national calendar. We are all nowadays bent on discovering and insisting upon "rights", and the word "duty" is fast becoming

old-fashioned, if not obsolete. Now, the Rama Avatar was an Avatar pre-eminently of Duty. The Incarnation was on purpose to demonstrate the Beauty of Duty. No amount of religious sermons and philosophical disquisitions can stamp upon the popular mind the impress of a great verity as clearly and indelibly as a life dedicated to it.

Though truths in manhood deeply join,
Deep-seated in our mystic frame,
We yield all blessing to the name
Of Him that made them current coin ;

And so the Word had breath, and wrought
With human hand the creed of creeds,
In loveliness of perfect deeds,
More strong than all poetic thought ;

Which he may read that binds the sheaf,
Or builds the house, or digs the grave,
And those wild eyes that watch the wave
In roarings round the coral reef.

Tennyson in these lines has summed up the whole argument for Incarnation. The Rama incarnation had for its purpose to show not by logic or rhetoric but by a life lived in the full light of day that the "stern law-giver," Duty, yet does wear the Godhead's most benignant grace :

Nor know we anything so fair,
As is the smile upon thy face ;
Flowers laugh before thee on their beds ;
And Fragrance in thy footing treads ;
Thou dost preserve the Stars from wrong,
And the most ancient Heavens through Thee are
fresh and strong.

Wordsworth was a Hindu Rishi born in the English land. These lines of his may well have come out of a sub-conscious memory of the Rama story heard in a previous life under our Indian sky.

We have been reading an essay by the late Mr. Telang rebutting the arguments of some Western scholars in support of their theory that the Ramayana was copied from Homer. Mr. Telang makes out his case with his wonted force and completeness, but one point, and an important one, he has missed. Helen was abducted as Sita was, but Sita had become even in Buddha's time, two thousand five hundred years ago, the eternal type and symbol of Indian wifehood, while Helen has come down to posterity only as a beautiful woman endowed with inordinate fickleness. Rama and Sita both stand as pillars of Light pointing to the path of Duty as the way to the only immortality worth the name. As son, as husband, as king, the watchword of the Rama Avatar is Duty. He goes to the forest to protect His father's word. He was the great Indian social reformer who first proclaimed the lofty ideal of monogamy not only in this land but in the history of the human race.

As a Sovereign, he had no private life. His responsibility, as He conceived it, extended not only to the public grievances but to the domestic misfortunes of

His subjects. Other names have come down along the stream of time with that of Rama Dasarathi, as *chakravartins* or Emperors, but from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin His rule—the Rama Rajya—is still synonymous with the righteousness that exalteth a nation not only in the moral but also in the material world. No Indian *Swarajya* will appeal to the people of India, that does not embody in itself the central principles of monarchy, as illustrated in the life of Rama. Despotism is not an Indian plant. An irresponsible "bureaucracy" is absolutely alien to Indian ideas. Frequent consultations with the leaders of the people were traditionally inculcated upon every young prince as the best security of his throne. Buddha seldom spoke on political topics but there is one remarkable exception. When Ajatasatru, King of Magadha, planned an attack on the neighbouring tribe of Vajjis, he sent his Prime Minister to Buddha to tell Him of his intention. Buddha addressing Ananda, in the presence of the Minister remarked :—"Hast thou heard, Ananda, that the Vajjis hold frequent and public assemblies?" Ananda replied : "Lord, so have I heard." The Blessed One remarked thereupon : "So long, Ananda, as the Vajjis hold these full and frequent public assemblies, they may be expected not to decline, but to prosper." Buddha here was, as He so often did, enunciating a traditional view, with new emphasis. The Rama Rajya was a Rajya in close touch with the people. The King was a model man. He set the example to his subjects not only of public duty but of private life. The erotic poets who have done so much to bespatter the colossal figure of Krishna, have not dared to take the slightest liberty with that of Rama whose austere purity would have made any such attempt a historical and psychological outrage. It is out of the question to reproduce bygone times and institutions, but the great moral of the Rama Avatar, that of self-less devotion to Duty, is one which time can never stale.

INDIAN MERCANTILE MARINE.

(BY MR. T. V. PARVATE.)

It took full one year for the Government of India to make up their mind to appoint a Committee to explore the possibilities of building up a swadeshi Merchant Marine. Better late than never ; for, it seemed as though the Government did not even want to move in the matter, when they accepted Sir Sivaswami Aiyar's resolution last year. Sir Sivaswami urged for a committee to prepare a scheme. Mr. Innes on behalf of the Government showed ready himself to accept the resolution, but with a small amendment. Instead of the proposer's "prepare a scheme" he wanted the words 'what measures can be usefully taken' to be inserted. Mr. Innes waxed eloquent over the necessity and desirability of a swadeshi Merchant Marine and it seemed as though the Government were more anxious for satisfying the need, than the mover himself was. But there was the insurmountable difficulty of

procuring funds and the whole tone of the debate showed that Sir Sivaswami's project won't soon materialise.

Nearly one year after we heard of the appointment of the Committee, some days after, of its personnel, terms of reference and the questionnaire. The investigation being of a varied character, it will naturally take a year or so for the evidence, report and recommendations. And, whether anything is actually to be done or the whole thing is to be an academic pastime will be settled thereafter. That has been the case of all our committees and there is nothing special about this. The personnel of the Committee and the terms of reference are as follows. A press *communiqué* announcing the appointment says :

The Government of India have decided to appoint a Committee to consider what measures can be usefully taken with a view to further the objects of a resolution moved by Sir Sivaswami Aiyar on January 12th 1922 and adopted by the Legislative Assembly. The Committee is to consist of the following gentlemen :—President, Capt. E. J. Headlam, Director, the Royal Indian Marine, the Hon. Sir Arthur J. Froom, partner, Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co., the Hon. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, director, the Scindia Steam Navigation Coy. Ltd; Jadunath Roy, Esq., Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Prof. Sir John Biles, Consulting Architect to the India Office and Mr. T. Rangachariar. These gentlemen are to consider what measures can be usefully taken (1) for the liberal recruitment of Indians as deck or executive officers and engineers in the Royal Indian Marine; (2) for the establishment of a nautical college in Indian waters for the purpose of training executive officers and engineers of ships (3) for ensuring the entertainment of Indian apprentices for training of such officers and engineers in the ships owned by shipping firms that enjoy any subsidy or other benefits from Government on any account and for the creation of an adequate number of state scholarships for providing instruction in nautical colleges and training ships in England, pending the formation of a nautical college in India; (4) for the encouragement of shipbuilding and of the growth of an Indian Mercantile Marine by a system of bounties, subsidies and such other measures as have been adopted in Japan; (5) for the acquisition of training ships by gift from the Imperial Government or otherwise and (6) for the construction of the necessary dockyards and engineering workshops in one or more ports.

For the commercial and industrial advancement of India, it is absolutely essential that she should have her own ships, manned and owned by her own sons. In the words of Dr. Radhakumud Mukherji, "There can hardly be conceived a more serious obstacle in the path of her industrial development than this almost complete extinction of her shipping and shipbuilding." Recently Mr. S. N. Haji has very lucidly shown in a pamphlet what exactly the needs of India in this matter are and why it is necessary to follow in the footsteps of England, France, United States and Japan. He has prepared a draft bill, which meets with all the requirements of this country, in the direction of building up an Indian Mercantile Marine. We wish the Committee now sitting had submitted a similar bill for the

acceptance of the Government of India. Mr. Haji was invited to speak on this subject before the members of both the Indian Legislatures and it may be rightly hoped that his lecture will not be lost on them. Mr. Haji lays stress on direct and indirect State aid as it has proved to be an important factor in the formation of similar marines in the countries noted before. There is no reason why the State should not give similar facilities in the face of India's pre-eminent fitness for naval greatness ceaselessly maintained, right from the ancient Vedic times up to the last century. History stands witness to the fact that continuously for two thousand years India has held out her reputation of naval and maritime activity, till she was ousted from the field—thanks to the advent of steamships, owned chiefly by the Britishers. A detailed history is out of place in such a small article, but could be read with interest in Prof. Mukherji's "History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity."

During the last twenty-five years about twenty swadeshi steamship companies were launched but most of them succumbed to unfair competition. To guard against this Mr. T. V. Sureshagiri Aiyar has given notice of a bill to be introduced in the Assembly this session. This bill seeks to fix the maximum and minimum rates and do away with the Deferred Rebates system. The Fiscal Commission report has two paragraphs given to these two obstacles in the way of Indian enterprise. Mr. Aiyar was a member of the Fiscal Commission and it appears he was greatly impressed with the truth of these two complaints in that he proposes a bill to remove them. A few months back Mr. Narottam Morarji, another member of the Commission and Managing Director of the Scindia Steam Navigation Co., charged the Government with a decided attitude of discouragement towards Indian shipping. He said that the Indian firms had not had even a chance of giving their quotations and submitting their tenders. The Scindia suffered from the freight competition and the deferred rebates, although an agreement is reported to have been reached between them and the B. L. S. N. Co. not to compete. A rumour was afloat that the Scindia was to be incorporated with Lord Inchcape's big concerns. The proposals seem, however, to have failed, mainly through the patriotic rather than the business tendencies of the Scindia proprietors.

Mr. Aiyar's bill will go a long way in meeting a long-felt need, in the matter of rebates and training of the Indian youth in the naval craft; but mainly it is the responsibility of the Committee to see to it that genuine efforts are made to launch into existence an Indian Marine and stop the annual expenditure of about thirty crores, the cost of India's dependence on others for her import and export trade. Till the Committee is able to recommend something definite and the Government ready to act, Mr. Aiyar's bill is good as a half-way house, as it is only of a negative character. It won't be too much to hope that the Legislative Assembly will accept it.

THE BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

(BY MR. G. B. TRIVEDI, M. L. C.)

THE BUDGET SESSION.

The first session of the third year of the Council began on the 19th February and closed on the 15th March. It was opened with a speech from the Throne wherein the work of the Council was appreciated and its influence on the administration was admitted. A valuable advice was given to go and educate the electors specially as the new election would be coming in in a few months.

Government work with regard to Bills was very little and mostly non-contentious except the Bombay Port Trust Bill which was down for second and third reading. The Select Committee consisting as it did of only two Indian merchants, made no change in the draft Bill which gave only eight seats to Indians out of twenty one in a body where Indian interests predominate. European shipping interests which monopolise both oversea and coast shipping, have the ear of Government which is now in a reactionary mood. They now recede from the stand taken in the Reforms of giving Indians increased opportunities in the administration of the country. Not only was a majority denied but even the demand for equality was put down as raising racial questions. The Council did not notice the objectionable principle involved and was hustled on by the subtle threat of the Member in charge that even a slight amendment would wreck the Bill. So it was passed unaltered. Three congratulatory resolutions were passed, one appreciating the services of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla on his retirement.

Time allotted for non-official work was four days, two in the beginning and two at the end. One non-official bill passed the first reading for the first time in the new Council. 23 members had given notices of 44 resolutions of which only 8 could be moved. 3 were withdrawn on assurances given by Government, one was accepted. 2 were negatived and 2 were carried on a division being called. Both of these were important involving great principles—one relating to the right of the Council to intervene whenever there was flagrant abuse of power by Government Officers in Police and other departments as in the case of Dr. Kapadia versus Superintendent Carter. The Home Member's stiff attitude and his objection to the Council sitting in judgment as if it were a High Court, enraged the Council which did not want to be vindictive and would have been satisfied with an expression of regret in the beginning. The Home Member's final speech was conciliatory but it was too late and the House asserted itself. The other resolution related to the Revision Settlement in a taluka of Sholapur District. There is much discontent in rural areas against Government's greedy policy of enhancing land revenue even when Collectors and their assistants are against such increases in certain talukas. The leader of the House was conciliatory and said that Government would consider the desirability of suspending the particular

revision if the House so desired, but that offer did not satisfy the House who did not wish to leave it to the sweet will of the executive however solicitous it may profess to be of peasants' welfare.

The chief work of the session was the consideration of the Budget for which 3 days were given for general discussion and 12 days for detailed consideration. The uninformed public think all budget discussions fruitless which do not lead to big cuts. They cannot understand why several motions for reductions or omissions are withdrawn after discussions. It should therefore be stated for the information of such persons that such motions are made for two purposes; firstly to show that such cuts are possible and secondly to utilise that opportunity to ventilate grievances against a particular branch of Administration or to criticise and influence the policy of that Department. In both the cases the members in charge or heads of Departments, if they be members, defend Government's policy or promise to look into it and if the member is satisfied, he withdraws the motion or even when he is unwilling to do so, other members, either being satisfied or being indifferent or impatient, press him to withdraw and if he does not, they do not support him and so the motion is lost. In the present Council, unorganised as it is and being divided into groups, it is difficult to defeat Government unless much feeling is aroused on a particular question.

From this point of view, the budget discussion this year was an improvement in quality on that of last year. Only this year all Departments came under discussion. In the first two years, important Departments like General Administration, Development, Loan, never came on the anvil so fully as this year. In the general discussion R. B. Chitale's and Sheth Lalji Naranji's speeches were very instructive and of a very high order each taking more than an hour. The debate on the Development Department revealed many irregularities, mistakes and failures. I convinced many that the time for examination by a strong Committee had arrived. Yet how sad it is that they were dismissed with short reports by our two English dailies. Vernacular papers are more liberal in this matter. If Councils are to be more properly understood and followed by the public, their proceedings should be more fully reported in our dailies than they are at present.

General discussions on all Departments by motions of reduction of several thousands or lakhs were very instructive and full of informing criticisms specially on Land Revenue, Excise, Forest, General Administration, Police, Jail, Education, Industries, Information Bureau, Development Department, and major Works. It is true that except a cut of Rs. 70,000 in Police and a reduction of Rs. 5,48,620 in Development agreed to willingly by Government and a rejection of Rs. 25,000 in the very first item of demand due to Government's opposition to the discussion of the Sindh M. L. C's arrest affair, as also the reduction of Rs. 44,000 in the Ministers' pay accepted gracefully by them, the Council could not do much

in cutting down. But this was not the fault of the Council. The Retrenchment Committee's report being late by 2 months, came in our way. On every occasion we were asked to await the report and the Council acquiesced.

Thus although the session was not full of sensations it proved even to the non-co-operators that the much-abused Council has powers which if wisely used can bring down Government on its knees as in the case of Superintendent Carter and the arrested Sindh M. L. C. The Budget is the most powerful instrument in the hand of a Council and if that is wisely used by an organised Council, the administration cannot refuse to be influenced for good. It can then be used for getting more powers and ultimately full Provincial Swaraj earlier than contemplated by the Reforms. If the public will resolve to participate in the next Council elections and if they send in the best candidates of sturdy independence not capable of being won over by official favours or frowns, this goal will no longer be an impossible one to reach. Let us hope that wiser counsels will prevail and the talk of wrecking will disappear and the talk of constructive work or Responsive Co-operation will take its place.

SCIENCE AND POLITICS.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In your issue of January 27th, in your editorial note and in certain correspondence under the above heading, the practical prohibition, by the Government of India, of the use of wireless apparatus by amateurs and students of science in this country, was discussed and criticised. I brought this to the notice of the Assistant Director, Central Bureau of Information, Delhi, who has kindly sent me a copy of the article sent in September 1922 to the *Englishman* by the Director of Wireless. The last paragraph of this article deals specifically with the point referred to in your issue of January 27th, and hence I quote it below in the hope that it may interest your readers:—

"Licensed stations may be either for telephone or telegraph, licensed to send or receive, or to receive only and they are now divided into two classes—Non-Commercial which are those intended for experiment, instruction, research, or for the use of a *bona fide* amateur, and Limited Commercial which are intended to meet the private or business requirements of the licensee. For instance, a receiving station maintained by a newspaper, or stations connecting the manager of an estate with outlying districts, of the head office of a business with its branches would be worked under a Limited Commercial license. The annual fee for every license is Rs. 10. A Limited Commercial Licensee has to pay Royalty fee in addition, depending upon the hours during which the licensee requires to use his sets, the proximity to the Government telegraph facilities and certain other factors. At present the maximum Royalty for a 24 hours' service has been fixed at Rs. 550 per annum for a telephone set and Rs. 440 when telegraphy only is employed. No royalty, however, is charged in respect of non-commercial licenses. The distribution of wireless apparatus to the Indian public is controlled by import license. Persons who desire to bring in wireless apparatus can take

out a license to import the same and in doing so enter into a bond which ensures that such apparatus is not disposed of except to a licensee of Government. Therefore, if a private individual desires a licensed set, he must first fill in the application form which can be obtained together with the form of license from the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs, (wireless branch) Simla. If the application is approved, the license is granted and this enables the licensee to import into British India the apparatus required and transport the same to the place at which he desires to erect it and there to erect and work under the conditions of the license, or he can take his license dealer in wireless apparatus in India and obtain from him the apparatus specified on production of his license."

Yours faithfully,

R. G. SARAIYA.

111, Esplanade Road,
Fort, Bombay.

INDIANS IN KENYA.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I have noticed in the press references to some outrageous statements made in Kenya, with reference to the present controversy regarding the rights of Indians in Kenya by persons who claim the sanction, and appeal to the precepts, of Christianity in defence of their views. It is unlikely that these remarks will be taken seriously or that they will be regarded as representing missionary opinion. Perhaps, however, it may not be untimely if I send you the following statement which was drawn up a little more than a year ago by the National Missionary Council of India Burma, and Ceylon (now the National Christian Council):—

"The attention of the National Missionary Council has been directed to the position of Indians in East Africa.

The Council has not, at 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 any one justice and fair play."

I am, Yours very truly,
WILLIAM PATON,
Secretary, National Christian Council.

CONFERENCE ON CHRISTIAN POLITICS,
ECONOMICS AND CITIZENSHIP.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

For the great Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship to be held in Great Britain in April 1924, a number of Commissions are preparing reports, on the model of the famous Missionary Conference of 'Edinburgh 1910'. One of these Commissions deals with 'The Social Function of the Church' and appeals, through you, for help from the Mission Field. We are in touch with all the sources of information in Great Britain, but in order to make our enquiry really satisfactory we want to gather some additional illustrative material from abroad. We should be most grateful if any of your missionary readers of all nationalities, would send us evidence of the following kinds:—

(1) Printed papers (not likely to be well known in this country) describing any marked change for the better in the social life and customs of any country, due to the coming of Christianity. (Or references to similar literature accessible here.)

(2) Instances of new social movements originated or strongly supported by Christians as the social expression of their Christian faith.

(3) Instances of definitely Christian standards of social conduct differing from the accepted standards of the country, set up by the Churches among their own members.

(4) Instances of ways in which the Church abroad is helping its ministers or members to understand the problems of Christian conduct in their particular social environment.

If any of your readers would care to see the full syllabus of our enquiry, we should be happy to send a copy. Although drafted primarily for use in this country it may nevertheless be useful and suggestive in other countries, when the necessary allowances have been made.

We shall be most glad if in any of these ways we may link this great Conference, in which all the Churches are co-operating and for which so much effort is being expended, with the prayers and interests of the Churches throughout the world.

Yours on behalf of the Commission,
J. A. LICHFIELD, (Chairman.)
MALCOLM SPENCER, (Secretary).

THE CASE OF MR. BHAGAT SINGH.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The Rev. Reeves Calkins has come forth to defend the action of the Supreme Court of the United States in depriving Mr. Bhagat Singh of his acquired rights of citizenship on the ground that a high-caste Hindu is not a free person within the meaning of the constitution. He has no word of sympathy for Mr. Bhagat Singh, whose one fault is that he has been born in a high class Hindu family. He bluntly tells us that the humiliation of Mr. Bhagat Singh will mean

the social liberation in India, etc. As a reverend gentleman he must know that our salvation must come from within us and not from the high-handed decrees of the Supreme Court of the United States. He repeatedly and solemnly warns us not to question the judgment of this Supreme Court, a Court which according to him has been free from the very breadth of criticism for the last hundred and thirty years. Sir, if an orthodox Hindu is condemned for one kind of idolatry, here is another kind of idolatry which equally deserves to be condemned. The Rev. father sees through the weakness of a Hindu, but refuses to perceive his own idolatry. And this is 'Maya'. The judges and jurists are after all men. They are not gods, as such they must be subject to human weakness. However impartial and honest they may be, they are not doctors of Hinduism to pass decrees on Hinduism. This case clearly proves that there is a lot of misunderstanding about high-class Hindus in America. The question arises who is responsible for all this. From the reverend gentleman's letter I am led to believe, what has been often said, that Christian Missionaries, whom we allow to laud freely here, are partly responsible for this kind of misrepresentation. These missionaries don't study our language or scriptures deeply, but pick up a smattering knowledge of Hinduism, and pose themselves as pandits and authorities of Hinduism in their country. They never mix with the high-class Hindus, but live outside the towns in their own bungalows creating a new caste of their own in this country. It is from here they collect second-hand information, which is necessary for them to attract Hindus to their fold. It cannot be denied that being interested in the spread of Christianity in this country, they are not the proper judges of Hinduism. Why should they tell the Americans, that the so-called orthodoxy is dying and educated Hindus have put up a healthy fight against the evils of caste and untouchability? Why should they inform them that the Arya Samaj and the Brahma Samaj are two new societies of high-class Hindus, which neither believe in caste nor in idolatry? If they tell these facts, who will patronize their work in America?

While addressing a meeting in America, Swami Ram BIRTHA was questioned if it was a fact that Hindus were throwing children in the holy rivers as sacrifices. Swami Ram jocularly told that it was a fact and he himself was such a child thrown into a river, perhaps saved by a Missionary. Though as a class, we cannot condemn all missionaries, still there are some amongst them who are more anxious to get 'converts' than to spread the higher principles of Christianity in this land. They twist our philosophy and scriptures, because that is necessary for their business. As good Christians, they ought to tell the Americans that if the Mayflower of the Pilgrim Fathers had come to India in their dark days, it is these very ridden Hindus who would have given them full shelter, just as they gave shelter to Parsis and Israelites. They would have got equality and full liberty to worship God in their own way. If they love truth, they must tell the Americans that high-class Hindus never touch liquor, which must speak volumes in their favour. They must plainly tell their countrymen that such high-handed decrees will affect more the Hindu reformers who work to break the rigidity of castes and not the orthodox Hindus, who will not go to America even if free passages are offered to them. I want to tell this Reverend father, that atheistic Frenchmen, and whisky-loving Europeans are more welcome than high-class Hindus in America and it is because they have behind them the force of their governments, which we lack.

Yours etc,
K. G. KARKAR.

DEVLALI, 11-3-23.

THE VISVABHARATI IDEAL.

The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, writes in the *Young Men of India* :

A great part of my life had been spent solely in literary work on the banks of the Padma, a branch of the river Ganges, among the village people, and away from the city of Calcutta. But the time came when I grew restless at this confined range of existence, and longed for freedom in the greater world. At last it became clear to me that I should found a school, which should be different from the schools wherein I had been instructed when I was a boy. The school life, which I had experienced in my early days, had been most distasteful to me, and I had played truant from it whenever I was able to do so. My elders, at last, had allowed me to give up school altogether, and I had gone on with my studies at home. Thus my experience had impressed on me the suffering, owing to the repression of personality, the dissociation of life from the subjects of their study, which boys endure from the school system in vogue in our country, and most other countries in the world. Therefore, when the call came, I went from my home on the Ganges to Shantiniketan, in order to found there a school in the midst of the Aśram itself.

It will be clear from what I have said, that I had never had any technical training as a schoolmaster, and had never passed any examinations. At first I was diffident about myself, and thought that the founding of a school was a task which was beyond my power. Later on I had one or two with me who had received academic training, and they helped me in my work. When the school was started, I think there were only five boys in all; which made it possible for me to come into very close contact with them. I used to be their comrade in their games and their picnics; in the evening I would try to entertain them by reciting the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. I used also to invent stories for them, which went on, and on, in different chapters, night after night. In this way, gradually, the work of my school grew and the number of boys increased.

This, then, seemed to be my mission, to have a school where I could make children happy and give them as much freedom as I possibly could. I never said to them—"Don't do this," or "Don't do that." I never prevented them from climbing trees, or going about where they liked. From the first I trusted them; and they always responded to my trust. Parents used to send to me their most difficult children, who were supposed to be incorrigible. When the children found themselves in an atmosphere of freedom and trust, they never gave me any trouble. The boys were encouraged, to manage their own affairs and to elect their own judges, if any punishment was to be given. I never punished them myself.

So things went on, until from having merely five boys to teach, the school had grown into a big school, with about two hundred boys—all of them in residence.

Then, after many years of this school work, a new restlessness of spirit came over me. It seemed to me as if I myself had further need to expand my own life and to find my own freedom in a larger world of men and things. It happened at this very time that I had an illness, and my doctors advised me to undertake a sea voyage to the West, as soon as I was well enough to travel. I decided to go to England. When I was convalescent in India, before starting on my voyage, and resting near the river Padma, I had been forbidden by the doctors to do any more original writing for

a time, and so I had amused myself by trying to translate some of my poems into English. I thought very little indeed of these translations at that time; for I had a complete diffidence about my powers of writing English, which I have not yet been able completely to overcome.

When I arrived in London, I found the people of the West further away from me than ever. I was solitary in the midst of the great crowd; and I did not know how to break through the barriers of my isolation from my fellowmen. The people all round me in London were so close to me and yet so distant from me. At last I called to mind an English acquaintance of my own, whom I had met at the house of my nephew, Abanindranath Tagore, in Calcutta. He was William Rothenstein, the artist. I looked his name up in the telephone book of the hotel, and begged him to rescue me from my isolation, and to open the door of the West to me. Soon after this, one day in the course of conversation, Mr. Rothenstein asked me if I had any translations of my poems with me. I handed over to him the manuscript which I had prepared during my days of convalescence. He took away the poems, which were for the most part taken from my Bengali poems called *Gitanjali*, and brought them back on the next day, with great enthusiasm, saying that he had been very much impressed with them indeed. He said to me; "You may, perhaps, doubt my opinion as an artist; but if you will allow me, I will get them copied and show them to two of my friends who can judge much better than I."

He had two copies prepared, and sent one to Mr. W. B. Yates, the Irish poet, and the other to the Rev. A. Stopford Brooke. The result was that these translations from *Gitanjali* were published and accepted, not only in England but on the continent of Europe and in America. Thus, by means of my poems, I was able to win my way to the heart of the West, and I have been accepted by them.

Something further happened at this time. I had found a few English friends who were ready to help me and to share in my work at Shantiniketan. This brought a new element to the school itself. When these other scholars, teachers and friends came back from the West with me, and helped me in my work, its spirit became widened. This new fact also gave me the thought that Shantiniketan must open its doors. It must no longer be confined merely to a school which should be more free and happy than other schools. It must represent further and wider ideals, embracing humanity itself.

I had, all along, experienced the want of an institution in India, which would be a true centre for all the different Eastern cultures, concentrating in one spot the varied ideals of arts and civilization which have been contributed to the world by the various countries of Asia. There were the ideals of India herself; there were those which represented the Far East; and those which represented Islam. Europe was already one. In the European countries the diverse intellectual and spiritual ideas of the West are concentrated in every University. For this reason, the students who go to Europe from Asia come into touch with the great European mind from the very first. They have no difficulty in discovering the mind of Europe, because it is there before them as a unity.

But such a concentration cannot be had in our Indian Universities or in the Universities of the Far East. For the mind of Asia is not yet focussed. It has not been brought to a centre. It cannot be said to be one. Hence

there arises a great weakness in the presentation of the learning of the East.

The difficulty is that our education is principally foreign and European. Our schools and colleges have made it their special object to give lessons through the medium of English and from an English standpoint. If we wish to study, in a scientific manner, the mind of Asia as a whole, there is no place in India where we may study it; we have to go to Europe, particularly to Germany or France, where scholars, because of the atmosphere of freedom and a wide human interest in which they live, have gained a more critical and comprehensive view of the East than we have done in India itself. We have lost in India, the creative mind; we have been satisfied with second-hand knowledge and inferior imitative work.

What we need so much, at some centre in the East, is that there should be a seat of learning, in which the teachers and students should study together all that is to be learnt about the different cultures of Asia. India is the true home for such a centre, because very nearly all the cultures of Asia either sprang originally from India, or came into India from the outside in the course of her long history. The idea of founding such a centre of culture had come some time ago into my mind.

When I went to Europe and America a second time, in the year 1920-21, I had the opportunity of coming once more very close to the heart of the West. I found that, by my writings, I had gained a welcome among the peoples of Europe such as I had never dared to hope or to expect. It made me realize that a great responsibility was laid upon me to seek to bring about a true meeting of the East and the West, beyond the boundaries of politics and race and creed. I was convinced that my own institutions, at Shantiniketan, must now open wide its gates. It must offer to those who might come from the West that generous hospitality which India had traditionally afforded to those who have visited her shores. Thus, gradually, this idea of founding a centre of Indian culture, with which I started, was enlarged. The fuller idea of Visvabharati now included the thought of a complete meeting of East and West in a common fellowship of learning and a common spiritual striving for the unity of the human race. The stress was now to be laid on the ideal of humanity itself.

I had the opportunity, during my tour in Europe and America, of meeting many Western students and scholars. They showed a great amount of enthusiasm when I told them of my object of establishing an institution in India for working together in a common pursuit of knowledge, where lovers of truth and of men can meet from all parts of the world. I asked Professor Sylvain Levi, of Sorbonne and Paris Universities, if he could come out in order to help me to inaugurate this new type of institution, which I had named Visvabharati. At first he said he was unable to come, because he had an invitation from Harvard University, in America. But a day or two later he came to me again, expressing his intention of cancelling his engagement, and joining us in Shantiniketan. The months which he spent with us have been an inspiration to all our students and teachers.

Other eminent scholars have now offered to come and join us. Dr. Winternitz, of Prague University, Czecho-Slovakia, has already arrived. I met him also on my Western tour and he very readily accepted my invitation, obtaining leave from his own Government for one year in order to take up

his work among us. Especially he intends to teach our students how to undertake research work, in ancient Indian literature, on modern scientific lines. We have already on our staff a French teacher from Switzerland, M. Benoit, who has joined us this year and has offered his services voluntarily. We have a lady from Vienna University Dr. Miss Kramrisch, who has made a profound study of Eastern Art. She has given lectures before the University of Calcutta and other places, but her home is with us at Shantiniketan. A French lady who is an artist of no mean reputation is about to come to us and join us in our work. Many others, among whom are European scholars of distinction, have promised their services if room can be found for them.

But the conception which I have sketched out is not merely one-sided. I do not wish it to be understood that Western scholars come over here to us only to teach our students what they themselves know. They come also to learn from us, and they are greatly helped and encouraged in their own studies when they find themselves closely in touch with our own students and teachers. For example, I have been told by Dr. Sylvain Levi himself, that he has been greatly helped by some of the teachers who were at Shantiniketan when he came among us.

Therefore, I am perfectly certain that when these great scholars from the West come more and more into intimate contact with our own people, who are working at their own subjects in the same field, they will understand the work which has already been accomplished in India itself and is likely to be accomplished in the future. A mutual sympathy and generous co-operation will be established, which will be lasting.

I have spoken, hitherto, about teachers coming from the West, but we have the promise that students also will come and will learn from us what we in turn have to teach. They will live on terms of perfect equality with our own students, and will share a common life with them.

With this object in view, and in order to realize, at one centre of culture, the spiritual unity of mankind, I have founded our Visvabharati. The burden of such an undertaking is far too great for me to bear alone. But I have felt that unless a nucleus is formed and a start actually made, it would not be possible for me to go to my people and ask for their help. The school itself at Shantiniketan has been a heavy burden for me to bear all these years. Now that this extra burden is added, the responsibility has become much too great for any single individual. Therefore, I have handed over my institution to the public, and have entrusted it into their hands. It has been registered under the Act, and has now a definite constitution of its own.

BACK TO HINDUISM.

Mr. Dattatraya Vasudeo had gone into Christianity about four years ago. He has now returned to Hinduism, and was initiated by the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay on Friday the 23rd March in the presence of members and friends. Mr. Sunderrao B. Vaidya, L. M. E. acted as Acharya and Mr. Shantaram P. Raje acted as Firewarden.

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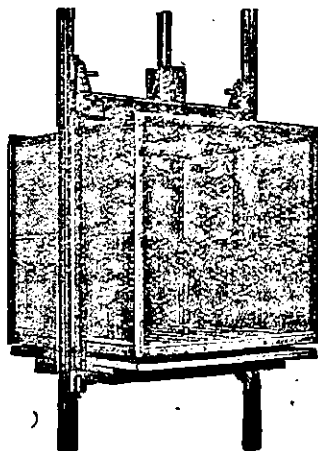
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Vol. XXXIII.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, APRIL 7, 1923.

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.

The Independence of Indian Universities:—The question of the relation of Indian Universities to the Education Minister under the Dyarchic dispensation, has been forced to the front by the correspondence between Lord Lytton and Sir Asutosh Mukherji, which was published last week. Lord Lytton, as Chancellor of the University *ex-officio*, addressed what can only be described as a bullying letter to the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mukherji, stating that he, the Chancellor, was "anxious to retain his services as Vice-Chancellor" but that "if they were to be used in opposition to Government in the belief that he (Sir Asutosh) was thus serving the University, the continued occupation of that post would be impossible." His Excellency wrote:

Hitherto you have given me no help. You have, on the contrary, used every expedient to oppose us. Your criticisms have been destructive rather than constructive. You have misrepresented our objects and motives and instead of coming to me as your friend and Chancellor with helpful suggestions for the improvement of our Bill, you have inspired articles in the press to discredit the Government. You have appealed to Sir Michael Sadler, to the Government of India and the Government of Assam to oppose our Bill. I invite you to assure me that you will exchange an attitude of opposition for one of whole-hearted assistance, for in our co-operation lies the only chance of securing public funds for the University without impairing its academic freedom. If you will do this, if you will work with us as a colleague and trust to your power of persuasion to get what you consider defects in our Bill amended, if you can give an assurance that you will not work against Government or seek the aid of other agencies to defeat our Bill, then I am prepared to seek concurrence of my Minister to your re-appointment as Vice-Chancellor, and I am confident that we can produce the Bill which will both secure the approval of the Legislative Council and be of lasting benefit to the University. If you cannot conscientiously do this you must make yourself free to oppose me by ceasing to be the Vice-Chancellor.

We do not know anything about Lord Lytton except that he is the son of his father, and that he

occupies the position of Governor of Bengal and is *ex-officio* Chancellor of the Calcutta University. Sir Asutosh Mukherji is the most eminent Indian in Bengal for character, learning and capacity. That Lord Lytton should have addressed him in the terms quoted above, shows how, apart from political and economic consequences, intellectual and moral values are apt to be distorted under our present topsy-turvy system. Sir Asutosh Mukherji, however, is too great a man and a scholar to be a courtier and he dealt faithfully in his reply with Lord Lytton. After disposing effectively of the peevish accusations made against him, he told the Governor that His Excellency was mistaken in thinking that he was an applicant for the post of Vice-Chancellorship.

"It has never entered my mind during the last two years," he continued, "that I was seriously expected to adapt myself to the wishes of your Government. Surely my attitude towards the policy adopted by your Government in the matter of University legislation has been quite familiar to you for some months past, and you never before this ventured to convey any suggestion to me that my action as the Vice-Chancellor is unworthy of my office. I quite realise that I have not in the remotest degree tried to please you or your Minister. But I claim that I have acted throughout in the best interests of the University, notwithstanding the formidable difficulties and obstacles, and that I have uniformly tried to save your Government from the pursuit of a radically wrong course. I am not surprised that neither you nor your Minister can tolerate me. You assert that you want us to be men. You have one before you who can speak and act fearlessly according to his convictions, and you are not able to stand the sight of him. I send you without hesitation the only answer which an honourable man can send. I decline the insulting offer you have made to me."

Lord Lytton had the astonishing effrontery to suggest in his reply that a recent domestic bereavement had made Sir Asutosh's task as Vice-Chancellor a burden too great to be borne longer by him! Sir Asutosh does not want anybody's assistance to bear his grief and Lord Lytton might have refrained from intruding upon it. A Governor is not, we trust, above being a gentleman.

The All India Muslim League. The All India Muslim League which met at Lucknow last week, broke up suddenly. We have heard it said by an eminent Mahomedan that it should not have been convoked at this juncture. It is evident that Moslem feeling is keenly divided on some important questions, and though we regret that it was not found possible to arrive at a basis for a better understanding, we cannot say that the Conference has had no beneficial effect. We are glad at least for one reason that the League held its meeting, and that is for the admirable presidential address delivered by Mr. G. M. Bhurgri. The address is a wise and courageous pronouncement, imbued with true

patriotism. Speaking of the new draft Treaty of Peace with Turkey, Mr. Bhurgri said that though the question of boundaries had been more or less settled, the capitulations, the Straits, the question of minorities and the "economic clauses" were still presenting difficulties. He pleaded for the real independence of the Arab States, citing Colonel Lawrence who said: "The Arabs rebelled against the Turks during the war not because the Turkish Government was notably bad but because they wanted independence. They did not risk their lives in battle to change their masters, to become British subjects or French citizens." Mandates and "administrative advice and assistance", are incompatible with true freedom. As Mr. Bhurgri said that the views of Indians in this matter were identical with those of the Arabs. The President favoured the idea of the formation of a League of Oriental nations, which is not very different from the Asiatic Federation of Mr. C. R. Das. Mr. Bhurgri stated that the action of the Angora Parliament in regard to the Khalifa stood endorsed by the entire Moslem world. Turning to the Indian situation, he re-iterated the various demands of Indian leaders with added emphasis. He implored the country to avoid cant, whether of Co-operation or Non-co-operation, to face facts, to recognise its limitations at the present time, and to concentrate upon the essentials of nation-building. "Discard the shadow and pursue the substance," he said. On the question of religious conversions and re-conversions, Mr. Bhurgri's views will be heartily endorsed by all enlightened Indians, Mahomedan or Hindu. He said:

As to religious feuds of the kind we now have raging in the vicinity of Delhi, I plead for mutual toleration, and freedom of individual conscience. With due deference to all, I wish to state that it were possible by some means to stop all organised religious proselytism by religious zealots masquerading this religious-ridden country ostensibly in the name of the great Christ or the Prophet, or the Arya Samaj or numerous other Samaj; but not unoften, by means at once abominable and repulsive, desecrating the very sacred names and frustrating the very objects of the founders of these sects, by creating forces of disintegration and disruption, arousing bad blood and exciting religious jealousies and animosities instead of promoting love, peace, goodwill and universal brotherhood, which are some of the foremost and fundamental doctrines and avowed objects of all great religions. If, however, that be not possible, then, with what consistency or justification can one sect or any members thereof antagonise another sect for conversion or reconversion of those of them who chose of their own free-will to embrace another religion or return to the old faith?

On the question of communal representation, Mr. Bhurgri expressed views similar to those we have advocated. Instead of communal electorates, seats may be reserved for communities to be contested by general election. We are surprised to learn that such a proposal was proposed but rejected by the Hindus in the United Provinces!

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's Statue: Sir Dinshah Wacha who knew Sir Pherozeshah more intimately than any one else now living, described the statue by Mr. Derwent Wood, which was unveiled on Tuesday, as "an excellent likeness", and it is not for one who knew Sir Pherozeshah only distantly to question that verdict. Sometimes, however, a stranger detects likenesses between two persons, not noticed by intimates. In the same way, he may detect differences not apparent to the eye in those whom it is accustomed to see constantly. The head and the pose of the statue do not seem to us to be an excellent likeness of Sir Pherozeshah. That his was a personality and a career most appropriate for commemoration in sculpture, goes without saying. He was cast in a truly heroic mould and under other

and more favourable conditions, he would have risen to the highest position in the State. But in the conditions of India, most of his life and energy, like that of others of his countrymen, was spent in combatting prejudice and vested interests which bar the way to Indian political progress. What distinguished him from the rest of Indian leaders, is the method of his work. He devoted himself to the service of his city, and found, in the discharge of civic duties, the stimulus and momentum for grappling with national problems. His predominant quality was courage. He had definite views on most questions, and his ripe and wide experience was crystallised in what seemed almost an unerring instinct to get to the heart of public questions. His sturdy independence might evoke posthumous praise from high officials, but it made those of them who had to deal with him far from comfortable. He knew their ways thoroughly and he met them on their own ground and came out always first best from the encounter. He knew precisely what value to attach to their compliments which he could return in the same currency. His guidance at this juncture would have been most valuable in respect of our civic as well as of our national problems. He would have sternly condemned Non-co-operation had he been living to-day, but sterner still would have been his condemnation of the methods of some of those to whom he was entitled to look to maintain his high tradition in the public life of Bombay.

Indianisation of Regiments: When we commented upon the announcement that eight regiments were to be immediately Indianized, we were under the impression that they were immediately or in a short time to be provided with a full complement of Indian officers. We believe that the Rev. Mr. Macfarlane who wrote objecting to our comments also wrote under the same impression. This impression was created by the language used by Lord Rawlinson in making the announcement. "The Government consider," said the Commander-in-Chief, "that a start should be made *at once* so as to give Indians a fair opportunity of proving that units officered by Indians will be efficient in every way. Accordingly it has been decided that eight units of cavalry or infantry be selected to be officered by Indians. This scheme will be put into force *immediately*". The italics are ours. It has since been explained in the Legislative Assembly that the process of Indianizing the higher ranks of these eight regiments will take about twenty-three years! As there are 141 Indian regiments, it may be easily calculated how many years it will take for them all to be officered by Indians!

Indians and American Citizenship: The short summary supplied by the American Foreign Press Service, of the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the naturalisation of Mr. Bhagat Singh, does not contain any reference to his being disqualified by reason of his being a high caste Hindu from becoming a free American citizen. On the contrary the judges seem to have gone out of their way to protest that their decision does not imply any assumption of racial superiority or inferiority. They virtually state, as Professor Rankin anticipated, that their sole reason for declaring the naturalisation of Mr. Bhagat Singh to be invalid, is that "our people" regard Indians as not being capable of being assimilated to themselves. This may be a good or a bad reason but this is the first time that we read of a Court of Justice depriving a man of his right on the ground that he is unacceptable to "our people"! The Supreme Court here has acted not as a Court of Justice whose motto is "Let justice be done though the Heavens fall," but as a Representative Assembly giving statutory effect to a popular prejudice.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 7, 1923.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S APOLOGIA.

The enhancement of the salt duty by the certificate of the Governor-General raises two issues. The first is constitutional and the second is economic. Those who honestly accepted the Reforms as a real step towards constitutional government to be achieved by the growth of conventions within the Act of 1919, are quite naturally loud in their out-cry at their disillusionment.

AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL CONSTITUTION.

The possibility of the Reforms Act leading to constitutional government entirely rested upon the possibility of the conventions of constitutional government growing up within it. We had from the first held that such conventions cannot grow up under a system such as the Government of India continued to be under the Reforms Act. The constitutional rights of a people are consolidated by law but are not created by them. In the case of *Ship-money*, for instance, constitutional right was on the side of *Hampden*, but the law as interpreted by the British High Court of the time, was against him. The Government of India Act by its provision relating—to take the present instance—to certification by the Governor-General, legalises the unconstitutional principle against which *Hampden*, *Cromwell* and others protested. It gives statutory sanction to the dictum of the judges who decided against *Hampden* that the King (the Governor-General, in our case) has an absolute authority to dispense with the ordinary course of legislation in cases of necessity, and of this necessity he must be the judge. A dictum of this kind does not cease to be unconstitutional because it is placed upon a statute. Those who accepted the Reforms sincerely believed that the provision would be allowed to fall into disuse by the growth of convention, as similar provisions had fallen in the case of the self-governing Dominions.

A CANADIAN PRECEDENT.

There is an apt case given in Sir Robert Borden's recent book entitled 'Canadian Constitutional Studies', which is of great current interest to Indian publicists. The Canadian Government levied certain protective duties on imports in 1859. The British Government, in sending to the Canadian Ministers a memorial from the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce against these duties, conveyed the King's assent but "undertook", says Sir Robert, "to lecture the Canadian Government, and incidentally the Canadian Legislature, upon the unwisdom of its fiscal policy." The Canadian Government replied in a despatch which settled the question, and which Sir Robert Borden justly styles "constitutional landmark in the history of Canada. In that despatch, the Canadian Government distinctly affirmed the right of the Canadian Legislature to adjust the taxation of the people in the way they deem best, even if it should unfortunately

happen to meet the disapproval of the Imperial Ministry." They said:—

Subject to their duty and allegiance to Her Majesty, their responsibility in all general questions of policy must be to the Provincial Parliament, by whose confidence they administer the affairs of the country; and in the imposition of taxation, it is so plainly necessary that the administration and the people should be in accord, that the former cannot admit responsibility or require approval beyond that of the local Legislature. Self-Government would be utterly annihilated if the views of the Imperial Government were to be preferred to those of the people of Canada.

A QUESTION FOR THE THREE INDIAN MEMBERS.

Not one of the three Indian members of the Government of India, seems to have taken up this attitude. If all three had adopted it and undertaken to act upon it if they were overruled, Indian constitutional history would have made a great stride forward. The Governor-General, an eminent lawyer but a poor statesman, turned to his law-book and found that the law gave him authority to act unconstitutionally. He accordingly gave his judgment against the defendant, the Legislative Assembly, and in favour of the plaintiffs, also the jurors, his own colleagues in the Government of India. The case of the Indian people is seriously prejudiced by the presence of three Indian members in the Government of India who do not recognise any duty to be responsive to Indian opinion. The country would be in a better position without them there. Messrs. Shafi, Sarma and Chatterjee were placed in the positions they hold in pursuance of the aspirations of the Indian people and not because of any transcendent abilities that they happen to possess. It would be interesting to know how they reconcile their continuance in office with their duty to their people, after the "certification" of a measure which is almost unanimously opposed by Indians of all shades of opinion.

THE ECONOMIC ISSUE.

Important as the constitutional issue is, the economic issue is even more important. It will be disastrous if the Government view of the economic soundness of the enhanced salt duty is allowed to pass unrefuted under cover of the dust and smoke raised by the constitutional issue. If the Governor-General had contented himself with repeating the prescribed formula for "certificating" measures rejected by the Legislature, there would have been less reason for anxiety. Lord Reading's successor may take a different view of the duty and repeal the tax. But the Governor-General, in his laboured and lengthy apologia, has not only defended his action but has sought to make out that economic objections to the salt duty are shadowy, that the opposition to it is sentimental, and that its incidence will hardly be felt by the Indian masses.

LORD READING'S HISTORY.

The Governor-General has called history to his aid. The duty might, as he says, have existed before British rule, but the salt monopoly did not exist before 1765 and was a creation of the British rule. Further, if all things that existed before British rule are to be

reproduced by that rule, one hardly sees the necessity of maintaining a costly foreign rule instead of a comparatively cheap indigenous one. Lord Mayo put this point very forcibly in one of his despatches. He observed—we are not quoting his precise words—that the British had no sort of right to govern India if they could not provide a more efficient administration more economically than native rulers. The drawbacks inherent in every foreign rule, even the best, if aggravated by heavy and oppressive taxation, may become unendurable even to a people so little political-minded and so amenable as the people of this country. And the salt duty is an oppressive duty, notwithstanding Lord Reading's arguments to the contrary.

A STOCK BROKER'S ARGUMENT.

His Excellency's reasoning is that of a stock-broker and not that of a statesman versed in public finance. His main reason for imposing this oppressive enhancement in the teeth of the opposition of the whole country, is to make India more safe and attractive to the British investor. Sir M. C. Muthiah Chetty, speaking at the South Indian Chamber of Commerce, pertinently pointed out that even this object is not well-served by this device which would shatter the internal credit of the country, upon which her external credit is based. The obvious remedy of limiting Indian borrowing in England did not occur or did not commend itself to the Governor-General.

AN INVITATION TO WHAT?

Lord Reading seriously contends that, because the collection of the enhanced salt duty since the first of March has proceeded without any trouble, therefore the duty cannot be very unpopular! Surely, the Governor-General does not mean to say that he is not convinced of the genuineness of the opposition to the measure because there has been no outbreak in some part of the country on account of it, since the enhanced duty began to be collected!

THE PEASANTRY AND PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS.

All his arguments about the fall of prices since 1921 and the high wages of the Mill labourer are beside the point. The fall of prices of food grains, so far as the peasantry, which constitutes by far the largest section of the population, is concerned, is a loss, not a gain, of purchasing power. The Governor-General does not seem to appreciate the difference between England and India in this respect. As for the mill-hands, their strikes in Ahmedabad and Bombay should satisfy Lord Reading that things are not what they seem to be from Delhi and Simla. Referring to this very question of the salt duty, Lord Curzon in his farewell speech at the Byculla Club spoke of the Indian peasant as having been in the background of every policy for which he was responsible. "He is the bone and sinew of the country; by the sweat of his brow the soil is tilled; from his labour comes one-fourth of the national income; he should be the first and the final object of every Viceroy's regard." Lord Reading has shown very little consideration for the

Indian peasant, and there is not a word of him as he would be affected by the enhanced duty, in the long disquisition by which His Excellency has sought to justify his action.

FAWCETT ON THE SALT DUTY.

As regards the economic soundness of the salt duty, few people would set His Excellency's authority above the considered opinion of such an eminent economist as the late Henry Fawcett who had, more over, made a special study of Indian finance. Writing of the financial condition of India in February 1879 he observed:—

The duty now imposed on salt, amounting to no less than 2,000 per cent. on the prime cost of the article, cannot but be regarded as a most onerous impost, when it is remembered that salt is as much a necessary of life as the air we breathe or the water we drink.

Writing again in May 1879, he wrote of the enhancement of the salt duty in the year's Budget thus: "The salt duty had, before its recent increase, been one of the heaviest imposts ever levied on a first necessary of life." Mr. Fawcett maintained that the very fact that, with the exception of salt which was heavily taxed, the masses of the Indian people consume scarcely an article on which a duty can be imposed, was the most conclusive proof of their abject poverty. In passing, we may commend to Lord Reading, Mr. Fawcett's criticism that the financial circumstances of India must be most carefully taken into account in determining at what amount official salaries should be fixed.

INCIDENCE OF THE DUTY ON CONSUMPTION.

We need not reproduce the opinion of Indian publicists as to the oppressive nature of the salt duty. Mr. Gokhale proved by means of statistics that the consumption of salt in the country increased with every remission of the duty, showing that the duty operated to check consumption which, even after Lord Curzon's last reduction, has continued to be less than 12 lbs per head per annum, while the minimum needed for health is stated by experts to be 20 lbs. The Hon. Mr. Lulubhai Samaldas quoted in his speech on the enhancement, in the Council of State, the remark in Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics that the low vitality of the Indian people may be one of the effects of their small consumption of salt.

SIR FAZULBHOY'S PROTEST.

The Governor-General makes the curious remark that those engaged trade and industry have had laid upon them heavy increases in taxation in recent years and the burden thus placed upon them will require time for adjustment. It is the masses that have really borne the bulk of the burden upon the abstractions designated as "trade and industry," and it is they that will bear that of this enhanced salt duty also. Indian "Trade and Industry" knows full well that whatever affects the poor affects itself, as evidenced by the striking speeches of Sir Mathiah Chetti at the South Indian Chamber of Commerce and Sir Fazulbhoi Carrimbhoi at the meeting of the Indian

Merchants' Chamber and Bureau on Wednesday to meet Sir Basil Blackett. Sir Fazulbhoj bluntly told the Finance Member of the Government of India :

This Chamber has heard with dismay of the restoration of the salt tax by the process of certification. As businessmen we are fully aware that you must have the wherewithal to carry on the administration, but, as business men, we must also tell you that you must cut your coat according to your cloth, and it is no use exasperating that large section of sober people with a stake in this country, who have until now supported the administration and supported the Government very often against the grain and in spite of the pinpricks inflicted upon them from time to time by the action of the various departments of the State. As a constitutional issue the restoration of the salt tax by His Excellency the Viceroy must be regretted as an unfortunate blunder in so far as it has weakened, and in some cases finally destroyed, the faith which the people of India put in the declaration of August 1917 and in the desire of His Majesty's Government to see this country gradually advance to self-government through the reforms granted.

It is foreign importers that have supported the duty because it saves them from the obvious alternative of a small addition to the import duties. The Governor-General says that no alternative was suggested to the enhancement of the salt duty. It is not the business of non-official publicists to frame the Government's Budget for them. Moreover, the Indian position is that there should be no need for additional taxation if the Government regulated their expenditure with due regard to the resources of the country. But if Government were really anxious to have an alternative, they had one ready to hand in their own proposal last year, which had to be given up at the dictation of Lancashire, to have the 15 per cent tariff applied to piece-goods as to all other imports.

The Governor-General has deceived himself by mere words into sanctioning an impost which every previous Viceroy has recognised as bearing harshly upon the poorest people. No constitutional reform is worth anything which does not make it impossible for such autocratic action to be repeated.

MARRIAGE*—V.

(By MR. G. A. SUNDARAM.)

One other minor evil connected with the existing system of Hindu marriage is the extravagance in celebrating marriages. Instances are not unknown of fathers having to seek the protection of the Insolvency court as a result of imprudent waste in connection with their daughters' marriage celebrations. There is a general idea prevailing among the middle class and the high class Hindus that the status in society of an individual carries with it an obligation to spend huge sums on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. In many cases, even when parents of girls are disposed to be prudent, the bridegrooms and their parents or other relations

* The previous articles appeared in the issues of the 11th, and the 25th November, 30th December, and 3rd March.

force them to spend money in unnecessary *tamashas*. Curtailment of extravagance on marriage occasions has been one of the items of reform preached by social reformers for decades, but it cannot be said that their efforts have produced any noticeable results. As in the case of several other evils, the evil of extravagance on marriage occasions finds support in the false notions of social form prevalent among Hindu ladies. Social workers have not approached ladies and resolutions and newspaper articles in English cannot be expected to reach them. Even more than preaching, this is a field eminently fitted for education by practical example. There is reason to fear that workers have not cared to carry out in their own homes even this very mild item of reform. There is no fear of boycott by the *vaideekas* consequent on one's celebrating one's daughter's marriage without any pomp and show and extravagance. And yet social reform advocates have been seen to bend to meaningless custom even in this matter. I have been told that an ardent social reformer and an ex-president of a Provincial Social Reform Association spent over Rs. 10,000 on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. If this is true, it only reveals the stronghold that custom has acquired over even an ex-president of a Provincial Social Reform Association. The fact that the gentleman concerned is rich and can therefore afford to spend a large sum is beside the point. People have a right to expect leaders of a movement to conform to their precepts. There is no need to dwell at length on the alleged weakness of one particular leader. The fact has to be recognised that the only way to help the cause is for all workers to practise what they preach. So far as inexpensive marriage celebrations are concerned, seeing that it is not open to any great difficulty, it should be possible for all workers to set an example to others. Public opinion can be most easily cultivated in this field of reform.

Before proceeding to examine the method of work to cure the evils that have crept into the marriage institution, I shall touch upon one other evil, cruelty. I use the word cruelty in a broad sense. Such cruelty as comes under the maintenance chapter of the Code of Criminal Procedure can be, in a way, taken cognizance of by courts of law. But there is another variety of cruelty for which law provides—can provide—no remedy. Even if we are to confine our attention to legal cruelty, can it be said that all cases of cruelty receive attention? I suspect that in most cases the wife and her advisers judge it best to draw a veil over the domestic tragedy. Law recognises only physical cruelty and that of that degree which renders the continued residence of the wife under the husband's roof a matter of danger to her. Unfaithfulness on the part of the husband is no ground, under Hindu Law, even as modified by British Indian Statute Law, for separation. The only proper tribunal which can adequately punish unfaithfulness and other varieties of refined and blunt cruelty is the tribunal of educated public opinion. And public opinion as it exists at present is most woefully defective and I would say it is monstrously cruel even. Pub^l

opinion does not condemn sufficiently strongly sins against marriage when committed by men. The very orthodox *vaidikas* who bring down the heavens in execrating the 'evil' of a girl-widow remaining unshaved, have nothing to say against the practice of married men erring with professional prostitutes. I have even heard some *vaidikas* retailing with relish and evident approval the exploits of one or another of the more wealthy libertines who happened to be their patrons. The heroes of these exploits were married men. I am not sure that I have any right to be particularly hard on *vaidikas* when the fact is that the general lay public is itself very lax in its judgment of erring husbands. This is a phase of social evil which has not attracted sufficient attention. I invite my readers to consider it seriously and offer their suggestions. In the first place we have to educate public opinion by vigorous propaganda. I may go to the length of saying that indifference to and even mild approval or error on the part of married men is an evil almost equal to the evil of compulsory widowhood and disfigurement of widows. It reveals a very unsatisfactory, very low state of public opinion. As workers striving after social purity, we must do our utmost to raise public opinion to a proper level. Next, the question of providing for judicial separation in suitable cases may be considered. I know the futility of legislation in social matters. But there are some extreme cases in which law can be of help. Just as I am writing this there comes to my mind the case of a certain very revolting incident. A prosperous lawyer (now deceased) had both his wife and his concubine at his home. The concubine fell ill and the wife was forced by the husband to attend on her. In passing, I may add that the *vaidikas* of the locality had nothing but praise for this man, this eminent *rasika* as they used to describe him. I imagine that in cases similar to this—and alas, there are many *rasikas* among us even now—judicial separation may be a real relief. My suggestion is only tentative and I invite fuller and more detailed consideration by your readers.

VI.

From the foregoing examination of the present position with regard to different items of necessary reform in the marriage institution, it will be clear that the results achieved so far are by no means satisfactory. For achieving our objects we have to organise ourselves and work steadily and methodically. A very large part of that work should consist in educating our women. They can be approached only through the Indian languages. Very few Indian ladies know English and those who do know English may be expected to be quite familiar with reform principles. More than ninety-nine per cent. of Hindu women know no English. Among them only a few can read even Indian languages. Workers who feel the call will have to approach their sisters and address small groups. Also, booklets and tracts written in homely language can be published and distributed on occasions of big marriages and festivals. Stories written by those who have the gift, have a great value. I can cite Kusika's "Short

Stories." I have often thought—and the same sentiment has been expressed by many friends of mine also—that these very same stories if written in Tamil would have appealed to a far larger circle of the public. Journals conducted in Indian languages are increasing in number rapidly and are bound to increase more in the future. I think it possible to induce some editors to allow some space in their journals for articles dealing with social reform generally and with marriage reform in particular.

Side by side with the work of educating the public we have to organise ourselves with the object of resisting social tyranny. In several matters this tyranny is losing its terrors, but even now it is the one thing that stands effectively in the way of reform. Hindu social reformers are Hindus and do not wish to give up Hindu ideals or Hindu practices. As these practices require the help of *Vaidikas*, the latter are in a position to embarrass them. The most powerful weapon in the hands of the *Vaidikas* is refusal to officiate during *Sraddhas*. I have heard that *Vaidikas*—and at their instance some non-*Vaidikas* too—have not hesitated to refuse help in funerals also. The only way in which we can counteract the *Vaidikas* is to organise ourselves so as to be able to be indifferent to their services. A reformer who wishes to perform some ceremony should be in a position to find among brother reformers, gentlemen willing and prepared to take up the *Vaidika's* work. It must also be possible for reformers to feel that though the ultra-orthodox may cut them, they are part of the Hindu society. This can be done by every reformer, man and woman, making it a religious duty to attend the functions at the house of any fellow reformer. In this instance I am using the word "reformer" in a very wide sense. For, we must gather within our fold even the most hesitating "reformers". I shall make myself clear.

There are many who are not prepared to carry out reforms like widow remarriage or post-puberty marriage in their own homes but are fully prepared to attend such functions and strengthen the cause by their presence. They will also be prepared to stand by the more forward reformers in fighting against the boycott by the *Vaidikas*. We must gather them within our fold. The actual method of work may follow the lines adopted by Prof. D. K. Karve as set out in the short life-sketch of the Professor by Dr. Paranjpye. In the days when Prof. Karve was working for the cause of widow remarriage, he took the signatures of helpers in three lists. The first list contained the names of those who were prepared to carry out that reform in their own homes. The second and third lists contained the names of other helpers who were prepared to help the movement by closely intermingling with those who have been parties to widow remarriages. I suggest that work on similar lines may be started and organised. This will bring together enthusiasts and mild reformers. It will also help to keep aside lip reformers.

(Concluded).

PASSING REMARKS.

(By KARWABIAN.)

Writing on the Indian Christian Conference's demand for the early release of Mahatma Gandhi, on the ground that his freedom was essential to the nation to guide it on the most secure path of progress, the *Reformer* remarked: "The autocrat Tsar saw the wisdom of letting Tolstoi go free, though his teachings gravely compromised autocracy," and asked, "Cannot the British Government of India see that it is seriously handicapping the chances of conciliation by keeping the Mahatma in jail?" As one who has closely studied its mentality, one could almost fancy this Government retorting in this wise: "Yes, Government does see it; but having known the ultimate fate of that Tsardom which let Tolstoi go free, and having profited by that knowledge, of course, we can not see our way to repeat the foolish Tsar's fatal action in letting a revolutionary go free! We are not sure that the Tsar did not come to grief at last, precisely for his action of letting Tolstoi go free! That is why we are keeping this greater-than-Tolstoi in jail". It's so simple, isn't it, my dear Watson?

Following the practice of the past three years, this year also our National Congress has enjoined the observance of the "National Week"—the week of a Nation's death and resurrection in the Punjab in April, 1919. For myself, I have never been able to understand why Christians regarded Herod's baby-victims as martyrs to be commemorated at their annual festival named the Holy Innocent's Day or Childermas-day. Was their "martyrdom" a voluntary, deliberate and conscious act for it to deserve veneration and commemoration? But the martyrdom at Jallianwalla would seem to be on a different footing. The grown-up men and women that succumbed or suffered there were rational human beings conscious of what they died for or suffered for, innocently though it might not be voluntary. However it be, those Christians who adore those baby-martyrs of Bethlehem in Judea well say that they do so, not for hate of Herod, but for love of the Innocents, his victims. Analogy with the Punjab horrors and the "pilgrimage" to Jallianwalla is obvious. "Not for hate of the British, but in loving memory of the martyrs at Jallianwalla Bagh" will be the "Extremists'" answer to all cavils on that score.

The term "National Week" is ambiguous, or rather has been rendered ambiguous by the *Reformer* applying the term to what may otherwise be called the "Congress week," i.e., the week at the end of each year when the majority of our important national gatherings are held. The difficulty may be trivial, but surely precision should count.

In a parenthesis in the course of a learned leading article on the last convocation of Bombay University, the *Reformer*, I remember, pronounced a

certain formula uttered at the time of investiture of the graduates or at some other point in the course of the ceremonies by the Chancellor (?) to be "ungrammatical." I searched the Calendar, but failed to find where exactly the ungrammaticality lay. However, I have since found that there lurks another ungrammaticality in one of the very degrees of this University which is so unacademic as to have let a solecism (according to the *Indian Social Reformer*) pass muster even in its Convocation ritual. I do not know whether the degree known as "M.B. B.S." here is to be found at other Universities either in India or abroad. (This is the degree here which superseded the old "L. M. & S.") Now if those letters be supposed to stand for Latin words, it should read M.B.C.B.: i.e., initials of the Latin for 'Medicine Bachelor, (and) Chirurgery Bachelor,' (Chirurgia L. Surgery, cf. the degree C. M.=Master in Surgery):—or else, if they are to be taken to stand for English words, the order of the letters has got to be changed a bit thus, B. M. (&) B. S. But "M.B.B.S." is a monstrosity half-Latin, half-English, that is to say neither good Latin nor good English! I don't know whether this clear breach of Priscian's head is tolerated by any other learned body.

I have always wondered, have any Indian Muslims joined the forward religious movements like the Brahma Samaj, Prarthana Samaj and Arya Samaj? Are there any cases on record, famous or other? Did any Muslims openly join Sikhism in ancient or modern days? (We know that Sikhism was originally intended to reconcile the two faiths of Hindism and Islam by respectively Islamising and Hinduising each). If not, what is the moral? Can it be that Islam is more international than national? Have Muhammadans in India always preferred to be (as they generally call themselves) Indian Muhammadans, rather than Muhammadan Indians? Or, is orthodox Islam self-sufficient?

THE BIBLE AND DRINK.

The Editor, The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

People are sometimes heard saying that the Bible sanctions the use of wine, its manufacture and sale. It is outright sacrilege to insinuate that Jesus Christ, if upon earth today, would lend the support of His example to a custom which perpetuates a trade in murder, degradation, and misery. The only ground they have for assuming that Christ used intoxicating wine is that He was present on occasions when it may have been used. It is argued that the Bible frequently records drinking without disapproval, but so does it record actions of admittedly vile character. Nowhere do we find Christ's denunciation of the murderous tyranny of Rome. On the other hand we read, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's". Jesus Christ did not speak directly against the false social position of women, or lift His voice against slavery.

Different words have been employed to represent different kinds of wine in the Hebrew Scriptures. The Greek language makes little or no attempt to indicate quality or varieties

of wine but passes every kind under one name. Thus, like the English language it obliterates distinctions which the Hebrew protects. So the Hebrew Bible must always remain our final standard of appeal upon the Bible wine question.

The Hebrew is a small language but wonderfully rich in synonyms. It has eleven different words which we translate as wine. Such a language must delight in fine distinctions whereas a language which gives only one word for a dozen different words necessarily obliterates many important shades of meaning. The eleven words which we render "wine" cannot all mean wine, much less intoxicating wine, but stand probably for other products of the vine. The testimony of the Hebrew Bible mainly turns upon three of the words and their meaning.

The first of these words is "yayin". It is found 140 times in the Hebrew Scriptures. It is a generic word and stands for wine in general without any reference to their quality, whether intoxicating or unintoxicating. Exactly this is the chief source of all the confusion upon the Bible wine question. It stands for everything that is obtained from the vine as a beverage. Following are a few of the references where this word occurs:—Gen. 9:21, I Sam. 1:14, Isa. 5:11, I Sam. 1:24, Neh. 5:15, Isa. 55:1, Esth. 1:7, Zeph. 1:13, II Sam. 16:2. These texts will show that the word "yayin" is used in the Scripture both with divine favour and with divine disfavour, and that is precisely the source of nearly all the confusion upon the wine question as it appears in the sacred records. Whenever the sacred writers seek to make a distinction and specify "yayin" that is intoxicating and "yayin" that is unintoxicating they are obliged to resort to other and specific terms. A thorough examination of the two specific terms thus used is therefore necessary.

"Tirosh" is the term always employed for unfermented, unintoxicating wine. It is always found in good company, and for ever enjoys the divine commendation. It occurs 88 times in the Hebrew Bible and is frequently associated with wheat and corn and oil, and keeps its place among the special blessings of God. The following are some of the references where this word occurs:—Gen. 27:28, Num. 18:12, Deut. 12:17, Judg. 9:12, II Kings 18:32, II Chro. 31:5, Neh. 5:11, Psa. 4:7, Prov. 3:10, Isa. 24:7, Jer. 31:12, Hos. 2:8, Joel 1:10, Mic. 6:15, Hag. 1:11, Zech. 9:17. Any fair-minded person after an examination of these references can be satisfied that "tirosh" is as harmless as corn and wheat and oil. "Tirosh" does not mean intoxicating wine. On the other hand, there is another specific Hebrew word which never means anything but fermented wine and that word is "shekar". This word has invariably been used for wine that is always condemned and prohibited. This word is found 42 times in the Hebrew Bible, nineteen times in the verb form, and twenty-three times as a noun. The English version has generally translated it as "strong drink". It is best to examine this word where it has been used as a noun. The following are some of the references where this word has been used:—Lev. 10:9, Num. 28:7, Deut. 29:6, Judg. 13:4, I Sam. 1:15, Prov. 20:1, Isa. 5:11, Mic. 2:11, Isa. 28:7. This examination of the three words will convince any one that the Bible does not give the slightest sanction for the use of liquor, but on the other hand condemns its use. This evidence is corroborated by the Septuagint (Greek) version of the Old Testament. This translation was made by Greek-Hebrew scholars more than two hundred years before Christ.

The word "yayin" has been uniformly rendered by them as "oinos". Just as "yayin" is a generic term for all kinds of wine in Hebrew, similarly "oinos" is a generic term for all kinds of wine in Greek. It is the exact equivalent of the Hebrew "yayin".

The Hebrew "tirosh", unfermented wine, has also been rendered as "oinos". This is somewhat misleading. Perhaps the Greek language is not so rich in synonyms as the Hebrew is. It has no specific word for unfermented wine and perhaps this was the best word that could be used. Because everything in the nature of a beverage from the vine was called "oinos".

But the word "shekar", fermented and intoxicating wine, has never been rendered as "oinos" in the Septuagint, which is very significant. It proves conclusively that "tirosh" and "shekar" do not stand for the same kinds of wine. Seven times "shekar" is translated with a Greek word coined from the word "methuo" which means "I am drunk". Twelve times the word "shekar" has been Hellenised and transliterated as "sikera". In this form it also appears once in the Greek New Testament (Luke 1:15). When it is considered that the translators were compelled to resort to these methods in rendering the word "shekar", its debauched and degraded character is sufficiently evidenced. This is conclusive and overwhelming testimony that the Bible stands for temperance and is opposed to the liquor traffic.

(Extracted from Cyclopaedia of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals.)

Yours etc.,
MORRIS A. PHILLIPS.

THE HINDU PEOPLES' ASSOCIATION.

The third meeting of the above Association took place on the 25th March in Kibe Wada, Poona, under the conductorship of Dr. Navale. The meeting was attended by some Brahmin representatives including one well-known Shastri and representatives of the Mali, Jain, Maratha, Mang, and Mahar communities. The subject matter of the day was about the necessity of reconversion or conversion to Hinduism, and a very lively discussion took place. The definition of a Hindu was suggested as follows:—Those who acknowledge the Vedas or any other religious book based on the Vedas, should be called Hindus. Knowledge of and action according to these religious books is of course necessary but mere reverence too for these sacred books would be considered as a sufficient attribute. A Mahar gentleman was willing to accept this definition on condition that their right to read and learn the Vedas was acknowledged by the three upper classes, namely, the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. To this the Brahmin gentlemen gave no satisfactory answer. However the above definition of Hinduism was generally supported by all.

All the people assembled were unanimous on the main question that converts should be admitted back to Hinduism on going through certain religious ceremony, mentioned in the Deval Smriti which is very short taking only half an hour and costing not more than a rupee. This ceremony was generally approved by all. It was further agreed that converts of less than 20 years duration in other religions should be taken back to Hinduism by going through the above mentioned ceremony, in the presence of three gentlemen of social status. The Brahmin and Jain gentlemen held that the ceremony should be performed at the hands of the religious seats such as the Brahmins, Jungams, etc., according to the

old usage. But a few non-Brahmins took exception, claiming that any of their caste men who had learned that ritual, should equally have the right of administering that ceremony. No agreement was reached on this point in the meeting.

Then the next question before the meeting was about the admission to Hinduism of converts above 20 years' standing or of men who originally belonged to other religions such as Christianity and Islam. All the members were unanimous that these people too, if they wish to embrace Hinduism, should be admitted to our faith and society. But the problem as to what ceremony they should undergo or what place they are to get in the arrangement of the caste system, was left undiscussed, as many people thought that the time was not yet ripe for tackling the same.

According to the Secretary's request a Mahomedan gentleman was present at the meeting listening to the proceedings throughout.

THE CASE OF MR. BHAGAT SINGH.

(THE FOREIGN PRESS SERVICE, INC.)

"Caucasian" is a conventional word of much flexibility. The United States Supreme Court recently decided, in trying to determine the meaning of "free white person" in a case brought by a Hindu of high caste, of full Indian blood, born in Punjab, India, who had been granted a certificate of citizenship by the United States District Court for Oregon. His right to citizenship was denied by the Supreme Court.

The same court decided recently that a Japanese was not entitled to naturalization because the term "free white person" although used as synonymous with Caucasian, was not of identical meaning.

The words "white persons" are words of "common speech and not of scientific origin," the court ruled and the substitution for them of the word "Caucasian" would only substitute one perplexity for another. The word "Caucasian" has, however, by common usage, acquired a popular meaning which is of much narrower scope, than its scientific application, the court pointed out.

"It is in the popular sense of the word, therefore, that we employ it as an aid to the construction of the statute," the court stated, "for it would be obviously illogical to convert words of common speech used in a statute into words of scientific terminology when neither the latter nor science, for whose purpose they were coined, was within the contemplation of the framers of the statute... The words of the statute are to be interpreted in accordance with the understanding of the common man from whose vocabulary they were taken."

The words "free white persons" are to be interpreted, the court said, as synonymous with "Caucasian" only so far as that word is popularly understood. Whatever may be the speculations of the ethnologist as to what races it includes, it does not, the court held, include the body of men to whom the Hindu belonged.

Declaring that it was "far from our thought to suggest the slightest question of racial superiority or inferiority," the court stated that it was merely suggesting racial differences, which in the case of a Hindu "is of such character and extent that the great body of our people instinctively recognize and reject the thought of assimilation."

L. O.

PROHIBITION IN CANADA.

In the Convention of the World League Against Alcoholism at Toronto in November, Premier Drury of Ontario

declared that Prohibition in his Province has conferred such benefits that thousands of former opponents are now convinced supporters of the policy and that the enormous corruption funds of the liquor trade will not be able to effect a change in the law. He declared that Government control in Canada has been a complete failure and that there is more illegal sale of liquor under Government control than under Prohibition.

The Premier brought his speech to a climax with the promise of a dry Canada. "There is no doubt of the result here. We are a slow-moving, methodical people but when we move very solidly and very surely, the measure of Prohibition in Canada will not rest with seven of the provinces. The other two will see the results and will come in. There may be a little loss of revenue but we are not worrying about that. We can make it up from other prosperous sources.

"You won't be troubled for many years with a Canada partly wet if you hold your ground on the other side of the line."

The Premier presented some interesting figures comparing wet and dry periods in the province. He said:

"In 1914 there were 8,848 convictions for drunkenness in Ontario; in 1921, 4,719. In Toronto in 1913 there were 45 deaths from alcoholism; in 1921, 11. Crime had greatly decreased under Prohibition. In 1914, there were 1,627 cases of assault; in 1921, 894. Vagrancy cases decreased from 4,708 in 1914 to 1,289 in 1921; disorderly conduct cases from 6,411 to 1,400."

In answering the charge that Prohibition had increased the use of drugs, the Premier said:

"In one year the convictions for use of drugs in the seven Prohibition provinces had been 711, or 12 per 100,000 of population. In the two wet provinces the convictions for the use of drugs in one year had been 1,153 or 40 per 100,000 of population."

Prohibition had increased attendance in Toronto public schools. Attendance in high schools in that city in 1914 had been 7,869, in 1921, 19,596. Similarly increased bank clearings had reflected increased commercial prosperity in spite of the period of depression. The Toronto bank clearings for 1916, a "boon" year, had been \$2,571,000,000; in 1921, at the tall end of the depression, \$5,104,000,000.

INDIAN WOMEN STUDENTS IN LONDON.

The International Hostel of the International Service Department of the British Y. W. C. A. has been increasingly useful to Indian students in London and the effort made 18 months ago to have an Indian annex for them in order that they may live there during their time in England, has been most successful. The greatest number accommodated at one time has been 9 and considering the limited number of women students in London, this helps to meet the need. Altogether there have been about 80 residents and visitors; students from Bournemouth, Cambridge, Durham, Dublin, Oxford, etc. have spent their vacation there.

A sub-committee for India and the Far East has been formed for purposes of hospitality with Mrs. R. K. Mitter as Chairman, Mrs. Palet and Sathianadhan, the Misses E. Lazarus, Shin Tak Hing (China) Mona Mitter and Nundy as members of the Committee and the Hon. Emily Kinnaird Secretary. Lady Parmoor is Chairman of the International

Service Department. This Sub-committee works in the closest co-operation with the Student Department of the Indian Y. W. C. A. and intending students in England from any part of India should communicate with Miss Elizabeth Zechariah, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta.

The Committee are most anxious to obtain co-operation in India

(a) In advising that no women students, nurses etc. should come to England without sufficient money, not only for their course of training, but for holidays and other emergencies; many find themselves in difficulties which could be avoided.

(b) In directing students to make enquiries of the Government Student Committees in India as to the best School or College to study at in order to fit them for the object of their stay in England. Many have lost time and not gained sufficient advantage of their stay in England by not doing this; they have been disappointed when they cannot be admitted to certain Colleges through want of application beforehand. Such Committees exist in Ajmere, Allahabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Dacca, Delhi, Gauhati, Assam, Lahore, Madras, Nagpur and Patna.

(c) In strongly urging that intending students, visitors, Nurses, etc., should make arrangements for accommodation before leaving India.

(d) In making known that if due notice is given a room will be kept, at a charge of from £2.5.- per week, according to size of room and the intending residents, can be met at the Station.

(e) In spreading the information that there are no funds for the use of Indians in England, therefore when girls come without Government scholarships they should be careful to have sufficient money to carry them through the year or years of study.

The International Hostel is in an extremely convenient situation in Bayswater, 10 a, Newton Road, Westbourne Grove, W. 2. and connected with an International Club under the guidance of competent leaders who arrange social gatherings, expeditions, educational classes, holiday outings, Camps and accommodation for Christmas and other holidays. Mr. Bhow (Acting High-Commissioner) and Mr. K. T. Paul (Y. M. C. A.) recently paid a visit to the Hostel.

It has been found that intercourse with girls of other nationalities has been a source of pleasure to Indian residents; also introduction to homes in England and invitations to social functions has been appreciated.

The Hostel and Club is open to girls of all religions and castes. Girls of no fewer than 45 nations have resided in the Hostel and many friendships have been formed. The Indian Christmas Dinner and a Week End party at High Anhurst were features of last Winter's activities. In this as in all its work the Y. W. C. A. offers fellowship and opportunities for making the international friendship so needful at this time.

EMILY KINNARD

on behalf of the International Service
Department of the British Y.W.C.A.

26, George Street,
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LONDON, W.1.

THE ORIGINAL KU KLUX KLAN.

The Ku Klux Klan, whose anti-Negro, anti-Catholic, anti-Jew propaganda, in addition to the secret meetings and lawless acts of the Society, have aroused a tremendous amount of feeling within the last few months in the United

States, has always had a stormy history. Its recent activities, taking the form of undue pressure brought to bear during the elections in Oregon in order to pass a measure abolishing parochial schools, of interference with the process of law in Louisiana, and of violent acts against individuals who opposed it, in Kansas notably, and in other states have been considered so serious a menace to the country as to bring about a conference of State Governors for the purpose of determining upon a means of stamping out this secret order which dates from the period immediately following the Civil War. Even at that time the lawless acts of the Klan, their persecution and terrorization of the Negroes in the south, and of whites who sympathized with Negroes and more especially their interference in such matters as government appointments, which took the form of driving out by threats of violence such appointees as were displeasing to the Klan, finally brought about an investigation by Congress. As a result, the Klan was at that time disbanded but it has continued to exist as an illicit as well as secret order, fanning the flames of anti-Negro feeling in the southern states and being largely responsible for the development of Negro-lynching into an actual institution in that part of the country.

Among the most interesting of the Congressional records at Washington are the documents of the original Ku Klux Klan, and the volumes of testimony collected during the Congressional inquiry of 1871.

Oddly enough the Klan, which so soon became the scourge of the south, originated as an amusement. In an account of the association written by a professor of the University of West Virginia, the beginnings of the Klan are described as follows:

"Its birthplace was Pulaski, a town of about 3,000 inhabitants in Tennessee. Previous to the war its citizens possessed wealth and culture. They retain the second, the first was lost in the general wreck. The most intimate association with them fails to disclose a trace of the diabolism which, according to the popular idea, one would expect to find characterizing the people among whom the Ku Klux Klan originated. A male college and a female seminary are located at Pulaski and receive liberal patronage. It is a town of churches. When the war ended the young men of Pulaski, who had escaped death on the battlefield, returned home and passed through a period of enforced inactivity. In some respects it was more trying than the ordeal of war which lay behind them. The reaction which followed the excitement of army scenes and service was intense. There was nothing to relieve it. They could not engage at once in business or professional pursuits. In the case of many business habits were broken up. Few had capital to enter mercantile or agricultural enterprises. There was a total lack of the amusements and social diversions which prevail wherever society is in a normal condition. "One evening in May, 1866, a few of these young men met in the office of one of the most prominent members of the Pulaski bar. In the course of the conversation one of the members said:— 'Boys, let us get up a club or society of some description.' The suggestion was discussed with enthusiasm. Before they separated it was agreed to invite others, whose names were not mentioned, to join them, and to meet again the next evening at the same place. At the appointed time eight or ten young men had assembled.

"A temporary organization was effected by the election of a chairman and a secretary. There was entire unanimity among the members in regard to the end in view, which was diversion and amusement."

It is curious to note that at this time many similar organizations were growing up. "The White Brotherhood," the "White League," "Pale Faces," "Constitutional Union Guards," the "Knights of the White Camelia" and others, almost all of them introducing the word "white" or the suggestion of it. The "Camelia" was at one time an even larger organization than the Klan, which at its height, had 40,000 members in Tennessee and 550,000 in the south. Eventually all these societies except "Camelia" were merged in the Klan.

All of the six original Ku Klux organizers were of Scotch-Irish descent. From their presumable Presbyterianism came the tendency to act as "regulators" of the society around them. But with growth in membership came general disorder, and finally outrages so numerous as to necessitate government action. Yet certain historians of the movement assert that before this occurred, the Klan "had accomplished much good in reducing to order the social chaos" of the post-war period.

The name is derived from the Greek for circle—*kuklos*—which changed to *Ku Klux*, for which "Klan" (Clan) with the changed initial letter seemed an obvious termination.

A BRAHMIN WIDOW MARRIAGE IN BOMBAY.

A correspondent writes:—Srimati Lilabai Karnad, the widowed daughter of Mr. K. R. Dutt of Indore aged 27, was married in Bombay on the 28th March to Mr. Hemmad Ramkrishna Rao of Karachi, a widower of 36. The ceremony was registered under Act III of 1872. Both the bride and the bridegroom belong to the Saraswat Brahmin community of the Sri Chitrapur Mutt of Kanara, and this is the eighth widow marriage in this community.

The National Cyclopædia. We have received from the National Book Depot, New Bhatwadi, Girgaum, a copy of the National Cyclopædia edited by Mr. P. T. Chandra of Karachi. Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* has written a foreword recommending the book, the want of which, he says, has been long felt, at any rate in Newspaper offices in India. Among other useful information contained in the book are a brief sketch of the administration of India from ancient days, the evolution of the present system of British administration from the days of the East India Company, a brief outline of the constitution of the Reform Act, general information on Agriculture, Arts and Industries, Architecture, banking etc., a summary of the recommendations of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, important events in the history of India from the Vedic age, 2000 B. C. when it is recorded that "women enjoy full freedom". One chapter is devoted to Education under which brief notes on different Universities in India are given. The "Woman's Directory" which forms another chapter contains among other information, a short history of the women suffrage movement, list of prominent lady swarajists and lady Non-co-operators with biographical sketches and addresses, and the names of India's women-writers. Besides separate chapters on "Who is who in India," *Gazeteer of India*, list of newspapers, libraries, public institutions devoted to Educational, Social, religious or political reforms and brief sketches of Indian States, the book contains the history of the Indian National Congress from 1885, when it was founded, to date with short references to all the annual sessions. It is a book containing much useful information and is priced at Rs. 3. The National Cyclopædia can be had from the National Book Depot, Bhatwadi, Girgaum, Bombay or from the publishers, the International Printing Works, Karachi.

Indian Supplementary Reading Books. The Indian Publishing House, Madras, are to be congratulated on producing this excellent series, under the general editorship of Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar. These readers are written in easy, simple English for the use of children in the lower standards of Anglo-Vernacular schools. The books now issued are the *Ramayana*, *Savitri*, *Damayanti* and *Dhruva* by Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, and *Markandeya* and *Nanda*, the Pariah saint, by Mr. A. Madhaviah. The price is fixed according to the size of each book and varies from three to nine annas.

Copies of the group photograph of those present at the Inter-communal Dinner held on the 11th instant of which reference was made in a recent issue can be had from the Manager, The Indian Social Reformer, Empire Building, Fort, Bombay, on payment of Rs. 3-8 per copy.

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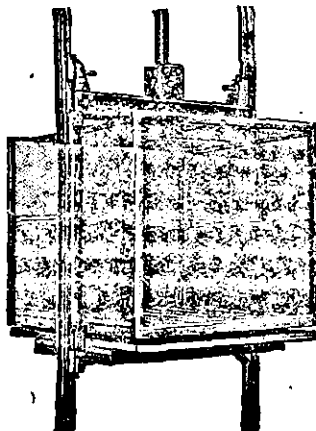
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Sir Stanley Reed: Sir Stanley Reed leaves to-day for England. The news about his condition during his recent serious illness in Delhi, was anxiously followed from day to day by his many friends and it was with great relief that they learnt that he was at last out of danger. We trust that a spell of rest in a more congenial climate will restore him to perfect health. It is too much to ask that he should risk another break-down by returning to India in the position in which he has rendered such valuable and distinguished service to India and the Empire. A Reuter's telegram last week reports a discussion in London in the course of which several speakers referred appreciatively to the co-operation of Indians in the higher ranks of the English-conducted press in India. To Sir Stanley Reed belongs a large share of the credit of making this possible. His own point of view in all essential matters has ever been that of the best Indians, which accounts for the fact that, apart from the editorship of the *Times of India*, the position of adviser-general to all and sundry, which he has occupied in Bombay for many years past, has taken a heavy tax on his time and energies. There are very few Englishmen in India who can wholly fill the large place which is Sir Stanley's in the estimation and confidence of the Indian people, and it is a great pity that there should be any diminution in their number at the present juncture. But Sir Stanley Reed has given of his best to India and it is ungrateful to grudge him the repose he has so well earned. It would be well if, when he is completely restored to health, Sir Stanley's services in some advisory capacity are made available to the India Office which, at the present time, is not over-rich in men endowed with a sympathetic understanding of the ideals and aspirations of India.

Indian Members in the Government of India:—There are three Indian members in the Government of India but none of them is in charge of what may be called a nationally effective department of the administration. The Home and Finance Departments are reserved for Englishmen. So are Commerce and Railways. An Indian member holds the portfolio of Law. The other two are in charge of miscellaneous and even supernumerary

departments which are controlled by experts such as agriculture, meteorology and so on. Of course, a really capable man can make himself felt even if he had only the portfolio of weather. But outstanding characters are not very attractive to Governments in India, who do not like tall poppies. An Indian Member's utility, therefore, largely depends upon the Department with which he is entrusted. The Inchcape Committee suggested a redistribution of portfolios which, besides, being a more logical arrangement than the present, would have kept either Communications or Commerce in charge of an Indian member. This has not been accepted by the Viceroy who has, instead, devised a fantastic grouping in which Commerce and Communications—the two heaviest subjects under the Central Government—are combined in one. *New India* of Madras than which no Indian journal has been better disposed towards Lord Reading's Government, has the following comments on this arrangement. Our contemporary writes:—

What is the explanation for this setting aside of the recommendation of both the Inchcape and Ackworth Committees? Is it that Mr. Chatterji, being an Indian, cannot be trusted with the commerce of the country, since a large part of it is in European hands? A new dyarchy is being set up in the Central Government, more vicious than in the Provinces, and more insidious because it is not under the law. The Indian element in the Executive Council is being steadily relegated to a position of secondary importance. It is futile for the Government to protest in the face of such action that there has been no reaction.

The Greatest Objection to the Salt Duty:—We are indebted to the weekly English edition of the *Swadeshmitran*, which we welcome as a valuable addition to our weekly journals, for an extract from the late Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghav Aiyangar's work "Forty Years' Progress in the Madras Presidency", condemning the salt duty as being "about the worst means which can be employed to draw contributions from the poorer classes." "Nothing but the direst necessity", he added, "can in a country, like India, justify resort to taxation of this kind." The late Dewan Bahadur, who was for some years Dewan of Baroda, was criticized in the Indian papers as an apologist of British rule because of his appreciation of it in the work from which the *Swadeshmitran* makes this excerpt. "The greatest objection to the salt tax", in the Dewan Bahadur's opinion, is

the large establishments at heavy cost which it is necessary to maintain to protect the revenue. The strength of the Police force employed throughout the presidency for the prevention and detection of crime against life and property is 22,668 and the cost 36½ lakhs of rupees; while the force employed for the protection of the salt and abkari revenues, that is, for the purpose of preventing people from doing what but for these taxes, would be innocent and even meritorious is 8,603, the cost being 13½ lakhs of rupees. This myriapod of Government establishments of a semi-political with none of the responsibilities of the Department, as indeed of some respects, it is worse. to strengthen the Government of this is necessary than that Lord Lugard has ventured on his individual authority to

tions, for the purpose of protecting with theoretic completeness the revenue which it is charged with the duty of collecting.

This objection to the tax becomes intensified by every enhancement as the inducement to evade the impost is increased by it.

The Insidious Incidence of Indirect Taxes:—The Governor-General in his apologia, argued that as the enhanced duty had been collected since the 1st March without difficulty, the outcry against the enhancement was spurious. The answer to such an argument is given by the Dewan Bahadur in a quotation from a despatch from the Duke of Argyll who was at one time Secretary of State for India. The Duke wrote:

I observe that several of those officers whose opinions on this question have been given in the papers before me, found that opinion upon what they have heard, in the way of complaint, among the native population. But this is a very unsafe ground of judgment. It is one of the great advantages of indirect taxation that it is so mixed up with the other elements of price that it is paid without observation by the consumers. Even at home, where the people are so much more generally educated, and more accustomed to political reasoning, the heavy indirect taxes formerly levied upon the great articles of consumption were seldom complained of by the poor; they were not themselves conscious how severely they were affected by those taxes, and how much more of the articles they would consume if the duties were lower. But while this peculiarity of indirect taxation makes it a most convenient instrument of finance, it throws additional responsibility upon all Governments which resort to it to bring the most enlightened consideration to bear upon the adjustment of taxes, which may really be very heavy and unjust, without the fact being perceived or understood by those on whom they fall.

Services and Departments:—The *Servant of India* says that we were wrong in taking exception to the suggestion of the Bombay Retrenchment Committee that "All-India Services should be confined to Europeans recruited in England." Our contemporary remarks:

It infers, quite wrongly in our opinion, that if this recommendation were given effect to, no Indian could be employed in the Posts and Telegraphs and other Imperial departments. The *Reformer* has obviously confounded Imperial Services with Imperial departments.

There is no Service except in connection with a Department, and when we criticised the Committee's recommendation, we were perfectly aware that the inferior appointments in the All-India Services would not be closed to Indians. But in the superior ranks, for which the All-India Services are recruited, there would be no Indians. Indians will be postmen, pointsmen and signallers but the offices of command will be held by Europeans recruited for the All-India Services. The fact is that the Bombay Retrenchment Committee was not a very competent Committee as this and other suggestions in its Report show.

The Kenya Deputation to England: The European deputation from Kenya sailed early in April from Mombasa. Mr. B. S. Varma sailed on the same ship. The Europeans were as follows:—The Hon. T. K. Archer, Arthur. Mr. Green

deputation as a member of the Kenya Deputation with a view to the recruitment of members of the Kenya Deputation. Mr. B. S. Varma sailed on the same ship.

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the voyage and advise them and help them with regard to the main points at issue. We are informed that Mr. Andrews is strongly against the proposal of deferring the whole question pending the report of a Royal Commission and that the members of the Kenya Indian deputation hold the same opinion.

Reservation of Seats Instead of Communal Electorates:—Last week we said that we were surprised to learn from Mr. Bhurgri's address to the Moslem League that a proposal to substitute the method of reserving seats for Mahomedans, in place of the present separate electorates, had been rejected by Hindus in the United Provinces. Mr. Bhurgri would seem to have been misinformed. The *Leader* of Allahabad, than which there is no better authority on a point of this sort, writes with reference to Mr. Bhurgri's statement:

It is for the first time that we hear of such an offer having been made. Are responsible Mussalman leaders prepared to make the offer openly? We have to tell Mr. Bhurgri that he is thoroughly misinformed. He should ask his informant to state in public what he has told him in private and to corroborate his statement by reference to concrete facts. The Hindus would be but too glad to have communal representation done away with altogether, at least from local bodies, and to secure to Muslim members a certain number of reserved seats to be filled by joint electorates.

Canada and Prohibition:—It is well known that liquor interests are spending large sums of money on a lying propaganda to discredit the policy of Prohibition adopted by the United States. The Board of Temperance of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India and Burma, is, therefore, doing most valuable service by issuing from time to time "clipsheets" containing authentic reports of important testimonies to the success of Prohibition. We reprinted last week from the last clip-sheet the speech of Mr. Drury, Prime Minister of Ontario, on the progress of Prohibition in Canada. Seven out of nine provinces in Canada are already dry and Mr. Drury anticipates that the remaining two must also soon adopt Prohibition. We commend to Indian Ministers Mr. Drury's declaration that Government control in Canada has been a complete failure and that there is more illegal sale of liquor under Government control than under Prohibition.

Negroes in Harvard University:—The *Swarajya* of Madras writes:—"President Lowell is known all over the world as an authority on constitutional Government. His work on the Government of England is recognised everywhere to be a classic while the two volumes of 'Parties and Politics in Continental Europe' find a place in every educated man's library. As President of the premier university of America, Harvard, his position in the political and social life of the U. S. A. is next only to that of the head of the State. His recent action in importing racial distinctions into Harvard life has, however, created a storm of opposition. Harvard never recognised the colour bar which is the dominant note of American life and in the the university there was never any distinction made between Negroes and whitemen. But recently President Lowell issued an order that Negroes cannot be admitted into freshmen's dormitories. The decree has been violently opposed, among others, by a large body of the White senior students of the University who addressed a note of protest to the President. Distinguished Harvard men have joined the fight and taken up the cause of the Negroes. President Emeritus, Elliot and Prof. Chapman have also joined the fight and taken up the cause of the Negroes. The authorities have now climbed down and promised to reconsider the

Each As.

11-10-22

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INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 14, 1923.

THE OUTLOOK.

There have been quite a number of speeches, "interviews" and articles by members of the Indian Legislature, commenting on the action of the Governor General in legalising the "enhancement" of the salt duty on his own sole authority in spite of its twice repeated rejection by the Legislative Assembly. The Council of State which, at the recommendation of the Governor-General, ventured to over-ride the declared decision of the more popular Chamber, stands discredited and disowned by those of its members who can lay claim to a representative character. The statement of the Home Member of the Government of India that, in vesting the power of "certification" in the Governor-General, Parliament intended to place the Government of India in the position of one which had a majority in the Legislature, means in plain English that Parliament intended to deceive the people of India by giving them a numerical majority in the Assembly, carefully divested of every attribute of such a majority. There would be something to be said for Sir Malcolm Hailey's doctrine, if the persons deceived by the Reforms had been confined to Indians. But the citations in Sir Montagu Webb's circular letter to the members of the Legislative Assembly inviting them to carry their protest to Parliament, show that among those misled were H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught who inaugurated the Reforms on behalf of His Majesty and Sir Malcolm himself in his former incarnation as Finance Minister. "If we impose taxation", he had declared in 1921, "it will be by the vote of the Assembly." Parliament, therefore, cannot be accused of intentionally deceiving the Indian people by professing to give them something which it did not give. The mistake lies with the Liberal leaders who did their best to persuade the country to believe that conventions would grow up and remedy the defects of the Reform scheme. Instead of utilising their opportunity in the Councils for the prompt concession of full responsible government as the Congress Council party proposes to do—Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas is quite wrong in stating as he did last week that its object is to wreck the Councils—the Liberal leaders busied themselves with issues which left these defects untouched. They took office, accepted Commissions, and identified themselves in several other ways with the system of Government which had to be first reformed in the interests of the country. That is how they have come to grief and that is the reason why the Das party in its prospectus lays down that none of its members in the Legislature shall accept office.

If this is the result of the Reforms in the Central Government, it has been no better in the provinces. The cry everywhere is that Diarchy has failed.

Where it has been successful, its victories have been not at the expense of irresponsible Executive authority but at that of minorities of the people. In Madras, the non-Brahmin Ministers have succeeded in compelling a Brahmin member of the Executive Council to resign for introducing an Irrigation Bill for which his English colleagues were equally, if not more, responsible. In the abuses of authority in dealing with the Malabar disturbances, of which Mr. Manjeri Ramier gave a vivid account in a recent address at Madras, the Ministers must be taken to have acquiesced, or if they had protested, they did not think fit to give effect to their protest in any way that the public could appreciate. In the dust and smoke of the communal controversies on which they rode to power, they may temporarily evade the responsibility which they certainly owe to the country for their remissness in this matter, but the day must come when they will have to answer for their share of it. In Bombay, the Ministers are without any organised support in the Council. Consequently, they have mostly looked to officials and the Services for support. There can be no more striking illustration of this tendency than the re-nomination of a member of the Executive Council as Vice-Chancellor of the University. Mr. Paranjpye, when he became Educational Minister, departed from the practice of nearly fifty years by nominating a member of the Executive Council as Vice-Chancellor. He has since re-nominated him. If there was ever any doubt as to the necessity, in the interests of the independence of the University, of not having a member of Government for its Vice-Chancellor, it has been set at rest by the recently published correspondence between Lord Lytton and Sir Asutosh Mukherjee. If Sir Asutosh had been a member of the Executive Council, it is hardly conceivable that he would have upheld the interests of the University as he has done. The Asutosh-Lytton correspondence is a sufficient commentary on the working of Diarchy in Bengal. In the Punjab, it has been the main cause of the deplorable inter-communal dissensions which are causing so much anxiety. In every province to-day, the authority of the Executive has been as little brought under control as before the inception of the Reforms. The Governor and the Services are able between them to do much as they wish. Indian members of the Executive Council do not count, and, in some cases, they have become willing exponents of the bureaucratic spirit. Under these circumstances, he would be a bold man who would affirm that the Provinces are better or more responsibly administered as the result of the Reforms. And the pity of it is that, of all departments, it is the Educational and Public Health Departments that have most suffered.

The Reforms have been a mirage. They have proved to be so beyond a doubt. The political position to-day is what it was before the Act of 1919. Indeed, in some respects, it is worse. No better proof of this is necessary than that Lord Reading has ventured on his individual authority to

enhance the salt duty which previous Viceroys even under the stress of great necessity had not ventured to touch since Lord Curzon reduced it, in the days of famine and plague, to the lowest level since the Mutiny. The only hope lies in a reorganization and revivification of public life. The old lines of political difference no longer apply. We should no longer be satisfied with merely destructive or even merely constructive work. What we have really got to do is *creative* work—to create in the country and among our communities the passionate conviction that we must look for national salvation to our own efforts. In the political sphere, *Swaraj* is at once the incentive to and expression of that conviction. We must have *Swaraj* and have it soon. Three precious years have been wasted in unessentials. Mr. Montagu, writing in the March number of *Asia*, distinctly declares that his main object in enlarging the Councils was to provide India with a means of expressing its definite wishes as to the shape and form of self-government she preferred. He writes:

The ultimate constitution of India will take shape in India, and not in London; it will possibly adapt Western institutions to Indian needs rather than imitate them without qualification. But we have taken the step of devising the machinery by which the wishes of India can be ascertained through its elected representatives.

This central purpose of the new Councils has been neglected by those who have gone into them. This should no longer be the case. Those who go into the next Councils, whether they be Congressmen or not, should make it their first and foremost object to obtain without chance of retrogression the essentials of full constitutional responsible Government. We are glad to note that a distinct change is coming over the Congress party in respect of the majority attitude as disclosed at Gaya to entry into the Councils. Among those who have kept out of the Congress, there is likewise a change which should facilitate the path of co-operation. The signs, therefore, are not unfavourable to a vigorous reorganization of public life with the supreme purpose of full responsible Government. In the social and religious spheres the portents are most promising. The curse of untouchability—the great blot on India and her greatest obstacle in the way of *Swaraj*—is doomed. In conservative and orthodox Travancore, as our correspondent shows, the movement for the elevation of the depressed classes is as vigorous as in the most progressive province of British India. The reactionary resolution of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, to which another correspondent refers, need not worry us much. The leading members of that Committee were present at the last inter-communal dinner to untouchables. As regards inter-communal relations, we venture to think, despite appearances to the contrary in some parts of the country, that we are on the eve of a very satisfactory settlement on enduring principles. The country, it is clear, is gathering its strength for a great progressive effort.

THE AHMEDABAD STRIKE.

(BY MR. C. F. ANDREWS.)

The great blow, that has fallen upon Ahmedabad during the last week, is not so much the strike itself (though it involves, all told, nearly two hundred thousand men, women and children) but rather the breakdown of the arbitration principle, which had been built up by Mahatma Gandhi, year after year, with such infinite pains and labour. It was his greatest achievement in the city, which he had made his own, and on whose borders he had planted his Asram.

As far as I have been able to judge, the fault, which caused the breakdown of all negotiations, was not on one side alone. The men were to blame as well as the mill-owners. But if it comes to the question of apportionment of blame, then I have no doubt, personally, that the greater blame was on the side of the mill-owners; for in the dispute about the bonus last year, which ended in an arbitration award, the mill-owners had acted in a spirit that was far from generous. I blamed the men very severely indeed for their delay in accepting the arbitration principle early this year, when the mill-owners had accepted it. The men had delayed and delayed, quite obviously with the hope in view, that the market would rise again and the reduction would not be needed. It was all in accordance with weak human nature to do so; and I believe the masters had constantly done the same, when it was a question of bonus or of a rise in wages. But, though it was natural, it was *very* against the arbitration principle itself. For arbitration can only be worked successfully, if a *st* machinery of civil war, including skirmishing tactics, is laid aside. If Mahatmaji had been out of jail, I feel quite certain that the whole matter would have been settled last January and there would have been no strike at all.

But even this fault of the men is light compared with the deliberate attempt to commit acts of palpable sharp dealing over the bonus award. I grant that the award itself was drawn up in the most careful way, as if it had been written in haste, and scribbled down without due consideration of the after consequences which might arise out of ambiguous language. But this does not excuse the entire lack of generosity, which was shown in its interpretation by the mill-owners. The masters ought clearly to understand that, for every single act of meanness, they will have to pay in full the heaviest price of all,—not merely in hard cash, but in human good-will. I have before me, as I write, an abstract of the complaints, which have been brought to the Labour Union Office, at Ahmedabad. I have also seen many of the complainants, and questioned them. It is my belief, that, allowing for all exaggerations, their main complaint is substantially true. The men have not been treated well.

With regard to the original question of a reduction in wages, I am not as competent to judge as I am about the bonus award. One of the most tragic

things, which has been apparent, both in Ahmedabad and in Bombay, is the very small proportion of those labourers, who have made good use of their rise in wages during previous years. It would appear to me as if those who received the extra wage or bonus, for the most part only used it in drink and gambling and other vices. There were very few signs indeed of greater cleanliness and greater care of the children. This brings me to the slum problem of Ahmedabad, which in some ways is more desperate even than that of Bombay; because with very rare exceptions, it has been neglected by every one and allowed to go from bad to worse. I saw some slums which were more hopelessly unfit for human habitation than anything I had ever seen in Bombay. There was no excuse for this in Ahmedabad, because all round and about there was open land in abundance. I cannot understand what the Municipality and Government officials and townspeople are doing. It is the same thing everywhere,—wretched streets, wretched pavements, wretched lighting, wretched conveyances, wretched drainage! And no one seems to take any notice. I went along one (so-called) street in order to get to a certain mill. Even at this time of year, after months of drought, it was nothing less than a cess-pool, owing probably to some neglected broken pipe. Though the street was a very important one, there was not the slightest sign of any attempt on the part of the Corporation to make its surface *pukka*. I was told by my guide that, in the rainy season, this road remained inches deep in mud, and I could well believe that Men, women and children had to pick their path along the edge, while the mill-owners' motor cars were shed the mud right up to their faces. Here was a road, on the way to a great mill, used by thousands of poor people. Yet nothing at all had been done, after five years of fabulous prosperity, to make it even tolerable.

I will mention one other thing that I have noticed every time I have come to Ahmedabad,—a thing that would be almost incredible in any other city of such dimensions. The railway authorities have not even yet been compelled by public opinion and public action to build an over-bridge in the railway station. People have to get from one platform to another by gangways thrown across, when trains are not blocking the main line. Of course, people often refuse to wait for these gangways; and, when the gangways are not there and they are in a hurry to catch their train, the crowd in large numbers will jump down on to the railway line, in order to get across. I have seen this happening. Some day, there will be a terrible accident; and then the Ahmedabad public will wake up to the folly of allowing the railway company to neglect its own obvious duty, in order to make its own extra profits.

It may be said,—“What has all this talk about a railway over-bridge got to do with the Strike?” To me, it appears to have a great deal to do with the strike, because it shows the mentality of the people. To go along year after year in this slipshod

manner, while employing the very latest modern machinery in the mills in order to make money quickly, reveals to me a psychology which is bound to result in human conflict and disaster. There is a parable, which Christ told, illustrating his own sayings about the need of faithfulness in that which is least. He said that a great king went into a far country, leaving certain talents of gold with his servants. When the King came back, he called upon his servants to render an account, and one of them said to the King, that the gold talents entrusted to him had become doubled in number and value. The King said to him,—“Well done, good and faithful servant.” But another servant had hidden the gold talent in a napkin and had not used it at all. Therefore, said Christ, the King blamed and punished this servant severely. Unprecedented prosperity came to Ahmedabad,—to both mill-owners and mill labourers,—at the end of the war, and in the years that followed what has been done with these talents of gold?

One can see great residences built by the mill-owners for themselves. These are obvious enough. But what has been done for the city? What has been attempted in order to do away with the slums? In Ahmedabad itself and in its surroundings, I can see very little improvement.

There is one exception to what I have said about Ahmedabad citizens, which I wish at once to mention with great respect. The Labour Union is a truly noble structure, built up with sympathy and sacrifice by a band of voluntary workers whose unselfish work is beyond all praise. Here the Master's word,—“Well done, good and faithful servant,” can indeed be uttered. For they have done their work both faithfully and well, and it has not been in vain.

But the voluntary workers are so few! And those who have given their lives to the work are breaking down in health,—over-worn and over-tired. It is heart-rending to see how they toil and labour with such patience and fortitude, their ranks decimated by Government prosecutions and imprisonments. Indulal has been the last to go to prison. He was working up to the last in the Labour Union, with wonderful brightness, fidelity and joyfulness of heart. Now his precious gifts of sympathy and love for the mill labourers are, outwardly at least, to be held in abeyance, while he lives out in isolation his imprisonment for one whole year. Shankerlal Banker's imprisonment has been the greatest blow of all to the labourers, after that of Mahatmaji himself.

What words of gratitude can be strong enough to describe the work of Anusuya Behn? In spite of an illness which brought her very near to death's door, she has struggled on and on. And today, she is the heart and soul of all that is good in the Labour Union movement. I dare not speak more, for she would not wish me to do so. But I bow my head in silent reverence before what I have seen with my own eyes of her devotion.

Some things are very easy to forgive. But it is hard to forgive easily the public letter in the Press, written on behalf of the Mill-owners' Association, in

which it was stated that Anusuya Behn, after being appointed an arbitrator, went away 'for a change',—the implication being that she was seeking to avoid the arbitration. What really happened was, that she became so ill, that she had to be removed at once to the hospital for an operation, and only with the utmost care in nursing was she restored to health. These facts were known all over Ahmedabad. And yet this cruel word is published, that she went away 'for a change'. I have openly blamed the mill-labourers and the labour leaders for their delay in arbitration. I have all the more right, openly and publicly to protest against this cruel aspersion upon the character of Anusuya Behn.

I believe the strike could still be settled on the following two conditions:—

(i) That Seth Mangaldas and Professor Dhruva should meet without delay and finally settle the outstanding questions about the bonus award of last Diwali, 1922.

(ii) That the whole question,—whether or not a reduction should take place, and if a reduction is necessary to what extent,—should be arbitrated.

DEPRESSED CLASSES IN TRAVANCORE.

(From our Travancore Correspondent.)

The steps taken by His Highness the Maharaja's Government to ameliorate the condition of the depressed classes are a decided sign of the progressive attitude of the State towards those unfortunate people whose degraded position is a sore spot in Hindu Society. The prejudices against these so-called depressed—I would describe them as oppressed—classes are keen in Malabar and it was, therefore, proper that the Government of Travancore should do its best to do bare justice to them.

The process of their material purification began with the advent of that well-known Indian administrator and "People's Dewan," Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C. I. E., who became Dewan of Travancore in 1904. The amount of spade work done by him in the uplift of the untouchables and unapproachables of the land was of great use to his successor, Dewan Bahadur (now Sir) P. Rajagopalachari, who proved himself to be a real friend, philosopher and guide to these men and it was he who recognised the great need of making these landless classes landholders. With the unerring instinct of a statesman he discovered that these people who, though homeless and landless, form the bulwark of the agricultural and cultivating classes, should first be made land-owners, and his Government for the first time in 1912 passed an order excising a large block of Government waste land and reserving it for them. In spite of his earnest endeavours his orders did not materialise, as most of the waste lands earmarked for them proved to be occupied lands or rather lands upon which a large number of high caste Hindus had squatted and begun cultivation and it was a herculean affair to evict them and register those lands in favour of the depressed classes.

Dewan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nair, who succeeded Dewan Bahadur Rajagopalachari as Dewan of Travancore, was equally praiseworthy and persisted in the beneficent policy already chalked out. As a result of his continued work to bring into effect the orders of Government, an area of 100 acres was actually registered in the names of the classes for whom they were intended.

Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, the present Dewan, took up the threads and is very keen on removing all the shackles on the depressed classes—educational, agricultural and other—and is more determined than his predecessors to see that these creatures of God the Almighty enjoy the same God-given advantages and facilities as are those of the higher classes. He first took up the question of land and revised the rules under which waste lands of Government are registered in the names of private individuals. He found that there was considerable difficulty for these depressed classes to benefit by the G. O's. already issued. The intentions of His Highness's Government were excellent and the real defect lay in giving practical effect to the beneficent provisions. Mr. Raghaviah went further than his predecessors. He knew that His Highness the Maharajah was very sympathetic with the desires and aspirations of these unfortunate people and that the only thing required to be done was to see that the magnanimous and high-minded policy of His Highness the Maharajah fructified. With this object in view Mr. Raghaviah, as head of His Highness' Government, introduced a new rule under which each family of these people should have 3 acres of land free of acreage value, so that these landless men, women and children may first have a home and also some land for cultivation. With a view to ensure these beneficent provisions really reaching them, legislation was resorted to by the Dewan and a Land Assignment Regulation was passed which enabled these members of the depressed classes to enjoy land. The Travancore Agricultural Loans Rules were next revised with a view to provide for their being largely availed of by the poorer classes of people in improving their lands and in following the peaceful pursuit of agriculture. The rules wanted landed properties of great value as security for the loans. The amendments made by the present Dewan included, among others, a clause allowing personal security being accepted for sums below Rs. 200, and facilities were also given under these rules for the extension and application of these rules to the purchase of manure, agricultural tools and implements and also to the sinking of wells, and such other requisites. The attention of the Dewan was turned to their educational needs. The rules in regard to the award of free scholarships were revised and the division of these people into those backward in Vernacular education and English education was a point of distinct advantage to them. The State had already recognised the principle of throwing open all the Government schools to all classes and communities of His Highness's subjects and had taken practical action on these lines. Accordingly, a large number of these schools had been declared as

being open to these depressed classes and since his becoming Dewan, Mr. Raghaviah has added largely to the list of schools to which the children of the depressed classes could gain admission. Recently, the Dewan presided, for the third time, over the annual gathering of Pulayas held at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall. The significance of this great step and the moral effect it has on the social reformation of the communities concerned, will be better understood when it is said that these Pulayas are a class of people whose presence at a distance of even some yards is a source of pollution to the high-caste Hindu. That the men, women and children belonging to such an unapproachable community are permitted to meet at the heart of the town under the presidency of a Brahmin Dewan, is itself a great social reform. The Dewan offered them valuable advice and asked the leaders to make the Government concessions and special facilities to them better known with a view to their being benefitted. Such is the brief record of the endeavours made to uplift these depressed classes in Travancore. Such is the attitude of the high-caste Hindus towards their less favoured brethren in Travancore.

GUJARATHI SOCIAL WORKERS' CONFERENCE.

(BY A SOCIAL WORKER.)

Social workers in this country have not perhaps yet adequately realised the extent of the wastage of social endeavour invariably associated with random and unregulated impulses and efforts. They cannot however have failed to observe the ineffective working of the social institutions guided by undefined ideas and equally undefined programmes of work. We have evidently only just begun to think about the necessity of a systematic investigation of social problems. The social evils are yet to be known and fully understood before they could be properly diagnosed and remedied. But the knowledge of the existence of a social evil is not enough. The knowledge of the right method for attacking the evil is equally important. That knowledge could only be obtained if we create some common agencies where social workers could with absolute candour and courage exchange opinions, suggestions and information, where they could, by means of these agencies, form a general estimate of their common experience, difficulties and obstacles. The policy of aloofness which has been generally adopted here by social institutions working as isolated units must at once be rejected if we are to exercise the necessary economy of energy and to discover without unnecessary delay the right methods for the effective solution of problems that threaten to remain chronic. The Sammelan of social workers, recently organised by the Seva Mandal of Surat, by bringing the workers from Gujarat, Kathiawar and Bombay to a common platform, has made a praiseworthy attempt to lessen the aloofness. The Sammelan, which aimed at bringing the social workers into personal contact with each other, gave the opportunity but could not secure the time requisite for a thorough discussion

and examination of the problems which at present attract their attention. Despite the limited time at its disposal it was successful not only in impressing upon the social workers the importance of co-ordinating agencies but it also persuaded them to undertake a definite plan of work for the purpose. The proceedings of the Sammelan were not less instructive than interesting. The exhibition at the Sammelan of the literature published by various social institutions revealed the inefficient methods by which we attempt to cope with social evils.

The reports, the pamphlets, the journals and similar literature displayed on the occasion served to demonstrate vividly the diffused and vague attempts that characterise the working of social institutions. It is not necessary to examine at present their contents. It is enough to state that they show very clearly the disappointing results consequent upon their scattered and unregulated activities. The classified arrangement of the exhibits accentuated the obvious results of inefficient methods. The bewildering variety of methods by which each isolated individual or institution vainly attempts to solve problems, revealed the general confusion. It emphasised therefore the necessity for more economic and systematic methods of publicity and propaganda.

The manner in which the workers discussed the scheme presented by the Seva Mandal of Surat left no doubt about the attitude of the workers that attended the Sammelan. They meant business. It is true that they were cautious, pessimistic and some seemingly cynic even. But the attitude has been characteristic of workers. It was assumed as a measure purely of self-defence. The workers have always been pessimists by profession and optimists by conviction. The discussion gave them an opportunity for expressing their common grievances. But they were checked from making it futile by the recognition of the necessity of deciding upon a definite plan of work.

The plan of work formulated by the Seva Mandal of Surat should be read carefully by all those who are contemplating measures for a systematic investigation of social problems. Besides a definite scheme for a systematic survey of existing social institutions in Gujarat, Kathiawar and Bombay it contains several suggestions for organisation of social institutions which should be examined by social workers. It presents a brief analysis of the forces that have conspired to render ineffective the methods and ideals hitherto followed by the social workers. The analysis and the suggestions would prove useful only if they are subjected to a dispassionate scrutiny. They furnish a basis and an opportunity for well-directed discussion that should not be missed.

The Sammelan as a result of the discussion on the scheme presented by the Seva Mandal of Surat has appointed a committee, with powers to add to its number, for conducting a survey of the existing social institutions in Gujarat, Kathiawar and Bombay to be presented at the next Sammelan proposed to be held in November or thereafter as early as possible. The list of the members of the Committee* is obviously incomplete as it is only tentative.

* Dr. Sumant B. Mehta. (President), Mr. Motibhai Narsinhbhai Amin, Mr. Amritlal V. Thakkar, Mr. Nrasinhprasad K. Bhat, Mrs. Sharda Mehta, Shrimati Sulochana, Mr. Harilal Parikh, Dr. Karasukha V. Mehta, with Messrs. Kanniyalal H. Yakil and Jagjivandas Narayandas as Secretaries.

REGULATION *Vs.* ABOLITION OF BROTHELS.

Mr. V. R. Shinde of the Depressed Classes Mission, Poona, writes :—

Since the publication of the report of the Committee on Prostitution in Bombay was published by the *Indian Social Reformer*, somewhat independently of any wishes of Government in the matter,* an interest in the weird subject of prostitution seems to have been created to an unusual extent, not only in the general reading world of newspapers but also in the limited circles of leisured classes residing in big metropolitan cities of Bombay, Calcutta and even the "Benighted" Madras. Dilettanti or triflers in social service are even holding big public meetings under attractive auspices, organizing fashionable committees and planning tentative schemes. Some aspirant in the "Reformed" Councils may even appropriate the incipient honour of introducing a bill and thus advertise the subject as well as himself all the more. That thought about the principles and details about this ancient subject is thus provoked among the ordinary public is not unwelcome. How far practical results are commensurate with the agitation is another story.

THE SCOPE OF BROTHELS.

The Committee in Bombay was wary enough to confine itself to brothels and pimps and not to dabble in the wider question of prostitution. It also betrayed an extra tenderness to the softer sex inasmuch as it was particularly against the male pimps. Unfortunately the question and the scope of brothels is so indefinitely and surreptitiously widespread that one wonders why the Committee confined its deliberations and investigations to the limits of the Island of Bombay unless, may be, for practical reasons. There are certainly other big cities and towns in this presidency which are not quite slow in imitating this distinction of Bombay in their own modest way. If one is prepared for an excursion from modern industrialism to ancient or medieval ritualism such as those of Hinduism, Christianity and the rest, on this unpleasant subject, one may easily discover that this epidemic as naturally inheres in the one as in the other. Even now some time-honoured temples in Southern and Western India, —and may be some convents elsewhere—may afford ample scope for thought and work for the trained mind and hand of a real reformer. I know some of the "sacred" centres which have no more claim to the mercy of the legislator or Magistrate than the Bombay brothels.

PROF. SHAH'S LOGIC.

The Committee, partly because it consisted mainly of oriental and sentimental members, or partly because it perhaps did not trust sufficiently in the administrative capacity of the already overburdened and over-tried modern Governments, voted in majority against Regulation. So far as mere argumentation on the subject is concerned, the defect of the Committee is amply made up by Prof. K. T. Shah in his highly interesting article in the last issue of the *Social Service Quarterly*. Prof. Shah is anything but a sentimentalist unless it be that he has more faith in, or regard for, Governments, Municipal or Imperial, than the committee would show, or that he is more prone to believe in the righteousness of a public body than in that of a private brothel-keeper or landlord. The fundamental difference of faith or sentiment, or whatever it be, between the Committee and its critic, Prof. Shah, has driven them poles asunder. For, while the Committee or at any rate the majority is out and out abolition-

* We may state that we reprinted the report after it was presented to the Legislative Council and at the request and from the copy of a member of that Council.—[Ed. I. S. R.]

ist, Prof. Shah is a regulationist to such an extent that he would have a public body maintain brothels just as much as market-places or slaughter-houses. No doubt, his deductive logic is unassailable, freedom of thought admirable, and above all his motive is elevating. He points out that prostitution is a settled fact, and that it is coeval with the defective institutions of property and marriage. If he had stopped here it would not have mattered much. He would have at most been admired or condemned as a mere theorist. But, propelled by his logic and motive, he proceeds and appeals to the State or Municipality to not only recognize prostitution as a settled fact but even a public need and to provide for it by maintaining brothels at public cost, though provisionally and as a choice between evils. And here crops up the real complication of the subject of Regulation, viz., not only the abstract question of control and management of an individual interest by a public body but the practical details of incidence of taxation and representation, management of public funds and landed estates and so on and so on. As a means to vindicate the unquestionable right of the unfortunate prostitute to public care and even respect, Prof. Shah's logic and sympathy leave very little to be desired. But when the matter develops into the political aspect, viz., whether public bodies should be allowed to recognize prostitution as a public need and to raise taxes to provide for it or at any rate to guardian its victims and thus ultimately to control the life of prostitutes as well as their patrons, much more has got to be requisitioned than the above logic and sympathy, not only in the interest of the general tax-payer who may be neither a prostitute nor her or his patron, but also in the very interest of these two classes. What guarantee is there that the material and moral interests of these classes, apart from those of tax-payers and others, are safer in the hands of the administrative staff of any public body under the sun than in those of a private manager? Prof. Shah's logic, in getting out of the meshes of the question, Regulation *v/s* Abolition, has inevitably entangled itself into another and a subtler web, viz., Nationalization *v/s* Individualism. In case at all a public body undertakes or is allowed to undertake this function of keeping brothels, it is only to be assumed that such a public body will continue to exercise it with the same benevolent or at any rate non-commercial aims as in the beginning. But experience in Politics and Economics run on quite contrary lines.

PROSTITUTION AND LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

The moment a duty towards brothels is nationalised, a corresponding right in them is also nationalised and thus the right becomes a vested right and an interest as such. In ritualistic prostitution, temples, and churches first may have put on this same public attitude and assumed duty as ministers of religion. But now this duty has converted itself into a vested interest and has been even defying law and administration so flagrantly. What guarantee is there that modern States and municipalities will acquit themselves better than medieval churches and temples? In the case of liquor traffic which the average modern State has almost appropriated as a privileged right, it has been weighed in the balance and found sadly wanting even in the so-called dry U. S. of America. If the liquor traffic has been found so valuable an asset of the national finance, who can say that prostitution will not afford a still more valuable field for exploitation by statesmen?

Third-class passengers on Indian railways and steamers, tenants and labourers on land now or in the past are or were being treated even more brutally by those over them than

the victims of Bombay brothels by their keepers. But mere such incidental ill-treatment, however brutal, was never proffered as a sole argument for the nationalization of railways or land. It should not be, however, hereby misunderstood that the right of the prostitute and her patron to the public care should be disregarded. On the contrary, it is urged that her or his material as well as moral interest should be carefully weighed and jealously vouchsafed by the reformers, before consigning them to the benevolent care of a public body. Modern European nations, big and small, have practised such guardian interests over alien peoples under sweet names such as protectorates, spheres of influence etc., and one knows too well to what result!

PROSTITUTES AS A CLASS.

There is one more pitiable aspect of this subject, as to how modern thought fights shy of this riddle of regulation. The present-day publicist, if not the man in the street, is really convinced at heart, that the prostitute is a settled fact; nay, even more, there is a lurking presentiment, that she may assert herself and will sooner or later claim a right of self-determination as a class and functionary in future society as the ritualistic prostitute did in medieval religion or the fashionable artist (the professional concubine) did in ancient Rome or does even now in Japan. This inward conviction is there, but the pity is only that it does not break forth into an open confession, so that the issue may be discussed in a businesslike way and the consequent responsibilities shouldered bravely. The prostitute trades in her physical graces or gifts, whatever they be, just as much as a pleader or a priest in his intellectual power or hereditary position even to any illegitimate and merciless extent. But while the latter is respected as a leader or even revered as a *guru*, the former is given a bad name and hanged without being heard. It is however futile to dwell on this aspect. The so-called prostitute belongs to a powerless sex and to a still more powerless class in the caste-system. Thus doubly condemned, there is no immediate prospect for her emancipation. The only remedy therefore is the creation of a healthy public opinion, which attempts like that of Prof. Shah are likely to lead to. Until such opinion is secured to control a private or public manager of brothels, all talk of regulation or abolition is academic. It may interest a casual reader and benefit a journalist but not the real victim for whom it is meant.

WINE AND WIFE.

Lastly it is not sure if any public body will readily adopt the proposal of Prof. Shah with all his clever arguments. It smacks of too much idealism and it is in the interest of a people trebly despised; first as a sex, secondly as a caste and thirdly as a trade. No Government have ever been known to play at such games without earthly reasons. The British Government in India has had the candour to declare its heroic duty towards the drunkards and moderate drinkers, though it is doubtful if it has done so on moral or financial grounds. At any rate it is very doubtful if even this omnipotent and omniscient Government will extend the same generosity to prostitutes and their patrons, unless these latter assure the same financial possibilities as the moderate and excessive drinkers. An American religious paper recently quoted the striking plesantry: "The conscience of the Pope permits him wine but no wife, whereas the conscience of the Sultan permits him wives but not wine." I am afraid the conscience of modern Governments permits them both and to any extent, but on one condition only, viz., if they pay in hard cash!

THE CASE OF MR. BHAGAT SINGH.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In spite of the lengthy comments already published in the *Indian Social Reformer*, the case of Mr. Bhagat Singh seems to require still another. The summary, (this was printed in the last issue) received from the Foreign Press Service, confirms my remark that the Supreme Court of the United States based its decision, not upon any scientific interpretation of "white" person, but upon the idea in the minds of the framers of the naturalization law. "The words of the statute are to be interpreted in accordance with the understanding of the common man, from whose vocabulary they were taken."

The word "free", upon which Mr. Reeves Calkins laid so much stress in his comment, does not, it is clear, have anything to do with the decision. Apparently also, the word "free", which does not occur in the clauses of the Constitution referring to citizenship, occurs in the Naturalization Law of 1906, though I have not been able to find it in the abbreviated texts of the law to which I have had access recently. But at any rate, it is meant only to exclude persons, who, otherwise eligible for citizenship, are slaves or (probably) indentured labourers. (Personally, I do not at the moment recall the decisions referred to by Mr. Calkins regarding "contract foreign labour" and have no references at hand to look them up.)

As to the retrospective effect of this decision (mentioned in your editorial in the issue of 24th March) only Hindus naturalized since the going into effect of the law of 1906 would be affected. The law cannot be made retrospective.

Coming now to the associated problem of "race prejudice" and "race discrimination" and your short comment on my former article, allow me more fully to explain what I meant. First, let me call your attention to the fact that I did not say the Hindu "cannot" understand the difference between race discrimination and race prejudice. Some Hindus there must be who are able to make the same distinction I did, though perhaps employing different terminology. I said it is "hard for the Hindu to understand" (perhaps I ought to have said most Hindus) just as I might truthfully say: it is hard for most Christian missionaries, brought up as they are under the influence of a single religion and taught to regard non-Christians as "heathens", to realize that there are highly valuable elements in Hinduism and to appreciate the saintly lives of many of India's heroes;—or as I might also truthfully say: it is hard for the American, brought up as he is in a country where ancestry has comparatively little to do with social status or economic condition, and where the general public ideal is to diminish that little, to realize that the rigidity of the caste system has been a powerful factor in the maintenance of law and order and of a stable social structure.

Now to further explain my meaning. Suppose I am in a mine, and know there is coal-gas around. I deliberately refrain from lighting a match; indeed, I am very particular that no flame shall come in contact with the gas. Why? Because their mixture will be attended with disastrous results. Here is discrimination; where there is coal-gas I debar flame. Again, I have certain friends whom I would never dream of inviting to dine with me the same evening—there would be unpleasant happenings. When one is present, I debar the other—with no more idea of one friend being superior or inferior to the other than of a similar ethical valuation of the coal-gas and the flame. My contention is that Congress, in passing discrimi-

nation acts, may be in a similar position. If experience shows that the "mixing" of large numbers of the "white" race and the "yellow" race (or of the European-descended peoples of the United States and the Hindus) is likely to lead to unpleasant and undesirable results, it may be good common-sense to prevent it—and since the "whites" are already in the country, the only way to accomplish this is to exclude from the privileges of citizenship (or of entering the country) the yellow race (or the Hindus), or, to discriminate against them. Such an attitude I do not call "race prejudice", and as a matter of fact, it is, in large part, the attitude of American lawmakers. The United States has found the problem of the "whites" and "blacks" a very difficult one, and wishes to avoid similar problems on the Pacific Coast.

By the term "race prejudice" I mean the attitude shown in a book I examined recently written by an American missionary in India who was always talking about "these heathen" (as though they might be a sort of superior lower animal), or that shown by the quotations made by Mr. Andrews from Kenya newspapers (in one of your recent issues), or the attitude of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States—a blind, unreasoning idea that the foreigner does not amount to much, or that he is "undesirable."

Do not think that I mean to imply that the attitude of the American Congress is wholly the former and none of the latter. There is a deal of "race prejudice" in the United States, and it reaches up to the people's representatives in the national government.

This, I think, will make clear what I meant when I used the term "discrimination." I must confess, however, that the term "discrimination" was not a happy one in this connection. I used it merely in the sense of "make a selection", which may be done on grounds utterly apart from any quantities inherent in the things being selected. Yet the word "discrimination" does carry with it, in certain uses at least, the idea of selection on the ground of inherent qualities, as, for instance, when one says an art connoisseur has discriminating tastes. That the Supreme Court of the United States, however, was actuated only by the idea of making a selection in the interests of compatibility, and without the idea of racial superiority or inferiority, is indicated by the last paragraph of the Foreign Press Service Despatch.

Faithfully yours,
CLARK A. WARBURTON

Ewing Christian College.

6th April, 23.

[We have little to add to what we have already said on this case. As for Professor Warburton's argument drawn from fire and coal-gas, to be logical, Congress should also prohibit Americans from settling in India or Japan.—Ed. I. S. R.]

LIQUOR PROPAGANDA AND THE DRUG MENACE.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

The liquor trade is making a determined effort to establish the belief that the alternative to drink is drugs. So assiduously and shrewdly has this propaganda been conducted that it has influenced large numbers of people in practically every country in the world. Even convinced advocates of Prohibition have been deceived by it. Several Christian ministers have made public reference to "the alarming increase of drug addicts caused by the prohibition of drink".

These liquor propagandists have not attempted to produce facts in proof of their claim but have relied upon its repeated

reiteration to produce the desired effect. There is psychology behind their method. They know that any alleged facts that they might present would be analysed and probably proved false or the arguments built thereon would be demolished. They also know that the average person is more impressed by the assumption of a fact than by a declaration of it, therefore they continually write as though the fact that drinking men and women, deprived of drink, turn to drugs, is established and may be accepted as a starting point. That has led many to ask themselves "Why is this so?", when they should have asked "Is this so?"

Volumes of newspaper material and rivers of drawing room and club talk have dealt with the alleged terrifying situation as to drugs created in America by prohibition. Now what are the facts?

The American Congress appointed a Committee to investigate the use of drugs. Hon. Henry T. Rainey of Illinois was the Chairman. Mr. Rainey has stated that his studies have convinced him that the number of drug addicts increases much more rapidly where drink is sold than in dry territory. "Drug addiction and liquor shops go hand in hand". However the alcohol habit does not lead in any way to the drug habit. "Drugs do not satisfy the desire for alcohol nor will alcohol satisfy the desire for drugs". The evil associations that cluster around the liquor shop provide the occasions for beginning the use of drugs.

The Monthly Bulletin of the New York Department of Health for June, 1921 says that of two thousand cases examined "only three claim that the alcohol habit was responsible for the drug addiction". The Chief of the Bureau of Drug Control in Pennsylvania, Dr. Blair, says that his Department has no evidence at all that Prohibition increased the consumption of narcotics. So have said the Chiefs of Police of Cincinnati and St. Louis. Dr. Doane of the Philadelphia General Hospital has questioned all drug addicts who have come into the Hospital since Prohibition was adopted and has failed to find a single case where the difficulty of obtaining drink has been at all responsible for drug addiction.

Add to these clear pronouncements the recent figures from Canada where it was shown that the two Provinces where drink is sold have more drug addicts than all the remaining Provinces together and you have a strong case against the hypothesis of the liquor propagandists.

It would be far more reasonable to advocate prohibition of drink in order to clear the way for a successful fight against drugs.

J. W. PICKETT.

CONGRESS AND UNTOUCHABILITY.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

You may be aware that the "G" Ward District Congress Committee was going to hold an Inter-Communal dinner to which untouchables were going to be specially invited. The function was arranged by the "G" Ward District Congress Committee to give an impetus to the removal of untouchability. The "G" Ward District Congress Committee has already sent out some three hundred invitations including various prominent persons and has been receiving replies from some, and in a day or two, a hundred more will be received.

But we are living in the year of Dis-Grace 1923! A coterie of reactionary, ultra-orthodox members of the Provincial Congress Committee, called for an urgent

meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee yesterday and have rushed through a resolution by a very narrow majority, calling upon the District Congress Committee to drop the function. Mr. B. N. Motiwala, who was openly on the side of the reactionaries from the outset, was hurriedly proposed to take the chair, to suit the convenience of the die-hards and the only plea of the latter was that the proposed dinner was an infringement of religion and Congress being a purely political body, must have nothing to do with religion. Nay more, these die-hards were not even ashamed of admitting before the whole house that though in fact they do eat with every sort of person privately, they were afraid of doing it openly! Am I wrong if I characterise these as moral cowards? Fancy Mahatma Gandhi adopting an untouchable girl as his daughter, his being implored to dine by hundreds of high-caste orthodox men, and these caste-fellows again refusing either to dine direct with untouchables or even allowing others to do it!! And two of the Secretaries and a Treasurer of the Provincial Congress Committee, another Secretary of the Mandvi District Congress Committee and another President of the Byculla District Congress Committee were the champions of this frenzied exhibition of orthodoxy yesterday! And all this when the Defender of Islam is calling upon Moslem ladies to throw off their veils.

Now, Mr. Editor, do you think untouchability will ever be removed or blotted out of India by mere platitudinous speeches from platforms, high-sounding articles in the Press and pious resolutions passed with clapping of hands?

The point whether eating is a part of religion or not, I deliberately omit from this letter, because I am convinced that only those who cannot even spell the word "Religion" will go to the length of calling it religion!

Meanwhile some members of the Provincial Congress Committee have already sent a requisition calling for a special meeting to reconsider the resolution passed. It is hoped that all those who feel strongly in the matter, will attend it without fail and see that the great wrong is immediately righted, without much ado.

Dader, 7th April 1928.

Yours faithfully,
S. J. TENDULKAR,
Jt. Secretary
"G" Ward District Congress Committee

THE AHMEDABAD MILL STRIKE.

All attempts at reconciliation between the Mill-owners and the mill-hands of Ahmedabad have failed, and there has been a general strike for the last seven days in all the mills except five that did not put up notices of reduction in wages. The strikers, though numbering over 45,000, have observed complete peace, and most of them are going away to their villages. There is no hope of their returning at reduced wages. Most of them are coming from distant villages and they cannot be expected to sweat and drudge amid the din and dust of our dismal mills for a mere living wage. They must expect a decent wage out of which they can lay by something to live upon afterwards in their village homes. But our Mill-owners are bent upon starving them into submission heedless of all words of advice.

After all, are our Mill-owners in such desperate straits as not to be able "to carry on work" without "bringing down the abnormal wages of operatives to the normal level?" As we pointed out last week, their own huge commissions rather than the wages of poor workmen deserve to be first brought down to the "normal level." Since then some of the mills have begun to declare dividends which are by no means

indicative of "poor" profits. For 1922 the Gujarat Spinning and Weaving Mill Co. Ltd., declared a dividend of Rs. 1000 on a share of Rs. 1000 and the Purshottam Mill Co. Ltd., declared a dividend of Rs. 200 on a share of Rs. 1000, and yet they are bent upon in 1928 to reduce the wages of their workmen by 20%! Calico Mill declared a dividend of Rs. 37-8-0 on a share of Rs. 125 for the last six months of 1922 and the Jubilee Mill declared a dividend of Rs. 25 on a share of Rs. 100 for the same period. Although these two Mills have not put up notice of reduction of wages and are working as usual, their Agent, Sheth Ambalal, is said to have declared to his men his intention to enter into arbitration with them if other Mills succeed in reducing wages. Sheth Ambalal is a shrewd Mill-Agent, and he has left the question of reduction of wages to be fought out by his compeers while he is himself sitting on the fence quietly watching the development of the situation.

But is the question of reduction of wages so very imperative as is tried to be made out? Up till now the mills are giving dividends ranging from 20 to 100%. If less prosperous times are ahead, the best thing would have been to conserve funds. If during the War-time boom the reserve funds at the disposal of the mills had been strengthened instead of having been wasted away in declaring fabulous dividends, there would have been no necessity of reducing wages at present and creating troubles. They have amassed sufficient wealth during the War and now during the peace-time industrial warfare they must maintain their ground at heavy sacrifices. But instead of themselves suffering any sacrifices they pass them on to the shoulders of the poor workmen with the sweat of whose brow and the blood of whose body they roll on the lap of luxury. It is suicidal to kill the goose that lays golden eggs.—The *Praja Bandhu* (Ahmedabad).

Copies of the group photograph of those present at the Inter-communal Dinner held on the 11th March of which reference was made in a recent issue can be had from the Manager, The Indian Social Reformer, Empire Building, Fort, Bombay, on payment of Rs. 3-8 per copy.

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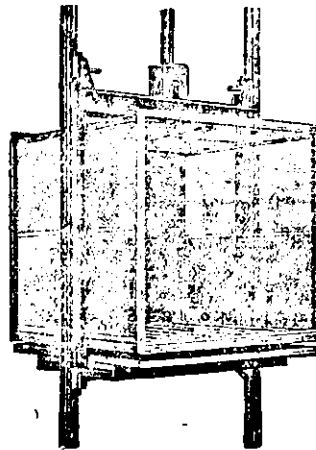
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Indians and American Citizenship:—We are much obliged to Professor Rankin for the frank exposition of the causes which have led Americans to the attitude of mind focussed in the judgment of the Supreme Court depriving Mr. Bhagat Singh of the naturalisation granted to him by the State of Oregon. We also reprint from *New India* the observations of its American correspondent regarding the implications of the judgment of the Supreme Court. Our contemporary's correspondent makes it clear that as a result of the judgment, several Indians who had acquired land and settled down in various occupations in America, believing themselves to be American citizens, will be subjected to what can only be described as confiscatory measures and will be obliged to go back to their native country. We cannot help thinking that this is a result which no American, however much he may feel the necessity of restricting immigration into his country, will view with pride or pleasure. As regards the larger issue, we can only say that the policy of excluding immigrants on the score of race or creed is entirely opposed to the immemorial traditional policy of India, which allowed perfect freedom of religion and economic existence to all comers. The ancient Jewish, Syrian Christian and Parsee settlements in India speak for themselves. The possibility of any incongruous assimilation was checked by a system which secured for every community perfect social autonomy. We regard this as a more just and humane policy than the exclusion laws of America and the British Dominions. We are sorry, however, that as a reflex of these exclusion laws the Indian mind is also being driven into a position of racial and national antagonism which is highly detrimental to the future progress of this country.

Women's Education in Japan: Professor Karve is responsible for spreading the idea in this country that in Japan it is the general view that the manner, method and standard of women's education should be different from that of men owing to the difference of sexes. In view of his propaganda upon which the Women's University in Poona was founded, it is interesting to read the article which we reproduce to-day on Co-education in Japan from the *Urasia*

which is a journal devoted to the equal progress of men and women. So far from Japanese educational opinion countenancing the idea of special women's universities, it appears that several important universities in that country, including the Imperial Universities, admit women exactly on the same footing as men. President Koyo Sakaino of Toyo University says that no special allowance has been made in his important University regarding the work of women, the requirements being the same for both men and women students. "Women students in some Universities are reported to be unable to keep up with the men students in their work," says Prof. Sakaino, "but if such is the case, it is because they are insincere in their efforts. Some of the women students at Toyo University have better standing in class work than the men students. And while the men and women have been studying in the same room together they have learned to understand each other so that the strange barrier, which has heretofore existed between Japanese men and women, has been completely removed. The only trouble I find is that some of the women study too hard, and it is often necessary for me to advise them not to overwork themselves in their burning desire for education." We have always felt that Professor Karve's movement involved a set-back to women's higher education in this country, and it is now clear that the Japanese example on which it was founded is far from being generally accepted in Japan itself.

Hindu-Mahomedan Relations in the Punjab:—For some weeks past quite a number of the leaders of the Indian National Congress have been touring in the Punjab with a view to bring about a friendly settlement of the differences between Hindus and Mahomedans in that distracted province. (The Liberal leaders do not seem to think that it is any concern of theirs to attend to such matters.) The mission of the Congress leaders cannot but lead to good results, but the process of pacification seems to be protracted and tedious. Meanwhile the news of the collision between Hindus and Mahomedans in Amritsar, has produced deep distress throughout the country. The immediate cause of the outbreak is said to be the molestation by some Mahomedan rowdies of a Hindu school-girl. The matter would not have attained the proportions of a quarrel between Hindus and Mahomedans, had the relations between the two communities been normal and friendly. There seems to be some mysterious agency at work to foment trouble between Hindus and Mahomedans in the Province where the two communities have lived longest and nearest together and where, if anywhere in India, the outsider sees something like mutual assimilation in manners, life and thought. There is no impediment to *Swaraj* so great as the absence of peace and harmony in the relations of our communities, more especially of the two largest communities, and the Congress will do well for the time being to concentrate upon this part of its constructive programme.

Indian Mahomedans and Social Reform: We are greatly indebted to Professor A. M. Maulvi M. A., Professor of Arabic and Persian in the Dharwar College, for his illuminating article on the status of woman in Islam which we publish this week. Prof. Maulvi is a practical social reformer and has set in his own personal life an example of broad-minded liberalism rising above petty-minded differences of sect. We expect to publish further articles on social reform among Indian Mahomedans from the same learned and well-informed writer. Mr. Maulvi has told us that he has chapter and verse from the Holy Koran for every statement that he makes in his articles and that he will be ready, if challenged, to produce them. It has been a source of much concern to us that our Mahomedan countrymen have not associated themselves as much as they should with the social reform movement, and we trust that Mr. Maulvi's articles will be the precursor of a new day in this respect.

A Retrograde Order:—We understand that the Dewan of Baroda has issued a State order dated 23rd February in the matter of the Temperance movement lately started in Navsari district amongst the backward classes known as Kaliparaj, in the name of a goddess who is believed to possess persons and through them to order village people not to touch wine. The Dewan's order says that at present there is a movement of a goddess amongst the Kaliparaj people, and some agitators, with a view to put Government and liquor contractors to loss, taking advantage of their ignorance, are holding meetings at several places and are agitating in other ways and are thus preventing people against their wishes from getting drink, by threatening them with excommunication, fines and other obstructions by caste organisations; further, that Government servants and schoolmasters attend such meetings and take part in them by lecturing, and that this has had effect on the poor and ignorant Kaliparaj and other people. The order enjoins that State servants should not attend or take part in such meetings and calls upon the Police to see that strict measures are adopted to enforce the two proclamations issued by the Subah of Navsari on the 3rd February 1923. This order is in striking contrast to the wise and statesman-like action of the Bombay Government who, in connection with a similar movement in the Surat district, issued a Press communique ordering the liquor shops in that particular area to be closed so as to keep the lower classes away from the temptation to drink, and asking Government servants not to discourage the movement. It is surprising that so progressive a State as Baroda should have failed to follow the excellent lead given in British India by a neighbouring Province, and issued such a retrograde order as the one cited above.

The Coins of India *:—A valuable addition has been made to the Heritage of India Series in the shape of a compact little treatise on the growth and development of coinage in India, by Mr. C. J. Brown. This book deals with the subject in a concise and simple manner, and has been written with a desire to "arouse in Indians an interest in their country's coinage, in the study of which so many fields of research lie as yet almost untouched." The author has rightly laid stress upon the importance of coinage 'as a source of history or as a commentary upon economic, social and political movements.' To coin legends alone, we owe the recovery of the names of thirty-three Greek and twenty-six Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian Princes, and a whole period in Indian History has been rescued

* Price Re. 1-8 cloth, Re. 1 paper; published by The Association Press, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta.

from the slough of oblivion by a close study of coins. The student of historical research will therefore find that a knowledge of numismatics is invaluable in bringing to light the facts that Time has obliterated. Whereas this volume has only an introductory value to students of research, it presents nevertheless an attraction to the layman in the admirable way in which the subject has been handled. It has the double merit of being neither tedious nor incomplete, and youthful collectors will find in it a general conspectus of the principal series of coins in India.

Proposed Arts College at Nasik:—We have received from the Gokhale Education Society the prospectus of an Arts College which the Society proposes to start at Nasik. It is estimated that the cost of the building and other preliminary expenses will run to five lakhs of rupees and the Society hopes to collect this amount in the course of four or five years. It hopes to start the classes in the month of June 1924 if the public responds liberally and enables it to collect about two lakhs of rupees. The Society has been conducting three full High Schools, two English Night schools, a hostel, an Industrial School, a Primary school for aboriginal tribes and another for Mahar boys. Considering the work so far done by the Gokhale Education Society, it must be said that the proposed scheme deserves support. Contributions may be sent to Mr. T. A. Kulkarni, Chairman, Gokhale Education Society, Nasik.

A Montessori Conference:—We are informed that it is proposed to hold a Conference of persons interested in educational problems in general and the Montessori system in particular. There is a school conducted on this method in Bhavnagar and the Superintendent of the school desires that people who have given some thought to education of children and the technique of instruction, should meet together to exchange their views on the subject and give one another the benefit of their personal experience. Suggestions are cordially invited and will be given very careful and earnest consideration. Those interested in the matter are requested to communicate to Mr. G. B. Bhadeka, Balmandir, Bhavnagar (Kathia-war).

Sri Ramakrishna Mission in Bombay:—We are glad to say that a Branch of the Ramakrishna Mission has been established in Bombay, with Swami Sharvananda at its head. In connection with the opening of the Sri Ramakrishna Mission Ashram there was an installation ceremony and festival on Thursday the 19th instant at Jaya's Building, Juvem Road, Santa Cruz, which will be the address of the Ashram for the present. Since he came here about a month ago, Swami Sharvananda has by his lectures and conversations won golden opinions on all hands, and we have every hope that under his guidance the Bombay Branch will prosper greatly and soon become a centre for the diffusion of the great truths which Sri Ramakrishna taught.

Ministers and Members of the Executive Council: A valued friend calls attention to rumours in more than one place of Ministers aspiring to become Members of the Executive Council. We need hardly say that such aspirations are absolutely destructive of the principle of responsible Government. A Minister who has his eye on a Membership, is naturally likely to consider more, not what is acceptable to the public, but what will help him to gain the approbation of those who can influence the choice of Executive Councillors. The appointment of any Minister as Member of Council would be a flagrant flouting of the Reforms.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 21, 1923.

THE AGE OF CONSENT.

The League of Nations is entitled to much credit for taking up the subject of the nefarious traffic in women in right earnest. It accepted at its second session an international convention for the suppression of the traffic in women and children. The countries which signed the Convention bound themselves to pass penal legislation against procurers. Articles 1 and 2 of the Convention by which this obligation is created, run thus :

Article 1 :—'Whoever, in order to gratify the passions of another person, has procured, enticed, or led away, even with her consent, a woman or girl under age, for immoral purposes, shall be punished, notwithstanding that the various acts constituting the offence may have been committed in different countries.'

Article 2 :—'Whoever, in order to gratify the passions of another person, has, by fraud, or by means of violence, threats, abuse of authority or any other method of compulsion, procured, enticed or led away a woman or girl over age for immoral purposes shall also be punished, notwithstanding that the various acts constituting the offence may have been committed in different countries.'

The Final Protocol of this Convention defines the terms 'woman' and 'girl' in the two articles, as applying respectively to female persons of over 20 completed years and those under 20 completed years of age. India joined the Convention with the qualification that it may, at its discretion, substitute 16 completed years of age for 21 completed years of age. According to the report of the second session of the League of Nations, the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry, who represented the Government of India, made it clear that India could not accept the age-limit of 21 for the protection of girls. "India's internal legislation fixed this age at 16, and having regard to early maturity in tropical countries, that age could not be exceeded, while it would obviously be undesirable to have a special higher limit for the benefit of a very limited number of non-Indians." Mr. Sastry, however, explained in the Council of State, when the necessary legislation came up for discussion in that House, that personally he had no objection whatever to adopting the limit of 21 years. He said :

It fell to me in 1921 when representing this country at the Assembly of the League of Nations to signify my assent, but with reservation as to age, to this Convention. At the time that the Convention was brought up for our consent, the age of 16 ordinarily remained as the majority age in our Code except for the statutory requirements which brought in 18. I thought it would not be right of me, as representing India, at that time to give my consent to the age of 21, without, in the first place, knowing how far Indian public opinion would support it and, in the second place, without Government taking measures to bring the general penal law on the subject into conformity with the new requirement. I therefore made a reservation as to age.

This explanation would be quite intelligible if Mr. Sastry had not brought in the point about early

maturity in tropical countries being a reason why the age of 16 could not be expediently exceeded. The point is quite irrelevant, as Mr. Joshi aptly pointed out in the Legislative Assembly, in dealing with the offence of procuration, and there are grave practical objections, as another speaker pointed out, in having different age-limits for different countries in an international convention of this kind.

The Legislative Assembly adopted the Convention in February last year and in September the Government of India introduced a Bill to give effect to it. The age-limit was fixed in the Bill at 16 completed years of age. The then Home Member, Sir William Vincent, when he moved the resolution in February last year said he knew that there was a considerable body of opinion in the Assembly in favour of adopting 21 as the age-limit. The Local Governments, which had been consulted in the interval, were divided, but we are pleased to note that the Government of Bombay recommended that 21 was the proper age to be adopted for the purpose. The Government of India, however, adopted 16 years in their draft Bill on the ground that a higher limit could not be "safely" adopted. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee which endorsed that age-limit. In February last, when the Bill as reported by the Select Committee came up for the final stages in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. N. M. Joshi, who has rendered valuable service to social reform by his powerful advocacy in this matter, moved to substitute 18 instead of 16 as the limit of age under which girls should be regarded as minors for the purposes of the proposed legislation. The Indian Majority Act makes 18 the age of majority and Mr. Joshi fixed upon that age as a compromise between 16 and 21.

This was opposed by the Home Member principally on the ground that as 16 years was fixed in the existing Penal law for the offence of seduction, it would be improper to have it at a higher limit for that of procuration. We think that if there is any point in this argument at all, it is one for raising the age limit in the case of seduction also to 18. Sir Malcolm Hailey, the present Home Member, further thought that it would increase the opportunities of Police oppression and blackmail to fix the age limit at 18. In our opinion procuration is a greater evil and a greater offence than seduction. In the Census Report of the City of Bombay it is remarked that the number of persons who are not ashamed to return themselves as procurers and pimps has been steadily increasing and that that shows that the old Indian type of family prostitution is being largely replaced in this city by the Western institution of brothels. The Bombay Prostitution Committee, as pointed out by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas in the Legislative Assembly, also found that there had come into existence something like regular organisations for procuring girls for these brothels. In the brothel system of prostitution, which is rapidly increasing in India, procuration plays a most important part, and to put it down is to put down a large amount of prostitution also. In fact, it may be said that without systematic

procuration, the brothel type of prostitution cannot flourish. It is therefore possible to argue that even if the age limit for seduction remains where it is, there is nothing unreasonable in having a higher limit for procuration. Mr. Joshi's amendment was carried in the Assembly, but the Home Member, in moving that the Bill be finally passed, took up a curious attitude. He said that it was the intention of Government to introduce a 'commencement clause' in the Bill in the Council of State, postponing the operation of the Act until after the Government has had time to collect further opinion on the change that had been made. He said: "That would give us the opportunity of putting the whole matter before Local Governments and the public in a clear and definite form. I claim that so far the problem has been really never before them.....If it appears that there is a large consensus of opinion that the age generally should be raised to 18, then of course we shall take it that the public agrees with the view expressed by a majority of this Assembly. If it appears on the other hand that there is a large consensus of opinion throughout the country that the age throughout should remain at 16, then we have very good ground for reconsidering the whole matter."

We cannot understand the nervousness of the Government of India. The agitation against raising the age of consent in 1891, has no application to the present question. Then the object was to raise the age, sexual intercourse with a girl below which would constitute the offence of rape, whether the intercourse was with her own husband or a stranger. It was the inclusion of the husband in the proposal that alarmed orthodox opinion. That opinion has had nothing to say to 16 which has been for many years and is the limit in the law relating to seduction. It would not only not object to but would even welcome the raising of that limit as against seducers and procurers. We do not forget that Mr. T. Rangachariar and one or two other Hindu and Mahomedan gentlemen vehemently opposed Mr. Joshi's amendment, but any one reading their speeches cannot fail to see that they were not doing justice to themselves. We are sure that the *devadasis* themselves would repudiate Mr. Rangachariar's opposition professedly in their interests. He seriously argued that a large class of landowners in the South are in the habit of having young girls of the *devadasi* class as permanent concubines, and that the raising of the age-limit would interfere with this custom. Does Mr. Rangachariar seriously believe that he is doing any service to the *devadasis* or to the Zemindars by opposing this reform?

The Home Member of the Government of India refused to recognise the majority of the Assembly as correctly representing the state of opinion in the country. Apart from the constitutional aspect of the matter, we think that the Home Member is entirely wrong in supposing that public opinion in this country has any sympathy for procurers. Our own feeling is that the

country will be prepared to adopt the age of 21 which is that fixed by the League of Nations' Convention for this offence. The Council of State adopted the commencement clause, and the Bill was again brought before the Legislative Assembly to be passed again with the commencing clause.

We think that the Assembly ought to have thrown out the commencement clause, and left the Home Member to carry out his threat to advise the Viceroy to veto the Bill. That would have shown to the League of Nations, as it has been long since painfully brought home to Indian social reformers, that one of the greatest obstacles to progress in social matters in India is the self-regarding cautiousness of the Anglo-Indian Government. The Assembly, however, yielded to the threat and passed this measure of conditional legislation—making the operation of the law conditional on the Government seeing their way to put it into force. We consider that a provision like this, in the case of a penal law against a crime involving moral turpitude, is liable to grave objections on principle. It, in effect, empowers the Executive Government to determine from what date a particular act shall be regarded as a crime punishable with several years' imprisonment or whether it should be so regarded or not. Government should be told that Indian opinion resents such conditional legislation and that it wants the age-limit to be the same as that in the International Convention, namely, 21 years.

THE SALT DUTY.

The Governor-General, in his statement justifying his certification of the enhanced salt duty, mentioned that the salt duty existed under pre-British Governments of India. Commenting on this statement, we remarked that the salt monopoly was established in the British regime. This was incorrect. It appears from Mr. Pramathanath Banerjea's "Public Administration in Ancient India," that the manufacture of salt and the brewing of liquors were industries under the direct control of the State. "Both of them were Government monopolies," writes Mr. Banerjea. He apparently relies upon Chanakya for his information. But it is difficult to say how far Chanakya's observations extended beyond Bihar which formed the largest part of the kingdom of Chandragupta whose Minister he was. The only salt produced in Bihar at the present day is that produced in the process of manufacturing saltpetre. The amount of salt thus produced is so small that Bihar has to import a large quantity from abroad every year. Moreover, Chanakya's position in the evolution of Indian political ideas is nearly the same as that of Machiavelli in Europe. He was a great advocate of the aggrandisement of the royal wealth and power at the expense of the people. The fact has, however, got to be admitted that salt was a monopoly in at least one great Hindu state in ancient India. Coming to medieval times, Mr. Moreland in his "India, at the death of Akbar" observes that the volume of internal

trade in salt appears to have been substantial. We are unable to follow Mr. Moreland when he says: "Measured in terms of food-grains, a pound of salt was $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as dear in the vicinity of Akbar's Court as in Northern India about the year 1914, and since the Court was usually located near the main sources of supply, we may infer that the average price throughout the country was somewhat higher." He infers from this that production of salt per head in Akbar's time cannot have been much greater than at present under British rule. The only inference possible from this seems, however, to be that food-grains were then more abundant than at present and not that salt was then more scarce than at present. In another place he specifically refers to the country further east and south as the parts where the extra cost was still greater. There is nothing to show that the location of the Moghul Court was determined, as Mr. Moreland suggests, by proximity to the main sources of salt supply. The sea, of course, is the readiest source, and no single Moghul ruler sought to found a capital on the sea-coast. So far from the price of salt being lower in the Moghul capital than in the east and the south, there is reason to think that it was materially higher. The wealth of the Empire was drained to the capital and there was more money near the Court than in the outlying provinces to purchase salt and other articles with. The prices at the Imperial capitals were thus artificially inflated. The duty levied by the State, which is the relevant issue, was much lighter than in British India. Mr. Ranade in his "Introduction to the Peshwa's Diaries" observes that the rates charged by the Maratha Government at Nagotra and Bhynder were 20 to 31 times lighter than the rate charged by Government in 1900 when he read his paper before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The cost of production of salt is less than 2 annas per maund. The duty of Rs. 2-8-0 works out at 2,000 per cent. of the cost of production. According to Ranade's calculation, in the Peshwa's time the duty was only annas 2 per maund or as much or little as the actual cost of production. An important point brought out by Mr. Moreland may be commended to the attention of the Governor-General when he invokes pre-British precedent to justify his action. "Fats, that is to say, butter (ghi) and the seeds furnishing edible oils, were, relatively to grain," he writes, "distinctly cheaper than now, and in this respect the lower classes were better off as consumers, though not as producers." Another observation of his is also of great importance. "The experience of the present (twentieth) century," he writes, "has shown that reductions in price lead to a substantial increase in consumption" of salt.

The history of the salt monopoly in British times is interesting. Salt was the principal article of the trade which was carried on by the East India Company's servants in Bengal for their own enrichment and which gave rise to so much scandal and conflict

with the Nawabs that the Court of Directors were at last obliged to forbid it. When his proposal to increase the salaries of the Company's servants was disallowed by the Court of Directors, Clive established a society to conduct the traffic in salt on the principle of a monopoly, the profits of which, after reserving ten lakhs a year for the Company, were divided among the servants of the Company according to their rank. The members of the Council and the Colonels in the army received respectively Rs. 70,000 a year and the subordinate officers, civil and military, in proportion. This scheme after two years' trial was disallowed by the Court. English manufacturers of salt soon began to cast their eyes on India. The application of improved pumping and lifting machinery to England's salt mines brought her salt industry forward from its backward place. Instead of importing, as she had been doing, she began to export salt. Salt, says Prof. Marshall, is the only important material, other than coal, of which Britain has a predominant supply. Worcestershire and Cheshire salt manufacturers started an agitation against the Company's monopoly and succeeded in breaking it down. In 1829-30 the quantity of English salt imported into Calcutta was only two tons. Bombay supplied the bulk of the imported salt to Bengal till 1844-45 when English salt began to oust it. Bengal, Assam, and Bihar and Orissa to-day almost wholly consume foreign salt, imported largely from England. In Burma, the manufacture of salt is permitted in ten districts only. The total quantity of salt imported into Bengal and Burma in 1919-20 was 463,000 tons, valued at about two and a quarter crores of rupees, while that produced in the rest of India was 1,507,000 tons, valued at one and a quarter crores. It will be interesting to know why Bengal imports foreign salt at six times the price of Indian salt. India can surely produce enough salt to be self-sufficient and there is absolutely no need for two crores of rupees to be spent in the purchase of English salt. There can be little doubt that the heavy duty on salt is chiefly responsible for keeping down the production of Indian salt. No doubt, the same duty is levied on imported salt. It was shown in an important pamphlet on salt published in 1846, that English salt eighty years ago could be imported into Calcutta at 20 per cent. less than Indian Company-made salt, which was taken to cost one rupee per maund. Another authority thirty years later, calculated that a ton of salt for agricultural purposes which could be had for 30 shillings in England could not be had for 50 shillings in South India. There cannot be the least doubt that the high duty on salt and the vexatious restrictions necessitated by it, are responsible for keeping down artificially the production and consumption of salt in this country below the level needed for the healthy existence of men, cattle and crops. From Mr. Aylwin's pamphlet to which reference has been made, it appears that the consumption of salt in Bengal to-day is very nearly the same as in 1846, namely, 12 lbs. per head. These 12 lbs, which is also the present average for the whole country, includes, according to Mr. Innes,

the present Commerce Member of the Government of India, also the consumption by cattle, and also, no doubt, the salt used in fisheries and as manure in cultivation. From the quantity that is produced in and imported into British India, the quantity exported to the Indian States and elsewhere, is deducted, and the 12 lbs. average is arrived at by dividing the balance by the total population. Even wastage, which is considerable in this commodity, is included in consumption. We do not think that the actual consumption per head at present, taking human consumption alone, can be more than 10 lbs. at the utmost. The Government of India had either not realised the magnitude of the burden they were throwing upon an already under-supplied necessary of life, or if they had, they have been guilty of gross callousness in doubling the salt duty to the vital interests of the masses of India.

STATUS OF WOMAN IN ISLAM.

(By PROF. A. M. MAULVI, M. A.)

One of the most unfounded and oft-repeated charges levelled against Islam is the alleged degradation of the female sex. The non-Muslim world and some illiterate Muslims themselves are inclined to believe that Islam assigns a low or no status to woman. She is destined to be beaten to work like a beast of burden and being fickle and frivolous, forward and faithless, she is always to be immured and kept out of public view. She is a born idiot, incapable of attaining a high rank in social life and even education cannot cure the defects of nature and repair what God Himself has designedly impaired.

If all this is true; if this is the position woman holds in Islam; if she is always to be treated with disrespect and regarded in no way better or higher than an Arabian camel to be fettered or let loose at will; then we Muslims must honestly and frankly admit that Islam is a barbarous creed meant for some of the rudest tribes of Northern Arabia of a particular period and not for civilised people of the 20th century.

Nothing is farther from the truth than this perverted view of the position of woman in Islam and nothing is more distressing to Muslim ears than to listen to this wholesale misrepresentation of facts. Our Mahomedan missionaries of Khaja Kamaluddin's type, have been doing their best at working to impress upon the non-Muslim world that Islam is not what it is usually represented to be by the Christian missionaries who, starting with a false assumption that the Koran is a book of disconnected fragmentary aphorisms, usually base their statements on Koranic quotations picked up at random and without any reference to the context, interpreted by them to suit their own views.

It is true that Islam has suffered much at the hands of the non-Muslims, but my honest opinion is that it has suffered much more at the hands of Muslims themselves. If a tree is to be known by its fruit we cannot blame the non-Muslims for attributing to Islam the un-Islamic conduct of some of the Muslims of to-day.

In theory the position of woman in Islam is one thing and in practice another. The position she held in the past can hardly be compared with her present miserable lot.

In Islam she holds a unique position quite as high as her sisters can boast of in Christianity or any other religion. For the primitive sin of mankind Christianity lays the whole blame at the doors of Eve; while the Koran takes a more charitable view and holds both Adam as well as Eve responsible for the sin.

As a girl, woman has as much claim according to the injunctions of Islam on the care and affection of her parents as a boy. Parents are as much responsible for the decent up-bringing of girls as of boys. The Holy Prophet was as fond of his daughter Fatamah as any affectionate father could be. He used to take pride in calling her "Fatimatuzahra" which means Fatma the beautiful, because of her personal beauty. As long as she is a minor she is expected to remain under the strict discipline of her parents, but as soon as she attains puberty, the Islamic law vests in her all the rights and privileges which belong to her as an independent human being. She is entitled to share in the inheritance of her parents along with her brothers and though the proportion is different, the distinction is founded on the just comprehension of the relative circumstances of brother and sister. She can own and dispose of her property at will. She can enter into any contract independently of the consent of her parents. She can choose a husband for herself and marry him without the consent of her parents which is invariably a formal affair.

On her marriage she does not lose her individuality. She does not cease to be a separate member of society and her existence does not merge in that of her husband. She can sue her debtors in the open courts without the intervention of her husband who has no right to interfere with her private property. A Muslim marriage is a simple contract needing no Mulla or Kazi (priest) and requiring no sacred rites. The moment the mutual consent of the bride and the bridegroom is secured in the presence of two Muslim witnesses, the contract is complete. The relationship between the husband and wife could not be more fair and fitting than what is described in the Koran in the following verses. "Ye men have rights over your wives and your wives have rights over you". "They are your garment and you are their garment." "The women ought to behave towards their husbands in like manner as their husbands should behave towards them according to what is just." By these precepts Islam declares equality between the married parties to be the regulating principle of domestic relationship. Fidelity to the marriage bed is inculcated on both sides; and unfaithfulness leads to the same consequences whether the delinquent be the husband or the wife. Sexual purity is as much a necessity with man as with woman. The holy Koran says in this connection "O Mahomed tell Muslim men: cast not indiscreet glances on the opposite sex and preserve sexual

parity; and tell Muslim women: cast not indiscreet glances on the opposite sex, preserve chastity, cast a veil on your breast and expose not your ornaments to non-Mahrims," i. e., persons other than your husbands, fathers, brothers etc.

The last verse is the nucleus of the purdah system in Islam which I wish to discuss at length later on. One can easily see that non-exposure of one's ornaments to strangers is not an end, in itself but only a means towards an end, which is chastity. There is no need of observing the purdah system if it cannot give a sufficient guarantee for chastity; on the other hand, if chastity could be enforced by moral education or any other means without having recourse to the system of seclusion, nothing would be more absurd than shunning such measures on the ground that they interfere with the purdah.

I leave this question here for future discussion and go back to the position of woman in married life. It is said that Islam has done great injustice to woman by the institution of the one-sided power of divorce which hanging over every household like the sword of Damocles must affect the tone of society at large. It is true that the power is one-sided but one should not lose sight of the institution of the dower without which marriage is incomplete and which is a great check on the divorcing power of the husband. It is a power which is to be used under exceptional circumstances and not abused. Besides the wife can always threaten her husband with a demand for immediate payment of the dower which is usually a very large sum in case he intends to divorce her. If the husband and wife do not agree it is much better that they should be separated and allowed to remarry at their choice than that they should be destined to live in perfect misery. If Islam has sanctioned the usage of divorce it has also recommended remarriage in case of widows or divorced women. The Holy Prophet himself has set an example in this direction by marrying widows of advanced age and Zainab, the divorced wife of Zeid.

Again, with regard to polygamy the non-Muslims are of opinion that Islam has degraded woman and has deprived her of her legitimate place and function in social life by inculcating polygamy. It is a mistake to suppose that polygamy took its birth in Islam and that all the Muslims are polygamists. It existed long before Islam, and the pre-Islamic Arabs, the Chinese and the Persians were all polygamous to a startling extent. There were many Arab chiefs who had more than fifty-five wives. As Islam was meant to be a religion not for a few chosen creatures but for all classes of people of all times it tolerated the system by limiting the number of wives to four with restrictions which are a sufficient check in the case of an ordinary man. The only verse in this connection found in the Koran is as follows:—

"Marry such women as seem good to you, two, three, or four; but if you fear you will not do justice between them then only one." At the end of the same chapter on "Woman" full light is thrown on

this passage by another verse which runs as follows:—

"And you can never do justice between women." It is quite evident that the Koran is not in favour of marriage with more than one wife. Undue advantage seems to have been taken of these verses by some of the licentious men in our community who have supplied the non-Muslim with materials to scandalise Islam. It is the fact that our Holy Prophet himself married more than one wife. But history explains that his motive in marrying more than one wife was not to satisfy his lust but to connect himself with some of the influential tribes of Arabia who were often at war with one another and whose family feuds almost came to an end by such marriages. Besides, the just and the extraordinarily fair and equal treatment he gave to each of his wives alike and the remarkable way in which he divided his affections between them with almost mathematical exactness, it is not given to every ordinary man to imitate. Our Koran justly says "It is not within your power to do justice between women." It requires no extraordinary talent to understand the true position of woman in Islam provided one bears in mind that "Islam should always be traced in books and the true Muslims in graves."

The Muslims of the past could boast of innumerable women scholars of Nazhun's type who shed an ineffaceable lustre on the land of her birth by distinguishing herself in history and literature; and Zainab and Hamda the daughters of a bookseller who were both excellent poetesses and thoroughly versed in all branches of science and literature. It is said that the love of learning brought these sisters into the company of scholars with whom they mixed on perfect terms of equality with great composure and dignity, and nobody could accuse them of forgetting the rules of their sex.

Among the Arabs women were and are still free. Among the republican Muslims the women moved freely in public, attended the sermons of the Caliphs and the lectures delivered by Ali, Ibn Abbas and others. In Turkey women do put on light comfortable veils unlike the suffocating veils used by Indian Muslim women, and they move about with perfect freedom and are not immured for ever. The system of perfect seclusion in vogue among the Indian Mahomedans is not the outcome of the precepts of Islam which is one of the most democratic creeds existing in the world, but one of the evil consequences of the misrule of some of the voluptuous Moghul kings who were never ashamed to multiply their harem by marrying any girl who was reported to be unusually handsome. Even a popular ruler like Akbar was not free from this vice. Having hundreds of wives and being naturally jealous of them, these rulers never trusted their wives, kept them always under lock and key, guarded them with greater care than their treasures and thus set a bad example to their co-religionists who were mostly fresh converts and were bound to imitate their rulers and look upon them as perfect models of Islam.

It is high time for my co-religionists to realise that unless we give woman her true and legitimate place in society, unless we give her the full benefits of modern civilisation, unless we keep pace with the quick march of humanity by elevating the social position of woman, the religious, spiritual, social and political ascendancy of our faith is doomed. I have already pointed out that it is no use blaming others and forgetting ourselves. The best way in which we can serve Islam is to blame ourselves and be alive to the necessity of producing a better specimen of Muslim men and women.

THE VEDAS AND THE UNTOUCHABLES.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

At the third meeting of the Hindu Peoples' Association a question arose whether the Mahars had a right to read and learn the *Vedas* to which the Brahmin representatives gave no satisfactory answer. It will be interesting to your readers to know what Swami Ram Tirtha, a great Vedantin, has to say on this point. He has said:

"Some say: 'Women, children and Shudras are not *adhikarins* (worthy) of *Brahma-vidya*'. It is just that view which has kept Vedanta a great but doubtful formula, and no reality. If every child is worthy of sunlight and air, why not of spiritual light and air? Why shut out *Brahma-vidya* from any one? Down with the closed rooms and underground cells of ignorance and weakness. Let Divine light and air bless all."

Devlali,

11th April.

Yours etc.

K. G. KARKARE.

"DEBILITATING SUGGESTIONS."

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

You will pardon me, I am sure, for re-opening a discussion which appears to have been closed. My excuse is that the subject, I believe, has not received the attention it deserves, and that its importance is such that there cannot be too many opportunities for discussing it. I am referring to your just and, I should add, timely protest against the exaggerated theories we seem to have passively accepted from the West, about the enervating influence of a tropical climate. These "debilitating suggestions" have had, as you say, "the effect of making us think of ourselves as doomed by natural laws to a national life devoid of energy and initiative. It is not the tropical climate but such theories that are enervating. The Indian thinker and teacher has to wage unceasing and implacable war against them." They have forced their poison into almost every aspect of the nation's life. They reveal themselves to any observant eye. It is therefore not necessary just at present to examine them at length. But it might help us to wake up if we know the havoc they have wrought on the life of a nation not more fortunate than our own. Here are the words of warning uttered by no less a person than "A. E.," one of the sages of Ireland. "We shall," he says, "never rise out of mediocrity among the nations unless we have unlimited faith in the power of our personal efforts to raise and transform Ireland, and unless we translate the faith into works.... Judging by the things people write in Ireland and by what they go to see performed on the stage, it is more pleasing to them to

see enacted characters they know are meaner than themselves than to see characters which they know are nobler than themselves. All this is helping on our national pessimism and self-mistrust. It helps to fix these features permanently in our national character, which were excusable enough as temporary moods after defeat. *The younger generation should hear nothing about failures.* It should not be hypnotised into self-contempt. Our energies in Ireland are sapped by a cynical self-mistrust which is spread everywhere through society. It is natural enough that the elder generation, who were promised so many millenniums, but who actually saw four million people deducted from the population, should be cynical. But it is not right they should give only to the younger generation the heritage of their disappointments without any heritage of hope. From early childhood parents and friends are hypnotising the child into beliefs and unbeliefs, and too often they are exiling all nobility out of life, all confidence, all trust, all hope; they are insinuating a mean self-seeking, a self-mistrust, a vulgar spirit which laughs at every high ideal, until at last the hypnotised child is blinded to the presence of any beauty or nobility in life. No country can ever hope to rise beyond a vulgar mediocrity where there is not unbounded confidence in what its humanity can do. The self-confident American will make a great civilization yet, because he believes with all his heart and soul in the future of his country and in the powers of the American people. What Whitman called their 'barbaric yawp' may yet turn into the lordliest speech and thought, but without self-confidence a race will go no whither. If Irish people do not believe they can equal or surpass the stature of any humanity which has been upon the globe, then they had better all emigrate and become servants to some superior race, and leave Ireland to new settlers who may come here with the same high hopes as the Pilgrim Fathers had when they went to America. We must go on imagining better than the best we know.... I would like to exile the man who would set limits to what we can do, who would take the crown and sceptre from the human will and say, marking out some petty enterprise as the limit: "Thus far can we go and no further, and here shall our life be stayed!"—Do we understand the full significance of the message? Do those who have pledged their services to the younger and the coming generations realise the true extent of their responsibility in the light of the warning uttered by the sage? His experiences are obviously more than of passing interest. His appeal is addressed to all those who aspire to become nation-builders.

G.

THE CASE OF MR. BHAGAT SINGH.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I had not intended to ask for any of your space for a note on the status of Indians in the United States; but since you have commented on a word of mine in *The Indian Witness* I am venturing to say that I cannot agree with you on one point. You seem to feel that the Supreme Court was guilty of an act of usurpation in presuming to do what is really the function of a legislature. The fact really is that the Court was simply interpreting the real intention of the makers of the law.

I can see no good in denying that the present immigration laws of the United States are very definitely intended to prevent the rise of an Oriental problem which might in

time become as serious and difficult as the Negro problem. At the moment of the passage of the law it was the Japanese race that was particularly in mind, but if Congress had been compelled to be quite specific it would have mentioned Chinese, Japanese, Indians, and the rest of the important Asiatic races as those who were to be excluded from citizenship. I do not intend here either to praise or condemn the law (though I should like to show why it was passed); my present purpose is merely to say that in the case of Mr. Bhagat Singh the Supreme Court for the first time was called upon to rule as to what Congress meant. Being more brave or more honest than Congressmen, the Justices have said in plain terms that an Indian is not a "white" man, within the meaning of the law; and that is exactly true.

There is racial prejudice in the United States, though most Americans of the better sort are ashamed of it. Neither denial nor condemnation can help matters. It is a social phenomenon which can be explained and which (if it could be separated from ideas of antipathy and contempt) might honestly be defended. There are four main reasons for its existence, and I will state them as briefly as I can.

In the first place, two and a half centuries of conflict with the American "Indian" hindered the advance of the European colonizers. The red race, with its nomadic life, required vast areas for its hunting and seemed to the agricultural and industrial white race to be a sort of dog-in-the-manger, holding on to great tracts of unproductive land which the rest of the world needed. With confinement of the "Indians" to certain "reservations" and with the present tendency among them to seek citizenship, the prejudice against them tends to disappear; but where one prejudice has been another tends to grow up easily in its place.

Secondly there was Negro slavery, which was only extinguished within the memory of thousands who are still alive. The enlightened public conscience of the last century was unable either to ignore or to endure the evil institution and after emancipation the Negroes were admitted to the franchise; but traditions of mastery in the one race and of slavery in the other could not be uprooted by acts of Congress or by constitutional amendments. The prejudice still is present in both races, and occasionally bursts forth in deeds of brutal violence on both sides.

Before slavery was ended there came the great flood of European immigration which has been the third cause of race prejudice. By 1913 the tide had risen to the truly appalling number of a million and a quarter every year. So long as these people came in moderate numbers and from nations culturally akin to the American people, they were readily absorbed; but when the Slavic, Jewish, and Oriental peoples began to appear in large contingents the matter became very serious. It has been a matter of pride with Americans to offer national hospitality to all comers; but in this generation it has been felt that the guests were overtaxing the host's powers of decent provision—that if some check were not applied the immigrants would swamp the very civilization that they came to enjoy. As so many thousands of them were fitted by foreign training only for the heavier, commoner sorts of work, it came to be felt that they must be of inferior races and cultures. Separated by oceans from the rest of the world, few Americans have had the opportunity to see the lands from which the immigrants come, and, judging the races (unfairly enough, though quite naturally) by the samples at hand, most of us developed the entirely false idea that we were dealing with peoples of a lower grade than ourselves. With increasing travel and improving education, these unfair notions are perceptibly

disappearing; but they do exist and are hard to overcome.

Finally there was the matter of the acquisition of a colonial empire at the end of the last century and in the early years of this one. Most Americans who gave the matter serious attention were opposed to the tendency toward "imperialism", and the presidential campaign of 1900 was to a large extent contested on that issue; but the idea of "the white man's burden" was in the air and caught the fancy of those easily led. So Porto Rico and Hawaii became territories of the United States, and Cuba settled into the position of a nominally independent protectorate which is in danger of lapsing into something more definite, while scattered through the South Seas and the Caribbean there were gradually picked up, as the chance offered, little island dependencies, coaling stations, naval bases, cable termini, wireless plants, protectorates, spheres of influence, and all the rest of the paraphernalia of a naval empire. Most of this was done without the consent of the people of the United States, but with a vague, comfortable acquiescence that made the process entirely safe from serious political criticism by whichever party happened to be the opposition of the moment. No nation can do such things without being affected by them in its attitude toward other races.

The American people, then, have come at various stages of their development to think of other peoples not merely as aliens, but as obstacles or as inferiors. It is not a pleasant thing for an American to admit; but as I have said, there are substantial historical reasons for it, and it is taking a long time to overcome them. Such things have to be bred out of a race by education and travel and contact and sympathy. All these are being applied, and it is only just to say that even now the results are gratifying. But one thing is not likely to be changed; Americans feel that if they are to make any worthy contribution to the world's culture they must have time to become welded into a homogeneous people. So there have been passed two severely restrictive laws. One of them limits rigidly the number of *immigrants* who may be admitted in any one year, to a volume which is believed to be capable of assimilation. The other limits *citizenship* to the two races which already fill up the country—the white and the black. It is to the honest enforcement of this law that Mr. Bhagat Singh has fallen a victim.

One more word. Why Mr. Bhagat Singh's case has just arisen I can not say. But I think it is a fair inference that if he had met with any *personal* prejudice, his right would have been challenged at the first and he would never have secured his naturalization papers at all. There is indeed no personal prejudice against men such as he, as hundreds of educated and cultured Indians will readily testify.

ROBERT C. RANKIN.

Lucknow.
11th April.

II.

Augusta Adair, the American correspondent of "New India" gives some particulars of the recent decision against Asiatics in the United States. She writes:—

The Supreme Court ruling, until reversed, will place all the Hindus in U. S. A. under the Alien Land Law. That means that they can neither own nor operate under lease any land in our country. It will affect, when enforced, many acreages of rich rice lands in the Sacramento and Imperial Valley in California, many vineyards, etc., either

leased or owned by Hindus. And the disposition of District and General Attorneys seems at present to be towards pushing it to its last conclusion. District Attorney, Arthur Coats of Sutter county, California, says he will enforce the law in Sutter county, where one Hindu holds a 20 acre vineyard, and a score or more of Hindus have believed they had acquired property rights.

This Supreme Court decision, which is a blanket affair, was rendered specifically in the case of Bhagat Singh Thinala, high caste Hindu, who entered U. S. A. prior to the Exclusion Act of 1917. He served 6 months in the army in the Training Camp, was honourably dismissed with conduct marked "Excellent." He later became somewhat involved with those Hindus of Gadhar Press Party, who were indicted for conspiracy to violate neutrality laws and foment strife in India. He was not convicted as he claimed to be against armed revolution.

It was not the particular merit or demerit of this individual however which was the subject of the ruling. His case furnished the focus for the processes desired on the West Coast against the Aliens. He was deprived of his citizenship certificate which had been given him by a District U. S. A. Court in the State of Oregon. The Supreme Court took note of his Punjab nativity, his Brahmin caste, also of the fact that he belongs to a branch commonly recognised as a part of the Aryan family. But the Naturalization Law speaks of the Caucasians and the court would narrow that term, for its own purposes, to "those commonly known as Caucasians." Tidal waves are commonly supposed to have something to do with the tides. If the court ruled that, for purposes of excluding foreign fishermen from our waters, tidal waves were the offsprings of tides and not of earthquakes, it would be nearly as logical as this stretching and pulling of the term Caucasian. A dictionary recognised as an authority by all American Universities, contains the sentence:

"*Aryan*, one of the primitive peoples who are said to have migrated into Europe and India from Central Asia and are the *Parent stock* of the Hindus, Persians, Greeks, Latins, Celts, Anglo-Saxons."

There is also a clause "free and white" in the Naturalization Law. Colour is the most illusive basis for legislation. Some Hindus are much fairer of skin than many of our Italians, Spanish and Portuguese. If a group of us native-born Americans were to camp five months on the sunbaked desert in summer, we might be free when we returned but we certainly would not be white. Naturalization must, if limited, be a matter of race not color, which changes with conditions, but quibbling over races leaves the alien quite defenceless and we comfort ourselves with the hope that these Hindus deprived of privileges over here will return and enrich their native land with many ideas gained during their residence in a commercial and agricultural and industrial country.

MATERNAL RIGHTS OF REMARRIED WIDOWS.

At the Madras High Court on March 28, the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Ramesam delivered separate and concurring judgments on an application for the issue of a writ of Habeas Corpus which will be welcomed by the social reformers in India. The facts leading to the filing of the application are as follows: Subbamma, widow of Muniwamy Reddy of Dhavarpakkam, a village in Chittoor district, has a daughter aged 6. After the death of her husband she married Dr. Rajagopala Naidu, Lecturer in the Madras

Medical College, in December last, and lived with him in Georgetown. A few days prior to the Pongul festival her brother came to Madras and took away her child to the village, promising to bring her back some time later. This he failed to do.

The chief point to be considered by their Lordships was whether the petitioner, who was remarried, could be the guardian of the child.

Mr. S. Doraiswamy Iyer, on behalf of the petitioners contended that Section 3 of the Widow Remarriage Act had merely the effect of taking away the preferential right of the mother to the guardianship of the child, and that in considering the right of guardianship after the death of her first husband, her claim should be considered. The child, till she was taken away from Madras in January last, lived with her mother.

GROWING LIBERALISM.

Affidavits filed by several persons including Messrs. C. S. Veeraraghava Reddy, Mr. A. S. Ramalinga Reddy, Sub-Divisional officer, P. W. D., Mayavaram and Rao Saheb Kolainda Reddy, Pleader, Bezwada, showed that they had no objection to dine with the petitioner even though she was remarried to a gentleman belonging to a community quite different from her own. There were many other gentlemen in the Reddy community who would be willing to have social intercourse with her and her second husband. If the child was brought up by its mother, it would not be excommunicated and its social welfare would on no account suffer.

THE ORTHODOX VIEW.

Mr. V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar on behalf of the respondent contended that, by reason of her remarriage, the petitioner had forfeited her right to the guardianship of the child. The minor would be treated as an outcaste by the members of the Reddy community if she was permitted to live with her mother. In the interests of the child the petitioner should not be its guardian.

Several affidavits were filed in support of this contention. In an affidavit filed by Mr. C. R. Reddy, M. L. C., a social reformer, it was stated that the minor, if brought up by the mother, would be treated as an outcaste by the Reddy community. Social reformers had advocated remarriages of virgin widows and in this case the remarriage was of a widow who had a child.

A MOTHER'S RIGHT.

Their Lordships, in ordering the child to be restored to the petitioner, remarked that times were changing, stricter caste rules were being modified and intermarriage between castes, and remarriage of widows had ceased to be regarded as unpardonable offences.

CO-EDUCATION IN JAPAN.

Considerable interest is attached to the outcome of the action taken during recent years by Japanese colleges and universities in establishing the co-educational system so long prevailing in institutions of higher education in foreign countries. While the number of Japanese women taking advantage of this modern opportunity is not very large, the consensus of opinion is that the co-educational system has proved a success from the standpoint of educational advancement of students of both sexes.

Toyo University, which has 1,000 men students, inaugurated the co-educational system in 1916 and now has 70 women enrolled in various departments. The first year the number increased until last year there were 80 women

students. The fact that the number was more than doubled this year would indicate that the desire for higher education among the Japanese women had suddenly gained new impetus.

Nippon University, which inaugurated the co-educational system three years ago, now has between 60 and 70 women students. Waseda, Kelo and the various Imperial Universities have been open to women for two years, but up to the present time very few have enrolled. While the total number of women university students is thus very small, it heralds a new awakening among those who until recent years were denied the opportunity to strive for higher education on a plane of equality with the men of Japan.

President Koyo Sakaino of Toyo University is a strong advocate of the co-educational system in Japan. "The co-educational system has proved a great success at Toyo University, and I have found no instance of the presence of women hampering in any way the progress of our men students. No special allowance has been made regarding the work of the women," he said, "the requirements being the same for both men and women students."

"Women students in some Universities are reported to be unable to keep up with the men students in their work," Professor Sakaino says, "but if such is the case, it is because they are insincere in their efforts. Some of the women students at Toyo University have better standing in class work than the men students. And while the men and women have been studying in the same room together they have learned to understand each other so that the strange barrier, which has heretofore existed between Japanese men and women, has been completely removed. The only trouble I find is that some of the women study too hard, and it is often necessary for me to advise them not to overwork themselves in their burning desire for education."

One of the drawbacks to the Japanese women in their new freedom, according to the president of Toyo University, is the social restraint which is the outgrowth of the customs prevailing in Japan for so many centuries. "American college women are lively and pleasant in their social relations without losing the essential attitude of women," he says. "In Japan, however, when they are introduced not only to women but to men, the women are supercilious and are prone to treat their new acquaintances according to their station in life. If the Japanese women expect to accomplish anything in modern advancement, they must learn the art of social intercourse as they grow intellectually."—*The Urania*.

FATHER MISSING FOR THE PAST FIFTEEN YEARS.

One A. K. Ramaswamy Iyer, a native of Kullanchavadi South Arcot District, tall and medium-sized man of dark brown complexion, bearded face (grown up recently) and a pointed nose, more than five and a half feet in height and aged about 55 is missing for the last fifteen years. He is a retired Railway servant, Permanent way Sub-Inspector and he was last heard of to be at Badrikasramam, near Benares. He knows more than four languages and also singing and he is always of cheerful disposition. It seems he used to be at times by the side of one Swami Sunderanath and at times in a temple at Badrikasramam. I should feel highly obliged if any pilgrims or any philanthropic gentlemen were to inform me of his whereabouts.

A. R. NATESAN.

117, Thambuchetti Street,
Madras, 7th April 1923.

PENALISING TEMPERANCE.

The discussion of the salt tax has occupied the centre of the stage in Indian newspapers for some days. The editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* wrote: "It is not the business of non-official publicists to suggest alternatives. If the Viceroy and the Members of his Government cannot find some other way of meeting the deficit, they have no right to continue in office. They must make way for those who can do so." This reminds us of the expressed policy of the United Provinces Government concerning the introduction of local option; that is, of penalizing communities that vote for the closure of liquor shops by compelling them to provide the same amount of revenue from alternate sources. We think that the above quotation from the *Indian Social Reformer* applies to the question of Local Option quite as much as to the salt tax, and we appeal to Sir William Marrie, and the present Government in the United Provinces, to disclaim adherence to such an illogical and unjust policy.—*The Indian Witness*, Lucknow.

Copies of the group photograph of those present at the Inter-communal Dinner held on the 11th March to which reference was made in a recent issue can be had from the Manager, *The Indian Social Reformer*, Empire Building, Fort, Bombay, on payment of Rs. 3-8 per copy.

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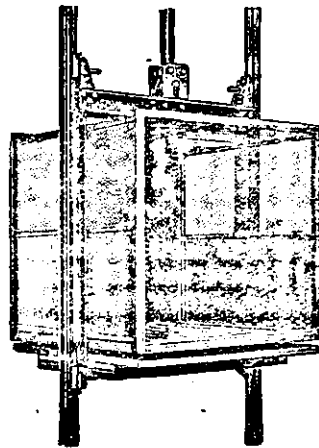
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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

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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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Buddha Jayanti:—The first celebration in Bombay of the anniversary of the nativity and enlightenment of Bhagvan Buddha, was hastily improvised last year by a few friends and proved to be a most gratifying success. At the desire of several of those then present a Buddha Society was formed, with Dr. A. L. Nair, who for many years has been an earnest devotee of Bhagvan Buddha, as President; and it has been the means of bringing together persons of many creeds and races by its weekly classes and its occasional public meetings. The second celebration will take place at the Sir Cowasjee Jehangir Hall (Royal College of Science), Mayo Road, Bombay, on Monday the 30th instant, at 6 P. M., the full-moon day in Vaisakh. Sir Lallubhai Shah will preside, and it is expected to have as many nations, races and religions as possible represented among the speakers. We trust that, under Providence, the Buddha commemoration movement will become in course of time a leading factor in bringing together the hearts of men of all nations and lands. Additional evidence of the growing interest in the life and ministry of Bhagvan Buddha, is furnished by the careful and accurate study contributed on "Gotama Buddha" to the admirable "Heritage of India Series" by Mr. K. J. Saunders, author of the anthology of Buddhist verse called "The Heart of Buddhism" in the same series. Mr. Saunders concludes a most sympathetic study with the observation that "Gotama is himself a morning star of good-will heralding the Sun of Love." To us, Buddha and Christ seem rather to be twin stars in our firmament shedding the radiance of their boundless humanity through the ages.

Hindu-Mahomedan Unity: The efforts of Congress leaders to bring about a settlement of the differences between Hindus and Mahomedans in the Punjab, have not borne immediate fruit. We are sorry but are not surprised. Sustained efforts, long-continued, are necessary to bridge the gulf which religious and political causes have raised between the followers of the religions. These efforts should not be confined to the immediate needs of the hour, but

should embrace the inner and higher minds of the two religions. We, therefore, welcome the endeavour of Messrs. Ghulam Mahomed Bhurgri, Jethmal Parsram Gulrajani and Hakumchand Kumar, to find in the diffusion of Sufism an abiding link binding Hindus and Mahomedans in Sind and the Punjab. Swami Sharvananda of the Ramakrishna Mission in one of his great addresses recently delivered in Bombay, referred to a characteristic saying of his Master, Shri Ramakrishna, with reference to the singular unanimity of mystics of all creeds as to the similarity of their religious experiences—"all jackals howl to the same tune." Mahomedan Sufis and Hindu *Sadhus* have often been on terms of deep mutual understanding and appreciation, and in some cases, indeed, it has been difficult to distinguish between the two. Kabir is the outstanding instance, at whose death both Hindus and Mahomedans claimed his body as that of one of themselves. The spread of Sufism is bound to be a factor in promoting Hindu-Mahomedan Unity. Sind, Mr. Bhurgri and his friends rightly observe,

has been a door through which Eastern cultures have found their way to India and it is evident that she will again send through its portals the treasures it received, made brighter in colour and more valuable in substance, by the touch of India. The experiment of the commingling of Islamic and Aryan cultures has achieved a measure of success in Sind.

We are told that Sufism has great hold on the classes as well as the masses in Sind and that the younger generation in schools and colleges shows a fervid interest in the classical poetry of the immortal poets of Sind. This is an auspicious omen for the new movement. We hope we may, before concluding, add a word of warning without being misunderstood. While we are indebted to the mystics for our most conclusive proof of the truths of religion, it is well-known that mysticism has been too often a great asylum for pretenders of all sorts, who have sometimes elevated immorality into a religious experience. The discredit into which mysticism has fallen with many sensible people, is due to these misguided men. Care ought, therefore, to be taken to see that the inculcation of a life of personal purity goes hand in hand with every propaganda of religious mysticism.

The Recent Frontier Outrage: We have followed with the deepest and most poignant sympathy the events following the brutal murder of Mrs. Ellis, in her struggle to protect her fifteen-year old daughter from being kidnapped by certain Frontier outlaws, who carried away the young girl into the heart of their tribal territory. We join in the tribute paid by His Excellency the Viceroy to the heroism of Mrs. Starr, a trained nurse in the Peshawar Hospital, who under the escort of Risaldar Mogbul Baz, an Indian officer attached to the Chief Commissioner, undertook to travel into the Kohat tribal territory to rescue Miss Ellis. The girl has been safely brought back to Peshawar to her father, and she is reported

to be wonderfully well in spite of her trying experience. We congratulate all concerned on the success which has attended their efforts to rescue the girl from the hands of her abductors. We think it our duty, however, to deprecate the wild talk of newspaper correspondents about exacting full retribution from these wild and untamed tribes for this undoubtedly atrocious crime. Brutal and outrageous as their conduct has been, the girl has not suffered any serious injury at their hands and on the whole, she has been well treated as regards her personal comforts according to the crude ideas of her captors. We earnestly trust that the responsible authorities will deal with the tribesmen responsible for this crime with more sagacity than that exhibited by the newspaper correspondents. The thought of retribution should be entirely banished from their minds. Whilst stern punishment should be meted out to the actual criminals so far as they can be indentified, there should be no thought of inflicting upon the whole tribe to which they belong, any retributory measures calculated to create a general feeling of terror in their hearts. Most cruel crimes are often the product of fear and hatred, and even this outrage is perhaps the outcome of the terror which previous proceedings on our part have created in the minds of these wild tribesmen. We are quite sure that any act inspired by the idea of retribution on the present occasion will but lead to further outrages demanding further acts of revenge. The chain of crimes thus started will have to be followed unendingly by a chain of reprisals and the vicious circle can never be broken. We, therefore, earnestly hope that the action taken by Government to bring home to the tribes the enormity of this and similar offences, will be so transparently free from any trace of the passion of vindictiveness, that the impression left on the minds of the tribes will be predominantly one of justice unsullied by revengefulness. In that way alone can we hope in course of time to win over the tribes on our frontier to civilisation. The other way would mean that we should become savages in order to deal with savagery.

The Hyderabad Hindu Social Conference: We have more than once referred to Mr. Ranade's aphorism that the heart of India beats in the Native States. The State of Hyderabad (Deccan) is the largest Indian State both as regards its area and its population. Between 80 and 90 per cent. of the population are Hindus of the same castes and natural calibre as the people of Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnatak, and yet the contrast between the educational and social outlook of the same people in British territory and in Hyderabad cannot fail to arrest the attention of even a casual visitor. It is, therefore, a hopeful sign that the Hindus of the Hyderabad State, who are without many of the incentives to progress which operate in the case of their brethren in British India, have of recent years been holding an annual Social Conference. This year the Conference was held at Gulburga under the presidentship of Mr. M. R. Jayakar. The Conference was a great success, over 600 delegates having attended and taken part in the proceedings. A strong orthodox minority opposed even the discussion of resolutions relating to the permissive remarriage of virgin widows, the raising of the marriageable age and the removal of untouchability. But seeing that a large majority of the Conference was against them, they left the Conference and held another meeting next day to pass resolutions decrying these reforms. Mr. Jayakar, however, accepted their invitation to attend their meeting also, and by apt quotations from the Shastras of which he has

been always a close student, he was able to impress upon the orthodox assembly the true nature of social reform as also the necessity of moving with the times. Mr. Jayakar's service in bringing about a better understanding between the progressive and the conservative sections of Hyderabad Hindus, was much appreciated by both sides. We hope to be able to publish a more detailed account of the Conference in the next issue. We congratulate Mr. Jayakar and the conveners of the Conference on their success, and trust that our friends in Hyderabad will muster at the National Social Conference in Andhra to be held in December next.

The Bombay Municipal Girls' Schools Exhibition: The exhibition of work of the children attending the Municipal Girls' Schools in Bombay, which took place last week, was a notable success. We had the advantage of visiting it personally, and were much impressed by the careful and conscientious character of several of the exhibits. The average quality was high for work of the kind and certainly did not justify the epithet inconsiderately applied to it in the leading article in the *Times of India*. The work exhibited was, of course, not undertaken with a view to commercial uses. It was meant to train the eye and the hand of the pupil, and there were quite a good number of exhibits which were appropriate for the purpose. We were also present for a short time at the singing competition, and formed the impression that there had been much careful training. We felt as the result of our visit that a great work was being done in the Municipal Girls' Schools. The presence of and interested examination of the exhibits by many Indian women unconnected with the schools, showed that the work done in them has attracted the sympathy of the classes for whose children they are chiefly intended. Rao Bahadur D. G. Padhye, the Secretary of the Schools Committee, is one of our distinguished social reform leaders whose interest in and zeal for women's education has found full scope in the development of these schools. He has every reason to feel proud of the excellent work that is being done under his guidance in these schools. The *Times of India* is obviously alarmed at Mr. V. J. Patel's election as Chairman of the Schools Committee. Mr. Patel was the author of the first Compulsory Education Act passed in India and was also instrumental in the introduction, and working of the Act in the Bandra Municipality for a year, as Chairman of the Schools Committee. There can be no question of his competence for the Chairmanship of the Bombay Schools Committee. He has very sound views on primary education, and he strongly opposed the incursion of the Non-co-operators into the field of primary education. We have every hope that, under his guidance, the Bombay Schools Committee will be able to make excellent progress.

The Development Department Chawls:—Speaking at the Municipal Corporation dinner, His Excellency the Governor of Bombay quite naturally, resented the strong language used in regard to the *chawls* built by the Development Department for the working classes in Bombay. Readers of the *Reformer* need not be told that we do not love strong language, and we were impelled to write about the *chawls* as we did at the earnest instance of social workers who felt that these buildings, as designed by the Department, are a menace not only to the health of their inmates but to the future peace of the city. The Indian publicist owes a duty to his readers which he cannot shirk, much as he may be anxious to spare the susceptibilities of a Governor for whose industry, strength of purpose and devotion to what he conceives to be his duty, he may have a regard.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, APRIL 28, 1923.

ARMY EXPENDITURE IN INDIA.

"I consider that if our condition was financially most prosperous, we should not be justified in spending one shilling more upon our army than can be shown to be absolutely and imperatively necessary. There are considerations of a far higher nature involved in this matter than the annual exigencies of finance, or the interests of those who are employed in the military service of the Crown. Every shilling that is taken for unnecessary military expenditure is so much withdrawn from those vast sums which it is our duty to spend for the moral and material improvement of the people."—Minute by Lord Mayo, 3rd October 1870.

"We cannot think that it is right to compel the people of this country to contribute one farthing more to military expenditure than the safety and defence of the country absolutely demand."—Despatch of Government of India to Secretary of State dated 23rd June 1871.

In the passage which is quoted above from his Minute Lord Mayo, who had a very much more difficult problem than Lord Reading to solve, has pointed out the serious obstacle in the way of constructive statesmanship in India of excessive Army expenditure. Financial mistakes aggravated by the domination of military men in the councils of Government during and after the war, have made the burden of Indian expenditure well-nigh intolerable and the necessity of a drastic reduction in Army expenditure which swallows up the larger part of the Indian revenue, is most urgent. The Inchcape Committee, while insisting repeatedly that the Indian Army expenditure was more than India can bear, did not go much beyond scratching the surface of the question, even within its limited terms of reference. The terms of reference of the Inchcape Committee were:—

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 indicate the economies which might be effected if particular policies were either adopted, abandoned, or modified.

The Committee, however, only very sparingly took advantage of the permission thus given to it to indicate economies which might be effected if particular policies were either adopted, abandoned or modified. There were probably differences of opinion among the members which made it expedient not to avail themselves of this latitude. That is the only reason that we can imagine why the contents of the illuminating Note which the Hon. Mr. Parshotamdas Thakurdas had prepared on Indian Military

Expenditure, was not included in the Report. The Inchcape Committee, upon this restrained interpretation of its terms of reference, recommended that the net budget estimate for 1923-4 for Army expenditure should be limited to Rs. 51 crores and 47 lakhs, being a reduction 8 crores and 95 lakhs compared with the net budget estimate for 1922-3. The Government of India, however, budgeted for a net expenditure of 57½ crores during the current year, or 6 crores more than what the Inchcape Committee had recommended. It is obvious that if the Inchcape Committee's recommendation had been adopted there would not only have been no deficit this year, necessitating the doubling of the salt duty, but there would have actually been a surplus of over 2 crores. The recommendations of the Inchcape Committee did not, as pointed out above, contemplate any noteworthy change of policy and included only such retrenchments as could be effected within the limits of the prevailing policy. Mr. Parshotamdas Thakurdas's Note, therefore, is both a corrective of and a necessary supplement to the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee.

THE ARMY AND INTERNAL SECURITY.

We commented in the issue of March 31st on the statement in the Inchcape Committee's Report that "a large portion of the Army is maintained for internal security." Mr. Parshotamdas Thakurdas does not evidently accept without large reservations this proposition, though he has not indicated the fact in the Report which he has signed with other members of the Committee. He remarks in his Note that he wonders "whether too much importance has not been given to the feeling of political restlessness in the country during the last two or three years." He suggests that the data available do not justify the opinion and remarks that "as the forces were available to the provinces without extra cost it was not unnatural for officers responsible for internal peace and order to take the precautionary measure of asking for extra troops, but the fact of such a demand hardly proves to my mind the justification and necessity for such a course." The authorities are only too ready to call for the assistance of troops even in cases which, in other countries, would be dealt with by the Police, such, for instance, as the strike of mill-hands in Bombay where the Military for a whole month were called upon to stand guard over the Mills. Even in Malabar, Malegaon, Chauri Chaura, Multan, and Amritsar, an efficient Police could have done much to nip the trouble in the bud. Bismarck refused to build a German navy remarking that if an enemy force landed in Germany he would have them arrested by his Police! In India we keep a large and costly army to do work which there should be no occasion to do if we had an efficient Police force which knew its business of preventing disorder from coming to a head. Mr. Parshotamdas also points out that, with the largely improved means of communication and transport, and the up-to-date weapons of death such as the machine guns which represent the power of 10 and 20 riflemen, a much smaller

number of troops should be sufficient for quelling internal disturbances. We doubt if a return of the number of troops engaged in quelling internal disturbances during, say, the last ten or even five years will support the statement that a large portion of the Indian Army is maintained for internal security.

THE FRONTIER POLICY.

Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas's observations on the policy of maintaining a large army in India to guard the North-West frontier, deserve careful attention. The possibility of a Russian invasion, which for a long time was held up as the main reason for maintaining a large army, has disappeared. The Czars of Russia who were supposed, in pursuance of an injunction bequeathed by Peter the Great, to be bent upon seeking a warm water outlet in the Persian Gulf towards India, have been destroyed. The bogey of a Bolshevik invasion is now exhibited in their stead. No Indian believes in this bogey of Bolshevism. Mr. Purshotamdas reflects the general sentiment among Indians when he says that the greatest danger is not from Russian Bolsheviks but from increased taxation in the country and increasing the poverty of and creating discontent among the masses. As regards the North West frontier, Mr. Purshotamdas has no difficulty in pointing out that the results achieved have been utterly incommensurate with the expenditure involved in the present Frontier policy. We referred in the *Reformer* of 31st March to the outburst of the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Denys Bray, in the Legislative Assembly about India's responsibilities in the North-West frontier. Mr. Purshotamdas in his quiet, business-like way pricks the bubble of the Foreign Secretary's argument. Mr. Denys Bray argued that the Durand line was the natural boundary of India and that, as the Waziris and other tribes were on our side of the line, the problem of settling them was India's and India's alone. Mr. Purshotamdas quotes with approval a passage from Colonel Hanna's well-known book showing that the late Amir of Afghanistan had his own interested reasons for devolving the guardianship of these tribes upon the Government of India. If so, the Amir's pre-vision has been amply justified. We have poured and are pouring crores of rupees and heaps of lives on the North-West frontier, but these tribes remain as difficult a problem as ever. During the last three years alone 20 crores of Indian money have been expended in Waziristan, and yet raids into Indian territory and the murder and kidnapping of Indian subjects have not ceased. The late Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, Sir Harold Deane, attributed the increased insecurity of person and property in his province to the policy adopted in 1900 of restricting the possession of arms by villagers in our border districts. Previous to that year the people who possessed arms were able in their own villages to hold their own against raiders. "I very much regret," said the Chief Commissioner, "that the Government of India do not see their way to cancel their order which has added to our difficulties and has left our subjects

exposed like sheep to wolves." Mr. Purshotamdas recommends the freer issue of arms to the Frontier villagers as being likely to effect a great diminution in trans-frontier raids and their consequences.

THE INDIAN ARMY AS AN IMPERIAL RESERVE.

The Indian Army has long been used as an Imperial reserve which may be drawn upon for service at any time in any part of the world. Lord Curzon, speaking at the Guildhall, on his return from India, put the point with force and eloquence.

If you want to save your colony of Natal from being overrun by a formidable enemy, you ask India for help, and she gives it (cheers); if you want to rescue the white men's Legations from massacre at Peking, and the need is urgent you ask the Government of India to despatch an expedition and they despatch it; if you are fighting the Mad Mulla in Somaliland, you soon discover that Indian troops and Indian Generals are best qualified for the task, and you ask the Government of India to send them; if you desire to defend any of your extreme outposts or coaling-stations of the Empire, in Mauritius, Singapore, Hongkong, even Tientsin or Shan-haikwan, it is to the Indian Army that you turn; if you want to build a railway in Uganda or in the Sudan, you apply for Indian labour. When the late Mr. Rhodes was engaged in developing your recent acquisition of Rhodesia, he turned to me for assistance. (Cheers). It is with Indian coolie labour that you exploit the plantation equally of Demerara and Natal; it is with Indian trainee Officers that you irrigate Egypt and dam the Nile (laughter and cheers); it is with Indian Forest Officers that you tap the resources of Central Africa and Siam, with Indian surveyors that you explore all the hidden places of the earth.

The most recent example of the depleting of India of her army during the Great War is fresh within our memories. It is nevertheless the fact that the British War Office exacts from India in the shape of Captation and Transport charges for British troops nearly four crores of rupees, which Mr. Purshotamdas rightly maintains ought to be borne by the British exchequer. In their despatch to the Secretary of State, Lord Mayo's Government declared that it was not right to compel the people of India to contribute one farthing more to military expenditure than the safety and defence of the country absolutely demand. Mr. Purshotamdas' analysis of the cost of training and transport of British troops charged to India, taken in the light of Lord Curzon's observations quoted above, shows that the present view of the British Government is quite the reverse. Not a single farthing that can be demanded from India on some plausible pretext, is to be spared to this country. And if the Legislative Assembly does not acquiesce in it as tamely as Lord Reading's Government, the country is declared to be unfit for responsible Government!

SWARAJ, THE ONLY SOLUTION.

Mr. Purshotamdas shows by a comparison of salaries that, purely from the financial point of view, the Indianisation of the Army is an urgent need of the Government of India. The British officer costs between five and six times as much as an Indian officer, and the British private costs four

times as much as the Indian sepoy. Over and above this there are various large items of expenditure such as Military Dairies, the Ecclesiastical establishment, Hill Sanitaria and Army Schools, involving large sums, maintained chiefly for the benefit of the British troops. It is not too much to say that the Indianisation of the Army even to the extent of one half will lead to a considerable diminution of the Army expenditure in India. But Sir Basil Blackett's stern notions regarding a balanced budget apply only when it is a question of doubling the salt duty paid by the poorest classes of India. He would never think of balancing his budget by Indianising the Army even to a limited extent. Mr. Purshotamdas suggests the creation of a convention making votable, by the Legislative Assembly, Army expenditure in excess of a standard limit of Rupees fifty crores. He also wants the Secretary of State to leave the Government of India to determine Army policy and expenditure which closely depends upon policy. It is obvious that this can only be done when the Government of India becomes responsible to the Indian people, and Mr. Purshotamdas in making the suggestion ranges himself on the side of those who are resolved to concentrate their endeavours on obtaining *Swaraj* at the earliest opportunity.

WANTED A NEW HISTORY OF INDIA.

In the last issue of the *Reformer* a valued correspondent in a letter headed "Debilitating Suggestions" made a lengthy but important quotation from the distinguished writer "A. E.". A few sentences from it may be reproduced here. "We shall never rise out of mediocrity among the nations unless we have unlimited faith in the power of our personal efforts to raise and transform Ireland, and unless we transform the faith into works. The younger generation should hear nothing about failures. No country can ever hope to rise beyond a vulgar mediocrity where there is not unbounded confidence in what its humanity can do. We must go on imagining better than the best we know." The pith and marrow of national education cannot be more vividly described. The gifted writer of these lines speaks of faith in ourselves. The perverted presentation of the past history of this country is the greatest obstacle to the cultivation of the Indian people's faith in themselves. The most crying defect of our school syllabuses, from the national point of view, is the absence of a history of India viewed in the national perspective. Three fatal misconceptions inculcated by the text-books usually read in schools, are the prolific source of almost all our difficulties in nation-building. The first is the theory of an Aryan invasion of India; the second concerns Mahomedan rule; the third relates to the British connection. English historians like Professor Seeley, and English statesmen till they came to be bitten by German philosophy and militarism, recognised the illusion about the British conquest of India. But the average Indian schoolboy still continues to be taught that the English con-

quered India. The bulk of educated Indians, however, now know that if England conquered India it was with Indian swords and it is these swords again that constitute her chief military strength in this country. As regards Mahomedan rule in India also, Indian historians like the late Mr. Ranade taught us to discard the view that the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, was its normal and systematic attitude. Religious intolerance was exceptional, and, therefore, attracted most attention. The Mahomedan rulers ceased at a very early date to regard themselves as foreign conquerors, and their administration largely followed the policy of their Hindu predecessors and was, in fact, carried on by Hindu Ministers. Hindu generals commanded their armies and occupied the most important positions about their courts. There was not the least taint of racial domination and, in consequence, there was free play of mutual influence in social life, literary and artistic culture, and even in religion. There is a good deal to do to emphasize this aspect of Mahomedan rule on young minds in India, and "national education" has no more urgent task before it.

But "the Aryan invasion" theory which has hypnotised even some of our shrewdest thinkers and which more than any other is responsible for perverted and debilitating views of Indian history, is only now beginning to be seriously questioned. Few Indians have ventured to doubt the theory, though it is one without any support in and, indeed, totally opposed to Indian tradition. Some daring spirits here and there have hinted that the theory could not be true, but these were regarded as reactionaries who were inspired by a perverse patriotism to go against what was considered to be an established fact of history. An English scholar, Mr. F. E. Pargiter, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service and a late judge of the Calcutta High Court, has recently entered the lists boldly claiming for Indian tradition a higher authority than for the conclusions of European Orientalists. Mr. Pargiter has analysed the evidence adduced in favour of the "Aryan invasion" from the North-West, with his trained judicial mind, and his conclusion is that all the evidence points to an emigration from India and not an immigration into India through the North-Western passes. Mr. Pargiter writes:

Indian tradition knows nothing of any Aila or Aryan invasion of India from Afghanistan, nor of any gradual advance from thence eastwards. On the other hand it distinctly asserts that there was an Aila outflow of the Drabhus through the North-West into the countries beyond, where they founded various kingdoms and so introduced their own Indian religion among those nations.

This theory explains every fact which the "Aryan invasion" theory was invented to explain, and it has the great recommendation in its favour, that it is entirely consonant with Indian tradition. In Lessing's noble play "Nathan the Wise," the importance to a people of their own traditions is very tersely indicated. Saladin asks Nathan how a man of his calibre can be content to follow the faith of his forefathers unmindful of the lessons of history.

Nathan rejoins by asking: "What is history?" History too must be taken upon trust—is it not? Why should he (Nathan) assume that his forefathers deliberately handed down false history to deceive their descendants? What are the facts which the "Aryan invasion" theory was intended to explain? There is only one, namely, the similarities between Sanskrit and Greek and Latin. Max Muller's generalisations from language to race were proved even in his own life-time to be untenable. Many races speak languages which their forefathers did not speak. In the competition between languages, the one which, as Mr. Phiroze Sethna realistically phrased it last week in the Bombay Municipal Corporation, has the longest mileage and the largest rolling-stock, gets the better of its competitors. For proof of this we need not go beyond India. Against this single fact there are several others which only an emigration outward from India can satisfactorily explain. Mr. Pargiter has marshalled them all in his book and we can to-day only mention two of them here. The list of rivers in Rigveda X, 75, is in regular order from the east to the north-west,—not the order of entrance from the north-west, but the reverse. "If the Aryans entered India from the north-west and had advanced eastward from the Punjab only as far as the Sarasvati or Jumna when Rigvedic hymns were composed," Mr. Pargiter writes, "it is very surprising that the hymn arranges the rivers, not according to their progress, but reversely from the Ganges which they had hardly reached." The other evidence is derived from languages. It is rather technical but Mr. Pargiter sums it up in the remark that the Indian tradition accords precisely with Sir George Grierson's linguistic exposition, and explains the linguistic facts simply and fully. A point of topical interest, especially in South India, is Mr. Pargiter's conclusion that the first Brahmins were not only non-Aryans but were actively opposed to the Ailas or Aryas—the mid-Himalayan tribe which established its first kingdom at Prayag and from thence spread out in all directions.

Another point of national interest has reference to our Parsi countrymen. The current theory, based upon that of an Aryan invasion from the north-west, is that the ancestors of the Parsis and the Brahmins lived together in Iran for some centuries and then quarrelled over certain social questions and that the ancestors of the Hindus moved southward and settled down in India. The implicit acceptance which this theory enjoyed was shaken by the discovery in 1907 of an inscription in Asia Minor in which the names of the Vedic deities, Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and Nasatya occur. The inscription records a treaty between a Hittite King and a King of the Mittani found at Boghazkeni. The date of the treaty has been fixed reliably about 1,400 B. C. Who were these Mittani who worshipped Indra, Mitra and Varuna, and how and when and why did they go to Asia Minor? European scholars have been rather hard put to reconcile the presence of Vedic worshippers in Asia Minor in 1400 B. C. with their theories of the

Aryan invasion of India and the composition of the Vedas. Mr. Pargiter shows that the only satisfactory explanation of this is afforded by the Indian tradition of the outspread of the Druhyns—a branch of the Ailae—beyond the north-west of India in about 1600 B. C. He goes on to suggest that the Iranians themselves may have been an offshoot from India for, he remarks, the outspread from India can not only account for the existence of gods with Indian names but may also have led to the genesis of the Iranians. One of the first Indian scholars to throw doubt on the accepted theory of an "Aryan invasion" was Professor P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, now of St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly. His bright little book on "Life in India in the Age of the Mantras" opened a new era in Indian scholarship. After a long interval, he has produced a "History of India" which, especially for the early Hindu period, is better than any other book of similar scope and size that we have come across. Mr. Iyengar adopts Mr. Pargiter's conclusions and suggests that the fire-cult taken to Bahlika (Bactria) by Indian emigrants was, in later time, modified by the reformer, Zarathustra. "This Aria cult" he writes, "flourished in Persia for 3,000 years and was then brought by the Parsis to India, which gladly gave refuge to its ancient step-child." We have never been able to believe in the legend that the Parsi Pilgrim Fathers did not know where they were going when they launched their Mayflower at the time of the Mahomedan invasion of Persia. There was more inter-communication between neighbouring countries than we think in ancient times, and the Zoroastrians well knew that in India the Brahmins also worshipped fire, and that knowledge had as much to do with their drifting to India as favouring breezes.

FOREST ADMINISTRATION IN N. KANARA.

(By MR. S. G. WARTY M. A.)

I

The press-note issued by the Government of Bombay some time ago on Kanara Forest Privileges, proposing to initiate what is incorrectly termed a new and liberal policy, while it cannot but cause disappointment to the inhabitants of Kanara and to all friends of agriculture, is only one instance among many of how even under the so-called reformed and responsible administration, no serious efforts are made to redress even old and long-standing local grievances. I propose to discuss here in brief the forest policy as followed in Kanara and to examine how far, "the arrangements now sanctioned, provide an adequate amount of minor forest for the needs of the people and afford them an opportunity of sharing effectively in its management."

The Government of India have from time to time affirmed that they consider the claims of

* P. S. S. Raghavan, 8 Malai Vasal, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

cultivation as superior to those of the forest. The most recent declaration of this policy is to be found in the brochure on the "Work of the Forest Department in India" published under Government orders. Therein it is stated as follows:—"The first duty of the Department is to provide for the wants of the agricultural population and to maintain the areas committed to its charge in such a condition that their indirect efforts shall be as beneficial as possible. Forestry has been termed the hand-maid of agriculture and nowhere does this apply with greater force than in India, which is essentially an agricultural country." It is with an eye to this policy that what are known as minor forests which contain somewhat inferior kinds of timber, are preserved and assigned for the production of wood, fodder, grazing and other produce in agricultural districts.

The question now is whether this policy as outlined above, has been followed in the case of Kanara, whether, for example, the relations of agriculture and forest, have been so maintained as to encourage cultivation. Let the Bombay Government speak. In their Resolution, Revenue Department, No. 1550 dated 19th February 1910, Government observed:—"It is observed that in several instances old cultivation has been absorbed into forest. This result in the opinion of Government is not altogether satisfactory. Relinquishment of land has probably been due to the pressure and the troublesomeness to the people of the surrounding forest, the ravages of the wild animals and so forth combined with deterioration of climate also due to the spread of forest." This spread of forest was due, according to another Resolution, to extensive and indiscriminate afforestation inland. The effects of this forest policy, comprising mainly two items, extensive afforestation and gradual curtailment of privileges, can be better realised if I give some figures. The net area under cultivation in 1890, the year when the operations of the Forest Department commenced to be stringent, was 240,399 acres. It fell down gradually to 201,948 acres in 1918-19, the total area thrown out of cultivation during 28 years being 38,451 acres, i. e., 16 per cent. of the net cropped area. Next, see how fallows are increasing. In 1904, the area under fallows was, 1,11,832 acres but in 1916, it increased to 1,27,530 acres, an increase of about 16,000 acres in 12 years. One-third of the cultivable area of Kanara is under fallows. I trust these statistics are sufficient to show the baneful effects of forest policy in Kanara. I need not, therefore, refer at length to the continuous decline of population which, as the authors of the census report have pointed out, is due to the spread of malaria, due to the spread of forest, nor to the decline in the number and quality of the cattle due to insufficient grazing area.

It is thus clear that the present forest policy as followed in Kanara by the forest officials, is detrimental to agriculture and cultivation. In forwarding the Administration Report of the Divisional Forest Officer E. D. Kanara for 1917-18, the Collector of Kanara observed as follows:—"Deterioration is writ large over the country-side in broken bunds, silted tanks, deserted villages and general air of neglect to which Mr. Edie calls attention. Mr. Edie would attribute this more to the fault of the people, than to the increasing pressure of forest, and he indulges in a comprehensive indictment of the entire agricultural population, landlords and tenants alike. It is true that no one, landlord or tenant, will put money into land. But to do so under existing conditions, would be to throw good money after bad. The simple fact is that agriculture under existing conditions has ceased to pay. It used to pay and pay well, as the history of the last four centuries proved beyond question. All that is required to make it pay again, is an alteration of forest policy, which will be beneficial to forest and agriculture."

If now the claims of cultivation are really recognised by Government as superior to those of forest, the present policy requires reconstruction. I would be the last man to say that forest interests should be entirely ignored. Far from it. It is sufficient in the present instance if forest interest are reconciled to those of agriculture. Only in the beginning, to resuscitate agriculture and wipe out the baneful effects of past policy, the bending of the bow in the opposite direction is necessary so that the ultimate effect may be straight. As the resolution of 1910 already quoted above puts it, "the extent of forests in Kanara is such that some curtailment will not injure them appreciably for either productive or protective purposes." Next, it has to be remembered that privileges are exercised only in minor forests which contain timber of not much value, and therefore the exercise of these privileges will not affect rich timber areas and the large schemes for forest development as such. Therefore, the provision of ample minor forest for the exercise of privileges, while it will help agriculture, cannot go so wholly against forest interests. "For, a large area which can be brought under control, is undoubtedly preferable to a smaller area which will be worked intensively and not allowed to rest and recover."

The forest policy can be grouped under the following heads:—(1) adequate minor forest, (2) the question of control; (3) the nature and scope of the privileges; (4) the treatment of the agriculturists by the forest officials, in the matter of the exercise of the privileges already existing, and also in the matter of forest offences, such as the responsibility regarding forest fires and punishments to agriculturists. It is not possible to deal with all these questions here. I shall only refer to

the first two, of course, in brief, because these are the two special questions dealt with in the press-note, which makes large and, as I shall presently prove, wholly unjustifiable claims regarding thereto. The first claim of the press-note is that the provision of minor forest with the additional 33,000 acres is adequate. Let us examine this question. We do not know on what basis Government proceeded. In a conference of three officials, in May 1919, the Collector of Kanara, the Conservator S. D. and the Chief Conservator, the question was carefully considered and they jointly recommended as follows:—"As regards the scale on which kumki should be given, we agree that it is impossible to lay down any hard and fast rule owing to differences between tract and tract and between village and village, but we think that as a general rule for practical guidance in distributing kumki, we may safely follow so far as we can the scale observed in South Kanara (Madras) Coorg, viz., 2 acres of kumki to one acre of wet land." Now, in reply to an interpellation in the pre-Reform Council made by the Hon'ble Mr. Belvi, Government said that they were taking action on the basis of this report. If then the scale recommended by these responsible officials, among whom the Chief Conservator of Forests was one, the increase of a paltry 33,000 acres in provision of minor forest, would not suffice even one taluka, for example, Kumta, whose cultivable area is 35,000 acres and for which the present provision of minor forest is only 26,000 acres. There are 8 talukas in the district and two pethas, and, therefore, considered thus as also by calculation of area, the present increase in provision is only about one-tenth of what is necessary to make it adequate, even in the opinion of three officials of whom two belonged to the Forest Department. Be it remembered at the same time, that many of the assigned forests are bare and useless to the villagers, and that the rules and arrangements made by the Forest Department are so inconvenient as to prevent the ryots from availing themselves fully and easily of the privileges accorded therein.

OUR TRAVANCORE LETTER.

(From our own Correspondent.)

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The second session of the Travancore Legislative Council which is now sitting will be memorable for an important piece of social legislation engaging its careful and protracted attention and anxious consideration. The Council opened on Tuesday (10th April) with Dewan Bahadur T. Raghaviah, the Dewan President, in the chair. The first item was the swearing in of new members. The first instalment of questions was answered. This was followed by the Dewan's announcement that His Highness' Government, in pursuance of the promise made at the last session when Mr. T. K. Velu Pillai moved his resolution for the establishment of a University for Travancore, have resolved to appoint a Committee of officials and non-officials to examine

the whole problem and recommend to Government what of University should be established. The President explained that, as it was the desire of Government to associate with the proposed committee responsible and enlightened non-official opinion, it has been decided to request the Council to elect four members to serve on the Committee. It must be said to the credit of the Dewan that, ever since his assumption of office, his endeavours have been to invigorate real living non-official voice on measures affecting public welfare. It was with this object in view that several Committees have been created to deliberate and discuss matters connected with the administration of the Forest Department, Education, Public Works, Irrigation &c &c. This policy has borne excellent fruit. In regard to the University Committee the G. O. prepared on the subject was purposely delayed with the object of enabling the Legislative Council to elect its representatives. So anxious is the Dewan to see that non-official opinion is consulted. The Dewan's announcement was received with a unanimous and well-deserved chorus of praise from the members. The members of the Committee appointed by Government are the following:—Rao Bahadur K. A. Krishna Iyengar, Deputy President (to be President), Mr. L. C. Hodgson, Director of Public Instruction in Travancore, Mr. J. Stephenson, Principal and Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar, Professor of History and Economics, His Highness the Maha Raja's College (to be Convener), Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail of the Madras Christian College and Dr. John Mathai of the Presidency College, Madras. The four members elected by the Legislative Council are Messrs T. K. Velu Pillai, K. Parameswaram Pillai, P. K. Narayana Pillai and G. Parameswaram Pillai. The constitution of the Committee having now been settled, the Government will issue the resolution on the subject in a few days.

STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE.

The Secretary to the Council placed on the table certain particulars of information promised at the last session of the Council. The Financial Secretary to Government placed on the table for the information of the members a note containing certain items of expenditure which had to be incurred by him urgently.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS.

Demands for supplementary grants were made. The most important items which deserve to be noted here are (1) for Rs. 20,000 made by Mr. L. C. Hodgson, Director of Public Instruction. This sum was composed of two items, viz., preliminary expenses in connection with the University Committee and another Rs. 10,000 for opening Group 2 in National Science in the Women's College. In connection with the University Committee the items of expenditure required were travelling allowance to members, purchase of books and other publications useful to the Committee, etc. The other item of Rs. 10,000 was needed for opening National Science Group, i.e., Botany, Biology, &c., in His Highness the Maha Raja's College for women. Of late the strength in the Women's College has been remarkably on the increase and a tendency has unmistakably been seen in women students to take Natural Science which was opened in His Highness the Maha Raja's College for Boys last year. In response to this general desire on the part of women students, the new Science Group has been sanctioned to be opened from the commencement of the next June. With this object in view, the women's College is to be removed and located in more spacious and better buildings. This will separate the College from the High School Department. The Council gave its full and unanimous assent.

cultive whole amount. Another item of interest was the motion for a grant of Rs. 7,500 to meet the preliminary expenses for the British Empire Exhibition of 1924 in which Travancore is going to participate.

It is a wise move. For, Travancore has an unsurpassable wealth of raw materials which afford more than ordinary scope for industrial advancement. And in view of the fact that the Travancore Government give a decent subsidy to the Imperial Institute in London in return for the undertaking that the Institute would do its best for examining the raw products of the State and finding for them a market, or for suggesting the ways and means of converting them into commercial products of value and use, it is the intention of His Highness's Government to make full use of the opportunities such a world centre of Commercial possibilities gives. It need hardly be said that the grant was unanimously voted by the House.

Mr. V. Subba Iyer, the Law Member, moved that the Destruction of Records Bill and the Tolls Recovery Regulation Amendment Bill be finally read in Council. These two pieces of legislation were necessitated by circumstances, which are local and need not, therefore, be explained.

THE EZHAVA BILL.

Mr. V. Subba Iyer, the Law Member, then presented the Report of the Select Committee on this Bill and moved that the Council may proceed to consider the Report and the Bill as amended by the Select Committee. This is a very important piece of social legislation which I hope to be able to explain in my next letter. Social Legislation in Travancore is not of the kind found in other States or British India, but effects the legal and social rights and privileges of different communities. Hence I propose to give some particulars of this problem in my next letter.

THE BUDDHA GAYA TEMPLE.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In a note issued by the Anagarika Dharmapala on the subject of the "Management of the Buddha Gaya temple" and published in your issue of the 8th instant, the following statement occurs. "Goats are slaughtered at the consecrated spot; the historic image of Lord Buddha is desecrated by the low caste menials of the Saivite Mahant". (The italics are mine).

If this is Buddhism, the Hindu Tiyyas of Malabar whom some of their modern representatives wish to take over to the Buddhist faith will not be making much of a bargain even if it should be a right move on other grounds. But this cannot be. The founder of the Buddhist faith would be the last person to be associated with ideas of highness and lowness in caste. And as for the real Hindu, he differs in no wise in this matter. To him the universe is the Divine cosmic organism and he accepts the caste-system only as the organismal ideal of human society. To such a Hindu, ideas of highness and lowness must be quite abhorrent, whatever may be the degeneration in current practice. Such a Hindu accepts Buddha as one of the ten Avatars of Vishnu. And to him Buddha is not the destroyer of socio-economic caste distinctiveness which is so much needed for the purpose of inter-dependent harmonious and efficient national life. He is only the enemy of mutually irresponsible separatist, hierarchicalness which has been the ruin of Indian society and whose replacement by realities can alone "re-form" it—not inter-marrriages, inter-dinings and inter-touchings!

These items make up the fashionable nostrum of the moment and may if successful help in converting a differentiated organismal whole into an undifferentiated homogeneous mass; but homogeneity is not unity any more than a heap of sea and sand will make a coherent structure.

N. S.

INDIA AND PROHIBITION.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I have been pleased to see the amount of space you have been giving to the printing of Temperance and Prohibition material. And the sort of material you give space for comes from reliable sources and is sure to do much good. Just as true and false reports are being printed about America and Canada all over the world to-day, so it was in the United States ten years ago regarding the Prohibition states of Maine, North Dakota, Kansas and others. These conflicting reports were heard in every state where the issue was up and in the end truth triumphed over misrepresentation and falsehood.

The material that was used to convince the American people to the support of Prohibition, and is still being used to defeat the aims of those who through their utmost efforts are trying to introduce light wines and beer, was largely home grown. Thousands of dollars were spent and are still being spent every month of the year in America to find out the truth about alcohol, to learn of the baneful effect of the liquor traffic upon various phases of industrial and social life, and of the benefits of Prohibition. Future generations, by reading the evidence that has been brought against alcohol, will know why Prohibition was put across and this knowledge will insure their loyal support of the law. The marvel to them will be why Prohibition did not come sooner.

The thing I wish to call attention to is that India should not, dare not, be satisfied to fight her battle against the drink traffic mainly with facts and figures gathered by investigators abroad. The searchlight of investigation and research must be set ablaze here. Too many Indians assume by their attitude that Prohibition can be won without a fight. Public sentiment favors Prohibition; so what more is there to do? They know that the drink traffic is evil but they have a very limited knowledge as to how it is evil. India is little short of being unarmed when it comes to fighting drink and drugs! Bring to the reading public a vision of the awful inroads drink is making in the home, in village life, in industrial life, among the labouring classes, upon the physical, moral and intellectual development of the masses. With more adequate and definite knowledge about what drink means to India, leaders will awaken to new zeal and earnestness in this cause. They will see in the temperance reform something vastly more than its political significance. They will see multitudes that need to be instructed and warned regarding drink, and further they will have in hand the information needed to strengthen and encourage the people to take a stand against drink. Learning the truth themselves they will be armed to fight the traffic.

Now it occurs to me that a publication like the *Indian Social Reformer* could make a contribution along this line which would be well worth while. For instance, I was told by a barrister-at-law that when he began practice sixteen years ago both his first and second cases were murder cases.

Now if this barrister had kept a record from year to year of all the cases he tried and in how many of them liquor had evidently played a sole or contributing cause, such information would have been of value. And if scores if not hundreds of barristers and judges secure from their year's record or keep record for a year of those cases in which liquor was evidently a factor in causing death or other trouble, this information would be valuable. If the *Indian Social Reformer* is in a position to superintend an investigation of this nature with the expectation of publishing from time to time a summary of the information secured, it will be a valuable contribution to the temperance cause. There would be expense attached to it but there should be those who are willing to contribute to support such an undertaking. A business man of Japan has recently given \$50,000 to endow a department of research of alcohol and the liquor traffic in connection with the University.

Another line of research that will become increasingly fruitful is in regard to the States where Prohibition has been adopted. Compare the amount of crime both before and after Prohibition. Get the opinion and statements of responsible men in various walks of life. Only as the results of the experiments that are being made are looked into and published it will give renewed emphasis to the cause in other parts of the country. If these facts can be secured from reliable sources, they will be of greater interest to the people of India and perhaps more effective than anything that can be published from America. Both sources of information must be drawn upon, for if Prohibition proves to be successful in India it will add weight to the evidence that comes from America and vice versa. In addition to what Government is doing, or failing to do along this line, investigation by private bodies is most desirable.

It is not expected that information absolutely accurate can be secured. Yet it would bring us nearer to the truth than anything we now have. Neither is it expected that the Editor himself would be able to conduct each investigation personally. Other capable men may be secured who would investigate in their special field and report for publication. But the time is at hand when investigation should begin along this line even though it cannot be as comprehensive and thorough as one would like to see. It will be no easy task and it is highly desirable that Indian talent of the highest order get behind a proposition of this nature. The opportunity is equally great for men of means to care for all expenses that would be involved. A series of investigations carried out for years to come will mean for the temperance cause what a munition factory means for the successful prosecution of a war. We owe it to both the present and future generations to make this information available to the reading public. It will hasten the dawn of Prohibition and at the same time insure its permanency.

Umalla, via Anklesvar,
April 16, 1923.

A. T. HOFFERT.

SRI RAMAKRISHNA'S ATTITUDE TO WOMEN.

(The *Prabuddha Bharata*.)

Sri Ramakrishna embodied in his life the spirit of true Sannyasa. To him it did not imply a negative virtue, but it meant the giving up of all that is passing and evanescent, and the acceptance of all that is abiding and permanent. He renounced the world, and as the direct fruit of his renunciation, he saw God in everything and in every being. He gave up all idea of sex and it is, therefore, that he could

realise in all women, including his own wife, the manifestation of the Divine Mother of the universe, and could never, even in a dream, look upon any woman in any relation other than that of the mother. 'Women', said Sri Ramakrishna, 'whether naturally good or bad, whether chaste or unchaste, should be regarded as images of the Blissful Mother', and he himself followed this precept to the very letter. Man to him was also an incarnation of the Divine. His heart bled to see the misery and suffering of those who forgot the Spirit within and remained sunk in ignorance and worldliness. He could, therefore, never "kick away and drive off in disgust" the depraved and the profligate, the drunkard and the prostitute, but out of the fulness of his compassionate heart he strove to transform them with the touch of his Divine love and Divine knowledge. Sri Ramakrishna has been charged with "other-worldliness". But let us not forget that this "other-worldliness" implying God-vision and universal love, that was his, has been the crowning glory of his life, and "in this respect", to quote the memorable words of Prof. Max Muller, "he does not stand quite alone among the founders of religion."

Sri Ramakrishna was devoid of the least breath of sensuality. He could, therefore, wholeheartedly vindicate the honour of woman, which is hers by virtue of her inherent Divinity. He accepted a woman as his Guru, and was initiated by her, who was an embodiment of vast learning and high spirituality, into various intricate Sadhanas which he practised until he attained true illumination and bliss. He was a worshipper of the Divine Mother, and She herself in her immanent aspect brought to him the light and knowledge which in later life he irradiated all around him wherever he went. May the Mother also inspire and guide us, and lead us on from darkness and death to Light and Immortality!

To Sri Ramakrishna woman was not only an object of honour but also of Divine worship. He recognised her equal right with man to lifelong Brahmacharya and to the highest knowledge. He accepted his own wife as his foremost disciple, and the sweet relation existing between the Brahmachari husband and his Brahmacharini wife living a life of crystal purity as a partner of his immortal bliss—the fruit of the highest spiritual realisation—brings to us the noblest ideal of marriage. "The husband is loved not for his own sake but for the sake of the Atman that dwells within him. The wife is loved not for her own sake but for the sake of the Atman that dwells within her." The illustrious husband and his worthy wife looked upon each other as manifestations of the Eternal Spirit, and realised in their everyday life that the highest relation between man and woman is truly spiritual. The Universal Spirit is sent equally in man as well as in woman. This great truth was proclaimed at the very dawn of human civilisation by the Vedic sages offering their salutation to the One in all—

"Thou art woman, thou art man; thou art youth, thou art maiden; thou art an old man, totterest along on thy staff thou art born with thy face turned everywhere."

Sri Ramakrishna not only vindicated the right of woman to devote herself exclusively to the attainment of Divine realisation and knowledge like the Brahmavidinis of old but upheld her right to spiritual leadership as well. This he demonstrated in the life of the remarkable lady, at once wife and nun, who was the partner of his Divine love and Divine knowledge. The Holy Mother, as the high-souled lady was called by the followers of the Prophet of Dakshineswar, "had long and arduous experience in administr-

tion, secular and religious. The stateliness of her courtesy and her great open mind are almost as wonderful as her sainthood. I have never known her hesitate, in giving utterance to large and generous judgment, however new or complex might be the question put to her."—Such was the high tribute paid to her by the late Sister Nivedita. And it is, therefore, no wonder that the Holy Mother was the supreme spiritual guide of thousands of men and women, who looked to her for inspiration and guidance in matters not only spiritual but secular as well. She was "Sri Ramakrishna's final word as to the ideal of Indian womanhood." Little have we as yet realised the measure of Sri Ramakrishna's contribution to the spiritual regeneration of women in India. But when the struggle for political franchise and social privileges now engaging the whole attention of the country will be over, and the question of woman's spiritual freedom and her right to spiritual leadership will arise, then only will we understand the true significance of all that Sri Ramakrishna did to defend and uphold the honour and glory of Indian womanhood.

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY.

The following resolution has been passed by the Managing Committee of the Akhi's Dravid Rashtriya Sangha and forwarded to the Provincial Congress Committee, Bombay:—

"That in the opinion of the Committee of this Sangha, the holding of Inter-Communal Dinners to which members of all communities including Depressed Classes are to be invited, is one of the means of promoting Inter-Communal unity and removing the ban of untouchability and that it is desirable that national bodies including Congress Committees should interest themselves in this behalf.

"That the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee be requested to reconsider this question.

"That the General Secretary be requested to communicate this resolution to the Provincial Congress Committee and the Press.

LATE RAJA SAHEB OF AKALKOTE.

POONA CITIZENS' CONDOLENCE.
(From a Correspondent.)

A largely attended public meeting of the citizens of the City and the Cantonment of Poona was held under the auspices of the local Non-Brahmin Association on Saturday the 14th April at 6 P. M. in the Jeehe Mansions with Mr. Jagtap, B. A. in the chair. By its first resolution the meeting conveyed its deep sense of sorrow to the Rani Sahab and the Chief of Kagal (senior) and assured them of its heart-felt sympathy in their bereavement, and by the second resolution it brought to the notice of the Government the grave suspicion and fear prevailing among the public regarding the circumstances that led to the tragic event and further strongly urged them to get the matter thoroughly investigated.

A MINISTER'S GENEROSITY.

The Hon. Mr. Gonesh Dutt Singh, Minister for Local Self Government, Bihar and Orissa, has opened an account in the Imperial Bank, Patna, under the designation of "Bihar and Orissa Public Health Fund." His own contribution to this fund is *three-fourths of his salary* commencing from March 27. Mr. G. M. G. Hallet, Secretary, Local Self Government will act as Secretary. The aims and objects of the fund as well as the constitution of the Committee to administer it will be announced later on. Here is an object

lesson for our Bengal Ministers; we hope none of them will be beaten by Mr. Dutt in point of generosity.

—The Indian Messenger.

THE PUNJAB VIDHVA VIVAH SAHAIK SABHA.

Reports of 61 widow marriages have been received from the different branches and co-workers of the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabh, Lahore (Punjab) throughout India, during the month of March 1923. The total number of marriages held in the current year, i.e., from 1st January to the end of March 1923, has reached 186, as detailed below:—
Brahman, 35; Khatri, 42; Arora, 52; Aggarwal, 23; Kaur, 4; Rajput, 15; Sikh, 3; Miscellaneous, 12
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A RECENT OPINION

The Hon'ble Sir A. Kanagasabai, Advocate, writes from Jaffna under 6th March 1923:—"Your periodical gives the cream of Indian politics and has often acted as a brake for avoiding danger..."

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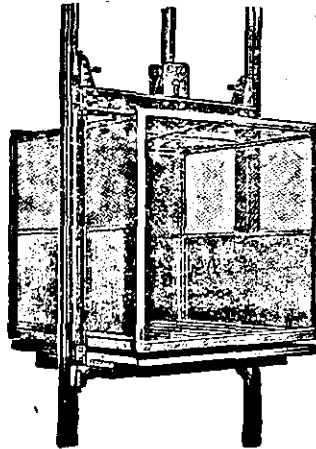
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

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The Buddha Anniversary in Bombay: The second celebration in Bombay of the anniversary of the birth and Enlightenment of Bhagvan Buddha, was celebrated by a public meeting in the Hall of the Royal College of Science. A beautiful bronze image of the Sakyamuni, belonging to Dr. Nair, was placed on the platform. The Hon. Sir Lallubhai Shah presided and opened the proceedings in a happy speech. The first speaker was Dr. Pertold, Consul for Czecho-Slovakia in Bombay, Professor of Sanskrit and Pali in the University of Prague and a devoted student of Buddhism whose informing paper we are enabled to print today by his courtesy. The other speakers were the Hon. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, Nawab Hyder Nawaz Jung Bahadur, better known as Mr. Hydari, Professor Kosambi, the great Indian Buddhist scholar and devotee, who was for some time Assistant Professor of Sanskrit in Harvard University; Dr. J. J. Modi the eminent Parsi Sanskritist of Bombay, the Rev. R. M. Gray, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Rao Bahadur P. B. Joshi, the distinguished antiquarian. These representatives of all creeds in India paid their tribute, each from his own point of view, to the illustrious Teacher, and the audience, which was equally representative, followed the proceedings throughout with deep interest. The President closed the proceedings by offering his reverential tribute to Bhagvan Buddha. That the movement begun last year in Bombay is but the index of the larger movement in India and Asia, is shown by the institution of a regular Buddhist mission in Malabar and the reports of the Buddhist revival movements in China and Japan. On the morning of the same day, Dr. Nair, the President of the Bombay Buddhist Society, laid the foundation-stone of a Hospital for Women and children, to be named after his mother.

Mr. Sastry on the Kenya Question: Reuter has telegraphed a statement made by the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastry in London of his views on the outstanding questions affecting the position of Indians in Kenya. We have not agreed with him in some of his views regarding Indians in the self-governing Dominions. But he is perfectly sound on the question of Indians in East Africa which he has declared repeatedly to be the acid test of the Empire. It may not be generally known that his deputation

to London in connection with this question was suggested by Mr. Andrews and the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association as being likely to be most useful at this juncture. Before he left for England, there was a Conference at the rooms of the Association, attended by Mr. Sastry, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. Andrews, and two gentlemen of the Indian deputation from East Africa, with members of the Council of that body. All points were frankly and freely discussed. The President of the Association, Sir Dinshaw Petit, presided. He and Mr. Andrews left in the same boat with Mr. Sastry, Mr. Jamnadas and the East African Indian delegates. We have no doubt that Mr. Sastry had not said anything in the statement that had not been agreed to by all these gentlemen as well as by the leaders of the Indian Overseas Association in London of which Lord Hardinge is now the President. Some of our contemporaries have strongly criticised his statement that "the proposal regarding franchise should be so framed as to give the vote only to highly qualified Indians, and only to so many as would not outnumber British settlers." The *Hindu* says that by this statement Mr. Sastry has almost given up the whole case for the Indians. The statement is not happily worded and we are almost sure that it is a rough and ready summary of what Mr. Sastry actually said. Whether it be so or not, the Indians in East Africa themselves have not objected to the principle of the British settlers being allowed a majority of representatives in the Legislature. Mr. Sastry, we think, was simply explaining this as an answer to the allegation that Indians will be an overwhelming majority in the Legislature. For Mr. Sastry to advance general claims much in advance of what they themselves think expedient at the present time, would be to risk the success of the special object on which he has gone at present. India, of course, is in no way prevented from raising the larger issue at any other time.

The Madras Non-Brahmin Party and the Depressed Classes: Presiding at the Adi-Andhra Conference at Mustabad, Kistna District, last month, Rao Bahadur Kandaswami Chetty reiterated his criticisms of the Non-Brahmin Ministerial Party in Madras. He aptly pointed out that the smooth working of the Reforms does by itself constitute success. The smooth working of the Council, he said, may be due to a band of men bound together by ties of sectional interests getting into it in large numbers and combining to trample upon the rights of others. "The real success of the Reforms depends," he said, "on the measure of happiness and liberty brought to the poor and the depressed." Mr. Kandaswami virtually accuses the Ministerial Party in Madras of having climbed into power upon the shoulders of the depressed classes whom subsequently they have neglected. "Within the communal movement inaccurately called the Non-Brahmin movement," he said, "the caste Hindus and especially the landowning classes among them have been strengthening their position as regards the

depressed classes whom a humane bureaucratic Government is trying to ameliorate and elevate." He instanced the abolition by the Ministerialists of the Assistant Labour Commissioners who had been specially appointed to secure house sites for and to safeguard the interests generally of the depressed classes in the districts. The Rao Bahadur paid a warm tribute to Mahatma Gandhi for his true political instinct in prescribing the removal of untouchability as the real test and solid foundation of a Swarajic patriotism. Speaking of Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment he said :

His prison door can be opened by you to-day with the master-key of emancipation of the depressed classes. There is no use cursing the British Government for keeping him in jail. It is not *they* that keep him there. It is you and I with our class pride and selfishness, with our reverence for social compartments, with our love of power to degrade others and to extol ourselves at their expense and by humiliating them. It is we that are responsible for his continued confinement within prison doors.

He went on to show that the majority in the Madras Legislative Council at present was a majority based on birth and not upon enlightenment and that the Non-Brahmin was but the Brahmin writ large. Mr. Kandaswami compared, as we have done before in these columns, the Non-Brahmin movement to the Non-co-operation movement on its negative side. Mr. Kandaswami's address deserves the careful consideration of every thoughtful man in the Madras Ministerial Party, and we hope that it will receive it.

An Impatient Outburst :—Hindu-Mahomedan unity, like the Indian National Congress and the British Commonwealth of Nations, is a goal to be steadily pursued, and not a completed achievement. These ideals are nevertheless of great practical use, inasmuch as they keep before our minds the duty of doing everything in our power to further them and of refraining from doing things calculated to thwart them. Some people who in their eagerness have taken Hindu-Mahomedan unity too literally, have of late been exhibiting impatience at incidents which remind them that there are still differences between the two communities in certain localities. We noticed some time back such an exhibition of impatience on the part of the *Bombay Chronicle*. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta seems to have given expression to similar impatience on the Hindu side at an address delivered in Poona some days ago, and his remarks were endorsed by the Hon. Mr. Kale who presided at the meeting. Mr. Mehta has since explained that what he meant was that there is still much to be done to bring about complete unity of sentiment between Hindu and Mahomedans, a proposition with which all will agree. Unity, like happiness, is not to be attained by a direct and interested seeking for it. A sincere anxiety to understand the difficulties of communities other than that to which one belongs, sympathy with their aspirations and appreciation of their history, will bring unity in their train more surely than a forced effort to reach it by means of political short-cuts. Meanwhile, it is most necessary that men whose words carry weight, should scrupulously refrain from phrases which imply despair.

Mr. Das's Swaraj Scheme :—We print the full outline scheme of *Swaraj* drawn up by Mr. C. R. Das and circulated for opinion. The scheme will be revised in the light of criticisms offered in the course of the next few months, and it will then be placed before the Congress for final adoption. When it is so adopted, it will be presented to the Legislative Assembly by the Congress leaders who may be elected thereto. We have already pointed out one or two defects in the scheme, and it is not our purpose to-day to offer further detailed criticism. The government of a country like India must conform to certain broad principles, whatever may be

its composition and character. The ground-plan of the British Indian Government, as has been pointed out several times, is much the same as that of the Mahomedan rulers, and this closely followed the lines of the earlier Hindu administrations. What differentiates the British from the previous Governments, is chiefly the fact that Indian policy is dictated from a distance of some thousands of miles and is carried out mostly by men who have no permanent home or interest in the country. If this is remedied in the only way practicable, the details of the administrative system will become easy of adjustment. It seems to us, therefore, that we have now only to concentrate on the obtaining of full Home Rule, and leave the details to be settled thereafter.

Wages and Hours of Labour in the Cotton Mill Industry :—The Bombay Labour Office has published a book containing the results of an enquiry into the wages and hours of labour in the cotton mill industry in the Bombay Presidency. The necessity of having complete and detailed statistics of current wages in this industry can hardly be over-emphasised. Similar publications elsewhere, have greatly facilitated the solution of crucial problems that have faced mill-owners and Union-leaders alike. The task of collecting statistical information is too great and too expensive for individuals to undertake. It is not strange, therefore, that the task of collecting information of this kind should devolve on a Government Department. A statistical statement, in order to be of any value, should be capable of verification. As Mr. John Towne Danson says, "we must know at least by what process and whence they are obtained. The absence of such verification may be reasonably accepted as evidence that the figures so presumed are not trustworthy." The major part of the information in this volume was collected from the various mills by means of a schedule. The intelligence, honesty, and zeal of the mill-owners can scarcely be questioned, yet it is not unlikely that the labour unions would view with suspicion information obtained exclusively from employers. The Labour Department, we think, might have issued the schedule in the vernaculars to the workers also in order to test the information received from the employers. Facts relating to monthly wages, hours of labour and expenditure could be easily supplied by the former as well as the latter. The present dispute in Ahmedabad, for instance, relates to the payment of bonuses, and unless both sides are allowed an opportunity of supplying information available to them, the utility of a volume such as this cannot be said to be complete. This criticism does not apply to the valuable companion volume, issued last week, entitled "Working Class Budgets in Bombay". We shall often have occasion to make use of these two volumes, on the production of which Mr. Findlay Shirras and his co-adjutors are to be congratulated.

Wanted a New History of India :—A distinguished educationist writes :—"I read with interest and almost complete agreement (I don't hold with Pargiter) what you say about the teaching of Indian History in the *Reformer*. Why don't you add a little about the teaching, or lack of teaching, of Indian History in the Bombay University? This is simply a disgrace and it is the only subject omitted or nearly so in the whole curriculum. A student learns the British period in the Inter.; he may offer the Mahomedan (not the Hindu) period for Honours B. A. He may offer another small period for M. A. How can you expect a boy to grow up a good Hindu when he knows nothing of Hindu India, the Guptas, the Chalukyas, Vijayanagar or the art and culture of his race? This is a point I do wish you would insist upon. Fancy we have not even a University Chair of the subject."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 5, 1923.

THE MISSION OF ISLAM.

The current number of the *Calcutta Review* contains the text of the address delivered by Sir Abdur Rahim at the Calcutta Madrassah in March last. It also contains an article by Mr. S. Khuda Baksh, elaborating and supporting the views expressed by Sir Abdur Rahim. We welcome these two important addresses because of the general ignorance among Hindus and Mahomedans alike, of the vast contributions that Islam has made to literature, science and art both in India and in other countries. Like every great religion, Islam is universal in its outlook. "It invites," said Sir Abdur Rahim, "every human being to its ample fold, be he black or white or brown in colour, of Semitic, Aryan, Turanian or Negroid stock, thus recognizing the capability of all to live a spiritual, strong and well-ordered life." It must be admitted, and is admitted, by all that in giving practical effect to the doctrine of the brotherhood of all those within its fold, Islam has succeeded far more than Christianity. This is the secret of its powerful appeal to the African races, which has evoked the antagonism of narrow-minded Christian missionaries in that continent. Sir Abdur Rahim did well in his address to emphasize that it is a wholly false notion that the religion and law of Islam enjoin conversion by force. "The Islamic law," he pointed out, "permits the non-Moslems living in a Moslem State to participate in all the rights of citizenship, nay, to live in accordance with their own customs and usages and the ideals of their different religions and civilizations." Non-Moslems were admitted to the highest offices of State in India and, as we pointed out last week, Hindu generals commanded armies and were governors of provinces as well as ministers of State under Mahomedan rulers. In some Mahomedan states in India at the present day it seems to be the policy practically to exclude non-Mahomedans from the higher offices of State. This is opposed to the spirit of Islam as well as to the traditional policy of Indian Mahomedan rulers, who never tolerated the growth of a sectarian bureaucracy. "There are no high or low castes and no untouchables in Islam," remarked Sir Abdur Rahim. This no doubt ought to be the case. But unfortunately large classes of Indian Mahomedans have not entirely overcome the prejudices in these two respects of their Hindu origin and environment. In their own interests, Mahomedan reformers should vigorously support the efforts made by Hindu social reformers to put down caste and to remove untouchability.

Professor A. M. Maulvi of Dharwar College, in his article on the Purdah System which we publish to-day, conclusively shows that the seclusion of women was enjoined by the Prophet merely as a temporary expedient. In his last article on the position of women in Islam he showed that the founder and father of Islam accorded, practically equal rights

to women with men. Here also the precepts of Islam are entirely consonant with modern ideas of progress, and the late Sir Syed Ahmed was inspired by the true spirit of patriotism when he named the journal, which he conducted for so many years, *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* (the Social Reformer). We wish that Sir Abdur Rahim had emphasized the great need of social reform among Indian Mahomedans whose practice to-day, in many respects, falls short of the high idealism of the Arabian Prophet. Sir Abdur Rahim might have usefully emphasized, for instance, the necessity of educating women and of relaxing the restrictions of the Purdah, both of which are necessary if Islam in India is to regain its pristine vigour and energy. Sir Abdur Rahim thought that the Urdu language would have every chance of being the *lingua franca* of India "if a certain class of politicians did not stand in the way." Mr. Khuda Baksh expressed a similar opinion. Whatever excuse Mr. Khuda Baksh might have for his optimism, Sir Abdur Rahim with his experience of Southern India, where Urdu is not the spoken language even of many Mahomedans, should have hesitated before indulging in it. The Urdu language may be all that these two gentlemen say of it as regards poetic and artistic excellence, but it, like most of our Indian vernaculars, is, we believe, lacking in the great emancipating principles of freedom which have been the chief attraction of the English language and literature in this country. A *lingua franca* is not required for the millions of our cultivators and artisans who live and die in their own villages. It is required only for the intellectual and commercial classes who have occasion to communicate with other parts of the country and other countries, and for this purpose the English language has already become the *lingua franca* of India and it cannot be replaced by either Urdu or Hindi. Hindi or Urdu is as much a foreign language to the people of Bengal, Dekhan, Southern India, Ceylon and Burma as the English language. Sir Abdur Rahim, indeed, recognized this, as in speaking of Islam's mission to the world, he said that Islamic leaders can never successfully fulfil their mission without a sufficient command of some European language, specially English. Sir Abdur Rahim declared that there was no Bolshevism in Islam and that private right and private property were not only fully recognized but were absolutely inviolable. The second part of this statement seems to be inconsistent with his later statement that the Mahomedan Law recognizes no copyright, no patents and no trade-marks. The right of a man in his literary work and in his mechanical inventions is but a form of right of private property, and we think it is rather an omission than a merit of Mahomedan Law not to protect these rights.

As for Bolshevism, the statement that there was no Bolshevism in Islam seems to us to be about as illuminating as to say that there is no Syndicalism in Christianity. Bolshevism is a special phase of the conflict of economic forces in Russia at the present period of her history, and is not a part of the orthodox religion which the people of Russia profess. Religion

and economics are the two great forces of human life and, with due deference to Sir Abdur Rahim, we find some difficulty in accepting the statement that no conflict is possible in Islam between Capital and Labour. If Sir Abdur Rahim means to say that the capitalistic system of industry is alien to the spirit of Islam, there may be some meaning in his statement though the fact that there are many Mahomedan captains of industry among us should warn us not to take such a dictum without qualification. This system is a modern and western development, and it is impossible to imagine that the Prophet of Islam foresaw and provided against it. The same remark applies with even more force to Sir Abdur Rahim's opinion, reinforced by Mr. Khuda Baksh, that "the Non-Co-operation movement, implying as it does aloofness from the world and the abandonment of all earnest efforts to utilise the resources of Nature for the ever-growing needs of an expanding humanity, is repugnant to the entire spirit of Islam and the history of Islamic civilisation." If Sir Abdur Rahim refers to the Non-Co-operation movement started by Mr. Gandhi, no one who has more knowledge of it than Sir Abdur Rahim apparently has, will agree that aloofness from the world is one of its implications. We have it on the authority of opponents of the Non-co-operation movement as eminent as Sir Abdur Rahim that one of the results of that movement has been the political awakening of the people. A movement which advocates aloofness from the world cannot obviously lead to this result. Nor does the Non-co-operation movement mean the abandonment of all earnest efforts to utilise the resources of Nature for the ever-growing needs of an expanding humanity. Certainly Sir Abdur Rahim is confusing two distinct things, namely, the Non-co-operation movement proper and the plain and simple life which the example of Mahatma Gandhi has led several non-co-operators to adopt. The Non-co-operation movement has a specific object in view, namely, to withhold co-operation from a system of government which non-co-operators consider to be evil. Surely Sir Abdur Rahim cannot be right when he says that this is repugnant to the spirit of Islam and to the history of Islamic civilisation! Islam itself was born in the spirit of non-co-operation with the political, social and religious systems which prevailed at the time of the great Arabian Prophet. It is because he refused to co-operate with this evil systems that he launched Islam upon the world. Such being the case, it is rather startling to be told by authorities so great as Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. Khuda Baksh that non-co-operation in itself is repugnant to the spirit of Islam.

"THE PURDAH SYSTEM IN ISLAM" I.

(By Prof. A. M. MAULVI.)

An opinion seems to be current in the West that the lamentable system of complete withdrawal of woman from society prevalent among Muslims is not only founded on custom which must give way to the pressing needs of society and change with the

progress of thought and the ever-changing condition of the world, but forms an integral part of the teachings of Islam. It is said to be based on the injunctions of the Koran, the traditional sayings of the Prophet, and the consensus of opinion among Mahomedan doctors of eminence.

It is a glaring instance of the irrationality and utter inelasticity of some of the Islamic laws which in the opinion of Western people, not only have had the tendency to demoralise the Muslim world and retard its progress for ever, but are a permanent blot on Islam itself. No reasoning, they allege, can reconcile a European mind to a practice like the system of female seclusion which is at once infamous, inhuman and unjust.

It is further stated that exclusion of woman from her legitimate place and function in life as enjoined by the Arabian Prophet on his followers, is a logical corollary to the inferiority and social degradation of the female sex to which they are doomed by Islam. By confining woman like a bird in a cage and keeping her always in a subservient position, Islam is said to have aimed a death-blow at the evolution of the Muslim world which can never expect to take its place among the foremost nations of Europe unless and until it breaks away from its traditions and allows woman to hold her just station in society.

The Muslims may revolt from such views entertained about their faith by non-Muslims, but in my opinion it can hardly be said that these views or charges against Islam are totally unwarranted or altogether meaningless.

I must frankly admit that, if not much, there is some truth in them. That the woman occupies a miserably low position among some of the Muslims no one can deny. Among the illiterate fanatic Mahomedans her lot can hardly be described. But to say that Islam is responsible for the misdeeds of the Muslims is as erroneous as to believe that God is responsible for the spreading of evil in the world. Again, to say that Islam assigns no position to woman in society is another unwarranted statement. It is one of the stones which it is not unusual with the Christian missionaries to throw with vehemence at almost all the religions of the East.

No one can deny that the system of female seclusion is an established institution in Islam. It did exist in the past and does exist at the present day in some form or other, strict or less strict. But when, why, and how this institution came to be established in Islam is a question deserving serious notice. It requires a thorough and a careful answer. How far this system was observed in the lifetime of the Prophet and under the first four Caliphs is another point worth considering. Is Islam responsible for the inculcation or sanction of the Purdah system? Are Islamic laws in such social matters really so inelastic that no human agency can bend them and make them more adaptable to the varying needs of the present society? Is there no hope for remedying the evil and diverting the current of public opinion in these matters? All these questions ought to occur to and seek solution from the mind of every true Muslim.

who desires to free his simple, pure and practical faith from the blame usually attached to it and spur his community to keep pace with the quick march of humanity.

For the true apprehension or appreciation of the spirit underlying such Islamic laws as are supposed to have a demoralising effect on the Muslim society, I cannot do better than give if not a complete view, at least some glimpses of the social life of the pre-Islamic Arabs and the position of woman among them.

The barbarous Arabs of the seventh century were divided and subdivided into innumerable tribes that were always at war with one another and were never at peace. Each tribe had a chieftain of its own, a religion of its own, a god of its own and a temple of its own. Might was generally right and their simple plan that he should take who can and he should keep who has the power was universally adopted. Plurality of wives, divorce and even concubinage were recognised institutions among them. Women were looked upon as charming snares to men, ornamental articles of furniture difficult to keep in order or at the most pretty playthings. It was proverbially said that "Woman was made from a crooked rib; if you try to bend it straight it will break; if you let it alone it will always be crooked". Beating of wives was considered to be an act of kindness to them and burial of living daughters was looked upon as a noble deed. It is curious to note that side by side with this detestable opinion they held of woman they had a quixotic sense of honour, and vengeance was almost a physical necessity with them. An insult offered to a woman of a tribe would set aflame these desert tribes from end to end of the peninsula. The sacrilegious wars which lasted for forty years and were put an end to by the Prophet, had their origin in an insult offered to a young girl at one of the fairs of Okaz. An idea seems to have been prevalent that man had two souls which if one died unavenged, took the shape of two owls one croaking 'Honour' and another crying "Give me to drink" and the bird could not be appeased until its thirst was quenched by actual vengeance.

While judging of the rationality or irrationality of Islamic laws we must bear in mind that the Prophet had to deal with this barbarous class of people and not the highly advanced communities of the present age. Plurality of wives, loose ties of marriage, enslavement of women and their exposure to the rude remarks of the licentious, queer sense of honour and constant blood feuds, had already sapped the foundation of Arab society before Prophet Mohammad came with his mission to them. Arabia was not the country in which a drastic change could meet with success, nor were the Arab ladies perhaps the best subject for the experiment. He was conscious of the poor material he had to work with. He had to bend the crooked ribs straight and neither break them nor let them alone in disgust. His mission was to purify, reform, and elevate a degraded race. He could not bring about a thorough revolution all at once. He adopted the wise

process of evolution. Besides, he knew fully well that his mission was not meant for one age or clime but for all mankind to the end of the world. He realised then what we have begun to realise now that in every country, in every community and at every age cultured and uncultured must exist. He did not misjudge human nature. He did not dream like Mr. Gandhi and his followers, of converting in a day by one stroke of the pen or tongue devils into angels, drunkards into teetotallers, butchers into vegetarians, ruffians into non-violent law-breakers and tigers and wolves into goats and sheep.

The only possible way in which he could mould these barbarous Arabs and give them a decent shape was to devise mild laws and not strict measures. As example is always stronger than precept he achieved more by acting than by preaching. For bettering the condition of woman and protecting her for ever from the insults and rude remarks of the licentious Arabs, he saw no way better and more proper than recommending female seclusion which was the only safeguard against the inroads of the people who knew no other law of morality than the principle of "might is right." By this means not only did he save woman from being carried into captivity and turned into a dancing girl or a concubine, but he removed for ever the principal cause of the family blood-feuds which almost came to an end after the seclusion of woman. Mr. Nicholson in his literary history of the Arabs says in a land where might was always right and female infants were buried alive it would have been strange if the weaker sex had not often gone to the wall.

FOREST ADMINISTRATION IN N. KANARA.

(By MR. S. G. WARTY, M. A.)

II

The other question is regarding control. It has been the continued experience of Kanara agriculturists that even the privileges that are still left to them by the Government, are not allowed to be fully and easily exercised, by the Forest officials. It has therefore been urged from time to time on behalf of the cultivators that the minor forest assigned for exercise of privileges, should be under the direct control and management of the Revenue Department. About the beginning of the year 1919, the Conservator of Forests S. C. remarked that minor forests were of no real value to the Forest Department, but a source of much trouble. The Conference of three officials, of whom one was the present Chief Conservator of Forests, had gone to the length of recommending the application of the proprietary principle to a considerable part of the minor forests. But now according to the press-note, they are being retained under the Forest Department only. Government still hold out hopes of "converting them gradually into village forests to be managed by village panchayats." And because this is to be done at some indefinite future date (the Greek

calends), Government do not wish to hand them over to the control of the Revenue Department now. Chapter III of the Indian Forest Act made provision for the constitution of village forests more than forty years ago; and writing in 1882, Mr. Baden Powell, author of the Manual of Jurisprudence for Forest Officers remarked:—"I have little doubt that in the course of time, village forests will become an important feature in the agricultural economy of the population in many parts of India." It is surely very disappointing to see that not a single village forest has been constituted till now in Kanara, 82 per cent. of the area of which is forest, even though a serious proposal was unofficially made in that connection about the end of 1918. If the past is any indication of the future, we have no hopes of any serious efforts on the part of Government in that direction. But in any case, there is no reason why in the interval, the minor forest should not be entrusted to the control of the Revenue Department, when especially the Forest Department is completely distrusted by the people, and when the Forest Department itself, according to the opinion expressed by a responsible Conservator, considers minor forest of no real value but only a source of trouble. At the end of the press-note, the Government state that now an opportunity has been afforded to the people of sharing effectively in the management of the minor forest. This statement must have been made by mistake, or else it is a camouflage. Let anybody point out after examining the press-note, sentence by sentence, where and how this effective sharing in the management comes in. This question of control is regarded by the people as the most important one, as they have learnt by bitter experience that the exercise of privileges is rendered nugatory by the heaping up of numerous obstacles by the Forest Department. If I remember aright, recent orders of the U. P. Government have placed the minor forest in the Kumaon District under the control of the Revenue Department. And Kumaon District is parallel to Kanara district in this respect.

One great and common complaint which is made in season and out of season by the Forest Department against the agriculturist, and is made an excuse for not treating him liberally, is that if he is allowed free privileges, he would denude the forest in no time, that he would take "what he wants and where he wants" without caring for the morrow. It is asserted that the bare tracts in some forests of the coast had forests which the people destroyed. As regards the general tendency on the part of the agriculturist, to deny it categorically, would be to take large responsibility. But certain things may be mentioned which may go to show that this tendency is exaggerated, in some cases falsely charged and that the Forest Department itself shares some responsibility in

this connection. In the first place, there is no evidence to show that there ever was any forest in the bare coastal tracts and it is admitted that denudations might have occurred some two hundred years ago. If the accounts given in the Kanara Gazetteer be true, the denudation, if at all it took place, must be attributed more to pirates and native militia than to the peaceful agricultural community. Every cultivator would desire to have a forest in the vicinity of his land. This is shown by the fact that forests have been voluntarily grown by the cultivators themselves. In the second place, these minor forests even though assigned for the purposes of the exercise of privileges, are often clean cut by the Forest Department itself for revenue-producing purposes, without even consulting the people who have privileges in them. This process is a two-edged sword. It cuts both ways. It denudes the forest directly, curtails the supply for the agriculturists and indirectly renders privileges nugatory. It also discourages the people in their attempts at growing the forest. For who will say that in a few more years, the Forest Department will not clean out the forests grown by the people? Thirdly, while complaints are rife regarding the indiscriminate cutting by the agriculturists, no efforts have been made by the Forest or Revenue officers to instruct people in the economic use of the forests. In para. 8 of the Resolution of 1910, Government very pertinently reminded the responsible officers concerned, that the success of the wood-land system depends entirely on the patient and persevering inculcation of it by demonstration and instruction in the approved and prescribed methods of lopping, cutting and trimming, preservation of the leading shoots of stools, and so forth. No steps have yet been taken in the direction of this instruction, while penalties continue to be inflicted. It was with special reference to these orders, that the Commissioner S. D. in his remarks on the Forest Administration Report of 1918-19, observed that they have been often forgotten or overlooked.

I have now shown sufficiently clearly how the forest policy as followed in Kanara so far, has been detrimental to agricultural interests, and how the policy now adumbrated in the press-note is far from being satisfactory. Indeed, the policy though termed new, is neither the old policy followed before 1879 or before 1890, nor the new policy that was expected of the Reforms, but only a continuation of the existing pauperising policy under a new garb and under a gilt name. I am aware that if anybody ventures thus to criticise the forest policy, he is generally charged with being an enemy to forest development, as if there can be no honest and impartial criticism at all. I yield to none in my recognition of the advantages of forest development. But I submit that when agri-

cultural interests and forest interests conflict without any hope of reconciliation, the latter must bend to the former. At the same time, in the case of Kanara especially, I am of the humble opinion that the most satisfactory solution can be found out to safeguard agricultural interests, not only without trenching upon forest development as such, but in a way which would eventually be helpful to forest development, *provided, however, that Government is prepared to take the people into their confidence and consultation.* By the way, they have not till now done anything of the sort. It is all the bureaucratic game from first to last.

One more point and I shall have finished. Government ought to remember that in the past, not a few wrongs have been done to Kanara by them. They are very pithily and beautifully expressed in clause (3) of the 'Forest' Resolution, drafted by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and passed in the Kanara District Conference held in 1920 under his presidentship. That clause runs as follows:—"The people of the district strongly feel, and discontent is growing day by day among the higher and lower classes that the agriculturists of this district have not been dealt with, since the introduction of the settlement of operations, on the lines of justice and fair play. First, Sir Thomas Munro's pledge that the land-tax would not be revised was set at naught. Then under Colonel Anderson's Survey operations, the land-tax was enhanced to a high pitch, on the ground that there would be a railway running through the district and after that, the Forest Department has come in and added to the wrongs to the ryots in Kanara." The railway never came and the development of Karwar harbour was given up, though Kanara was transferred to the Bombay Presidency, on the understanding that Karwar and other sea-ports like Kumta and Honavar would be developed. As regards the heavy assessment, if we compare Kanara to Ratnagiri, which possesses the same kind of sandy soil, we find that the average assessment in Kanara is Rs. 5-4-0 per acre whereas it is Rs. 1-4-0 at Ratnagiri. One reason given for this was, besides the prospect of a railway as then entertained, that Kanara enjoyed forest privileges. The railway never came, the privileges have gradually been curtailed. The high assessment still remains. This is a wrong, a serious wrong bordering on crime that is thus inflicted on the agriculturists of Kanara.

The economic life of the poor agriculturists of Kanara, is based upon and has adjusted itself for centuries to the forest privileges. And it would be a cruel wrong, a wrong aggravated because of former wrongs, not to grant to the people the privileges they enjoyed before 1879 or at least before 1890. At any rate, let the Government take the people into their confidence, and find out

a solution in consultation with them, such as would satisfy them. And this after all is a very small demand considering what wrongs have been heaped by Government on Kanara in the past, as also the baneful effects on the agriculture of the district of the forest policy so far followed by them. Will they do it now in earnest or will they sleep on till another census shows a drop of another 30,000 in the population? Indeed, there can be no greater indictment of the Bombay Government administration of the district, than the continuous decrease in the population, and the growing pauperisation.

BUDDHISM IN THE WEST.

(By DR. D. C. PRATOLD.)

I have been requested by the Managing Committee of the Buddhist Society of Bombay to speak a few words on this festive occasion. But I was informed rather late to be able to prepare a set speech properly as such an auspicious occasion demands. Thus, I decided to say only a few words and mention some facts worthy to be meditated upon on this glorious day.

Lord Buddha, a true son of his native country, propounded a noble doctrine for the sake of his own land in order to improve the status of India of those times, and his aim could have succeeded, if his doctrine had been rightly understood and properly followed by his countrymen. But the value of the doctrine was not grasped in its full extent, it was too high and sublime for men of those times and was soon forgotten by the people who were too much attached to the old inherited doctrines and even superstitions, which soon became obsolete, giving little help in the life developing rapidly and crushing everything obsolete and out of date. In consequence of this negligence by the very countrymen of the great Teacher, Lord Buddha's doctrine decayed in India, ultimately the noble doctrine was perfectly forgotten, neglected and pushed away; while in the non-Indian countries it was propounded to non-Aryan peoples, mostly Mongols, whose influence caused many changes in the doctrine, as it can be seen on Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese and even Burmese Buddhism, where the non-Buddhist elements are overshadowing the true doctrine of Lord Buddha.

But a change in this attitude began, when Buddhist studies were started methodically in Europe and such great scholars as Childers, Rhys Davids etc., did for Buddhists really a great rescue work. These things I do not need to explain in detail, as in reality they must be well known to every one of you. Buddhist studies in Slavonic countries are here in India very little known, and therefore I want to touch on that subject with a few words on this festive occasion.

The Buddhist studies in Slavonic countries started in Russia which had in its Asiatic parts many subjects who were Buddhists by religion, although their religion differed very much from the original doctrine of Lord Buddha, having declined from it by the influence of the animistic cults of the Siberian Mongols. Many investigations of the different forms of Buddha religion especially in Russian Turkestan, have been carried on by Peteraburgh University, and the results of those researches have been published by many scholars in the publications of the Imperial Academy in Peteraburgh. Also many societies for practical application of

Buddha doctrine to the modern life existed in Russia up to the time of the Great War, which were in steady touch with Bauddhas in Tibet, Japan, Burma and especially in Ceylon.

From the other Slavonic countries, my native country, Cechy,—perhaps better known to you by its Angloised name Bohemia—did a good deal in the study of Buddhism. Our people, meek by nature, and always non-violent, has a deep interest in the noble doctrine, and any article in newspapers or magazines about Buddhism, and any translation of passages of Buddhist Scriptures, are received with great interest and enthusiasm. And this enthusiasm appears also practically in the endeavour to get better knowledge through some societies, although the ways are not always the best, as very often the want of proper spiritual guides is felt. There has been in Prague before the war a Buddhist Society, there was also a Buddhist course in Prague English Club conducted for a time by myself, and there are often lectures on Buddhism in the Theosophical Society of Prague, which are, of course, sometimes tainted by the ideas of their doctrine. But all these are merely popular studies.

But, still more attention is paid in our country to the scholarly studies of Buddhism, and to the research on the subjects connected with it. Already in the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century professor Frantisek Cupr (b. 1821, d. 1882) in his work *Indian Doctrines* has dealt with Buddhism with a studied insight into it although he did not know the Indian languages so far as to study the Scriptures in the original tongue, and was therefore obliged to use second-hand sources. At the same time, the well-known Professor Ludwig was teaching Indian philology on the Prague University, then German. His successor on the Cech University—when the Prague University was divided into German and Cech—became Professor Josef Zubaty, who is occupying the chair of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology up to now. He introduced into the course of the University studies, lectures on Pali language and so encouraged much the studies of Buddhism in our country. I am glad to have been his pupil, and so have had the opportunity to read under his guidance the first Buddhist texts which came into my hands. Now our younger generation is coming on to the stage of research work, and here Prof. V. Lesny—who is now in Shantiniketan—and myself dedicated much time and great part of our efforts to the study of Buddhism. The results of these efforts appear already in our literature: Prof. Lesny published recently a comprehensive book on Buddhism of the Pali Canon, which can be considered as a standard work, and by me has been published a translation of few Jatakas, and several papers on my researches into the Ceylonese Buddhism.

And already a new generation is springing up, as a result of our lectures and endeavours in teaching in the University, who are spreading further the doctrine of Lord Buddha.

And to turn to this country, to India. In the mean time, when Buddhism is so favoured in western countries, India did very little for this noble doctrine, which had originated from her own heart. The Mahabodhi Society in Calcutta, with small and really insufficient funds, and this Society started recently, are, I think, the only endeavours in such a vast country. Nevertheless the Buddha doctrine is really that factor which is most wanted now-a-days in India to bring all the different elements together and join them in an ideal unity of perfect humanity.

OUTLINE SCHEME OF SWARAJ.

CHAPTER I.—ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES.

The principles which guide this outline are those which have been honoured in India from time immemorial, and have been re-iterated in the Presidential Address of the Gaya Congress, in December, 1922, thus;

“To form a scheme of government, regard must be had

- (1) to the formation of local centres more or less on the lines of the ancient village system of India;
- (2) the growth of larger and larger groups out of the integration of these village centres;
- (3) the unifying state should be the result of similar growth;
- (4) The village centres and the larger groups must be practically autonomous;
- (5) the residuary power of control must remain in the Central Government, but the exercise of such power should be exceptional, and for that purpose, proper safeguards should be provided, so that the practical autonomy of the local centres may be maintained, and at the same time, the growth of the central government into a really unifying state may be possible. The ordinary work of such Central Government should be mainly advisory.”

Briefly, a *maximum* of local autonomy carried on mainly with advice and co-ordination from, and only a *minimum* of control by higher centres, which will have some special functions besides.

To this should be added that *every possible care should be taken to ensure that the people's elected representatives, who will constitute the Chief Authority for each grade of centre, local and higher, with power to make laws and rules, shall be, not self-seekers, but seekers of the public welfare.*

CHAPTER II.—ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS.

(a) Local Centres.

1. The foundation of the whole administration should be in Local Centres (*grama*), small but practically autonomous.
2. A Local Centre should ordinarily consist of a number of villages of which the population should total about ten thousand souls.

(b) Town Centres.

3. Towns (*nagar*), should form separate entities, and might, as necessary, be sub-divided into wards or quarters, of about the same population limits as the rural Local Centres.

(c) District Centres.

4. Rural and urban Local Centres should be integrated into larger groups or District Centres (*zilla*) with populations of from five to twenty lakhs.

(d) Provinces.

5. District Centres should be integrated into Provincial Organisations.
6. Provinces (*sooba*) should be demarcated on the linguistic basis. Any which are considered too large may be divided into smaller ones.

(e) All-India Organisation.

7. The Provincial Organisations should be integrated into and be co-ordinated by an All-India (Bharata-varcha or Hindustan) Organisation according to population.
8. Subject to these general principles, each Province should draw up its own scheme of administrative divisions to suit provincial variations.

CHAPTER III.—ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS.

Functions should be as below:

- A. (i) Provision for appropriate *Education* of all educable children and youth of both sexes (*Shiksha* or *Talim*).

(i) Provision for Recreation (*vinoda* or *dil-bastagi*), e. g., Public Gardens, Parks, Museums, Playing-grounds, Libraries, Reading Rooms, Art-galleries, Popular Lectures, Recitations, Processions, Pageants, Religious Festivals* (Katha, Yatra, Kala-kanepam, Kirtana, Ram-lila, Krishna-lila, Maulud, Christmas and Easter celebration, etc.) refining, elevating and instructive Dramas, Cinema and Magic Lantern Shows, Games and Sports, etc.

B. Provision for Protection (*Raksha* or *Hifazat*), by means of

(i) Police and Local Militia and Regular Military Forces;

(ii) Justice and Settlement of Disputes, through Arbitration Courts or Panchayats in the narrower sense, and Registration of Deeds;

(iii) Appropriate Medical Help and Sanitation.

C. Provision for Economic and Industrial Welfare (*Jivika* or *Maash*), by promotion of

(i) Agriculture (*Krishti* or *Zira-ati*);

(ii) Cattle-breeding (*Go-raksha* or *Taraqgi-maweshi*) i. e., increase and preservation of domestic animals of all kinds, for purposes of milk, wool, plough, transport, etc.

(iii) Other Productive Industries relating to Mines, Forests, Fisheries, Salt, Sericulture, Arboriculture, etc., (*Akara-karma* or *Madaniyat*, etc.);

(iv) Arts and Crafts and Manufactures of all kinds (*Shilpa* or *Sanaat-hirfat*);

(v) Trade and Commerce (*Vanijya* or *Tijarat*); and

(vi) By promotion and regulation of the various means which subservise the above, e.g., Railways, Post and Telegraph, Shipping, Roads, Waterways, Canals, Bridges, Ferries, Presses, Public Buildings, Monuments, Rest-Houses, Currency, Measures of Flood and Famine Relief, Rates and Taxes, Tariff and Customs, Surveys of various kinds (Geographical, Geological, Botanical, Meteorological, Statistical, Archaeological, etc.), Friendly Relations with other States, etc.

D. The above provisions would be made

(i) by means of laws and rules which would be framed by the different grades of Panchayats, and would have force within the domains of their respective makers, the enactments of the lower grades of Councils being made with advice from and co-ordination by the higher when needed;

(ii) by appointment of executive officials (who would be wholly responsible to the Councils appointing them) to carry out the laws and rules; and

(iii) by supervision of their work.

CHAPTER IV.—PANCHAYATS AND ALLOCATION OF FUNCTIONS.

A. Local Centres or Communes and Local Panchayats.

(a) For each rural or urban Local Centre or Commune there should be one Local Panchayat of twenty-one periodically elected members.

(b) This Panchayat should be in charge of the different functional departments mentioned above, so far as the Commune affords scope for them, and should carry on the work by means of sub-committees.

(c) Under Education,

(i) they would maintain local Schools, giving elementary cultural and vocational-technical instruction, and

(ii) would provide for suitable Recreation.

(d) Under Protection,

(i) they would appoint their own *Chaukidars* (Watchmen,) and would form Local Militia out of such *chaukidars*

* As regards "Places of Public Worship, for the various Creeds", see Appendix, Note to Chapter III.

and other able-bodied men, and would provide for their proper training;

(ii) they would arrange for Arbitration Courts (the members of which would be separately elected,) which would deal with simple civil (including what are now known as rent and revenue, *divani* and *mal* or *artha-ivada*) and criminal (*faujdar* or *parushya-ivada*) cases;

(iii) they would also maintain an adequate Hospital (*chikitsalaya* or *shafa-khana*) and Medical Staff which would provide treatment free and be responsible for the proper sanitation of the Commune.

(e) Under *Economical and Industrial Ministration*, they would see,

(i) that all arable lands are properly tilled, and village commons, playing-grounds, pasture-lands, groves, orchards, etc., are properly maintained, and a sufficiency of necessaries, specially corn, cotton, and cattle, (or other forms of food, clothing, and accessories, in specially circumstanced tracts), for the use of the Commune, is always available within their jurisdiction;

(ii) that co-operative organisation, in the shape of Stores Banks, etc., are maintained in the needed numbers;

(iii) that wells, tanks, *tals*, canals, and all means of supply of good water for drinking and other domestic purposes, and for irrigation, and all roads, etc., within their Commune, are properly maintained;

(iv) that production of surplus corn, cotton, cattle, and other necessaries as well as comforts, and of mineral and other products and means of increasing the wealth of the locality is encouraged, cottage-industries promoted, and arrangements made for commercial dealing with this produce in such a manner as to avoid competitive waste.

B. Intermediate Centres or Districts and District Panchayats.

(a) The District Panchayat should be constituted by each Local Panchayat (or group of Local Panchayats) periodically choosing one member, who may or may not be one of them; provided that the total number of members should not exceed one hundred; and provided also that at least two-fifths of them should be residents of towns.

(b) They would form sub-committees among themselves on the lines before mentioned.

(c) The District Panchayat would generally *advise* and *not control* the Local Panchayat, in respect of all functions. Special provision would be made for such control as may be occasionally or absolutely necessary.

(d)—(i) Under *Education*, the District Panchayat should maintain one or more higher educational institutions (like colleges and high schools) as may be necessary, which would give cultural as well as technical instruction.

(ii) They would also provide *Recreation*, arranging for the more expensive items which may not be within the means of the Local Panchayats.

(e) Under *Protection*, they would

(i) co-ordinate the Local Police;

(ii) arrange to maintain some special Reserve or District Police;

(iii) organise and co-ordinate the Local Militia, so that they might discharge the functions of a disciplined Army; and

(iv) maintain one or more larger Hospitals and supply medical and sanitary advice to their Communes.

(f) Under *Economic and Industrial Ministration*, the District Panchayat would

(i) co-ordinate the Local Banks and Stores and other local economic and industrial and commercial enterprises; and

(ii) organise or promote independent such enterprises.

C. Town Centres and Town Panchayats.

(a) Aggregations of dwellings containing ten thousand or more inhabitants should be regarded as towns.

(b) Towns should be organised in the same way, generally, as the rural Local Centres; and the same general principles should be applied to their functioning as to the rural Local Centres, as far as practicable, but regard must be had to the special variations in the economic and other circumstances.

(c) For the purposes of the integration of the District Centres and the election of the District Panchayats, the rural and the urban Local Centres should be counted side by side as component units; and the headquarters or the seat of the District Panchayats would ordinarily be the largest town of the district.

(d) For the purpose of unifying the administration of each town as a single whole, the Town's Members of the District Councils, together with such other members as may be specially elected by the Ward-Panchayats, in the proportion of two or more per ward, should form a Town Panchayat (like the present Municipal Boards), which would be intermediate between the urban Local (*i.e.*, Ward) Panchayats and the District Panchayat, and would discharge as many of the functions of the District Council, towards the whole Town, as may be conveniently possible.

D. Provinces and Provincial Panchayats.

(a) The Provincial Panchayats should consist of members elected by the District Panchayats in the proportion of one for every two lakhs of the population; provided that the total number should not fall below twenty-one, nor exceed one hundred; and provided also that at least half the number should be urban residents. They may or may not be members of the District Panchayats.

(b) The Provincial Panchayat would advise the District Panchayats and co-ordinate them and their work, using residuary powers of control under proper safeguards.

(c) Its special work would be

(i) to maintain advanced Educational Institutions (in the nature of Vidya-pithas, Dar-ul-ulums, "Seats of Learning," "Centres of Knowledge," Universities) which would give expert cultural and technical training and promote research;

(ii) to maintain special Police and Military Forces, for the guarding of Frontiers, Sea-boards, etc;

(iii) to make provision for Justice in special cases;

(iv) to administer Provincial Railways, Water-works, Canals, Roads, etc.

E. The India Panchayat.

(a) The All-India Panchayat should consist of members elected by the Provincial Panchayats in the proportion of one for every thirty lakhs of population, but provinces which may have a total population of less than thirty lakhs would send one representative. At least three-fifths of the members should be urban.

(b) The functions of the India Panchayat would be similar to those of the Provincial Panchayat, *mutatis mutandis*; a special one would be to deal with neighbouring States (including Indian States) and Foreign Countries.

(c) The India Panchayat should create a Consulting Senate, consisting of eminent men and women of thought and special knowledge, belonging to all parts of India, who would be elected by the India Panchayat, from time to time, without restriction of numbers, etc., and who would be asked for advice on any subject, as needed, by the India Panchayat or the Provincial Panchayats.

(d) The language of the India Panchayat should be Hindustani, while the Provinces would use their mother-tongues.

F. Special Provision for Filling up Vacancies.

Generally if a member of a lower Council is elected to a higher, his place may be filled up by a new election by the same electorate.

CHAPTER V.—THE QUALIFICATIONS OF THE CHOOSERS AND THE CHOSEN.

1. Every individual of either sex, who has resided in India for at least seven years, and is at least twenty-five years of age if a man, and twenty-one years if a woman, should be entitled to elect to the Local Panchayat.

2. The members of the Local Panchayat should elect to the District Panchayat.

3. The members of the District Panchayat should elect to the Provincial Panchayat.

4. The members of the Provincial Panchayat should elect to the India Panchayat.

5. The members of all four grades of Panchayats should be permanent residents of the country, preferably of the particular centre, and should be chosen irrespective of their creed, caste, class, color, race, or sex, but subject to adjustment, where unavoidably necessary, for purposes of creedal or communal representation.

6. Such representatives should ordinarily be not less than forty years of age; should have done some good work in any walk of life; should, if rural, be at least literate, and, if urban, should possess higher educational qualifications, and, in the case of rural and urban members of the Provincial and India Councils, should have corresponding higher and superior educational qualifications or equivalent expert experience; should have retired from competitive business or other professional life of bread-winning or money-making, and be able to support themselves on their own savings, or be assured of all necessities and personal requirements by their families or friends; should give practically all their time to national work, and should do so without any cash remuneration. But their travelling and other *ex-officio* expenses, which might be necessary to enable them to discharge their public duties, should be met from State funds; and their status as Members of Panchayat should be regarded as having greater honor attached to it than any salaried office, so that they would receive precedence at public functions.

7. The members of each Panchayat should possess between them, experience of all the main departments of the communal life which they have to administer.

8. No one should offer himself, or canvass himself, as a candidate for election; but, if requested by electors, he might publicly signify his consent to accept the burden of office if elected.

CHAPTER VI.—SEPARATION OF FUNCTIONS.

Throughout the whole administration, Legislative, Judicial and Executive functions should be kept separate from one another.

CHAPTER VII.—FINANCES.

1. The revenue needed to meet necessary expenditure should be raised by the Local Panchayats by means of taxation, with advice from the upper Panchayats.

2. State factories might be opened as necessary, with a view to prevent waste by individual competition, over-production, bad production etc., to cheapen commodities and to reduce taxation, but not so as to create monopolies and stifle private enterprise.

3. Where practicable, Local and District Councils should make such improvements in the locality as might result in addition to the communal income, e.g., public wells, tanks, canals, roads, groves of timber and fruit trees, etc. and thereby lead to reduction of taxation.

4. Contributions would be made by the Local Panchayats to make up the revenues of the District Panchayats; by them to the Provincial; and by the Provincial to the India Panchayat.

5. Special taxation might be imposed by the Provincial and India Panchayats.

CHAPTER VIII.—PROPRIETORSHIP.

Private property would be recognised and maintained and the growth of individual wealth, both moveable and immovable, would be permitted, but so as not to encroach on or make impossible or impracticable the growth of public possessions as well; and the owner of individual wealth, who spends it on pious work, i. e., works of public utility, as requested by a Panchayat, would receive special marks of honor.

SUFI SAMAJAM.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

A group of friends consisting of both Hindus and Mahomedans, started a movement two years back, with the idea of uniting the various elements of Sufism in Sind. Invitations were sent to various Sufi centres that still carry on, to some extent, the traditions of the great Masters Latif, Sachal, Rohal, Sami, Dalpat, Bedil, Bekas, and others.

The response was indeed enthusiastic! The extensive grounds of the Sind National College presented for three consecutive days, an appearance of a spiritual Samagam (conference) in which met Sufis from various parts of Sind. The whole city responded. Crowds of people walked a distance of two miles to take part in the Samagam. It showed how the heart of Sind thrills still to the music of its Sufi Masters. Mirza Kalichbeg, the well-known Muslim scholar and poet, presided. Next year, i. e., 1922, the 2nd anniversary of the Sufi Samagam was celebrated—this time on newer lines, emphasising the intellectual aspects of Sufism along with the culture of the heart.

Experience has shown, that Sufism has the greatest hold on the classes as well as the masses of Sind. The younger generation in schools and colleges shows a fervid interest in the classical poetry of the immortal poets of Sind. This bespeaks well of the coming developments in Sufism.

Sind has been a door through which Eastern cultures have found their way to India and it is evident that she will again send through its portals the treasures it received, made brighter in colour and more valuable in substance, by the touch of India.

The experiment of the commingling of Islamic and Aryan cultures has achieved a measure of success in Sind. It is meet that this fruitful soil should be further ploughed and sown anew with the old, old seed.

Prof. Hukumchand Kumar and his Punjabi friends are anxious to revive the same spirit of Sufism in the North. Delhi, Uch, Multan, Ajmere, and other places, are well-known centres of Sufis, and the names of Baha-ud-din, Farid, Bala, Bahu, Nasir and others, still rouse joyful notes in every Sufi heart.

It is now proposed that the Sufi Samagam should extend its field of activity and bring to a common platform the various Sufis of Sind, Punjab and other parts of India. It is therefore suggested that we should form a fellowship of Sufis—Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and others that will appoint a committee to propagate the above idea, and invite the co-operation of all those interested in the movement throughout India. Two of us propose to go out to the Punjab with this

purpose in view, and we shall then be in a position to know how far it is possible to achieve this object, and whether it is feasible to invite an All-India Sufi Samagam in a central place like Delhi, Ajmere, Multan, Sukkur, Hyderabad or Karachi.

If you are in sympathy with the idea and wish to help us in any way, will you kindly write to us.

GHULAM MAHOMED BHURGRI
(Late Member Council of State)
JETHMAL PARSHAM GULRAJANI,
(Editor Bharatvasi)

HYDERABAD, (SIND).

HUKUMCHAND KUMAR
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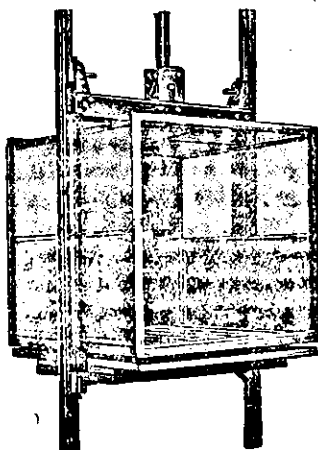
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Vol. XXXIII.

BOMBAY—SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1923.

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.

Rabindranath Tagore's Pessimism: American newspaper correspondents have a reputation for preferring the sensational to the real, and we strongly suspect that some of the things put in the mouth of the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, by Mr. Lowell Thomas in the interview published in the *Times of India Illustrated Weekly* of the 9th instant, may be the outcome of this preference. At the same time, we must admit that the Poet's unfortunate habit of generalising from inadequate data on history and current politics, makes it impossible to dismiss Mr. Thomas' statements as not deserving notice. "It is just possible," the Poet is reported to have reflected, "that Hinduism might be a religion of the past before many years and the inhabitants of India converted to Islam by force." If the Poet had studied the history of Hinduism and the movements within it at the present time, he would not have made this extraordinary statement. Hinduism, by its organisation, is very little adapted to assume the offensive. It is almost impossible to combine its many castes in an aggressive campaign against any other religion. But, owing to this very disability, it is enormously powerful on the rebound, as history has proved again and again. There is no stronger power on earth than Hinduism with its back to the wall. When Buddhism swept over the country, Hinduism bided its time patiently in the little riparian settlements of the South, and when Buddhism showed signs of corruption it led the revival movement by throwing up Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhava. Again, it bowed low before the blast of Mahomedan conquest and eventually turned the Governments which that conquest set up, to its national ends. But when the Moghul Empire showed signs of departing from its policy of religious toleration, Hinduism arose in its might in the shape of the Maratha and Sikh Confederacies and laid low the mighty Empire of the Moghuls. The Anglo-Indian historian, Keene, gives the sub-heading "The Hindu Re-conquest of India" to his life of Madhoji Scindia in the *Rulers of India* series, and it is from Hindu, not Mahomedan, hands that the British received the reversion to the Indian Empire. Our own study

of the situation reveals to us that Hinduism to-day is on the eve of just such a revival. There are a score of signs to show that Hinduism is shaking off its normal repose and is gathering together the dynamic elements always inherent in its composition.

Did Gandhi Betray Hinduism?—The Poet is reported to have made a yet more stupendous statement. He is reported to have said:

Where the Mahatma made his fatal blunder was in attempting to achieve Hindu-Moslem unity by asking the Hindus to support the Khilafat movement. The agitation for the restoration of the Khilafat to Turkey and the return of some of her lost provinces is something that should have nothing to do with India, and certainly nothing to do with the Hindus. It is purely a Mohamadan religious question. By joining forces with the Khilafat leaders Mr. Gandhi played into their hands and betrayed the Hindus to the Mohamadanans.

The lack of insight and imagination displayed in these observations is astounding. The Khilafat was a religious question, it is true, but, as Sir Charles Townshend, the defender of Kut-el-Amara, wrote in the December number of *Asia*, the American journal, with truer understanding of the inwardness of the matter, "the Hindu population of India has made the cause of religious freedom of all the races of India its own" and that its espousal of the Khilafat cause was in pursuance of this high policy. Hinduism first proclaimed religious freedom and toleration in the world, when it proclaimed in the Vedas that One alone (is and Him the world calls by different names. It is not only freedom for itself, but freedom for all religions, that Hinduism proclaimed and Mahatma Gandhi acted as the true champion of a Hindu principle when he ranged the Congress alongside of the Khilafat movement. As for his betraying Hinduism, he exacted from the Khilafatists as the price of this support, adhesion to what is the law and the prophets for Hinduism, namely, Non-Violence or Ahimsa. Maulanas Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali are not believers in Ahimsa or Non-Violence. They told this writer so in so many words, adding that so long, however, as they accepted Gandhi's leadership, they held themselves bound to bow to that principle. We cannot think of a greater service to Hinduism than this.

Hinduism and Islam: It is true that there are radical differences between Islam and Hinduism, as there cannot but be between a desert-sprung creed and a forest-bred faith. But if it is the business of civilization, on the one hand, to reclaim deserts, on the other, it is equally its concern to keep the forest from becoming a menace, as in Kanara, to humanity. In India this work has been carried on with much success for centuries. Islam has relaxed many of its severe features and Hinduism has learnt that exuberance is not an end in itself. This long process of mutual

understanding and assimilation has been greatly assisted by Mahatma Gandhi's master-stroke of enlisting the whole of India on the side, not so much of the religious Khilafat, as of securing the fulfilment of pledges solemnly made by the British Prime Minister. Mr. Pickthall speaking recently to the Mahomedans of Bombay recalled this service in generous terms and bade the latter not to forget it amidst the distractions of the moment. He said :

Did the Muslims realise the immense debt of gratitude which they owed to their Hindu brothers? It was only owing to the wholehearted support of Hindus that they had been enabled to achieve what they had achieved on the Khilafat question and to make so great an impression on the public opinion of all countries even England. In every country the point of view and attitude towards Turkey and Islam had changed and was still changing for the better. That was largely India's doing. Not the doing of the Muslims only, —they never could have done it by themselves—but the doing of United India. A disunited India could not do anything.

In the palmy days of the Moghul Empire the sight of Hindu generals and statesmen about the throne, extorted from the pen of an orthodox Mahomedan historian the bitter gibe: "A Hindu wields the sword of Islam." This became literally and beneficently true when Mahatma Gandhi led the Islamic hosts to battle against the Khilafat wrong under the resplendent banner of Ahimsa.

The Congress Majority Party : The majority of the Gaya Congress which refused to accept the proposal to enter the Legislative Councils, and resolved to collect money and volunteers for offering civil disobedience by the 30th April last, shows signs which are those of demoralisation. The men and money fixed as the minimum required have not been forthcoming, and the rank and file shows a disposition to turn upon and rend its leaders. The intemperate attack on Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, which was allowed to appear among the leading articles of the *Bombay Chronicle* a few days ago, was a most distressing sign of this tendency. Mr. Rajagopalacharya is one of the finest men in Indian politics to-day. A few months before Mahatma Gandhi was sentenced to imprisonment, in the middle of the riots attending the Prince of Wales' visit, the present writer had a conversation with the Mahatma in the course of which he happened to say that very few of the Non-co-operationists, including the leaders, had understood or assimilated his teaching. Mr. Gandhi resolutely denied this and when asked to mention half a dozen names, the two first he named were Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Rajagopalacharya. We have since come to know these two gentlemen, and we have come to think of them as the two most consistent and convinced believers in the principles of Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Rajagopala, we think, did not estimate correctly the situation in the country when he took up an intransigent attitude at the Gaya Congress and allowed himself to be carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment. The *Bombay Chronicle* had not this excuse for the steady and consistent support it lent to those who supported Mr. Rajagopala. And for it now to turn upon him and bid him retire from public life, is a piece of astonishing self-delusion. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, whose services to the Congress have been inestimable, has been practically forced to resign her office as President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, in consequence of a similar reaction. Many men of the Majority Party have often said that it is not particularly rich in intellect and to drum out of the Party the leaders that have stood out for their intellectual eminence, is a suicidal policy. We know that these leaders will not be turned away from the task to which they

have set their hand, by the fleeting shadows of popular applause or condemnation, and therein lies the best hope of the country.

Swaraj Party in Bombay :—The Swaraj Party of the National Congress was inaugurated in Bombay on Tuesday. The list of office-bearers is given in another column. A word of explanation is necessary as to the choice of the President. Readers of the *Reformer* are aware of the circumstances in which he joined the Congress. It was when Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience was suspended in favour of the constructive social programme of Bardoli as the practical work before the Congress and the country. Government selected that as the occasion for launching a prosecution against Mahatma Gandhi, and it was as a protest against it and in order as far as lay in his power to help to carry on the constructive programme that the Editor of this journal joined the Congress. With reference to the constructive programme, too, he has always been of opinion that the item of *Khaddar* must be understood as a type and symbol of promoting *Swadeshi* industries in a broad, liberal sense. On the question of entering the Legislative Councils, his view has throughout been that much can be done in the Legislative Councils to advance the constructive programme. Moreover, it is highly important to prevent these Councils from being used to ends which are opposed to the constructive programme. The object of the Congress is the attainment of *Swarajya* by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means. There is no more legitimate and peaceful means of attaining *Swarajya* than the Councils, and that is the main object of the Swaraj Party. We have from the first deprecated the idea of entering the Councils to wreck them, as likely to have a deleterious effect on our capacity to carry on constructive work. These views of the President of the Bombay Swaraj Party are well-known and he has taken the earliest opportunity of reminding the party of them. He knows but too well that his unanimous election to the office is due to no special merits of his, and while appreciating this mark of confidence, he must, while holding the office, do his best to give effect to the views he has consistently held on these matters. The Bombay Swaraj Party has among its leading office-bearers such Congress stalwarts as Messrs. M. R. Jayakar, V. J. Patel, Jamnadas Mehta and J. K. Mehta. It has in the Committee and among its members gentlemen who have not hitherto taken active part in politics. There is every reason to hope that it will be the means of bringing together in the common cause men and women of all parties and also those who have so far joined no party. The first public meeting of the Swaraj party was held on Tuesday. Mr. Jayakar who presided opened the proceedings with a speech in which he emphasized the desire of its leaders to work in a spirit of perfect friendliness with the Majority party. This feeling, we know, is fully reciprocated by the leaders on the other side and there is a firm resolution on both sides not to allow the difference on a single point to divide them. Mr. T. Rangacharya, leader of the Democratic Party in the Legislative Assembly, has sent us a telegram expressing approval of the tone of Mr. Jayakar's speech, and suggesting the holding of a Conference to consider the present situation and decide upon concerted action to make the best use of it.

The Development Department Chawls :—A Press Note issued by the Director of Information says :

In view of certain criticisms that are made from time to time regarding the occupation of the chawls built by the Development Department it may be noted that the latest returns show that all the rooms in the Naigam and De Lisie Road chawls are let and 407 out of the 560 rooms available at Worli.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 12, 1923.

COLLAPSE OF DIARCHY.

The two Indian Ministers in the United Provinces have resigned. One of them, Mr. Jagat Narain, has no other reason to give except the very good one that when they took office, he and his colleague had agreed that they should act together and that in the difference that had arisen between the Governor and the Education Minister, he agreed with the latter. The difference between Mr. Chintamani and Sir William Marris arose over the action of Sir Claude de la Fosse, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad, in instituting a prosecution for libel without obtaining the sanction of Government. Sir Claude, when he heard of the libel, went to the Governor and intimated to him his intention of prosecuting the gentleman who uttered the libel, and His Excellency said he had no objection. When the Education Minister raised the point that the Vice-Chancellor had not obtained the sanction of Government, as required by the rules governing public servants, for the prosecution, His Excellency practically told him that he was making a needless fuss over a small matter, and at the same time sent a reminder to Sir Claude, after he had begun the prosecution, to repair the omission. If the omission was due to oversight, the Governor would have said so to the Minister and the matter would have ended. His Excellency does not say so, and, indeed, he could not say so. He himself is a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service well-acquainted with the rules governing the conduct of Public Servants in India. Sir Claude likewise is a senior member of the Indian Educational Service, having been promoted to the Vice-Chancellorship from his last office of Director of Public Instruction in the United Provinces. It could not but have occurred both to the Governor and Sir Claude that, in going direct to His Excellency, the latter was ignoring the Minister who is the responsible head of his Department. The published papers are silent as to what happened at the interview between the Governor and Sir Claude de la Fosse. Did the Governor ask Sir Claude why he had chosen to come to him direct instead of through the Minister? What was the answer which Sir Claude gave, and which evidently satisfied the Governor of the propriety of the deviation from the normal course in this matter?

Sir William Marris speaks of the Vice-Chancellor going to the Chancellor over a University matter as a procedure to which no objection can be taken. Lord Lytton complained that instead of going to "your Chancellor," the late Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University went to the Government of India. Sir William and Lord Lytton seem to think that Vice-Chancellors of the Universities in their respective provinces are their personal retainers who should look to themselves alone for guidance

and advice. There may be Vice-Chancellors who are glad to conform to this conception of their position. But that is not the right conception. The Vice-Chancellorship is as much a statutory office as the Chancellorship, with statutory duties. The Vice-Chancellor is appointed by the Governor-in-Council, not, like the Fellows, by the Chancellor. Since Education became a transferred subject, the appointment is made by the Governor acting with his Minister. Under the new Allahabad University Act, moreover, the Vice-Chancellor is a salaried full-time officer. Even an officer lent to Local Bodies is subject to the rules governing the Public Services. There is no question of lending here, because the appointment of Vice-Chancellor is made by Government just in the same way as the appointment of Collector or Commissioner. It would have been extremely strange under these circumstances if either the Governor or the Vice-Chancellor or both, really thought that their relation to each other as Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor excluded the authority vested in the Minister in charge of Education. The Governor by his subsequent reminder to Sir Claude recognised that this is not a tenable position. It is impossible, therefore, to avoid the conclusion that, whether asked or unasked by the Governor, Sir Claude offered some reason for his omission to consult the Minister. That reason could only have been in the nature of an opinion or belief on the part of Sir Claude that the Minister would be embarrassed in some way by and, therefore, incapable of bringing a dispassionate judgment to bear upon his (Sir Claude's) intention to prosecute the gentleman who uttered the libel. If the Governor himself did not see reason to share this belief to some extent, he would certainly have asked Sir Claude to see the Education Minister or His Excellency would himself have spoken to his Minister before giving any definite reply to the Vice-Chancellor. The impression left on the mind by the correspondence is that His Excellency condescended to listen to allegations by a subordinate reflecting on the impartiality of his Minister behind the Minister's back. In the circumstances, Mr. Chintamani took the only honourable course open to him in tendering his resignation.

It is superfluous at this day to draw the moral of the incident, namely, that the Reforms not only in the Central Government but also and equally in the Provinces, are very much a matter of "heads, I win, tails, you lose." Governments take advantage of the Ministers and Councils to carry out their own ideas, but when Ministers and Councils happen to have ideas of their own not in conformity with those of the Executive, they simply ignore them without the least hesitation. When the salary of the Governor of the United Provinces was raised to the level of that of the Governors of the Presidencies, it was expected that Sir Harcourt Butler's successor would, like the Governor of the Presidencies, be a public man from England. We cannot help thinking that this incident would not have occurred had this expectation been fulfilled. It is exceedingly diffi-

cult for a Service-man who had climbed to the top of the official pole, to rise wholly above the affinities of his earlier career without appearing to his old colleagues in the invidious light of a person who is anxious to conceal their common origin.

THE PURDAH SYSTEM IN ISLAM.—II.

(By PROF. A. M. MAULVI.)

It has been acknowledged by almost all unprejudiced writers that, in effecting this improvement in the position of woman, the Prophet took steps that suited the age and the people. By his counsel regarding the privacy of woman, on the one hand he stemmed the tide of immorality and on the other he prevented among his followers the diffusion of disguised polyandry which had shaken the very foundation of society. He laid his hand on polygamy by limiting the number of wives to four with such restrictions as would cut down the significance of the permission to its normal and legitimate dimensions. "Respect for women" was one of the essential teachings of his creeds. To suppose that the purdah system in Islam is based on the degraded position to which woman is doomed by the laws of the Prophet, is to ignore or totally misunderstand the spirit of his mission. To presume that the recommendations of the Prophet regarding the privacy of woman were meant to assume its present inelastic form, is another error which advanced study of Islam alone can cure. The following verses of the Koran regarding female seclusion are a sufficient answer to those who maintain that the Islamic laws in social matters are absolutely inelastic. "Oh Prophet, speak to thy wives and to thy daughters and to the wives of the Faithful that they let their wrappers fall low. Thus will they more easily be known as respectable women and they will not be affronted. God is indulgent and merciful". (Sura xxxiii 59) "And speak to the believing women that they restrain their looks and observe continence; and that they display not their ornaments except those which are external and that they draw their kerchiefs over their bosoms." (Sura xxiv 31). It requires no extraordinary talent to understand the spirit of these verses. The first verse preaches privacy of woman as a precautionary measure and a safeguard against the affronts and rude remarks of the barbarous and voluptuous men to which the Arab women, as I have already remarked, were usually exposed. Women in general may be exposed to such molestation at any time in any country. Under such circumstances even a fool will admit the advisability of female seclusion. The recent Hindu-Muslim ruptures at Amritsar at the molestation of a Hindu girl bring home to our mind the fact that even to-day there are certain classes of people among whom the adoption of the purdah system is not only an advisable course but an absolute necessity. In spite of modern civilization many Hindus in Sindh and the Punjab observe purdah as strictly as the Mahomedans, not because they are gradually becoming Moslems by following the teachings of Islam but simply because

they have found it expedient to do so. The second verse quoted above lays stress on chastity as the sole motive in observing privacy. It is quite clear that privacy of woman was suggested or recommended as a means towards the realization of chastity and not as an end in itself. Among the uncultured and unsettled communities even to-day the advantages of the system of female seclusion are indescribable. But to exclude woman from a society which is at an advanced stage of civilization and which gives not only a sufficient guarantee for the safety of woman-kind but has a definite code of etiquette recognising the right of woman to a high social respect, is to set at naught the very teachings of Islam.

It is very curious to note that our Muslim brethren instead of trying to get first-hand information about their religion by reading the Koran with its commentaries which has been translated in almost all living languages, look for guidance to the priests who being in the habit of learning and teaching everything in the form of do and don't, show a positive aversion to reasoning in religious matters and breaking away from traditions. Our fanatic priests, in my opinion, have done more harm than good to Islam. The difference between the Shias and Sunnis which has rent the unity of Islam from top to bottom is a very immaterial one and can easily be settled provided either our priests become more broad-minded or their followers more independent-minded. The day is not far distant when the direct appeal to our Prophet's own words will settle the question whether we have to follow him or the Mullas and Moulanas who, to satisfy their own whimsicalities, have given rise to innumerable schisms in Islam. Moulana Rumi says in his Masnavi, which is considered to be next to the Koran or the Koran itself, in Persian, "We picked up marrow from the Koran and cast off the empty bones to the dogs". If every modern priest were to follow in the footsteps of Moulana Rumi, Islam would look for not only the rapid amalgamation of Sunnis and Shias but even aim at the universal brotherhood of mankind at large. As I have already digressed much from the point, I leave this subject for some future discussion and step back to the observation of the purdah system in the time of the Prophet and the first four Caliphs.

I have already remarked that the compatibility of the Islamic teachings with every grade of society and every age is the keynote to the whole code of Islam. Our Prophet's sole object in recommending to the womanfolk the observance of privacy was the promotion of decency, improvement of their dress and demeanour and their protection from insult. It is a mistake to suppose that there is anything in his recommendation of privacy to woman which tends to the perpetuation of the custom. No better light can be thrown on the meaning or motive of his recommendations than the remarkable immunity from restraint or seclusion which the members of his own family enjoyed. Ayesha, his favorite wife, commanded his own troops at the famous "Battle of the Camel". Fatimatuzzohara, his daughter, often took part in the discussions regarding the succession to the Ca-

phate. Zaioub, his grand-daughter, shielded her nephew from the Ommayads and even the pious Yazid had to yield to her indomitable spirit. Under the first four Caliphs women attended the sermons of the Caliphs and the lectures delivered by Ali. Under the Ommayads the position of woman was in no way different from that under the first four Caliphs. In the time of Mansur we hear of two royal princesses going to the Byzantine war clad in mail. In Raschid's time Arab maidens went to fight on horseback and commanded troops. The mother of the Caliph Muktadir presided at the High Court of Appeal, listened to applications and gave audience to dignitaries and foreign envoys. Under Haroon Al Raschid we hear of ladies vying with men in culture and wit, taking part in poetical recitations and enlivening society by their grace and accomplishments. This rapid survey of the position of woman in the earlier days of Islam will convince my Muslim and non-Muslim friends that the system of absolute seclusion and segregation of the sexes is not an outcome of Islam but a creature of circumstances which gave rise to such a system wherever and whenever it was found necessary.

If it is true that our Islamic laws in social matters are quite compatible with the progress of society and adaptable to the varying conditions of life, then I see no reason why our Muslim friends should not pay a serious thought to the problem of position of woman among Muslims. I see no reason why our leaders should be silent on this point and devise no means for effecting improvement in the condition of woman. Is it advisable or necessary for a one-room tenant in Bombay to keep his wife in absolute seclusion and hasten her departure to the grave? Once our Muslim friends begin to realise that the purdah system, unlike the institutions of prayers, fasting, pilgrimage and almsgiving does not form an integral part of the teachings of Islam, the day is not far distant when our Muslim ladies will come forward in large numbers to take a prominent part in public matters, revive their past glories, and outshine their Hindu and Parsi sisters in India.

HARTAL AT BHAGUR.

Bhagur is a village in Nasik district with a population of about 4,800 situated less than a mile from Devlali station. On the 8th January 1910 a notification was published in this village extending to it the Cantonment Act of Devlali. The notification came as a complete surprise to the village people as it meant a huge burden of taxation to them. A few days after the Act was put in force, some of the leaders of the village waited in deputation on the Cantonment Magistrate and explained the great hardships caused to the people by the numerous schedules of taxation which accompanied the enforcement of the Act, and he gave them a verbal assurance that their complaints would receive his careful consideration and relief would be given. As this assurance, however, was not fulfilled, the inhabitants

of Bhagur petitioned the Collector of Nasik twice setting forth their grievances and praying for relief, but in vain. They then submitted a memorial on the 1st May 1919 to H. E. the Governor-General-in-Council, which was returned as it was not sent through the Local Government. A representation to the Commissioner of the Central Division in Poona proved equally ineffective. They next submitted a memorial to the Bombay Government. Two years passed, and as no decision had as yet been apparently taken by the Government in the matter, the memorialists submitted to them a fresh memorial on the 19th May 1921 explaining in detail the severe hardships experienced by the people since the application of the Cantonment Act to Bhagur. Articles of food, drink, fuel, lighting, washing, building materials, drugs, spices, piece-goods, metals etc. were being heavily taxed by means of octroi duties, and the cost of living had risen very high causing serious distress to the poor people who were mostly agriculturists. The village people were also required to conform to the standard of sanitation applying to the bungalows in Devlali Camp owned by the rich men of Bombay. The houses in the village were numbered preliminary to the levy of a house tax as also a conservancy tax. The memorialists state:

Supply of water to your memorialists by means of a tap is a costly luxury to them as they have got a river which supplies plenty of water to them free; the injustice of being compelled to pay for an article which the people get free by Nature's bounty will be obvious to your Excellency's Government.

By the Cantonment Act, all the traders in the village including even washermen, cobblers, milkmen keeping milch-cattle, vegetable-sellers, fuel-sellers and hawkers were called upon to pay annual license fees, and if any inhabitant pursued more than one trade he was compelled to take out separate licenses for the different trades he carried on. The memorial continues:

Another hardship of the new condition of things is not less serious. The smallest intended repair of houses has to be submitted in the form of a specification to the authorities and the preparation of the specification is a matter of time and cost which is prohibitive to your memorialists. The houses in Bhagur are rarely worth more than a few hundred; in a very few cases only they are worth more than a thousand or two; the annual rental of these houses does not, except in more than half a dozen cases, come to over a hundred rupees; if in effecting repairs to such humble dwellings charts have to be prepared and submitted they must involve ruinous costs, the slightest mistake renders a fresh chart necessary and the slightest departure from the plans sanctioned renders your memorialists liable to fines and penalties which are wholly disproportionate to their means.

Your memorialists submit that the compulsory obtaining of a license for village music on marriage occasions and also for keeping dogs which involve the payment of a fee are other hardships arising out of the new condition of things. Not infrequently the traders who have brought goods in Bhagur send them away to other places for sale; in such cases the duties are paid to the Cantonment authorities but no rebate is granted even for those articles which are sent back from Bhagur. The inclusion of Bhagur within the

jurisdiction of the Cantonment of Devlali has rendered the frequent visits of the soldiery to Bhagur inevitable; the soldiers are sometimes drunk and disorderly and respectable classes of people are in a constant state of terror for the modesty of their womenfolk as the soldiers not infrequently are known to annoy respectable women, and if the authorities have not received complaints about this grievance it is due to the natural reluctance on the part of the relations of these women in a matter of such delicate character.

The catalogue of hardships does not end here. The schedules of taxation include the levy of a tax, payable quarterly, on vehicles and animals kept for use within the Cantonment limits other than vehicles plying for hire and animals and vehicles belonging to the agriculturists, besides the levy of a toll on animals and vehicles entering or leaving the Cantonment limits, other than animals and vehicles liable to the vehicle and animal tax, and animals and vehicles belonging to agriculturists residing within the Cantonment. There is further a dog-tax as also a fee payable for the verification and stamping of weights and measures. The imposition of all these taxes mean in the aggregate an annual burden on the people of about Rs. 31,300, or including the cattle-tax, of Rs. 40,000. The rate of taxation, which was formerly 6 annas per head per annum, was thus suddenly increased to nearly Rs. 10 per head per annum.

No reply to this memorial either having been received, the memorialists sent to H. E. Sir George Lloyd a reminder on the 5th August 1921, to which a reply was received stating that the matter was receiving the close attention of Government and orders would be communicated shortly. In the same month, learning that the Governor was about to visit Devlali, the memorialists wrote to His Excellency's Private Secretary requesting permission to wait upon His Excellency in deputation at such time and place as might be appointed. A reply was received to the effect that Government had decided to recommend to the Government of India the exclusion of Bhagur from the limits of the Devlali Cantonment and that a deputation would serve no useful purpose under the circumstances. As, however, no relief came in spite of this promise, the memorialists telegraphed on the 5th January 1922 to H. E. the Governor-General praying for an early issue of favourable orders, and on the 18th February they addressed a letter to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy to the same effect (which he only formally acknowledged on the 27th February), and another to the President of the Cantonment Committee at Devlali. On the 17th April they telegraphed to H. E. the Governor of Bombay on the subject and received a reply dated 4th May saying that the matter was still under consideration. In June following they received a letter from the Asst. Secretary to the Government of India, Army Department, stating that their memorial had been sent to the Bombay Government for opinion. In July 1922, hearing that H. E. Sir George Lloyd intended visiting Devlali, they applied for permission to see His Excellency on the occasion. On the 18th August a deputation of five persons

with their Pleader was allowed to wait upon His Excellency at Devlali, as a result whereof all taxes were stopped from the following month. But on the 16th November the Cantonment Magistrate issued a fresh notification in Bhagur declaring that the octroi duties, license fees and toll would be put in force again from 1st January 1923. A public meeting was thereupon held by the inhabitants of the village on the 16th December 1922 at which it was unanimously resolved that if their memorial did not receive favourable consideration from the authorities by the end of the month the people should have recourse to a *hartal* from the 1st January 1923 to last until their grievances were redressed, and this resolution was communicated to all authorities concerned including the Bombay Government and the Government of India.

In January 1923 the memorialists telegraphed to the Government of Bombay and to H. E. the Viceroy praying for relief and also petitioned the Commissioner, Central Division, Poona, but without result. On the 20th February last Sir Ibrahim Rahimtala announced in the Bombay Legislative Council that Government had requested the Military authorities to suspend the collection of taxes under the Cantonment Act from the inhabitants of Bhagur pending the decision of the Government of India. The Military authorities having failed to carry out the instructions of the Bombay Government, the memorialists instructed their Counsel, Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta to proceed to Delhi. Mr. Mehta went to Delhi and interviewed the Military Secretary who stated that from the papers he could not find any confirmation of the Bombay Government having recommended the exclusion of Bhagur officially to the Government of India and that pending receipt of such recommendation the Military authorities at Simla could not move in the matter. On enquiry at Bombay, however, it was found that such recommendation had been made by the Bombay Government to the Government of India though not to the Military Department.

The resolution passed by the public meeting at Bhagur in December last was put into force on the 1st January, and on that day a *hartal* was declared by the people and it has since continued. Trade, village industries, the weekly bazar have all been suspended, the shops have been closed, and life in the village has been completely at a standstill for over four months now, and no relief is yet in sight. Meanwhile, distress in the village is increasing:

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

In an illustrated volume of some 240 pages, Dr. E. A. Baker gives an interesting account of the development and growth of public libraries in Great Britain during the past one hundred years. Up to about the middle of the nineteenth century the establishment of public libraries as part of a sound scheme of adult national education had not received the earnest attention of the authorities in England.

The period between 1823 and 1850 had seen the birth of several Mechanics' institutions in some of the principal industrial towns, which, without Government aid, had extended so quickly that in 1849 it was estimated that there were 400 of such institutions having between 200,000 and 400,000 volumes with a circulation of more than a million. In addition to providing books these institutions used to arrange free courses of lectures for artisans. But although the institutions spread to all parts of Great Britain, they failed for want of support from public funds to find qualified lecturers, and in the course of two decades most of them ceased to exist.

At the time the public library agitation was in progress about the middle of the nineteenth century, London had four public or semi-public libraries. A number of large towns had good reference and lending libraries belonging to Literary and Scientific institutions, but these were open to readers of a better class.

The Ewart Act of 1845 authorised the levy of a halfpenny rate in towns of not less than 10,000 inhabitants for erection of museums of Science and Art. It did not allow public funds to be used for purchasing books, but the opening of museums under the Act proved a stepping-stone to the larger necessity—public libraries. In 1849 a Select Committee was appointed to go into the question of such libraries, and the chief witness examined by this Committee pointed out that there were then about 35 British libraries of which only 2 were public in the real sense. He drew a comparison between these and the 383 libraries of not less than 10,000 volumes apiece which he affirmed were open to every one on the Continent and about 100 in the United States.

The operation of the Ewart Act was extended to Ireland and Scotland in 1853. In 1855 the rate limit in the whole of the British Isles was raised to one penny and places of 5,000 inhabitants or more became entitled to the benefits of the Act. This Act was followed by others mostly in the form of amendments, and in 1892 an Act was passed consolidating the various amending enactments passed since 1855. In 1909 there were 366 public libraries established under the Acts in England, 57 in Wales, 73 in Scotland and 26 in Ireland, or a total of 522 for the British Isles. In 1921 a Government Bill abolishing illogical disabilities and removing the rate limit became law, but although it removed these crippling disabilities, it did not further the constructive proposals of the Adult Education Committee. -

The following gives convincing evidence of the likely benefits to the community arising from the extension of library facilities. It is from the prospectus of the latest London borough to establish a library system:—

The cost of the Public Libraries to each inhabitant of Islington is one-fifth of a penny per week. For this outlay each person has at his or her disposal: Lending Libraries containing 75,000 volumes; Reference Libraries containing 10,000 volumes; Children's Libraries containing 10,000 volumes; Reading-rooms containing all the best current

newspapers, magazines and periodicals of importance; and all these resources are constantly increasing. A penny newspaper daily costs 35 times as much as this extensive service.

The length to which distribution facilities can be extended can be gauged from the fact that Manchester and Glasgow have a motor service whereby all the books in a score of district libraries are pooled as one vast stock, accessible with a minimum expense and difficulty to borrowers residing in any part of the civic area.

In 1870 the Elementary Education Act was passed in Great Britain, and the passing of this important Act saw a rapid development of public libraries and the establishment of Children's Libraries by themselves or as part of General Libraries which served to do away with the enormous amount of illiteracy in the country and to raise up potential readers in millions. In 1911 statistics were taken of the library provision in the British Isles with the following results:—

| | Percentage of population in Library Districts. | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-----|----|
| England | ... | ... | 62 |
| Wales | ... | ... | 46 |
| Scotland | ... | ... | 50 |
| Ireland | ... | ... | 28 |
| Average for British Isles | | | 47 |

But this provision was only for the urban areas where three-fifths of the population lived, and did not penetrate to the smaller towns and villages where the remaining two-fifths of the population lived.

In 1915 the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, which has provided a network of free public libraries in Great Britain, started the work of setting up rural libraries in the country. It offered £5,000 to the Staffordshire County Council to be expended in five years for this purpose. The movement spread in a short space of time through this Trust to other county towns and villages until the Public Library Act of 1919 gave an immense stimulus to the rural library movement. In 1920 the Trustees of the Carnegie Trust set aside £192,000 for grants to County authorities during 1920-1925. In 1922 library schemes had been prepared for nearly half the rural areas of Great Britain and a large number of rural libraries were in actual working order.

On the question of allowing Government inspection of public libraries, the author observes:—

It is plain that no form of public Government inspection would be agreeable to existing library authorities, unless accompanied by some kind of substantial State aid.... Government inspection of libraries is not unknown in other countries, on both sides of the Atlantic, and appears to cause no friction but a spirit of good feeling and mutual help. It is carried on, for instance, in Canada, and it is one of the functions of the State Library Commissions in the United States.... In Ontario the Minister of Education is responsible for the administration of the Public Libraries Act.

It is obvious that an arrangement which may be good enough and even advisable in independent or autonomous countries like England, United States and Canada, would be extremely undesirable in a subject-country like India.

The concluding chapter of the book deals with Training in Librarianship and constitutes one of the most interesting and instructive chapters of the book. We are informed that a thorough training is given in Librarianship in some of the Western countries; that America had library schools thirty years before Great Britain and has at the present day 18 such schools, and that Germany, Italy and Sweden preceded Great Britain in establishing library schools.

ISLAMIC CULTURE.

We reprint below from the current number of the *Calcutta Review* the principal passages from an address on "Islamic Culture," delivered by the Hon. Sir Abdur Rahim at the Calcutta Madrasa in March last.

I fully believe Islam has still a valuable mission for the world. But your graduates can never successfully fulfil that mission without a sufficient command of some European language, specially English. I believe the Madrasa Committee in their report have recognised this need. It was no poetic exaggeration of Carlyle when he said of Islam: "Is it not as if a spark had fallen, one spark on a world of what seemed black unnoticeable sand; but lo, the sand proves explosive powder, blazing heaven-high from Delhi to Grenada!" That divine spark, believe me, is not yet extinct, it exists in the very being of Islam. Nor is the virtue of Islam obsolete and out of date in the twentieth century. On the other hand Islam is not yet fully realised. The simple truth of Islam has not to be sought in abstruse speculations of mystic philosophy nor is it wrapped up in the language of skilled rhetoric of diplomacy nor does it stand in need of vague and elusive poetic imageries with the magic play of light and shade calculated to conceal emptiness. It is writ large on its cardinal doctrines, its principal institutions and the entire history of its peoples. Any one can read it who is capable of the least reflection and has a mind reasonably free from prejudice. Once you grasp it, there would be no further need for that fashionable search after the synthesis of the East and the West of which one hears so much nowadays.

THE CARDINAL TEACHING OF ISLAM.

The cardinal teaching of Islam is 'fawhid' which means acknowledgment of the supremacy of one all-powerful beneficent Creator and Ruler of the Universe and of all life. Islam does not claim this doctrine as a discovery of its own or as something original; indeed the Moslem theologian-jurists base it on the universal promptings of human conscience. This is the pillar of our Iman or Faith. Islam, however, emphasises this doctrine as perhaps no other religion does, and tries to make of it a living force and an everyday spiritual mentor, by means of a few simple injunctions. Its principal injunction is Namaz, or the daily prayers which require us to present ourselves in all humility before our Creator, the stern judge of right and wrong, five times every day even though for a few moments and to pray for strength from him for the discharge of the manifold duties of our daily social life.

CONVERSION BY FORCE OPPOSED TO ISLAM.

This is the essence of the whole teaching of the Koran and hence the important characteristic of Islam is its universality. It is the religion of Dawat and Tabligh. It invites every human being to its ample fold, be he white, black or brown in colour, of Semitic, Aryan, Turanian or Negroid stock thus recognising the capability of all to live a spiritual, strong and well-ordered life. I need hardly point out at the present day it is a wholly false notion that the religion and laws of Islam enjoin conversion by force. Force is permitted only against aggressors while the Islamic law permits the non-Moslems living in a Moslem state (zimmi) to participate in all the rights of citizenship, namely, to live in accordance with their own customs and usages and the ideals of their different religion and civilisations. In fact, it is a cardinal doctrine of Islam that mankind—and be it noted not merely Moslems or men of any particular creed, race and colour—are the highest

of God's creation and that all are equally entitled to make the best use possible of the universe and whatever it contains by the exercise of those faculties, which God has given them. There are no high or low castes and no untouchables in Islam.

NO BOLSHEVISM IN ISLAM.

Islam is not merely by the spirit of its teachings but by its laws and injunctions aims at human brotherhood and true democracy by according as far as possible, to each individual and people equal opportunities in life and equal rights of citizenship and not by taking away from the talented and the industrious to give to the stupid and the idle. Islam's first legal maxim is that every one is entitled to what he earns for himself and must suffer for his own shortcomings. There is no Bolshevism in Islam. Private right and private property are not only fully recognised but are absolutely inviolable. Islam encourages as no other system does the growth and development of all peoples and classes of peoples to their fullest stature. No conflict is possible in Islam between capital and labour; both are equally free, without any discrimination on ground of colour, race or creed. This is the corner-stone of Islam's economic laws and the facts of history amply testify to the soundness of their policy. But while recognising the essential freedom of all peoples and classes of labour and capital, Islam is unbendingly stern in the repression of social injustice and disorders. Here again no distinction is made between the colours, castes or creeds of the citizens.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF ISLAM.

These features of the Islamic system permeate the whole history of Moslem peoples and it was these that made them for centuries the upholders of civilisation and the worldwide exponents of those liberal arts and sciences which since their decline have ceaselessly continued their wonderful development though no longer under Moslem guidance. Till almost the beginning of the 19th century they were the most powerful of all the peoples and the extensive pages of Islamic history are so crowded with men of great character, remarkable genius and noble achievements that highly instructive and inspiring volumes could be written on the heroes of Islam.

CATHOLICITY OF ISLAM.

The Muhammadan Law recognised no copyright, no patents and no trade marks. There never was any ban on religious and literary discussions so long as they did not give rise to turbulence: Islam's fold was found wide enough to embrace even numerous religious sects and no less than 72 of them are recorded in history. Their achievements in those forms of art to which they devoted their talents have not yet been excelled and their sense of beauty and harmony has left behind its imperishable expression in architecture. Nor can I omit special mention of the work of Moslem calligraphists: its exquisite beauty is an unending source of delight to all lovers of art. Another lesson to be borne in mind is that the Muslims always freely acknowledged their indebtedness to those who taught them anything; they learnt Mathematics from the Hindus and named the science Hindia, they have enshrined the names of the great philosophers, scientists and artists of ancient Greece in the hearts of millions of Moslems throughout the world. Even the Mahomedan street boys of Bengal know the names of Plato and Aristotle. From this noble trait in their national character, Moslems are indeed charged with want of originality.

EUROPE'S INDEBTEDNESS TO ISLAM.

There is a great truth in the saying that there is nothing new under the sun. The evolution of human capacity has

proceeded from step to step. The Saracens, Persians and the Moghuls revived and greatly developed almost all the sciences of their days, opened up new vistas of thought and inaugurated fresh methods of inquiry and expression. Then they impressed all the fields of intellectual activity with the stamp of their own distinctive genius. It is a melancholy reflection that the services which the Moslems thus rendered to the cause of humanity and civilisation are so scantily acknowledged. But for them it is indeed doubtful whether Christian Europe would have ever had its renaissance. This is what Lecky says: "Not till the education of Europe passed from the monasteries to the Universities, not till Muhammadan science and classical forethought and industrial independence broke the sceptre of the church did the intellectual revival of Europe begin." That Muhammadan science, be it noted, was fostered under the sway of Islamic church.

ISLAM IN INDIA.

India, indeed, is deeply indebted to her quondam Moslem rulers not only for the most beautiful creation of human genius, the Taj and the other architectural wonders that are to be found almost all over the country, but also for her numerous useful and artistic products which now adorn many cultured homes of Europe and America: the carpets, the brocades, the shawls, muslins, embroidery and lace-work, and the gold and silver work, carved wood and ivory work, to mention only a few. Not the least valuable gift of Moghul genius to India, is the Urdu language which, if a certain class of politicians did not stand in the way, would have every chance of being the *lingua franca* of India. Is not a common language the first need of a people aspiring to nationhood? The exquisite and invaluable products of Moslem genius are by no means confined to India but are scattered all over the three continents of Asia, Europe and Africa. But beware! all sorts of men, even some belonging to little peoples unknown to history or fame, are busily engaged in robbing you of your ancestors' noble achievements. It is your most sacred duty to safeguard their great names for they are inseparably associated with the good name of Islam itself. There is no attack more dangerous than that of a false propaganda and no thief more wily and insidious than he who steals people's reputation.

ISLAM OPPOSED TO NON-CO-OPERATION.

One observation irresistibly occurs to me in this connection that the new cult of 'Charkha' and 'Khaddar,' the symbol of the Non-co-operation movement implying as it does, aloofness from the world and an abandonment of all earnest effort to utilise the resources of Nature for the ever-growing needs of an expanding humanity, is repugnant to the entire spirit of Islam and the history of Islamic civilisation. In fact, I refuse to believe that any Moslem, however fervently and even sincerely he may in the blinding heat of political strife and passion advocate such a formula, can ever regard it as consistent with the ideals of Islamic civilisation. It can never kindle genuine enthusiasm in Moslem breasts. What distinguishes Islam above all, is its unparalleled power of absorption and assimilation and to this characteristic of the Islamic system the doctrine of isolation from the main currents of world's activity is wholly antagonistic. There is no rabbaniat or Sanyasism in Islam.

BUDDHISM AND HINDUISM.

(From the *Prabuddha Bharata*.)

Centuries before the advent of Buddha a reaction had set in in India against Vedic rites and sacrifices which lost their significance to the majority of the people. Bold and sincere souls, who refused to follow blindly in the footsteps of their forefathers, called in question the way of those who wanted

to conquer this world by means of progeny, to gain heavenly bliss by the performance of Yajnar, to attain to Immortality by drinking Soma offered to the gods in sacrifice. "What shall we do with progeny since the Atman is the abode we aspire after?" "The deluded souls who think that sacrifices and charitable works are of supreme value, know not the blessed Goal. Having enjoyed in the heights of heaven the fruits of their Karma, they come down again to this world or even enter into a baser one." "Neither by works, nor by progeny, nor by wealth, but by renunciation alone can Immortality be attained."—Such were the ideas and ideals of those speculative souls who revolted against Vedic rites and observances, and preferred to live the life of meditation and non-attachment in order to solve the enigma of life and death, to attain Immortality here as well as hereafter. Buddha represented in his wonderful life this new spirit of revolt—the spirit of renunciation and contemplation which have ever been the highest ideals of Aryan religion and culture.

Buddha was a prophet and reformer in one. His mission was twofold. He reformed the Aryan society, infused spirit into the fossilised religious life of the people caring only for the dead forms and lifeless practices of religion. He threw open the gates of salvation to all men and women alike. He broke down the invidious distinctions between man and man, and presented his religion of equality and brotherhood to humanity itself, which embraces the Brahmana and the Sudra, the higher castes and the outcaste, the Aryan and the non-Aryan alike. The thief and the robber, the libertine and the prostitute he transformed into saints by the touch of his all-embracing love and sympathy. He discovered a middle path between the two extremes—sense-indulgence and asceticism—a path "which opens the eyes and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana."

"Go ye, O Bhikshus, and wander forth for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, in compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, for the welfare of the gods and men. Proclaim, O Bhikshus, the Doctrine glorious, praiseworthy a life of holiness, perfect and pure." Buddhist missionaries true to this great command of their Master carried his message to the four corners of the globe, even into the Hellenistic kingdom in Asia, Africa and Europe as the edicts of King Asoka clearly indicate. Buddhism proved to be the greatest missionary religion of ancient India, and one of the most potent civilising influences in the world. It served as a wholesome leaven in lands where superstition and ignorance reigned supreme. It offered to animistic peoples rational explanations of cosmic and individual evolution in the laws of Karma and doctrines of re-incarnation, which were common to all systems of ancient Hindu thought. Buddha's humanism wherever it spread infused into its votaries a great respect and tenderness for all living creatures. It was the practical application of the cardinal doctrine of the ancient faith which preached in glowing terms the glory of the Atman manifesting Itself as God, Soul and the Universe. Buddhism promoted the welfare of both men and animals and provided medical aid for them in India and abroad as one of the most remarkable of the rock edicts of King Asoka proclaim even to this day: "Everywhere the King Piyadasi, beloved of the Gods, has provided medicines of two sorts, medicines for men and medicines for animals. Wherever plants useful either for men or for animals were wanting, they have been imported and planted. Wherever roots and fruits were wanting, they have been imported and planted. And along public roads, wells have been dug for the use of animals and men."

Buddha was one of the greatest exponents of the Eternal Religion of India. To understand the true relation between his religion and the ancient faith, we must study them in their pristine purity. We must dive deep into their spirit, boring through the encrustations of forms accumulating for centuries. True Hinduism does not consist in the mere observance of forms and ceremonies, and in the following of the rules of eating, drinking and marriage which implies orthodoxy at the present times. It implies the recognition of the One in all, and not the religion of 'Don't-touchism' and exclusive privileges of the higher castes. Buddha's teachings, on the other hand, should not be confounded with the corrupt form of Buddhism with its Tantric practices, intricate philosophies, gigantic temples and elaborate rituals. Judged in their true spirit the goal of Hinduism and Buddhism is one. Advaita Mukti or Buddhist Nirvana means the negation of all limitations. It is a state "beyond the ken of speech and thought," beyond our human conception of existence and annihilation. It is reached by transcending the limitations of mind and matter. Thus the *summum bonum* of both Hinduism and Buddhism is one and the same, though the means may vary according to the tendency and temperament of the seekers after truth. Ancient Buddhism and ancient Hinduism were very much akin in spirit although they differed in form. But as time rolled on, the gulf of forms and ceremonies that separated them became wider and wider. Buddhism became the more popular because of its democratic spirit, and for a time it rose to be the dominant faith in India. But a religion which failed to take note of the capacity of its followers to pursue the path of highest rectitude and indiscriminately allowed men and women to live the life of renunciation and non-injury, could not possibly keep itself free from corruption for long.

CASTE AND CUSTOM.

(The *Praja Bandhu*.)

It is a bold step which Sheth Ambalal Sarabhai has taken in resigning the Presidentship and membership of his caste, as his proposals for giving girls in marriage outside the caste under certain circumstances were rejected by a general meeting of his caste. Sheth Ambalal is progressive in spirit, and refuses to be tied down in the narrow grooves of old orthodoxy. He resigned the Presidentship and the membership of the Millowners' Association when that Association refused to move with the times in its relations with labour. Similarly when he found his own caste dead against all changes necessitated by the requirements of the times he resigned its Presidentship as well as membership rather than pull on with its anomalies and injustices as so many of us have been quietly doing.

Castes in Gujarat have become the strongholds of all sorts of anomalies and injustices. The weak and the poor are oppressed and sacrificed without any compunction, but the tyranny and injustice that is done to women is unspeakable. Only those that have experienced it can describe it. What little freedom men enjoy in our castes is totally denied to women. While man can marry outside the sub-caste, women cannot. Everywhere protective walls are being raised within which girls must be married irrespective of the considerations of their age, physique or education, and these walls are becoming so very narrow day by day that to many a parent it is a problem to find a suitable husband for their girls. Everybody feels this inequity of our castes, but the

supposed ~~interest~~ of his sons deter him from taking the only step that is called for by the requirements of the situation—the widening if not the extinction of the caste-barriers.

Sheth Ambalal attempted to loosen a little the barriers of his caste. He proposed to permit the marriage of a girl of more than 20 years outside their little sub-caste of about 500 families if she desired. He also proposed to permit the marriage of a girl of less than 20 years outside the sub-caste if her parents took the previous permission of the caste or in default paid a fine not exceeding their yearly income. By rejecting these mild proposals of Sheth Ambalal his caste has proved how hopelessly unprogressive it is. By stubbornly refusing to move with the times our castes are making it impossible for all progressive spirits to be confined within their narrow limits. We shall not wonder if within a short time excommunication at the hands of our castes is prized as gloriously as incarceration at the hands of the British Government. Both are hopelessly out-of-date, and by persistently refusing to be changing with the times they are alienating the sympathies of all honest souls and rousing the ire of bold ones.

THE CASE OF MR. BHAGAT SINGH.

The *Indian Witness* of the 2nd May prints the following letter from the Rev. Dr. E. Stanley Jones on the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Mr. Bhagat Singh:

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE AMERICAN MISSIONARIES:

Friends:

As a result of the Supreme Court ruling in the case of Bhagat Singh, it seems that a number of Indians will be dispossessed of land which they had leased or owned in America. They had gained possession of this land in good faith. If the Alien Land Law is put into effect, this land will be taken away from them. This will not only work hardship, but is obviously an injustice.

I do not see that we, as American missionaries, can do anything to get the ruling of the Supreme Court reversed. But it does seem to me that we might enter our protest against the application of the Alien Land Law to Indians in these circumstances.

My suggestion is that we send a signed protest to the American Government at Washington. If any have other suggestions to make, I should like to hear from them. Please send in your word of approval or disapproval care of the Editor of THE INDIAN WITNESS, as I am en tour.

Yours faithfully,
E. STANLEY JONES.

LINGAYAT SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

Mr. V. S. Gudgunti, Hon. Secretary of the above Association, writes from Bijapur:—

The 6th Social Conference of the Young Men's Lingayat Association will be held at Bijapur, on the 15th and 16th instant, under the Presidentship of Mr. B. L. Patil, B. A., LL. B., of Dharwar, who, young as he is, has been doing much towards uplifting the backward communities in general and his young Lingayat brethren in particular. Those interested in this Social Conference are cordially invited to attend it. Excellent arrangements as regards boarding and lodging for the delegates, have been made. Each delegate will be charged a moderate fee of Rs. 8 only,

BOMBAY SWARAJ PARTY.

The Swaraj Party was inaugurated in Bombay at a private meeting held on the 8th instant. After the Party meeting a public meeting was held on the same day at the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall at which Mr. M. R. Jayakar presided and speeches were delivered by Messrs. V. J. Patel, J. K. Mehta and K. Natarajan. All the speakers emphasized that it was their object to make this movement distinctly subservient to the main object of the Congress, viz., the attainment of *Swarajya*, and Mr. Natarajan said that he regarded the Party rather as a Sub-Committee of the Congress for the specific purpose of Council entry than as a separate or distinct organisation. Mr. Natarajan further said that nothing would give him greater pleasure than to see this movement merged in the Congress as soon as possible and to return to the obscurity of his normal vocation.

The following gentlemen have been appointed office-bearers:—

President: Mr. K. Natarajan.

Vice-Presidents: Messrs. M. R. Jayakar, V. J. Patel, Jambadas M. Mehta and Jaisukhlal K. Mehta.

Hon. Secretaries: Messrs. Jaffer H. Lallji, Parshotamdas Tricanddas, B. G. Kher, A. G. Mulgaonkar and S. H. Jhabwala.

Hon. Treasurers: Messrs. Shantaram N. Dabholkar and Manilal D. Nanavaty.

Members of the Committee: Messrs. S. G. Ranade, Dr. A. S. Erulkar, Dr. M. B. Velkar, R. N. Mandlik, N. B. Vibhakar, Hiralal D. Nanavaty, Rangildas M. Kapadia, G. P. Patel, Umakant Desai and Dr. G. V. Deshmukh.

VEERASHAIVA YOUNG MEN'S CONFERENCE.

The 6th Veerasaiva Young Men's Conference will be held at Bijapur on the 15th and 16th of May 1923 under the presidentship of Mr. B. L. Patil, B.A., L.L.B., Pleader of Dharwar. The chief subjects to be discussed at the Conference are:—1. Necessity of establishing Industrial School. 2. Merits and demerits of the present system of education. 3. The spreading of the Scout system. 4. Kanarese literature. 5. The uplift of the untouchables. 6. Co-operation between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. 7. Use of Swadeshi articles. 8. Salt duty. 9. Inconveniences of railway travelling. 10. Religious education. Intending speakers on any of the above subjects are requested to send their speech in writing to the General Secretary at least 10 days earlier. Delegates will have to pay a fee of Rs. 3. Arrangements for boarding and lodging will be made for delegates. Delegates should give at least 8 days' previous intimation to the General Secretary.

Admission fee:—I Class Rs. 1
II Class Rs. 0-8-0

As this year's Conference is going to pass very important resolutions, all those who are interested in the welfare of the community are cordially requested to attend. All the branch Associations should send in their annual reports to the General Secretary at least 8 days beforehand. All correspondence should be addressed to the General Secretary.

V. G. GUDGUNEER,
Honorary General Secretary,
V. Y. M. Conference, Bijapur.

THE NATIONAL PRAYER UNION.

This is a religious society started in July 1911 in Hindupur, Anantapur Dist. Now it is working in Perambur near Madras. It is intended to pull down hatred and promote

sympathy and union among people of different faiths and to exhort the public to prayer. The Eleventh Anniversary was celebrated for five days in Madras—Prayer meetings, mass gatherings, Morning Hymns, Street Bhajan and feeding the poor. The public meeting was held on Saturday last at 5 P. M. in the S. K. P. D. Vysia Secondary School Hall, G.T. Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, M.A., presided. There was a fairly large gathering including a few ladies. Certificates and prizes were distributed to the Prayer class students. The founder-Secretary Mr. C. Muneeswaraiya read the Annual Report. 30 Prayer meetings and 22 mass gatherings and 20 morning Sankeerthans were held in Madras and Mofussil. The Union publishes small pamphlets and leaflets very useful to students and the masses. The Union maintains a Library and Reading-room and aims at affording boarding and lodging convenience to poor students in its Prayer Home, Perambur. The report contains a list of members and donors, and a financial statement. The receipts and expenditure amount to Rs. 588-12-9 and Rs. 587-10-9 respectively. Messrs. M. K. Sundaravaradaachariar, B. T., and A. Somanatha Rao addressed the audience on "The progress of religion in our country".

The President in his concluding speech remarked that in these days of materialistic tendency, such Prayer organizations were absolutely necessary. The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks and closing hymn. The Secretary earnestly appeals to the public to contribute their mite to expedite the progress of the Union. Any small amount will be thankfully received by C. Muneeswaraiya, Founder-Secretary, The National Prayer Union, Perambur (Madras).

Perambur,
3-4-1923.

C. MUNEEWARAIYA,
Founder-Secretary, N. P. Union.

THE PUNJAB VIDHVA VIVAH SAHAIK SABHA.

The Hon. Secretary of the above Sabha writes:— "Reports of 49 widow marriages have been received from the different branches and co-workers of the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha Lahore (Punjab) throughout India, during the month of April 1923. The total number of marriages held in the current year, i.e., from 1st January to the end of April 1923 has reached 285, as detailed below:— Brahma 43; Khatri 58; Arora 61; Aggarwal 31; Rajput 18; Sikhs 4; Kai:th 5; Miscellaneous 20; total 235.

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Bombay. } G. B. TRIVEDI,
Hon. Secretary.

Mahatma Gandhi and Non-Co-Operation.

A reprint of the four articles on "Mahatma Gandhi" appeared in the *Indian Social Reformer* Price annas 8 per copy. Apply to the Manager, The *Indian Social Reformer*, Empire Building, Fort, Bombay.

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A RECENT OPINION

The Hon'ble Sir A. Kanagasabai, Advocate, writes from Jaffna under 6th March 1923:—...“Your periodical gives the cream of Indian politics and has often acted as a brake for avoiding danger...”

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| Reserve Fund | " 72,50,000 |

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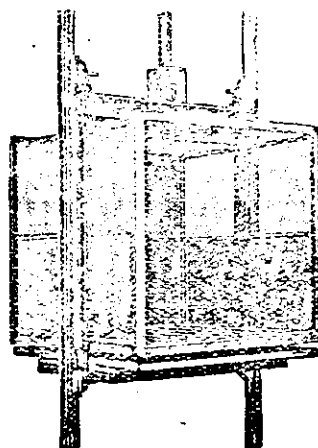
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BOMBAY—SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1923.

No. 38.

"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.

—101—

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar: The following invitation has been issued: "Intimation has been received that the ashes of the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar will be brought by his sons to Bombay by the Poona Mail on Sunday the 20th instant at 11-40 A. M. We shall be glad if you will kindly make it convenient to be present on the platform at Victoria Terminus on the occasion. From there the party will proceed to the Prarthana Samaj Mandir in Girgaum of which Sir Narayan was the President. After a short prayer, speeches will be made by representative gentlemen in memory of Sir Narayan and suitable to the occasion. We hope you will be able to attend both at the railway station and also at the Prarthana Samaj subsequently." The invitation is signed by Sir L. A. Shah, Sheth Narottam Morarji Gokuldas, the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas, Messrs. G. K. Devadhar, Lallji Naranji, A. K. Pai, Purshotamdas Thakurdas, V. G. Bhandarkar, S. T. Sheppard, Dr. R. Row, Messrs. M. R. Jayakar, F. M. Dastur, B. N. Motivala, D. G. Dalvi, Sir Gokuldas K. Parekh, Messrs. G. B. Trivedi, K. Natarajan, R. M. Gray, Radhakant Malaviya, Dr. R. N. Parmanand, and Messrs. S. A. Brelvi, Bhagwandas Madhavdas, N. M. Joshi.

The Liberals and Social Reform: While it is certainly the fact that a few good social reformers are to be found in the Liberal Party, it is glaringly absurd to contend, as the *Times of India* does, that the Liberal Party as such is more favourable to social reform than the Congress. On the contrary, the Liberal Party, apart from the few individuals to whom we have referred, has been a drag upon social reform. The two great Liberal leaders, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and Sir Surendranath Banerjee, fought hard against the enfranchisement of women in the Southborough Committee, and they were responsible for the recommendation of the Committee shelving the question. In Madras, Sir Sivaswamy Iyer may be held to be partly responsible for the origin of the Non-Brahmin Party as a political party. The

Mylapore school of which he was a leader, had consistently scoffed at the claims of Non-Brahmins for their legitimate share in the public life of the country. Sir Dinshaw Wacha of our own Presidency distinguished himself quite recently by opposing in the Council of State the raising of the age of consent against procurers from 16 to 18 on the extraordinary ground that "social reforms are better accomplished from within rather than from without"! In regard to the Excise policy we need not refer to the way in which three good years have been wasted by the Liberal Ministers. Our contemporary is able to point to one act of the Bombay Liberal Education Minister in justification of its opinion, and that is the recent circular—which we heartily welcomed at the time—enabling students of the depressed classes to be admitted to public schools. The *Times of India* seriously thinks that by this paper resolution, issued at the flag-end of his term of office, Dr. Paranjpye has done more for the depressed classes than the National Party which has made the removal of untouchability the first plank in its platform. We need do nothing more than refer our contemporary to Mrs. Naidu's address at the Kerala Conference to which we refer in another note. There is no Non-Brahmin party within the Congress, and, therefore, there can be no question of an alliance such as our contemporary suggests, between the Liberals and the Non-Brahmins. If the All-India Congress Committee decides, as we hope it will, to suspend the Gaya Congress resolution against entry into the Councils, the sectarian Non-Brahmin leaders will find their occupation gone. It is precisely because the Congress movement to-day is essentially a social reform movement that the bulk of the social reform party including the large majority of educated and intelligent women are to be found within its fold. There was one great social reformer in the Liberal Party, and now that he is no more, the success of the Liberals at the polls will mean another three years of social stagnation.

Kerala Conference: The most noteworthy feature of the second Kerala District Conference which met on the 6th instant at Palghat under the presidentship of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, was the presence of a number of Nayadis who were seated along with the Namboodiris in the Congress Pandal. The Namboodiris, the orthodox, aristocratic Brahmins of Malabar, are the most conservative community in India. The Nayadis of Malabar, a vivid picture of whose daily life from the pen of the late lamented Sir Narayan Chandavarkar under the suggestive heading "Darkest India in an Indian Oxford" appeared in the *Reformer* of the 9th May 1915, are a community labouring under a worse disability than untouchability and unapproachability. They are "unseeables"! Well might one say that those who denounce their fellow-beings as untouchables, unapproachables and unseeables belong to the class named "unthinkables". The meeting of these two communities—the highest and

the lowest—on the same footing is an event which Malabar has never witnessed before. Another significance of this Conference is that it was the first time since the terrible Moplah rebellion that the people of that district assembled together to discuss important public questions. Mr. Gayatri Vallabha Iyer, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, in the course of his lengthy address, gave a short history of the Moplah Rebellion. Mrs. Naidu, in the course of her address, extending over an hour and a quarter, said that the seed of Hindu-Moslem difference was first sown in Malabar in the Moplah rebellion which was the origin of the troubles between the two great communities in North India and that she hoped to carry the message of peace from Malabar. The presence of Nayadis at the Conference evoked a warm tribute from her. "What better welcome could you have for me," she said, "than that my Numbodiri brothers should be on the one hand and my hunted, tragic, down-trodden but beloved brothers (Nayadis) should have in a moment when I am called upon to guide the deliberations of the destinies of Kerala that they should be recognised probates from exile and before the eyes of the world admitted into fellowship of those who seek the liberty of India....." After surveying the present situation in India, she strongly deprecated the attempts to make out the difference of opinion among Congressmen on the question of Councils as a "spilt". The following resolution moved by Mr. K. P. Kesava Menon, Secretary of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee and passed unanimously at the Conference reflects the attitude of Kerala on the subject :

This Conference, while reaffirming its faith in non-violent Non-Co-operation as the sole means of securing self-government for India, regrets the party controversies that have arisen in Congress ranks since the Gaya Congress and since while these dissensions continue it is not possible to continue Congress work satisfactorily, this Conference requests the All India Congress Committee to find out means to explore all ways to close up their ranks and secure unity of spirit.

Mrs. Naidu's concluding speech was an eloquent plea for unity. She is reported to have told the special correspondent of the *Hindu* that, if it was necessary to dissociate herself from the Congress to carry on the work of unity, she would do so, for she considered the country bigger than the Congress.

Mr. Chintamani's Resignation: We expressed last week appreciation of the reasons which led Mr. Chintamani to resign the office of Minister of Education in the United Provinces. We cannot help feeling, however, that in a sense Mr. Chintamani suffered for his own fault which is also the fault of other official Liberals in like positions. Instead of entrusting an independent and cultured Indian, whom it would not have been difficult to find in Allahabad, Lucknow or Benares, with the shaping of the new and complicated arrangements, Mr. Chintamani deliberately chose a hide-bound official on the eve of his retirement as the fittest instrument for the task of reorganising the Allahabad University. The great exponent of British Liberalism, Gladstone, described Liberalism as being trust in the people. The Indian Liberals of the present day are known rather for their distrust than trust in their own people. The interest of Englishmen in Indian Universities is purely official. Their own children do not go to them. To an Indian, however, Universities are the well-spring of national progress. Mr.

Chintamani was responsible for an act of flagrant co-operation in preferring Sir Claude de la Fosse to an Indian Vice-Chancellor. But, however willing the Ministerial Barkis may be, the Service Peggotty cannot get over her prejudices. The result is—surrender or resignation. Most Ministers prefer to pocket their convictions and hold fast to their offices. Mr. Chintamani has chosen the manlier course of resignation, though coming almost on the eve of the General Election, it has the appearance of combining the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove. We cannot help feeling some sympathy for Sir William Marris who incurred much odium in England for his statesmanly act in releasing political prisoners in his Province as a token of His Excellency's desire to rely upon conciliatory and not on repressive methods. We feel some difficulty also in understanding how a Minister who got on with Sir Harcourt Butler, could have found it impossible to get on with Sir William Marris.

"Prejudiced and Narrow-minded": Dr. Annie Besant accuses us of being prejudiced and narrow-minded because we have not been able to accept her leadership in working for *Swaraj*. We have followed Dr. Besant's Indian career almost since its beginning, and we have never been able to find out what its central principle is. Uncharitable people have hastily assumed that there is only one central principle governing the various phases of her politics and that that is that whatever happens, Dr. Besant should be the leader. We cannot unreservedly accept this assumption for the simple reason that it is so simple. We cannot at the same time forget her attitude towards Swami Vivekananda, towards Tilak and towards Gandhi, when these leaders seemed to have come in the way of her leadership. A. O. Hume and Sir William Wedderburn always preferred Indian leadership of the national cause. Dr. Besant's policy in this respect has been different. Apart from that, we may recall that at a meeting held in Bombay last year in connection with the new Besantine party, Dr. Besant made a statement about her attitude towards the British connection which she afterwards vehemently contradicted from Simla. It is very difficult to follow a leader who is so elusive as Dr. Besant, and in the present stage of national evolution there is no necessity to do so. It will thus be seen that if we are "prejudiced and narrow-minded", we have some reason for being so with reference to Dr. Besant's leadership. We like to know where we are and whither we are tending, and we have a constitutional aversion to *chelaship* in secular or religious matters.

Reform of the Hindu Mutts: We have received a copy of a thoughtful and well-printed pamphlet on the reform of Hindu Mutts by Mr. D. V. Gundappa, editor of the *Karnataka and Indian Review of Reviews*, Mysore. Mr. Gundappa's essay is almost the first systematic treatment of a subject bristling with many difficulties. We are convinced that the institution of *sanyas*, socialised in the light of our modern requirements, offers the only solution of the problem with which the country is faced of bringing health, knowledge and public spirit to the doors of the masses without an expenditure far beyond the means of a poor population such as ours. The reform of the Mutts is one of the most important ways through which this adaptation of *sanyas* to social ends can be effected and we gladly commend Mr. Gundappa's essay to the perusal of our readers. It can be had from the author, Karnataka Prakatapalaya, Basavangudi Post, Bangalore City.

his example, and it is not the least of the services which he rendered to them. If his lot had been cast in the educational profession, Sir Narayan would have attained considerable eminence as a teacher of youth. There are very few among us, especially among schoolmasters and professors, who have the enthusiasm and the talent for exposition that he had. His readings from Wordsworth and other poets in the Students' Brotherhood, were prepared with all the care and elaboration of a University course. Sir Narayan's first allegiance in English poetry was given to Wordsworth. In the early years of this century he was one of a small group of persons who read Browning on Saturday nights at Mr. B. J. Padshah's hospitable home in Bandra. Since then, Sir Narayan often spoke of Browning as a more virile poet than Wordsworth and just the one whom young Indians should study as a corrective to the national tendency to let things drift.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar belonged to a generation which believed in the possibility of a synthesis of all that is best in the East and in the West. Indians as well as Englishmen believed in it. Rudyard Kipling broke this belief by his well-known lines and the Government of India have had to pass various repressive laws to prevent Indians from acting upon them. Sir Narayan, however, remained firm in his faith, and more than that, he illustrated in himself not merely the possibility but the actuality of such a synthesis. The two essential factors that went to his mental make-up, were his devotion to English culture and his devotion to his own ancient Hindu culture. The one was, paradoxical as it may seem, the result of the other. The central lesson of English history and literature is crystallised by Shakespeare in the well-known lines: "This above all: to thine own self be true; and it must follow as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man." This is the truth which the British connection was ordained to impress on India directly and indirectly. Sir Narayan's conviction grew with the years: that the ground-plan of our national life has been well laid by the ancients and that we shall prosper to the extent that we remain faithful to its essentials in building up our national life. Sir Narayan's connection with this journal dates almost from its starting. His encouragement and support was mainly instrumental in its transfer to Bombay and its conduct since then. With his punctilious regard for propriety, he resigned his position as Chairman of the Board of Directors, on his becoming President of the Legislative Council. His services and assistance to the *Reformer* were most generous and the loss to it on account of his death is too deep for words. He was the kindest and most indulgent of friends, and his tender solicitude was never seen to such perfection as in moments of severe strain. At some later date, it may be possible to treat more coherently of the great soul that has passed away. For the present, we have to be content with these loosely-knit thoughts.

REMINISCENCES OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA.—I.

(BY PROF. G. S. BHATE, M. A.)

I had the rare privilege of having the late Swami Vivekananda as our guest at Belgaum, I believe some time in 1892. I am not sure of the date, but it was about six months before he reached Madras and there became better known than he was before. If I remember aright, it was his first visit to Madras that led to his selection as representative of India at the Congress of Religions held at Chicago. As very few people in India had the advantage of knowing him before he made a name for himself, I think it would be interesting to set down a few reminiscences, however hazy, of his visit and stay at Belgaum.

The Swami came to Belgaum from Kolhapur with a note from the Khaugi Karbhari of the Maharaja, Mr. Golvalkar. He had reached Kolhapur with a note from the Darbar of Bhavnagar to the Darbar of Kolhapur. I do not remember whether the Swami had stayed in Bombay or merely passed through. I remember him appearing one morning about six o'clock with a note from Mr. Golvalkar who was a great friend of my father's. The Swami was rather striking in appearance and appeared to be even at first sight somewhat out of the common run of men. But neither my father nor any one else in the family or even in our small town was prepared to find in our guest the remarkable man that he turned out to be.

From the very first day of the Swami's stay occurred little incidents which led us to revise our ideas about him. In the first place, though he wore clothes bearing the familiar colour of a sanyasi's garments, he appeared to be dressed differently from the familiar brotherhood of sanyasis. He used to wear a bunyan. Instead of the *danda* he carried a long stick, something like a walking-stick. His kit consisted of the usual gourd, a pocket copy of the Gita and one or two books (the names of which I do not remember, possibly they were some Upanishads). We were not accustomed to see a sanyasi using the English language as a medium of conversation, wearing a bunyan instead of sitting bare-bodied, and showing a versatility of intellect and variety of information which would have done credit to an accomplished man of the world. He used to speak Hindi quite fluently, but as our mother-tongue was Marathi he found it more convenient to use English more often than Hindi.

The first day after the meal the Swami made a request for betel-nut and *pan*. Then either the same day or the day after, he wanted some tobacco for chewing. One can imagine the kind of horror which would be inspired by a sanyasi who is commonly regarded as having gone above these small creature comforts, showing a craving for these things. We had discovered by his own admission that he was a Non-Brahmin and yet a sanyasi, that he was a sanyasi and yet craved for things which

only householders are supposed to want. This was really topsy-turvydom, and yet he succeeded in changing our ideas. There was really nothing very wrong in a sanyasi wanting *pan* and *supari* or tobacco for chewing, but the explanation he gave of his craving disarmed us completely. He said that he was a gay young man and a distinguished graduate of the Calcutta University and that his life before he met Swami Ramkrishna Paramahansa was entirely different to what he became afterwards. As a result of the teaching of Swami Ramkrishna Paramahansa he had changed his life and outlook, but some of these things he found it impossible to get rid of, and he let them remain as being of no very great consequence. As regards food, when he was asked whether he was a vegetarian or a meat-eater, he said that as a man belonging not to the ordinary order of sanyasis but to the order of the Paramahansas, he had no option in the matter. The Paramahansa, by the rules of that order, was bound to eat whatever was offered, and in cases where nothing could be offered he had to go without food. And a Paramahansa was not precluded from accepting food from any human being irrespective of his religious beliefs. When he was asked whether he would accept food from Non-Hindus, he told us that he had several times been under the necessity of accepting food from Mahomedans.

The Swami appeared to be very well grounded in the old pandit method of studying Sanskrit. At the time of his arrival, I was getting up the *Ashtadhyaya* by rote, and to my great surprise as a boy, his memory even in quoting portions of the *Ashtadhyaya* which I had been painfully trying to remember, was much superior to mine. If I remember aright, when my father wanted me to repeat the portion that I had been preparing, I made some slips which to my confusion the Swami smilingly corrected. The effect of this was almost overwhelming as far as my feelings towards him were concerned. When there was another occasion for repeating some portion of the *Amarakosha*, I thought it better to be prudent than clever, and as I felt doubtful about my ability to repeat the portion with accuracy, I frankly confessed that I was unable to do so without committing mistakes. My father was naturally angry and annoyed at my failure to come up to his expectations, but I did not want to be caught once more and I preferred the temporary annoyance of my father to what I regarded as a humiliation at the hand of our newly arrived guest.

For a day or two after his arrival my father was busy in trying to take a measure of his guest. In that period he made up his mind that the guest was not only above the ordinary but was an extraordinary personality. So he got a few of his personal friends together, in order to fortify his own opinion of the Swami. They soon agreed that it was quite worth while to get all the local leaders and learned men together. What struck us most in the crowded gatherings which began to be held every day after

the presence of the Swami became known to all in Belgaum, was the unfailing good humour which the Swami preserved in his conversations and even heated arguments. He was quick enough at retort, but the retort had no sting in it. One day we had a rather amusing illustration of the Swami's coolness in debate. There was at that time in Belgaum an Executive Engineer who was the best-informed man in our town. He was one of the not uncommon types among Hindus. He was in his everyday life an orthodox Hindu of the type that I believe Southern India alone can produce. But in his mental outlook he was not only a sceptic but a very dogmatic adherent of what used to be then regarded as the scientific outlook. He almost appeared to argue in spite of his orthodox mode of life that there was practically no sanction for religion or belief in religion except that the people were for a long time accustomed to certain beliefs and practices. Holding these views he found the Swami rather an embarrassing opponent because the Swami had larger experience, knew more philosophy and more science than this local luminary. Naturally he more than once lost temper in argument and was discourteous, if not positively rude, to the Swami. So my father protested, but the Swami smilingly intervened and said that he did not feel in any way disturbed by the methods of show of temper on the part of this Executive Engineer. He said that in such circumstances the best method to adopt was the one adopted by horse-trainers. He said that when a trainer wants to break colts he merely aims at first to get on their backs, and having secured a hold on the back, limits his exertions to keeping his seat. He lets the colts try their best to throw him off and in that attempt to exhaust their untrained energies, but when the colts have done their best and failed, then begins the real task of the trainer. He becomes the master, and sooner makes the colts feel that he means to be master, and then the course of training is comparatively smooth. He said that in debates and conversations this was the best method to adopt. Let your opponent try his best or worst, let him exhaust himself, and then when he has shown signs of fatigue, get control of him and make him do just whatever you wish him to do. In short, conviction rather than constraint or compulsion must be the aim of a man who wants something more than mere silence from an opponent. Willing consent on the part of the opponent must be the inevitable result of such a procedure.

The Swami was a most embarrassing opponent for an impatient and dogmatic reasoner. He soon nonplussed in argument all the available talent in a Mofussil town. But his aim appeared to be not so much victory in debate and argumentation as a desire to create and spread the feeling that the time had come for demonstrating to the country and to the whole world that the Hindu religion was not in a moribund condition. The time had come, he used to say, for preaching to the world the priceless truths contained in the Vedanta. His view of

Vedanta was, it appears to me, a great deal different from the view that has become traditional. His complaint appeared to be that Vedanta had been treated too much as the possession of a sect competing for the loyalty of the Hindu along with other sects, and not as a life-giving perennial source of inspiration that it really was. He used to say that the particular danger of Vedanta was that its tenets and principles lent themselves easily to profession even by cowards. He used to say that the Vedanta may be professed by a coward, but it could be put into practice only by the most stout-hearted. The Vedanta was strong meat for weak stomachs. One of his favourite illustrations used to be that the doctrine of non-resistance necessarily involved the capacity and ability to resist and a conscious refraining from having recourse to resistance. If a strong man, he used to say, deliberately refrained from making use of his strength against either a rash or a weak opponent, then he can legitimately claim higher motives for his action. If, on the other hand, there was no obvious superiority of strength or the strength really lay on the side of his opponent, then the absence of the use of strength naturally raised the suspicion of cowardice. He used to say that that was the real essence of the advice by Shri Krishna to Arjuna. The wavering of mind on the part of Arjuna may have been easily due to other causes besides a genuine reluctance to use his undoubted and unfailing strength. Therefore the long and involved argument embodied in the eighteen chapters of the Gita.

MONTESSORI IN INDIA.

(BY MR. R. S. DESAI.)

On a small hillock away from the city of Bhavnagar yet not far from it, is a building which at once attracts the attention of a passer-by. One would mistake it for a pleasure resort of some rich person, and would be surprised to see a number of little children running up the hill at about 12-30 in the afternoon. The building is the Montessori School, the *Balmandir* or the 'temple' for which the children are making. Is it not a curious sight to see children running for their school? Let us go up with them and find out if we can, to what this enthusiasm is due. Let us pass a day with them in the school.

Before entering the premises, the children wash their hands and feet. In the door of the central hall stands the Director—we shall not call him a teacher, no Montessori school has teachers—and each child as it enters the hall offers its salutations to him in the Indian fashion. If one of them forgets to do so, it is not reprimanded; it is not even told to do it then if the omission is only once in a way.

On entering the hall we do not feel as if we are in a class-room. We see no table, no chair, no benches, we do not even find a time-table on the wall. We find ourselves in a sort of a museum hall.

In the centre of the hall the music teacher sits with his 'Dilruba' ready. Those children who want to have some music go and sit near him. Others

not interested disperse to other rooms. On a black-board opposite the music teacher is written the programme for the day: one or two easy *Ragas*, a dance or a march, and a *Bhajan* or a *deshi song*. The teacher sings the *Ragas* and the children listen to him. Some try to follow the tune, others the rhythm, those who can, are free to sing with the teacher, or beat time to the rhythm of the 'tabla'. When the dance or the march is played those willing are asked to mark the rhythm with their feet or move in a circle beating time with small sticks as is done in *Rasas*. In this way the children have caught many songs. Ten or twelve of them are able to follow the music with some accuracy, and their power of appreciation is steadily developing. At least music seems to have helped them a great deal in getting control over their bodies and also in making their movements graceful. The attendance at the lesson is voluntary and there is an attempt to guide the children in taking in from their environments outside the school what little music that falls on their ears. The sights during the lesson may please a casual observer but the method used is not unadulterated. A number of experiments will have to be made before the Montessori principle is adapted to our music.

After forty minutes of music the children go about the rooms in search of some engagements. Montessori cylinders, geometrical insets, colour tablets, buttoning frames, and sand paper letters and such other educational apparatus, lie within their reach from which they are free to select any and try to use it. There is no fear of their idling away their time, for there is nothing in this school which has no educational use, and which is merely a toy.

But then how can one man look after fifty or sixty children if each one is allowed to choose its own work? It is not necessary to look after the child all the time while at work with a Montessori apparatus, for the apparatus are self-corrective. The children are placed in auto-educative environments and are left to activities of their liking. When the child finds its own work, it will keep itself engaged all the time and thus the necessity of the fixed time-table and a curriculum disappear. Besides engagement in a work of interest takes away all thought of mischief from the child's mind and makes it quiet. The Director does not interfere with a child peacefully attentive to its work. Only he has to be ready to answer questions that arise through the child's natural curiosity to know. When necessary he has to give some guidance by suggestions in the child's search for knowledge. With this non-interference on the part of the teacher, so long as no one does any harm to its neighbour, disappears all possibility of cruelty to children.

Any one who has paid a visit to the Montessori school at Bhavnagar will hesitate to call these principles mere theories. What are these activities that keep the children usefully engaged? Drawing, Reading, Writing, Counting, sensory training, story-telling are some of them. The children in the *Balmandir* do not seem to have been introduced

to all the activities that may interest a child. Clay-modelling and gardening, for instance, have not yet found a place in this school. It is not possible to examine all of them in detail in a short account but we may carefully go through two or three of these.

In the Balmandir, drawing, especially designing, is a favourite activity with the children. They have also taken to drawing from nature. But designing has helped them to learn to draw upon their own imagination and has developed in them a sense of colour. The school may well take pride in the works of some of its young artists.

Most of the children have developed their power of reading and some of them are devoted to books. The children are never made to learn the alphabet, even those of them who are far advanced in reading or writing would fail to repeat the letters of the alphabets in order if asked to do so and they can read and write intelligently. Beginners are asked to read small sentences which contain all images or describe sensation within the range of their experience. All concepts and even percepts are avoided. The sentences are written in note form and the reader is told to express what it understands through gestures or acting up to orders given in the note. From this beginning the child advances to more abstract ideas and to more complex forms of language. They are not given anything to read which is not intelligible to them. Most of them are able to read easy stories and verses. When they read aloud the reading is not mechanical (lifeless). They always read with proper emphasis and stoppages, for they want to understand what they read and would avoid reading at all what they do not understand.

Though story-telling is not included in the Montessori method, it has played an important part in the literary culture of the children of the Balmandir. So have recitations of Sanskrit and Gujarati verses. Story telling has added to the stock of words and recitations of Sanskrit and Gujarati verses have had their effect on pronunciation.

Writing work has not much progressed in this school. Yet drawing has helped the children to write a steady hand without any exercises and copy-writing. The work in counting is also in its elementary stage. An abstract concept like number is understood after a long progress of mental development. Counting has therefore little place in the earlier stages of the Montessori method, while in our ordinary methodless schools the child is made to begin at the end.

After an hour and a half of work the children prepare for refreshments. A group of them go to the refreshment hall half an hour earlier to clean it, arrange and fill cups and dishes and mark the seats for others who are working or washing and toileting. When all seats are properly arranged and everything is ready, the 'guests' enter the hall one by one and quietly take their seats. The Director takes his own place among his young companions who sit with hands folded. Some light talk goes on between the Director and the children. The talk generally refers to incidents of the day but it is curious to note that

there never is a tone of complaint, and those references even when the children give expression to injured feelings and comments during this conversations passed, have the same moral effect on the culprit as approvals and disapprovals have theirs on the social behaviour of an individual.

Then comes the useful game of silence. The dark curtains are drawn over the windows and doors are closed to create a proper environment for peace. The black board with the big word (शांति) 'shanti' written on it is uncovered. The children close their eyes and there is silence in the room for about three minutes. This daily practice gives the child control over its own self and increases its powers of concentration.

After a short prayer the children take refreshments. They eat it with great pleasure after this long waiting. As each finishes its meal it gets up, walks slowly to the Director, makes a respectful bow or folds its hands in the Indian fashion and goes out to wash. Then they all depart for home, after taking leave of the Director. So ends the child's day at the Balmandir.

It must be admitted that the Balmandir has not yet been able to develop the Montessori method in all its aspects. The school is still in an experimental stage, yet on this side of India even now it may be said to be a model school for little children. The love for tidiness and cleanliness, for quiet work and for disciplined and graceful behaviour displayed and above all the spirit of co-operation shown all throughout the day at the Balmandir, are sufficient arguments for saying that the method can be successfully applied in India. To those who object to this system for its costliness the answer is that in the long run it is not more costly than the kindergarten method and nothing is more precious than a child. But it is not our business to answer objections.

In conclusion we must not forget to add a word of praise to the Director, Mr. Girijashanker B. Badhake, for the results so far achieved are all due to his perseverance and his faith. He began the experiment on his own children and in a short period of about three years he has established a fairly big Montessori institution with about sixty children and two or three teachers receiving training in the method. On reading an account of such a school the description may sound as mere imagination. Before dismissing this description as imagination it is better to pay a visit to the Balmandir. It is well worth a visit for all parents, all teachers, and for all social workers.

THE PURDAH SYSTEM IN ISLAM—III.

(By Prof. A. M. MAULVI.)

In my last articles I have endeavoured to show by Koranic quotations, traditional sayings of the Prophet and a brief survey of the position of woman in Islam, that in theory, woman holds a unique position in the Muslim world but in practice her lot is hardly describable. I have also to a certain extent made clear to my readers that the sanction rather than inculcation of the system of observance of female

privacy as enjoined by the Prophet was forced on him by circumstances which are likely to necessitate the importance or advisability of having recourse to such measures at any time, in any country and in any community. In conclusion I pointed out that this system was and is meant to be adopted only as a matter of expediency under special pressing needs of society and not to be practised in season and out of season. It is to be used as a medicinal drug to cure the deadly disease of immorality, or at the most to be recommended as a preventive tonic to preserve the moral vitality of the nation from decay. But to presume that it is one of the necessary ingredients in the daily spiritual meal of the Muslims is to charge Islam with the degradation of woman and to misunderstand or under-estimate the true spirit of the mission of our Prophet.

To hold such a view is in direct antagonism to the constant exhortations of the Prophet on the kind treatment of woman. Such was the respect he entertained for woman that he made a man's good treatment of his wife the very gauge of his goodness in general. "The best of you is he who is best to his wife" was constantly on his lips. "Reverence the mothers that bear you" is the teaching of the Koran in this respect. An unbiassed European writer says: "Although the condition of woman among Muslims is unsatisfactory, it must be admitted that Mahomed effected a vast and marked improvement in the position of the female population of Arabia." I mean to convey to my readers exactly what this unprejudiced observer has said. We, Muslims, must bear in mind that we can never move forward unless and until we begin to feel in our heart of hearts that we are extremely backward. We must admit that we have, in general, contrary to the teachings of Islam, done woman a great wrong by denying her the benefit of modern civilisation and treating her as a mischievous criminal, a danger to society and a fit person for perpetual confinement within four walls.

By these articles I may be justified in presuming that I may have produced if not much at least some feeble impression on the minds of my non Muslim readers, most of whom in my opinion know much and are more eager to learn more of Islam than many Muslims of the present generation. But to believe that I have created even the slightest effect upon my fellow-Muslims is to deceive myself.

As long as the majority of our backward Muslims do not make up their minds to banish from their heads the monstrous belief that Reason is fettered by Faith and that they are condemned to receive their laws even on social matters as articles of belief on which it is impiety to exercise their reason, we are bound to remain stationary for ever and no material change or progress can be expected of us at any future date. Nothing has scandalised Islam more and nothing has retarded the progress of our community more than the belief prevalent among most of us that Islam expects every Muslim to be tied hand and foot by laws and social customs which were intended for Arabian society as it existed 1200 years ago.

While talking of Islam or any other religion in general, it should always be borne in mind that religion proper, the law of the relation of man to God is one thing and the social system, the law of maintaining proper relation between man and man is another. Nothing is more misleading to the human mind than the blending of the two together or the mistaking of one for another. Our Prophet not only promulgated a religion quite in keeping with reason but laid down a complete social system containing minute regulations for a man's conduct in all circumstances of life. As a religion, Islam is certainly immutable as we read in the Koran 'To-day I have perfected your religion'. As a social system, it cannot be a success unless it is elastic. In my opinion it is and it ought to be adaptable to the varying necessities of mankind in the various stages of human thought and civilisation. However I must admit that the principles on which this system is founded can neither be changed nor set aside.

Let us take for instance the question of usury in Islam. The Koran says "They who swallow down usury shall arise in the last day only as he ariseth whom Satan has infected by his touch." Ch. II 276. The Prophet says "Cursed be the taker of usury, the giver of usury, the writer of usury and the witness of usury." Our learned divines maintain even at the present day that the word 'Riba' used in the Koran for usury signifies not only an iniquitous or illegal gain on a loan but any kind of interest on money lent. Looking to the seemingly dogmatic prohibition in Islam from taking or giving interest on the one hand and to the pressing needs of our community for borrowing or lending money on interest owing to a change in the present economic conditions of the world on the other hand, we must decide in one way or the other whether we have to follow the injunctions of the Koran in these matters literally by renouncing the world, living the life of ascetics and taking to wholesale beggary or we should treat such injunctions as social laws and bend them or even break them if possible to make them more adaptable to the present needs of society. Which is better; I question; to be carried away by the popular belief that all such social Islamic laws are inelastic and thus come to a sad conclusion that the ninety per cent. of the present Muslim world who cannot help lending or borrowing money on interest are infected with the touch of Satan and cursed for ever by the Prophet, or to read and interpret such laws in the light of History and Reason and modify them to suit our requirements?

Unless we draw a broad line between what is religion proper and what constitutes social laws which must respond to the needs of all classes of people at all times and in all countries we shall have to admit that our creed is impracticable for all worldly purposes, and is meant only for ascetics and 'sanyasis' and not matter-of-fact men of the present world.

Nothing is so opposed to the spirit of Islam as the entertainment of such views about a creed the sole aim of which is to elevate mankind not by performing miracles but by suggesting rational practical measures, not by stirring up a rapid revolution but by recommending a natural slow but sure process of evolution. 'There is no monkery in Islam' was a favourite saying of the Prophet. The time is come for us to decide whether we should solve these questions by ourselves or expect our priests to solve them for us.

SIR NABAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.

(The Times of India.)

The sudden death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar from heart failure is an event which will be very keenly felt by his many friends in Bombay and not least of all by this paper with which for many years he had been on terms of friendship which have been most highly valued by us. Whether Sir Narayan was aware how thin was the partition between himself and death we cannot say, but we like at this moment to think that if his end was sudden in the accepted sense of the term, he, more almost than any one we have known, was prepared for death, in whatever form and at whatever time it might come. It is not for us to appraise his position as a religious leader: that must rather be the task of men of his own faith. But he has left an example of a godly life which those who follow other religions than his may well recall at this time. It is his fine moral character, his consistent guidance by high principles, and his unshaken belief in the divine ordering of this world upon which we prefer to lay most stress in considering his career, for it was those qualities which gave him the position which he attained in the public life of Bombay. It used at times to be said that he was over-fond of preaching on occasions when sermons were out of place. But the fact, we believe, was that there was no restraining the faith that was in him; it had to come out and that in no narrow way but in the most catholic fashion.

If his reputation were to rest on nothing but his character, on his open and unabashed manifestation of faith, it would be secure. But it has a broader basis, for Sir Narayan was a man of wide and varied accomplishment. On the Bench he displayed a deep knowledge of law, more particularly of Hindu law, and an ability as a jurist to grasp the intricacies of the law while at the same time recognising the underlying purpose of justice. In the University he was a tower of strength, ready to support reforms when he was convinced there was a necessity for them, but staunchly conservative in his belief in parental control, in keeping students out of political controversy, and in maintaining that education divorced from religious and moral teaching only attains part of its objective. In a larger world than that of the Law Courts or the University his influence has been, and when he is no longer here must continue to be, immense. There has scarcely been a more ardent social reformer or one to whom the bonds of caste and creed meant so little in the struggle to do something for suffering or down-trodden humanity. His association with countless societies and movements initiated with a charitable object long since made him one of the best known figures in Bombay. From the political arena he had of necessity to retire on assuming the presidency of the Legislative Council, and then what the Council gained by his ripe experience, his study of constitutional evolution, and his commanding influence, the public to some extent lost. There were few better speakers on a public platform and if his hands had not latterly been tied owing to his official position, he would have been an uncompromising opponent of the latter day methods of political anarchists. It was his misfortune more than once to be attacked by the slings and arrows of an outrageous press. But he never faltered on the path which he believed to be right, and next to his religious nature we should place for admiration the courage with which he did his appointed work. A public man has to suffer much in India. Sir Narayan was no exception to

that rule, but those who knew him best admired him the more for the determination which seemed only to be increased by the petty annoyances to which he was subjected. He had, to quote one of the two poets whom he most loved, great allies.....“exultations, agonies, and love, and man's unconquerable mind.”

(The Bombay Chronicle.)

Though his friends in Bombay knew of his recent illness the news of the sudden death from heart failure, of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, at Bangalore, will be received by them and the country at large with the keenest regret. Sir Narayan belonged to the first generation of Congressmen but his place was decidedly not among those “giants”—Ranade, Dadabhai, Mehta, Tilak, Gokhale—who built up the national life of the country. Nevertheless, he played no mean part in helping these leaders and their co-workers and successors to accomplish the great task and the value of his contribution to the political life of the country was enhanced by his deep study of constitutional history. Varied as were his attainments and interests, he will be remembered by his countrymen mainly as a social reformer, an educationist and a friend of the students, though during his tenure of office as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay he lent his support to reactionary measures sponsored by Lord Sydenham (then Sir George Clarke) which were vigorously opposed by Pherozeshah Mehta. His association with the Social Service League of Bombay betrayed his large human sympathies, of which a striking proof was given by the leading part he played in bringing about a satisfactory settlement of the great mill strike of 1919. And he will be missed most for the rare gift he possessed of making the past live vividly before the mental eyes of the present generation. But he lived too much in the past. And this sentence sums up at once his virtues and his defects, which were in the main the virtues and defects of the Liberal party to which he belonged. These defects explain the failure of the Liberals during the crisis through which the country has been passing and which calls for leaders who like the Mahatma see *before* as well as *after*.

(The Bombay Samachar.)

In the sudden death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar at Bangalore, the Liberal Party lost a stalwart and the nation lost a constitutional lawyer, an experienced politician, a pious social reformer and a man of high moral principles. It is difficult to judge of a man correctly amidst the ever-changing scenes of a life dominated by political controversies, at least to pronounce definitely on the success or failure of one's life. But if we agree to judge by the time and circumstances in which one is destined to lead it, we may unreservedly say that Sir Narayan's life was from beginning to end one of unqualified success. It was not his to take the people by storm or surprise, to shoot into prominence by a meteoric dash or to agitate the country's depths by romantic adventures, but he rose by dint of deep scholarship, pious steadiness and continued attachment to principles to the highest honours that both the nation and the Government could bestow. It is not right to recall in the presence of death that he was a liberal in politics or a conservative in educational policy. He believed in whatever he did and he did everything that he could convince himself was right. That is a great thing to say and we can say it of very few. We can say that however of Sir Narayan.

(The *Praja Mitra* and the *Parsi*.)

The news of the sudden death from heart failure at Bangalore on Monday morning last of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has been received with deep regret in Bombay, and will evoke wide-felt regret throughout India. It was an easy death as Sir Narayan had gone to Bangalore for a short change and rest, but he was not known to be in ill health and his relatives and friends had no idea that the end was so near. He was 68 which is considered an advanced age in India, but he died in harness as he was President of the Bombay Legislative Council at the time of his death. Biographical sketches of the distinguished leader and patriot have appeared and the story of his life need not be recalled at length. But the main events of his life and his character convey an important lesson to his countrymen, specially to the younger section whose future is before them. He never lived in retirement very long and accepted the Presidentship of the Bombay Legislative Council when it was offered to him in 1921, and he was holding this office at the time of his death. Indian thought and Indian public life have considerably changed, and the new school of patriotism might not have accepted his lead. When the old order changes and yields place to the new, different ideals naturally hold the imagination, but no matter whatever the difference in ideals of patriotism, there can be none in the conception of religion, and the distinguished man who has passed away from our midst was actuated throughout his life by a high conception of religion and duty. In private life he was an admirable friend with high social virtues and a likeable and attractive personality. He has passed away full of years and honours, but the example of his life and work remains as a valuable legacy for his countrymen.

(The *Sanj Vartman*.)

The sudden death of Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar from heart failure at Bangalore, where he had gone to recuperate during these summer holidays, on Monday last will be universally mourned throughout the length and breadth of the whole country. The only fault with Sir Narayan was that he lived too much in the past. He was one of the few early stalwarts who was gifted with a clear political vision. But in years to come when his political services will be forgotten—and most of them have already been forgotten by the public—Sir Narayan's chief claim for grateful remembrance and reward will rest upon the social service that he rendered to his countrymen. His sympathy for social reform was not of the lip variety. He was a practical, ardent and a zealous worker and often ventured in fields in which the timid or the trimmer would hesitate to venture. All his life-time, he was not only a close student in its widest acceptance, but he remained what he always was a sincere guide, philosopher and friend of the students. His latter-day political angle of vision urged him to teach the gospel of a divorce between students and politics but without a shadow of a doubt he always revelled in the company of students. When most people would think of retiring and rest peacefully upon past laurels, he accepted the Presidentship of the Reformed Bombay Legislative Council and brought in the conduct of his new office the same vigorous zeal for the performance of his duty. Taken all in all, in the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the public loses a man of stirring abilities, and a publicist of diverse activities in the public life of the country. His place is bound to remain vacant for a long time.

(The *Swarajya*, Madras.)

By the demise of Dr. Chandavarkar, India loses one of the great stalwarts of a generation that is fast passing away. Essentially a product of English education, Dr. Chandavarkar was a confirmed believer in the value of the British connection, and throughout his life strove to reconcile the claims of Indian Nationalism with those of British Imperialism. He was closely associated with the group of Moderate politicians who broke away from the Congress, and later on threw themselves wholeheartedly into the working of the Reform Act. While it is a matter for poignant regret that genuine patriots like Chandavarkar could not identify themselves with the latest phase of the struggle for Swaraj, it is due to them to admit that they have laboured long and conscientiously for the advancement of India according to their lights. Sir Narayan has filled with distinction some of the highest positions—official and non-official—to which a member of a subject nation might aspire, and his memory will ever be cherished as that of a highly cultured and patriotic Indian, who among other things, worked unceasingly for the social amelioration of the great mass of his countrymen.

AN APPRECIATION.

The following was published in the *Times of India* of May 16th. A Gujarati translation of the article was published in the *Bombay Samachar* on the same day.—

The time and the manner of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's death were such as, according to Hindu ideas, are vouchsafed only to those whose life has been acceptable to the gods. He was sixty-eight years of age. He retained his physical and mental vigour to the full to the last moment. He had, indeed, a hint of the coming end just a week before his death. But the symptoms very soon passed away. All later news was to the effect that he was his own self again. His gracious wife passed away, as every Hindu wife daily prays that she may, before her husband. He had the happiness which the Hindu prizes highly of seeing his grandchildren grow around him. His two sons and his daughter, and their families, were gathered at Bangalore and he was conversing with them as he loved to do when the call came to him to cross the threshold to the larger life.

He was honoured by his Sovereign and held high office in the State. All classes and creeds of his countrymen esteemed him for the purity of his life, the intensity of his spirit and the loftiness of his ideals. A mere enumeration of his activities is sufficient to show the wide range of his interest and activities. Religious and social reform and education, especially the education of women, were the subjects nearest to his heart. He was a regular and devout worshipper at the Maudir in Girgaum of the Prarthana Samaj, of which he became President on the death of Mr. Ranade. He was the President of the Social Reform Association and of the Social Service League. He was besides prominently associated with a number of humanitarian institutions. He was for many years President of the Students' Brotherhood and held weekly classes. His interest in and concern for the student population were shown in many other ways. He was Chairman of the Committee of the Scientific and Literary Society's Girls' School and there too he used to take regular classes for many years. Once we met a group of three Hindu school girls walking along in Girgaum, and Sir Narayan turned to me and said with fervour. "When I see such sights, I feel that I have not lived in vain."

It is difficult for a Hindu social reformer to be a political radical. He sees perhaps too intensely, as Gokhale used

say, the defects and drawbacks of Society to favour proposals much beyond the pace of social progress. The support given by British rule to the efforts of social reformers in the days before the Mutiny, led the latter to think of it as their best auxiliary. Social reformers until recently were brought up in this tradition so much so as to call upon themselves the taunt of being political reactionaries. The practical impossibility of enlisting the support of Government as it is at present to the wider social reform in which the earlier movements have merged at the present day, has considerably weakened this tradition. Sir Narayan too realised this. He felt and said that it is our own efforts, our own mistakes, and once he emphatically added, "our own sins" that can bring us salvation. But the excesses of the nationalists alarmed him, though even here he recognised that such excesses are the concomitants of every new phase of progress. He always took his full share in every national movement, but he always insisted on thinking out questions for himself. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta greatly valued him as a co-adjutor, but he never claimed him as his follower in the political field prior to Sir Narayan's elevation to the Bench.

Sir Narayan had two strenuous terms as Vice-Chancellor of the University. This is hardly the occasion to raise a controversy. I was in the Senate myself at the time and I will only say this, that, were the facts fully known, the allegation that he lent his support to the reactionary proposals of Lord Sydenham, will be found to be absolutely baseless. His popular sympathies were strikingly shown in the measure of his brief administration of the Indore State. He liked to go among the people, talk to them, and share their joys and sorrows. The Minister's motor car often found its way to lanes and gullies where it could move only with difficulty which was greatly augmented by the old and feeble, men, women and children, who crowded round it with tales of their daily life. Sir Narayan's recent writings in the *Times of India* were largely drawn from his talks with the common people during his daily walks. As he rose in life, he grew humbler in mind. He was, I need hardly say, a great reader and he was almost ever since his youth a follower of Lord Morley's advice: "Read with a pen in your hand." Some scores of note-books are filled with excerpts and notes from the books which he read. Sometimes, it has been remarked of his speeches and writings that they contained too many quotations. Many of us forget the sources from which we draw our ideas and even our language, and are thus able honestly to dispense with quotation marks. But Sir Narayan's habit of making notes prevented this common tendency, and he often said that if a writer had said well what you wish to say, in fairness to him as well as to be honest with your audience, you should acknowledge your indebtedness to him.

The last public occasion on which he spoke was the anniversary of the birthday of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, which was celebrated by the local Vivekananda Society on the 4th March last. Swami Sharvananda of the Ramakrishna Mission delivered an eloquent address, and Sir Narayan, who presided, spoke after him. He was in his very best form and spoke most sympathetically. It fell to me to move a vote of thanks and, on the spur of the moment, I said that, although the chairman did not wear the garb of the "sanyasin," he had, as I knew, the true spirit of renunciation at his heart. That seemed to have touched him, for he sat silent some minutes in the chair, after the audience had begun to disperse. Through the multitude of reminiscences that crowd upon me, I see that that remark made in haste, did, indeed, embody the lesson of his life.

The *Gita* and the Bible were his constant reading. And the "Gita" says: "He who performs his bounden duty without leaning the fruit of action—he is both a "sanyasi" and a "yogi"; and not he who is without the holy fire, nor he who is without action."

K. NATARAJAN.

Bandra, 15th May.

A meeting of the Managing Council of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association was held on Wednesday the 16th May 1928 to express regret at the death of the Hon'ble Dr. N. G. Chandavarkar, Kt. L. L. D. when the following resolution was passed:—

"That the Council of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association places on record its deep sorrow at the irreparable loss sustained by the cause of Social Reform by the death of Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar who, who, as General Secretary of the National Social Conference, as President of this Association and in many other ways, rendered memorable service to it; and wishes to convey to his family its deep sympathy in their great bereavement which is also a great National loss."

THE GAYA PROGRAMME.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

When the Gaya Congress passed by a two-thirds majority the resolution calling upon the Congress Committees in the country to enlist 50,000 volunteers under the Ahmedabad pledge, it was clearly the duty of all those delegates who voted for the resolution to set the example by enlisting themselves as volunteers immediately after the Congress. Those of them who have failed to do so can be rightly accused of deceiving or giving a false lead to the country. At the coming All-India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay, it is to be hoped that the Secretaries will place before the meeting detailed information as to how many of these delegates have signed the volunteer pledge, and how many of the present members of the Majority Party in the A. I. C. C. as well as in the different Provincial Congress Committees have enlisted themselves as volunteers. Very little response from the public to an appeal for volunteers can be expected in a province where the majority of the members of the Provincial Congress Committee prefer not to sign the pledge themselves. Where, in any Provincial Congress Committee, a resolution moved by a member calling upon its members and office-bearers to enroll themselves as volunteers, is thrown out by a majority of votes, it naturally implies that the attitude of that Committee towards the Gaya programme is one of neutrality, perhaps a benevolent neutrality, if not of positive hostility. Such a Committee cannot obviously claim any control over the national volunteers enrolled under its authority, nor can it be called a competent body to decide questions of civil disobedience. It is quite open to any of these volunteers to disregard any orders or instructions which may be issued by the Provincial Congress Committee relating to civil disobedience. Such a state of affairs must necessarily result in demoralisation in the rank and file of the Congress in that province, which nothing but a change in the Congress programme alone can remove. At the next A. I. C. C. meeting I am of opinion that it would be quite fair on the part of those members of the Committee who have joined the Swaraj Party to call upon such of their colleagues in the Majority Party as have not

signed the volunteer pledge, to refrain from voting on any questions for civil disobedience or further enrolment of volunteers of civil disobedience.

Yours etc,
Bombay, 15th May. AN EX-DELEGATE.

BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

(Translated from *The Praja Mitra and the Parsi*.)

Mr. Lakhmidas Rowjee Tairsee, at the meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held on Sunday last, with Mr. B. N. Motiwala in the chair, took pretenders to task when Mr. S. V. Deshpande brought forward a resolution that the Committee resolves that it is the duty of members of the Committee, especially the office-bearers, to enlist themselves as volunteers for civil disobedience and if any member or office-bearer failed to do so, he should resign his membership or office.

A discussion followed, in the course of which Mr. V. A. Desai opposed the resolution saying that those who merely signed the Congress creed were eligible to be members of the Congress Committee, and District Congress Committees sent their representatives to the Provincial Congress Committee, and that there was no such rule in the Congress constitution that such representatives should enlist themselves as volunteers.

Mr. Tairsee said he sympathised with the resolution moved by Mr. Deshpande and that those members and office-bearers of the Committee who were not prepared to enrol themselves as volunteers had better resign their seats and offices on the Committee, that those office-bearers who only preached but did not practice what they preached were hypocrites, and he was of the view that such persons should receive no encouragement; that ninety per cent. of the volunteers who signed the pledge did so under the impression that there was not going to be any civil disobedience at all and their number was 150. Mr. Tairsee challenged those who signed the pledge to get ready and offer civil disobedience at Nagpur in connection with the National Flag. He said he was prepared to pay train fare to those volunteers who were willing to go to Nagpur and join the civil disobedience campaign going on there but were unable to meet the travelling expenses. (Hear, hear).

There was a heated discussion on the resolution which was at last thrown out.

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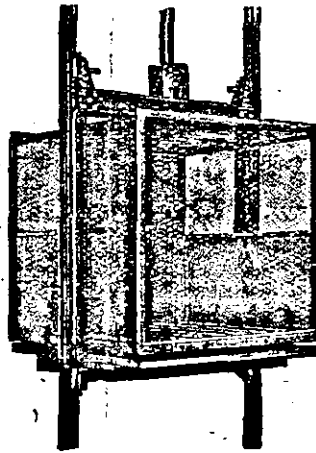
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"I will be as bare as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Swaraj Party and the Councils: Professor Buchi Ram Sahni, who has been elected President of the Punjab Swaraj Party, described in a speech delivered at Ferozpur what the Party proposed to do in the Councils. He said:

A great deal too much fuss had been made about what the Swaraj Party would do when they got into the Councils. The position had been made plain by their leader Deshbandu Das in several speeches which he had delivered of late. Their one great aim and object would be to win Swaraj for their country, and, to that end, they would make use of every means in their power, consistent with their pure ideals and principles, to make the Government realise that, in the interests of Great Britain herself, Swaraj for India could not be long delayed. The speaker did not believe in obstruction pure and simple at all times and regardless of circumstances. Obstruction required united action on the part of a large majority of the elected members, and in the Punjab, under present conditions, concerted action of this kind on an adequate scale was an impossibility. The most they could do, and which they hoped to do, was to have within the Council a strong united nationalist party which would by its firm attitude prevent a great deal of harm which might be done in the future, and had been done in the past.

This is the sound, commonsense view of an experienced publicist who weighs his words and does not care to promise more than he can perform. What Professor Ruchi Ram says of the state of things in the Punjab is more or less true of all parts of the country in varying degrees. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu described in a speech delivered in Madras on Monday the change that had come over her views, as a result of what she had seen in various provinces, during the last few months. She said—*we take the passage from the report in the Swarajya* :—

I was one of those who at Gaya reinforced the hands of many of the most ardent votaries of the principle of Civil Disobedience. Yes, I was one of those who believed that the only possible meeting ground between the so-called majority and minority parties would be on the basis of authentic Civil Disobedience. Mark the words 'authentic Civil Disobedi-

ence'! Not Civil Disobedience artificially set up but the responsible disciplined army of Swaraj, offering Civil Disobedience against an issue arising at the moment born of the injustice of a foreign bureaucracy. That kind of Civil Disobedience is Civil Disobedience which would leave no room for parties because every man who has manhood in his veins must of necessity join in that army of Civil Disobedience. To-day you have seen from my speeches and my interviews that I, who was so insistent on Civil Disobedience six months ago, who still believe and must ever believe that it is by a great programme of Civil Disobedience that India will win her freedom, have set my face against any form of Civil Disobedience because it will not be authentic. It will be artificially created and therefore not in any way representative of the country's irrepressible anger or indignation.

That what she said is absolutely true, goes without saying. Even when things were, or seemed to be, better, Mahatma Gandhi recognised that he was playing with fire when he suggested civil disobedience. He is a *jivanmukta* whom fire does not singe, but he felt it his duty, in the interests of the people, to suspend civil disobedience indefinitely because of the unpreparedness of the country. None of us is a Mahatma Gandhi, and the situation too, as Mrs. Sarojini Naidu says, has worsened since his arrest. Those who, in spite of this, speak as if non-payment of taxes and civil disobedience, are within the range of practical politics to-day, are incurring a grave responsibility without the excuse of ignorance.

Pickwickian Politics: Both the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President of the Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference held at Karad the other day, were very casual in their references to the affairs of this Presidency, and expended all their powder and shot upon matters concerning the Government of India and the Secretary of State. They had good reasons for doing so. For, if they had dwelt on what may reasonably be classed as "achievements" of the Liberals in the Bombay Legislative Council—less than half-a-dozen members of that Council including the two Hindu Ministers, by the way, attended the Karad Conference—they would have had to admit that the two Ministers, who are said to have been the life and soul of the Conference, voted against the non-officials in respect of all of them. The two most striking achievements of the popular party in the Council were the carrying of the resolutions regarding the treatment of political prisoners and regarding what is known as Dr. Kapadia's case. We have the official division lists before us and in both these the two Liberal Ministers voted against the non-official motion. Neither Rao Bahadur Kale nor Mr. Chuni-lal Gandhi seems to have thought it necessary to lay stress on these two real achievements. Even on the Entertainments Bill, for the rejection of which by a large majority of the Council "despite the frantic efforts made from influential quarters

to carry it through," Mr. Gandhi took credit for the Liberals, the two Ministers voted against the rejection. How these two Ministers can share the credit for the throwing out of a Bill for which they voted, is a mystery to us. The fact is that they are to all intents and purposes officials as much as the Members of Council, and it is only for propaganda purposes are they non-officials. The position is anomalous, especially when it comes to collecting funds for the Party.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer:—Sir Michael O'Dwyer, late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, has been making statements in England, which could have hardly failed to come to the notice of the Government of India. And yet, there has been no sign to show that they realise the seriousness of his allegations. No contradiction has been issued so far. The conduct of the ex-Governor in making the allegations requires more drastic treatment than a contradiction and perhaps, Government are considering the mode in which it may be best administered. We do not complain of Sir Michael's advice to Indians with reference to their claims in East Africa, that those who claimed equality must come into court with clean hands and, first of all, endeavour to obtain elementary social rights for the fifty million outcasts in India. It is hardly a Christian or reasonable thing to visit the sins of generations of the Hindus upon the few thousands of Indians in East Africa. But so long as we have this dark stain upon our national escutcheon, we must expect our opponents to make the most use of it. Our enemy, in such cases, is our best friend and Sir Michael's taunt should sting us into redoubled effort to get rid of the curse of untouchability. But the statements to which we object are those which relate to the reforms and the Army, the purpose of which is to sow disaffection in the Indian Army with a view to obstruct the course of Indian political progress. To express satisfaction that Indian troops refused to obey their Indian officers, is very much like inciting them to mutiny. Does not the Government of India admit the fact, and if they do, do they approve of the use made of it by Sir Michael O'Dwyer?

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola: If it be the case that Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, who recently completed his term as a member of the Executive Council, has accepted the Presidentship of the Legislative Council, we sincerely regret the event. It is hard to believe that Sir Ibrahim is of the opinion that this is the most useful way, from the national point of view, in which he can employ his time and talents. The country is clamouring for experienced leaders, and Sir Ibrahim knows it very well. We may go so far as to say that he has to some extent led his friends to expect that his services will be available to the country in a non-official capacity. There is no one who can be thought of at the moment in connection with the Presidentship except Sir Ibrahim, it is true. But the place might have been left vacant for some time, just as Sir Ibrahim's own place in the Government has been vacant all these months. The June Session will not last more than a few days, and the Deputy President can easily preside during the time. We do not understand the haste with which it has been deemed necessary to fill this particular post. Sir Ibrahim's place is in the Legislative Assembly in which the great gap created by Sir Vithaldas' untimely death, in the thin ranks of members who can speak with authority on fiscal and industrial questions, waits to be filled. If Sir Ibrahim is to be tied down to the chair of the Bombay Legislative Council for the next twelve months, he cannot get elected in the next elections. The ways of our public men are sometimes inscrutable.

The Rev. R. M. Gray: The Rev. R. M. Gray left Bombay yesterday and it is understood that he is unlikely to return to India. He has all along been a powerful force working behind the scenes and helping to prevent differences between Indians and Europeans becoming permanent barriers to their friendly relations in Bombay. In this he was truly following the precept of his Master: "Blessed are the peace-makers." We are glad to think that an endeavour is being made to continue this side of his work in Bombay. What appear to be irreconcilable points of view, discover openings for adjustment when brought to the touch of frank and friendly talk, and it is highly desirable that there should be increasing opportunities for such talk as our problems grow in complexity. Mr. Gray's eminent scholarship has been often utilised by the University in its higher examinations. He and Mrs. Gray have been active workers in many social movements including the social purity movement. While we keenly feel the parting, we feel sure that in their native land they will find or make fresh opportunities for serving India which they love so well.

Negroes in Harvard University. The *Indian Messenger* learns that the restrictions which President Lowell of Harvard proposed to impose on Jews and Negroes have been abandoned, mainly through the opposition led by ex-President Eliot, the Governing Board having accepted a report against racial or religious discriminations. Since the above was in type, we have received the following more detailed information from the Foreign Press Service to whose courtesy we are often indebted for useful information regarding social movements in the United States. "Neither race nor color is to be made the basis for discrimination against candidates for admission to Harvard or students already enrolled there. The University Overseers have voted after careful consideration of the charges of race discrimination made repeatedly by Jews, and called the attention of the country last autumn when the father of a Negro student accused the authorities in charge of the dormitories of refusing to his son the privilege accorded to white students. Neither are white and Negro students to be compelled to live together if they do not so desire, according to the decision of the Overseers, who recommend that the Freshmen students, who have heretofore been required to live in the college dormitories in order to develop among them solidarity and good fellowship, be allowed to live elsewhere if they so elect. In addition, the directors of the University urge that no arbitrary limitation to the number of students be set, and that the policy of giving preference to the sons of graduates be abandoned, in order that no taint of discrimination on any basis may mar the tradition of liberality which Harvard has cherished since its origin."

The Change of British Premiers: A great constitutional revolution has been effected in a characteristically quiet way by the appointment of Mr. Baldwin to succeed Mr. Bonar Law who resigned the Premiership last week on account of his health. The claims of Lord Curzon, whose standing in English politics is of longer duration and higher degree, have been set aside on the ground that as His Majesty's principal Opposition is in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister should be one who can sit in that House. This means that, until the House of Lords is reformed and peers are made eligible to sit in the Commons, no peer can become Prime Minister.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, MAY 26 1923.

THE SWARAJ PARTY IN BOMBAY.

The Swaraj Party was formally constituted in Bombay City on the 8th instant. It has held several public meetings, and the reception of the new Party in Bombay so far has been distinctly sympathetic. The attitude of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and its leading members has been quite unexceptionable, and there is every possibility that it will not only continue to be so, but may in the course of the next few days take on a positive complexion. Our remarks regarding Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's proffered resignation of the Presidentship of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, were made under a misapprehension. We are glad that at the earnest request of that Committee to reconsider her decision, she has withdrawn her resignation. Mrs. Naidu has understood the mind of Mahatma Gandhi with the insight of a woman and a poet. Mr. Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Rajagopalachari were his two colleagues whom the Mahatma himself singled out as those who had most assimilated his principles and outlook. But they could not get over their limitations as men and lawyers while the inmost sanctuary was inaccessible except through the double door of imagination and intuition. Mrs. Naidu has another qualification which is possessed in the same measure by no other Congress leader and which, in the present juncture, is worth more than almost anything else to the national cause. It is her intimate and sympathetic understanding of Indian Moslem hopes and fears, aspirations and misgivings. There is no Hindu leader, with the sole exception of Mahatma Gandhi, who enjoys the confidence of our Mahomedan countrymen as does Mrs. Naidu.—She is a link not only between Hindu and Mahomedan but also between Brahmin and Non-Brahmin. She has, besides, travelled extensively and has studied at first hand the situation in the most disturbed parts of the country. Her resolve to continue at the head of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee is a happy augury not only to that Committee but also to the Swaraj Party in Bombay whose resolve to work in perfect concord with the Majority Party—we may be pardoned for doubting whether it still represents a majority of Congressmen—will become thereby greatly strengthened. She will be very helpful in keeping the two wings from drifting apart and in accelerating the re-union which is the fervent hope of all but a small section of fanatics on both sides.

THE PARTY'S PROGRAMME.

The conditions are thus favourable for the Swaraj Party in Bombay. With its band of able, earnest and energetic workers, Vice Presidents, Secretaries and members, it should make much greater progress than it has during the fortnight of its existence, as its aims acquire greater cohesion and are better understood by its members and by the public. To some extent, a certain amount of indefiniteness as to its objects was inevitable in a movement like the

Swaraj Party especially at its initial stages. It will do no harm and may even do some good, if the leaders are determined not to let any differences of opinion divert them from their central purpose, namely, to attain *Swaraj* by all legitimate and peaceful means. The important point to be borne in mind is that the Swaraj Party was formed because a considerable minority of the Congress did not and could not accept the principal resolutions of the Gaya Congress. These resolutions, it will be remembered, repudiated the recommendations of the Civil Disobedience Committee, including those on which all the members of that Committee were agreed. The names of the members may be here recalled. They were Hakim Ajmal Khan, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari, Messrs. Rajagopalachari, Vithalbhai Patel and Kasturiranga Iyengar. The Committee unanimously recommended that it was desirable for Non-co-operators to seek elections to Municipalities and Local Boards. This was rejected by the Gaya Congress. Nevertheless, many Non-co-operators have joined these bodies. Two other unanimous recommendations of the Civil Disobedience Committee were that reliance should be placed, in consonance with the Bardoli programme, upon the superiority of national schools for drawing scholars from Government institutions and not upon picketing or other propaganda; and that all existing disqualifications imposed upon practising lawyers should be removed. The Swaraj Party has adopted these recommendations, and the boycott of schools and courts is not a part of its programme. The Swaraj Party accepts and adopts the Bardoli programme comprising inter-communal unity, removal of untouchability, temperance and, as regards *khaddar*, it accepts and adopts it as a feature of *Swadeshi*. By this item, Mahatma Gandhi intended not merely the wearing of *khaddar* but also the spinning of yarn. He expected every Congressman to spin, as he himself does even in jail, some hours a day. It was not his object to have the manufacture of *khaddar* factorised, as it must be if the wearer is not also the spinner at least to some extent. He attached more importance to the *charka* than to *khaddar* and from his point of view he was perfectly right. It is absurd to say that no man can serve his country as a member of the Swaraj Party unless he is clad in *khaddar*. Nevertheless, as a mark of respect to Mahatmaji, it is very desirable that members of the Party should as far as possible wear dress made of *khaddar*. *Swadeshi*, of course, is inseparable from *Swaraj*. It is the industrial phase of the movement towards self-government.

NON-VIOLENCE AND COUNCIL ENTRY.

There can be no two opinions on the principle of Non-violence. The Swaraj Party is absolutely at one with the Congress Majority as to that. No one who holds that violence is permissible has a place in the one or the other. Any equivocation on the point must necessarily deter minority communities from feeling confidence in the will and the power of the Swaraj Party to uphold their rights and liberties. The validity of the principle of non-co-operation and civil disobedience, cannot be questioned by

the practical social reformer who long before the Rowlatt Act applied them both systematically to the solution of social problems. But most people who take in the realities of the present political situation agree that their application at present is beyond the pale of practical politics. Indeed, the strongest reason for Congressmen seeking election into the Councils is that, owing to the principle of non-violence being yet insufficiently appreciated, civil disobedience is out of court, and Council entry is the only available alternative to safeguard the rights and liberties of the people. Some prominent members of the Party have spoken of entering the Councils for the purpose of wrecking them. As a matter of fact, what the Swaraj Party purposes to do on entering, is to present a scheme of self-government. If the Assembly as a whole rejects the scheme, the Swaraj minority will obviously have to bide its time and present it again. If, however, the Swaraj Party has a majority—or an effective minority which, in some ways, is a more handy weapon—in the Assembly, and the Executive Government make themselves responsible for rejecting its proposals, then its duty will be, on the constitutional principle of "grievance before supply", to refuse supplies. The wrecking will have to be done by Government in order to raise taxes rejected by the Legislature. Hampden did not wreck Parliament but Charles I. Cromwell wrecked the constitution when he "removed the bauble" and not when he spoke and voted for the Petition of Rights. The point is so clear that it is a matter of curiosity why some people are anxious to pose as wreckers while they contemplate nothing that has not been sanctioned by authoritative constitutional usage. Still, if it pleases them to do so, they can do so, but they should not misrepresent others who are more precise in their use of the accepted terminology of politics. Even before the presentation of the Swaraj scheme to the Council, and, indeed, as a necessary preliminary to it, the Swaraj Party should demand and secure the prompt liberation of Mahatma Gandhi and other political prisoners whose offences involved no physical violence or moral turpitude. We seriously put it to the Majority Party that they would make themselves responsible for the continued detention of Mahatmaji and others without the only kind of attempt possible to get them released, if they do not at the forthcoming All-India Congress Committee find some means of co-operating with the Swaraj Party. Non-co-operation is not a good means of settling differences within the Congress itself! The Liberals are responsible for Mahatmaji's imprisonment and they should be left to answer for it as best they can to the electors.

SPECIAL BOMBAY CONDITIONS.

The above are general considerations applying to the whole country. There are some others which are special to this Presidency, and particularly to the City, of Bombay, and which should not be overlooked. The mill industry of Bombay and Ahmedabad gives employment to thousands of people, besides supporting directly and indirectly thousands of others,

employees and shareholders. Whenever there is any calamity in any part of the country it is Bombay that is expected to provide the largest relief and she is able to do so mainly because of her mill industry. Mahatma Gandhi himself attached great importance to the settlement of labour disputes in the Ahmedabad mills, which he would not have done had he thought that the best thing that could happen to the mills was extinction. Hand-spinning and weaving have a legitimate place in our industrial economy as a cottage industry, and owing to the neglect in which it is falling, a special effort is needed to put it in order. But no responsible person will think of overlooking the interests of the great mill industry of Bombay and Ahmedabad. We have got to reconcile the claims of the power and hand industries, and as each has its special place and functions, it is not difficult to do so. The other important point specially concerning Bombay and its suburbs, is that we have important sections of the population such as Parsis and Christians without whose support the Swaraj movement cannot lay claim to be a national movement. The Parsis, who were rightly estranged by the disgraceful treatment meted out to them by some hooligans in November 1921, are just beginning to recover their equanimity, thanks chiefly to the efforts of courageous and patriotic men like Messrs. Burjorji Framji Bharucha and N. H. Belgaumvala. The Christians have never joined the Congress movement, but some of them are looking to the Swaraj Party to make it possible for them to do so. The *Thana District Gazette*, which is a newly started organ of the community, in its last issue has devoted a leading article to the Swaraj Party, which is very sympathetic. Any attempt to impose a hard and fast code of political orthodoxy upon the Party, will deter these minority communities from joining it in large numbers. It is, therefore, important to fix our eyes upon the whole wood and not upon the particular trees which are to be found in it. In other words, the new Party must have a broad platform capable of accommodating every mood of thought and shade of opinion.

REMINISCENCES OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA.—II.

(By Prof. G. S. BHATE, M.A.)

My intention here is not so much to emphasize the teachings of Swami Vivekananda but to give little personal details which, possibly, have not appeared in any of his published works. I have already indicated that he had a very tenacious memory, that he showed unflinching good humour in debate, and now I should like to give some details of his power of concentration. When he arrived as a guest, our house was still incomplete, and the carpenters were busy nailing the floor for an upper storey, and one need not describe the amount of noise and annoyance the carpenters would cause in nailing the planks down, and yet the Swami appeared to be undisturbed by this noise and spent

his time when there was no visitor, in reading the books in my father's small library. When my father offered to stop the work, he said that that noise did not disturb him in the least. At that time we thought that it was some act of politeness on the part of the Swami in not wanting to disturb the work that was going on. But about a year or two after he had left us, we had a letter from him from Khetri in Rajputana saying that there were two volumes by Mountstuart Elphinstone describing his embassy to Kabul, and in those volumes there occurred a reference to the ancestors of the Raja of Khetri and the then living Raja would be very grateful if we sent those volumes to him for reference. The Swami had not been taking any notes at all, and we were rather surprised that two years afterwards he should have remembered the exact reference to a work by Elphinstone which he had read under the disturbing conditions I have already referred to. This is merely one of the illustrations of his power of concentration and of the wonderful mental training he had received.

Once a fortnight the Swami used to get a very severe attack of malarial fever. One of these attacks came on while he was our guest. It usually lasted two days at the most, and when my father asked him how he happened to catch malaria he said it was really the Terai fever which he unfortunately caught after he had spent some time (I forget whether it was months or years) in the Gandha Madan Parvat. Which portion of the Himalayas had this name I do not know, nor do I remember my father having put him that question. When he was asked what took him to this portion of the Himalayas he explained that he went there to learn and practise *yoga*. When my father asked him whether there was any foundation for the popular belief of *yogis* in the Himalayas, he replied that not only was there a good foundation for that belief but that he had met a number of them. He used to tell us his personal experiences of some of these *yogis* which I do not now remember.

The Swami was widely read in English literature and on several occasions he surprised our local literati by his wide and intimate knowledge.

He was a very handsome man, tall, and his physique would have done credit to an athlete. He used to wear a long buttoned-up coat reaching almost down to the ankles. He used to wear a pheta and I believe sandals on his feet. He used a long walking-stick. So his appearance was as unlike the ordinary conception of a sanyasi as one can possibly imagine. He was an accomplished singer, and one day he sent for a *tamboura*, and to the surprise and delight of us all, for an hour or so sang the songs of Mirabai and Kabir.

During the course of his stay with us we came to know that, though he was a sanyasi, he was not a Brahmin, and it was a shock to find a Non-Brahmin becoming a sanyasi. When he was asked about this, he said there was nothing in the Vedas against a man who was a Non-Brahmin, being allowed to

adopt *sanyas*. When he was told that, though there was no prohibition against it, the practice had been confined to Brahmins alone, he said that that was really because Hinduism had become moribund and that there was no reason to identify Hinduism with the practice of a thousand or more years during which, as he contemptuously used to say, Hindus spent their time in discussing whether they should drink water with the left hand or the right. The time had come for discarding these narrowing conceptions and reviving the earlier form of Hinduism, and he used to say that his adoption of the *sanyas* was a standing protest against its monopoly by the Brahmins. He was a representative of the new Hinduism. He wanted to make Hinduism a missionary religion, and he used to say that there was nothing inconsistent in a sanyasi like him preaching and wanting to make this conception of Hinduism as popular and widespread as possible.

In Belgaum there was a Bengali officer in the Public Works Department. His name was Babu Haripada Mitra. I heard only the other day that Haripada Babu is still alive and lives in or near Burdwan. The Swami used to spend some of his time with Haripada Babu and I dare say he will be able to add to some of these reminiscences. I believe the Swami's casual visits to Haripada Babu had the effect of changing his attitude towards the *Gita* and its teachings. I have not met Haripada Babu since he left Belgaum, and I am not in a position to say whether this visit of the Swami made any permanent change in his outlook on life and death.

During the Swami's stay in Belgaum we had a photo of his taken at the studio of S. Mahadeo & Son. In that photo he appeared full of life, strength and energy and did not show the signs of strain and fatigue which his later photographs taken in America show even to a casual observer.

From Belgaum the Swami went to Dharwar and from there he went to Goa. From Goa he went to Mysore. My father had given him a note to the late Sir Sheshadri Iyer who was then Dewan. From Mysore he went to Madras where, of all places in India, he for the first time secured the recognition which was his due.

It may appear extraordinary to some people that I should be able to give so many details of the stay of the Swami in Belgaum more than thirty years ago, but the reasons why I remember many of these details are several. The main reason is that when the Swami visited Belgaum he was an unknown man, and within a few years he became the best-known Indian outside India, and we had a proud feeling that we had been privileged to have him as our guest for about a fortnight. My father used to make it a point to detail most of the points of conversation with the Swami into Marathi for the benefit of my mother and myself, and after he had become famous we carefully treasured as many of the little personal details as we could remember. The memory of the visit of the Swami to Belgaum has been a very precious one to me, and it had an abiding effect on my mental growth and outlook.

As an undergraduate it used to be my delight to read and re-read the lectures of the Swami on Karma Yoga, Bhakti Yoga, Raja Yoga and the series of lectures entitled "From Colombo to Almora." After he returned from his first visit to America my father attempted to induce the Swami to pay us another visit, but the Swami was in indifferent health and could not be induced to leave Calcutta.

As an undergraduate I remember one striking instance of the Swami's frankness in argument which, if I remember aright, was reported in a magazine called the *Brahma-Vadin*. At that time the Swami was on his first visit to England, and he was discussing the proposition that the Hindus are so essentially a spiritual race that philosophical problems like the World Soul and the relation of the individual to the World Soul and the life after death were more familiar to them than to any other people. The Englishman who was arguing the question with him, queried whether there was not some other explanation of this fact. The Swami said that, so far as he was concerned, he could not think of any. So the Englishman suggested: "May it not be the case that this excessive preoccupation with these problems, instead of proving more than an average aptitude for spiritual enlightenment, really indicated a kind of intellectual consumption?" The Swami, as he confessed in his report of the conversation, was taken aback, and frankly admitted to this Englishman that undoubtedly there was a probability of his being right and that he had no reply to give.

It is indeed a very sad experience of mine that when I visited the Mutt at Belur near Calcutta in 1906, I found that Swami Vivekananda who in my mind always stood for fearless inquiry and independence of mind and thought, had been dragged down from that high position to that of an *avatar* by his followers. I was shown round the Mutt (in fact, if I do not make a mistake, the day of my visit was the anniversary of the Swami or some other celebration in the Mutt) by some new local disciple of his, and at the end I was taken to the room in which the Swami breathed his last. The occasion had a very pathetic interest for me, and I was inwardly thinking of the visit to Belgaum before the Swami made a name for himself. While I was in this pensive mood, this disciple who had been showing me round, confided to me that Swami Vivekananda was really the *avatar* of Mahadeva. I had a Mysorean friend with me whom I had dragged in my enthusiasm to visit the Mutt at Belur. After this confidential information was given to us, we were asked to go and attend a *bhajan* which was going to start in a few minutes. The leader in this *bhajan* was, I was told, in confidence, a distinguished Master of Arts in Sanskrit of the Calcutta University. After the *bhajan* had been going on for a few minutes, an idea occurred to me with overpowering strength that if it could be said that the great Swami whose memory I had fondly treasured for several years and who was so virile in his attitude that he says somewhere that he would rather prefer

an atheist to a superstitious person, could be regarded as an *avatar* of Mahadeva, there was no escape from the conclusion that quite a number of his modern disciples were the *avatars* of the obedient dumb animal sitting down in front of Mahadeva and whose only glory and privilege, according to tradition, is to bear the burden of the Master on its back. It appears to me to be a genuine desecration of the memory of the great man to regard him as an *avatar* of any deity in the Hindu Pantheon. He was a Vedantist, not merely by profession but every inch of him, at any rate that is how I have been regarding him since I was an undergraduate, and I regard him so still. Since this saddening experience I have never gone to any of the Mutts, never visited any of the Missions for fear of having a repetition of it. I like to cherish what I possess.

THE PURDAH SYSTEM IN ISLAM.—IV.

(By Prof. A. M. MAULVI.)

Our Hindu friends have begun to recognise though very late the necessity of sifting social customs from religion proper and are leaving no stone unturned in their attempts to popularise widow remarriage, break barriers of the caste system and eradicate all such customs as have hitherto exercised a baneful effect on their society. But my Muslim friends are still looking at everything with the eyes of the priest and are not paying the slightest thought to the total or partial removal of the purdah system and the problem of female education among Mahomedans which ought to be the burning questions of the day deserving our foremost attention. We cannot afford to wait for ever for the decisions of our priests on matters which are purely social and which ought to be solved by every individual according to the needs of the society of which he is a member. We cannot resist the progress of the civilisation with which we are surrounded to-day. We cannot live in the world unless we are prepared to move with the world. Alas! We are neither spiritualistic Mohomedans of the past nor materialistic money-making machines of to-day. The Koran, 'the book of guidance to men' the only source of written law to the Muslims, the only standard of sociology, theology and politics in Islam, we have put on the shelf and our eyes and ears are constantly directed to the teachings of the priests who, in spite of their being profound scholars of Arabic and great students of divinity, are as a rule deficient in general knowledge and information and deplorably lacking in breadth of views. Our Prophet ruled by the Koran and taught by the Koran. From it He derived his opinions and upon it He granted His decisions. Our Mahomedans also do read it, recite it and repeat it; but they do all this like parrots never caring to know what it contains. If they knew what it contains there would be no difference between Islam in theory and Islam in practice. If they were to read the peace-pervading verses of the Koran and ponder over them with as much zeal and care as they usually show in reading the conflicting

pamphlets of the priests, we shall hear no more of Hindu-Muslim ruptures or Christian-Islam. 'There is no compulsion in religious matters' is a well-known verse in the Koran. With regard to the attitude of Islam towards Christianity or any other religion, nothing can attest to more toleration and better feeling than the following verse of the Koran: 'Verily the Muslims, the Jews, the Christians and the star-worshippers, whoever of these believe in their Lord and the last day and does what is right shall have the reward from their Lord.'—Ch. II. 62. It clearly follows that according to the teachings of Islam salvation can be attained not by Muslims alone, but by men of all creeds and communities, not by lip-profession but by adherence to a true belief and good actions. A virtuous Hindu or Christian is much better than a wicked Muslim. I have already digressed much from the point and as I intend to write a separate article on 'Toleration in Islam,' I leave this question here and go back to the principal purpose of this article.

In my former articles I have attempted to show by quoting two verses from the Koran pertaining to to female privacy that the injunction to wear an over-garment is given with the object that respectable women may be distinguished from slaves and concubines and that they may not be annoyed and insulted by men inclined to evil. Seclusion is suggested in Islam to be adopted simply as a means and not necessarily the only means to achieve the preservation of chastity which is the moral backbone of every society. We have no right, as I have already said, to change or set aside the principle of preservation of chastity; but there is no binding on us to stick to the measures thus suggested if they do not suit the present needs of society. The Koran itself has decided for us whether the end or the means to achieve it is more important, whether adherence to laws or the principles on which they are founded is enjoined on us; whether a formal observance of veil or preservation of chastity is needed for us. "We have sent down raiment to hide your nakedness, splendid garments are these; but the garment of piety, this is the best." This is the decision of the Koran on the question whether artificial veil or chastity is the substance of the teachings of Islam.

It is said that one can prove anything by the Koran which is full of inconsistencies and all possible contradictory verses which are more likely to mislead than lead its reader to right conclusions. No such difficulty is likely to arise in the mind of a careful reader of the Koran if he once gets acquainted with the peculiar characteristic of its style. One verse in the Koran may be contradictory to another; yet each is right in its own place. One verse is a commentary on another and both are to be read together. It is related that once a man went to Mahomed and exclaimed "O Prophet! I am poor." "Poverty is my glory," replied the Prophet. On another occasion another man came and used exactly the same phrase. The Prophet said to him: "Poverty causes men to blush in both the worlds"; 'You wonder', said the Pro-

phet to his companions, 'at the apparent inconsistency of my answers to two men seemingly of the same condition; but the first of these men is virtuous and has from principle abandoned the world, while the second fellow has no such merit; the world has abandoned him.' All such contradictory statements in the Koran can easily be explained in a similar manner. The whole code of Islam is based on sound moral principles which can easily stand the test of modern advanced civilisation.

Just as poverty is glory to one and a blush in both the worlds to another, in the same way observance of female privacy is a necessity for those women who cannot take care of themselves and who are surrounded by men of uncontrolled passions who are bent upon mischief; but to more advanced women of decent families who are taught from their infancy to prefer the natural garment of piety to an artificial veil, living in an age and in a society which has a higher respect for woman than for man, not only is the institution of purdah superfluous but positively harmful.

Our community ought to be grateful for the efforts of the Tyabjis in this direction, who by educating and elevating the female sex in their own narrow circle, have set a noble example to their co-religionists and have paved the way for our future success. If Sir Syed Ahmed is great by popularising western education among Muslims, the late Justice Badruddin Tyabji was still greater by impressing upon his community the need of emancipation of women and introducing the ideas of true Islamic chivalry in his own narrow circle.

Some of the leading Mahomedans of Hyderabad, Deccan, owing to the paramount influence of Mr. and Mrs. Hydari, have already given unto this question their heart and soul and are sure to produce splendid results in no time. The Mysore Muslims also have begun to tackle this problem with vigour and force which are deplorably wanting in the Muslims of the Bombay Presidency.

In Egypt we are told three societies have recently been formed for the emancipation of women. One of these is entitled *al nahdul nisaiya* which means a movement for the elevation of women. It publishes a magazine in Arabic edited by its president, Madame Labiba Ahmed, a highly educated Egyptian lady of distinction. Each member of the society has to take the following oath: "I swear to make chastity my crown and virtue, my guide; to live as a free woman, a good and useful wife and mother; to do my duty honestly to my God, my community and my country, to love others as I love myself and to hate for others what I hate for myself." The editress exhorts the Egyptian woman to educate herself and her children to be fit for the two beautiful names of wife and mother, to be the lady and not the slave of her husband.

I appeal to my right-minded Muslim friends that if they have the uplift of their community in view and at heart, they should lose no time in taking a leaf out of this magazine. They should also form societies of men for the elevation of women and each member should take this oath: "I swear to treat my wife as a lady and not as a slave; to educate my daughter to be a good wife, a worthy mother and an illustrious citizen."

PRINCIPLE BEFORE PARTY.

The following correspondence which passed between Mahatma Gandhi and myself in March last year, when he was awaiting his trial in Sabarmati Jail, explains the circumstances in which and the reasons for which I joined the Congress. Since then I have re-iterated them in these columns and at several public meetings. I asked and obtained permission to preface my evidence, before the Civil Disobedience Committee when it was in Bombay, with a statement of my position. I published the programme of the Swaraj Party in the issue of the 3rd March and devoted a leading article in the same issue to my understanding of it. There can thus be no mistake about my views. I did not want to be President of the Swaraj or any Party, and it was only at the urgent request of friends and on promise of loyalty individually proffered, that I agreed at the last moment to accept the position. Some of these friends, I understand, have since been doing their best to undermine my position. That does not concern me in the least. I took the first opportunity of the meeting of the Council of the Party to re-state my views and no one dissented. I had discussed the matter very fully with Mr. C. R. Das when he was last in Bombay, and I was satisfied that we were at one on essential points. I do not think that there is any fundamental difference between the views set forth in the programme and mine. It is now suggested that, by my accepting the Presidentship, I undertook to go back upon my views. All that I can say is that I would have become contemptible in my own eyes if I had done anything of the kind. To repeat the mistakes of the last two years in the Swaraj Party, as some gentlemen wish to do, is to kill it before it is born. I shall continue to do my honest best, according to my lights, in the position to which I have been called without my seeking it, till the Party declares for a change of Presidents.

K. NATARAJAN.

The following correspondence passed between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. K. Natarajan in March 1922 when Mahatmajji was arrested :

Bandra, March 12, 1922.

Dear Mahatmajji,

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, 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,

Sabarmati Jail,
18th March.

Dear Mr. Natarajan,

I thank you for your letter just received. The members at Delhi were not exacting. They wanted the Bardoli decision worded in language they could understand. I would have been obstinate if I had resisted them, especially after Dr. Ansari's speech. But see how nobly they have responded. I know that the response is still of a negative character. They respect me but not my non-violence. They appreciate my fighting quality but not the absolute surrender which gives me that quality. If you have caught the message of non-violence, I know you will do a great deal in the Bombay Congress Committee. You must not mind the rough speech of the young men. They are the salt of India. That is the material to work upon and to work with. Anti-untouchability, Hindu-Muslim-Christian-Parsi-Jew-Sikh unity, non-violence are mental states. The body through which they can be expressed is the charkha and nothing else. I wish you could understand the tremendous value of that little wheel and all it connotes. Any way I am glad a man so pure is coming to the struggle. May God give us all light and lead.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.

BOMBAY'S TRIBUTE OF RESPECT.

In response to the special desire of the public of Bombay, the remains of the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in the form of the ashes left after cremation, says the *Times of India*, were brought to Bombay from Bangalore on Sunday morning and it was made an occasion for a very fitting tribute of respect and reverence to the memory of the great religious and social reformer by a large and representative gathering of Bombay's citizens. Sir Narayan's two sons, Mr. Vithal N. Chandavarkar and Mr. Prabhakar N. Chandavarkar, accompanied the ashes which were conveyed in a carved wooden box on which was

mounted a photograph of the dead body of Sir Narayan. The party arrived by the Poona Mail, which steamed into Victoria Terminus punctually to time at 11-40 a. m. slowly and solemnly. On the platform were gathered from end to end a very large and distinguished assemblage which was thoroughly representative of all classes and creeds and social, religious and political persuasions.

Among those present on the platform were the Hon. Justice Sir Lallubhai Shah, Sir Gokuldas Parekh, the Hon. Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas, the Hon. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, Mr. Narottam Morarji, Mr. K. Natarajan, Rev. Dr. Goodier, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Bombay, Sir Henry Macnaughten, Col. Ewens of the Salvation Army, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Mr. J. Addyman, the Rev. R. M. Gray, Mr. H. J. Davis, Dr. N. R. Ranina, Mr. F. M. Dastur, Mr. L. S. Haji, Prof. Maulvi, Dr. D. A. De Monte, Dr. R. N. Permanand, Rao Bahadurs A. K. Pai and S. S. Talmaki, Messrs. B. N. Motivala, S. H. Jhabwala, R. M. Kalyanpur, M. C. Mody, R. A. Lajmi, L. L. Rao, Balkrishna Agaskar, Sarvotamrao Katak, Nanabhai Naik, M. Shiva Rao, V. S. Sohoni, G. B. Trivedi, B. S. Turkhud, P. A. Kelly, R. R. Nahar, J. H. Bigland (Private Secretary to the Rev. Dr. Goodier), Kanji Dwarkadas, Melville Leslie, K. S. Iyer, P. B. Gothoskar, A. M. Sayyad, N. S. Kowshik, Dr. T. C. Khandwala, and several Parsi, Hindu and Indian Christian ladies, who included Mrs. D. A. De Monte, Mrs. Chatterjee, Mrs. B. Bogte, Mrs. Ratnabai R. Hattiangadi, Misses Natarajan, Miss Padshah, Miss M. Patuok, Miss P. Cursetjee, Miss S. Rustomjee and others. A company of the Bombay Boy Scouts was drawn up on the platform. When Mr. Vithal N. Chandavarkar and his brother alighted from the train, the former bearing the casket containing the ashes, the whole assembly parted on both sides, cutting a passage from end to end of the platform and all reverently bowed in respectful silence to the remains of the departed leader. The whole scene on the platform was very solemn and impressive and testified to the esteem and respect in which Sir Narayan was held by all classes of people irrespective of caste, creed, colour or station in life.

THE PROCESSION.

A procession was formed at the station consisting of a long string of motor cars, in the foremost of which Sir Narayan's two sons conveyed the ashes. The party proceeded along Cruickshank Road, Princess Street, Queen's Road and Charni Road and reached the Prarthana Samaj Mandir, where another impressive scene was witnessed amidst a large gathering. Many floral wreaths were placed on the box of ashes and after the singing of hymns Mr. V. G. Bhandarkar, an officiating priest of the Prarthana Samaj, offered a short prayer in Marathi. The Hon. Sir Gokuldas Parekh, the Hon. Sir Lallubhai Shah, the Hon. Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Rev. R. M. Gray, Dr. N. R. Ranina, Prof. Maulvi and Mr. Waghmare made impressive speeches eulogising the great services rendered by Sir Narayan in the social and religious uplift of his countrymen.

Sir Gokuldas Parekh referred to Sir Narayan's work as a great social and religious reformer, his unceasing toil and industry for the spread of knowledge, the uplift of the backward classes and above all his sterling work in the raising of the moral standard of his countrymen.

The Hon. Justice Sir Lallubhai Shah said he knew Sir Narayan for the last 25 years and he could testify to his unswerving honesty and integrity and high sense of justice as a practising lawyer and as a Judge of the High Court. Sir Narayan would, however, be remembered more for his many-sided activities in the cause of social and religious reform than for his work on the Bench or at the Bar and no one had

worked more zealously than he for the progress of the Prarthana Samaj of which he was the President for many years.

The Hon. Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas referred especially to Sir Narayan's work as President of the Bombay Legislative Council and paid a high tribute of praise to his devotion to duty, his broad sympathies manifested in allowing the utmost possible latitude to non-official members of the Council and in interpreting the rules of procedure, and his high sense of justice and fairness.

The Rev. R. M. Gray said Sir Narayan was the first and oldest of his Indian friends and had always treated him with unvarying courtesy and kindness. Of all his services to his country and the city of Bombay, what stood out most clearly in his recollection was the fact that it was always the ethical and spiritual aspect of public questions that interested Sir Narayan most. He was always interested in whatever was good for healing social wrongs, and relieving distress and he was always a friend of the poor. In their sorrow for the departed soul there was no bitterness for death came to him at a ripe age after a long life devoted to high service and when his mind was in full possession of all the faculties given him by God.

Dr. N. R. Ranina next addressed the meeting and paid a tribute of respect to Sir Narayan's many qualities of head and heart.

Prof. Maulvi of the Karnatak College said:

The sad news of the sudden death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has affected not a few individual members of his family or a particular sect to which he belonged but has cast a gloom throughout the length and breadth of India on people of all classes and communities who, we are told, have been holding meetings everywhere expressing their deep sorrow at this sad event and paying high tributes to his manifold qualities of head and heart. Lawyers, judges and politicians have lost in him a remarkable lawyer, a marvellous judge and a politician of no ordinary abilities, a politician who could always hold the balance between reason and impulse. Mr. Natarajan and his colleagues in the social reform movement have lost in him a guiding master and a moving force. The Students' Brotherhood of which I had the honour to be a member once, the Social Service League and such other similar institutions with which Sir Narayan was connected, are, I believe, feeling paralysed or almost lifeless without him. We Muslims, I am proud to say, are in no way untouched by his death. Apart from his judicial and political activities which were in no way less beneficial to the Muslims, I am inclined to believe that we have lost in him a convinced adherent and a great expounder of some of the principal parts in the teachings of Islam. Unity of God, and universal brotherhood of mankind at large were the constant themes of his lectures in this very Hall. And these two doctrines are the very core of our creed. I often used to hear him say in this Hall that Ishwar, Allah and God are but different names in different languages of the same deity who is the Universal Soul, the Whole Soul, of which man is but a part. Every man, be he touchable or untouchable, low-born or high-born, is a fractional soul destined to return by a certain process of evolution to the Whole Soul from which it came first. Christ, Krishna and Mahomed were different men carrying the same message of Truth and Righteousness at different times, in different countries, in different languages. Their teachings may differ in the form, but the spirit is the same. Different religions, he used to say, are different paths leading to the Supreme Truth from different directions. Some of these paths cross each other, some touch each other, some run parallel to one another, and others join together. But all

ultimately meet together at the main road of righteousness. Try to study the touching, the crossing and meeting points, try to find out the highest common factor of all the religious systems of the world, and the conclusion that you arrive at constitutes a true religion. Religion, he used to say, is not a box of spiritual truths packed at one time and to be unpacked for a mere gaze of successive generations. Religion must grow with the intelligence of man. Once I had the impertinence to ask him whether he was a Hindu or not. He replied that he was not a Hindu, not a Mahomedan, not a Christian, yet he was all the three. Such highly philosophical teachings and his remarks were beyond my depth then, but now an advanced study of my own religion has led me to believe that our Islam teaches exactly what he taught and sought then. By Islam I do not mean the Islam of some of the formularist Moulvis, I mean the spirit of Islam, not the letter, a higher form of Islam, the Islam of Sufis who recognise no distinction between a Muslim and a Non-Muslim.

Judging from what he preached in this Hall, I make bold to say that he was a great Sufi in the real sense of the word. I am inclined to believe that he even went one step further than a Sufi, for a Sufi tries to attain salvation by self-renunciation, but Sir Narayan's method was quite different. He sought it by self-recognition, self-realisation, by making the most of his powers and using them for the good of mankind, by living in the world and yet being above the world, by trying to move the world with him and not being moved by the world.

What struck me the most and ought to strike every one of his admirers the most was his courage of conviction and sincerity of purpose. He said what he taught, and did what he said. And whatever he did he did with the utmost frankness, the utmost promptness and the utmost willingness. Nothing could prevent him from doing what he thought was right. No thunder of Press, no shower of public criticism could cool his fervour or extinguish the fire of enthusiasm that burned ever bright in him for breaking the bonds of caste and creed. I wish Dr. Mackichan or Mr. Mackenzie had been here to give a graphic account of some of the cosmopolitan dinners arranged by Sir Narayan in the Wilson College Hall which I had the honour to attend.

As I am not expected to speak much to-day I cannot do better than close my speech by reciting an English rendering of the verse from the Koran which it is usual for the Muslims to recite when they hear the sad news of the death of one who is dear or near to them: "Verily we are God's, and to Him we shall return."

Mr. Waghmare, a representative of the depressed classes, made a very impressive speech in Marathi in which he related some personal reminiscences of Sir Narayan in which he completely identified himself with the members of the lowest and poorest classes without any distinction. He cited numerous instances in which Sir Narayan had mixed himself freely with poor people of the lower classes and done many acts of charity and kindness.

After the singing of hymns the party dispersed and the remains were conveyed by Sir Narayan's sons to his residence at Pedder Road.

THE LATE SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.

FURTHER PRESS OPINIONS.

(*Young India.*)

We deeply regret to have to note the sudden death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar which took place in Bangalore on Monday last. With a brilliant University career he made

his mark as an Indian of the most advanced views in the late nineties, and won a comparatively early though deserved eminence in the year 1900 when he was elected to preside over the Indian National Congress at Nagpur. It will be ever regretted that a career of service of the Motherland which should have been followed up, was cut off by Government claiming him in 1901. Most of his life thereafter was spent in Government service, and even the last days of his life which should have been of learned repose and given to the cause of social reform and education, so much after his heart, were disturbed by association with a Government with whom a large part of the country is at war. He was a man of remarkable versatility, and his private and public life were spotless. His political views differed from those of many of his contemporaries, but difference with him did not mean antagonism or bitterness. His tribute to the late Lokamanya will long be remembered as a specimen of that rare virtue, charity. In these days when controversies and differences are the order of the day, we may do well to keep before us as many examples of charity as our national history can give us.

(*The Bengali, Calcutta.*)

By the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, India has lost one of her best and truest sons and a most trusted public servant. As a young and talented Maharatta lawyer and journalist, he devoted the better part of his manhood to the cause of educational advance and social reform. With the collaboration of Mahadeo Govind Ranade and Pherozsha Mehta he started the Indian National Congress, and remained its Secretary for close upon a quarter of a century. His deep and abiding interest in the education of his people brought him late in life into the Bombay University in which office he effected many desirable reforms in his alma mater. He was a promoter, and for a long time a very active supporter of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay. His annual discourses before the Prarthana Samaj, his addresses at the Convocations of his University, and his opening addresses at the Social Conferences always evinced a wide culture and a sweet reasonableness of thought and compromise. It is not necessary to comment on his career as a judge of the High Court of the Western Presidency as his retirement from the Bench was followed by very warm tributes to his independence and candour. As President of the Bombay Legislative Council he rendered the crowning service of his lifetime to his Province by a very sympathetic and considerate operation of the Legislative machinery brought about by the Montagu Act. Personally, Sir Narayan was very courteous, accessible, and lovable, and to know him was a part of high education itself. It will not be possible for India to fill his vacant place for a long time. We offer to Lady Chandavarkar and her people our sincerest condolence in their bereavement.

(*The Word and the New Dispensation, Calcutta.*)

The extracts from his address reproduced from this paper of January 15, 1916, take us into the deeper aspect of Sir Narayan's character,—the personal and the mystical side which lay hid beneath his literary contributions. After Ranade, Dr. Bhandarkar and Sir Narayan were for many years the outstanding figures of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj. Owing to age and ill-health Dr. Bhandarkar had long retired from public life and now that Sir Narayan is suddenly taken away from us the loss to the Samaj as well as to the country is an irreparable one. We offer our sincere condolence to the family of the bereaved. May the departed spirit rest in the bosom of the divine Mother!

May

(The West Coast Spectator, Calicut.)

we regret very much to record the death of Sir N. G. Chandavarkar at Bangalore through heart-failure. He has led what might really be termed a very full life, having made himself very exceedingly useful to the public and the Government in several different ways. As Judge, administrator, politician and educationist, Sir Chandavarkar has left his impress on India but it is as a great and ardent social reformer that his name would be best remembered. The Depressed Classes have all along been his special concern and, in India, no service is really greater than that of lifting these unfortunate classes up in the social scale. He was easily among the foremost of the public men of India in the palmy days of the National Congress over which he had the privilege to preside about 20 years ago. Things have moved on in such a way that giants like Sir Chandavarkar could find little or no room in the political life of India to-day. It must be highly regrettable that they should think it necessary to keep back so very much as they have been doing. However this may be, there is no doubt that Sir Chandavarkar would be reckoned among the brilliant patriots who launched the Indian political movement and his death would be sincerely regretted all over India.

(The Swadeshamitran, English Weekly, Madras.)

We exceedingly regret to record the death of Dr. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar at Bangalore on Monday. Sir Narayan was a sincere patriot and an ardent social reformer who, to the best of his lights, served the cause of the country. His demise has produced a void not easy to fill. Not merely the Bombay Presidency where he spent almost his entire life, but the whole of India has sustained an irreparable loss by the death of this educationist, politician, social reformer and statesman. Indian journalists will particularly feel the loss, for the late Sir Narayan was in the profession for eleven years in the early period of his life. Sir Narayan was a scholar of high distinction and was considerably respected by all alike. By dint of energy and merit, he rose from position to position until he held the office of acting Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court. He was also Dewan of Indore for a time and was made the President of the Bombay Legislative Council under the Reformed Constitution. As Vice-Chancellor he guided the affairs of the Bombay University with ability. Sir Narayan was a great man and we extend our heart-felt sympathy to his bereaved family.

(The Indian Messenger, Calcutta.)

We have no words to express our sense of the loss which the country has suffered by the death of our illustrious and esteemed countryman and fellow-believer, Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar. He died from heart-failure at Bangalore on Monday last. The suddenness of the event has added to the poignancy of our grief. Born in 1855, he was only sixty-eight years old when he passed away. We all looked hopefully forward to many more years of useful activity on his part, and it is a matter of profound disappointment to us that in our humble efforts to further the cause of social and religious reform and of the advancement of India generally, we shall have henceforth to work without his powerful support and co-operation.

Sir Narayan's first visit to Calcutta took place in 1885 in connection with the National Conference convened by the Indian Association. His speech at the Conference, characterised by the grasp of facts and the absence of frothy rhetoric which generally distinguished him as a public speaker,

attracted public attention and foreshadowed the great career which awaited him. He was an honoured guest in many Brahmo homes, where he was met by select gatherings of members of the Brahmo Samaj. That was the beginning of a cordial relationship between him and the Brahmos of Calcutta which grew more and more intimate as years rolled on. He expressed his entire sympathy with our views in his utterances, and became a member of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. When a student he had come under the influence of Pandit Sivanath Sastri, whose life and personality powerfully affected him. This gave a new turn to his life, and long after this he gave a definite pledge of fidelity to the principles of the Brahmo Samaj by discarding his sacrificial thread. At the Theistic Conference held at Madras in 1914, Sir Narayan declared in one of his speeches that nothing short of the acceptance of the programme of radical reform with which the Brahmo Samaj is identified would suffice for the needs of the country. The position he held as President of the Prarthana Samaj, Bombay, was not one of idle dignity. He was an active worker of the Samaj and frequently conducted divine service and gave public addresses in the Mandir. He contributed liberally to the funds of the Samaj. During his visits to Calcutta in recent years he sometimes conducted service and gave addresses in our Prayer Hall, some of which, being an exposition of the teachings of the *Bhagavadgita* and the *Upanishad* from a Theistic point of view, made a deep impression on his audience. He was a staunch opponent of the tolerance and encouragement of immorality in connection with public entertainments, and his zeal in the cause of social purity once led to a rupture between him and a lifelong friend of great influence and high rank. He found a more intimate bond of union in fellowship, in faith and principle than in rank and wealth, his circle of friends being far wider than one would expect in the case of a person of his high position. One of the things that struck those who came in contact with him was that his high attainments and great intellectual power did not affect his humility and reverence for saintly men. It was this harmonious union of high intellectual gifts with such noble qualities that made him worthy of the high esteem in which he was held by all who had the privilege of knowing him intimately.

There has passed away one of the most impressive figures from the ranks of those who have been working in the faith that the salvation of India lies in the moral and spiritual regeneration of the people, and that there can be no true freedom without the emancipation of the inner self from those instincts and impulses that make for lawlessness. May the lessons of his life bear fruit in the lives of those who felt the inspiring influence of his presence, and were cheered and encouraged by his fellowship in their efforts after promoting the cause of truth and righteousness!

(The Champion, Calicut.)

In the sad death of Sir Narayana Chandavarkar, India loses a well-known publicist and enthusiastic social reformer. Looking at his varied public activities one might forget that he was ever an official. He belonged to the old school of Moderates and came into collision with the younger generation of Congressmen. He was a versatile writer and speaker and possessed literary ability of a high order. He took a prominent part in the social reform movement. It may be remembered, he delivered an impressive speech in Calicut when he stayed here for a few days with his wife and made several friends in the town.

(The *Maratha*, Poona.)

We regret to record the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar from heart-failure which took place at Bangalore on the 14th of May. Sir Narayan had gone to Bangalore to enjoy the May vacation and also to attend to his sick daughter over there. But all of a sudden one morning he was unexpectedly cut off leaving his family and his friends to mourn him. Born in North Kanara in 1855 in a high but poor family and educated in the Elphinstone College he, by dint of his ability, rose step by step to the Judgeship of the Bombay High Court. For some time in the eighties and the nineties he conducted the *Indu-Prakash*; in 1885 he went to England to work there in the Parliamentary elections in the interests of India; in 1886 he was appointed Fellow of the Bombay University; he was appointed to the Bombay Corporation in 1888 and in 1896 under his presidency the Provincial Conference was held at Karachi; he was honoured with the presidency of the Congress even, in 1900 at Lahore and since then, it may be said, he ceased to take active part in public affairs. In 1910 he was knighted and recently he was also given the degree of Doctor of Literature by the Bombay University, which he beyond doubt deserved. He was nominated the first President of the Bombay Provincial Legislative Council and he exercised his authority too much in the school-master's fashion. The Bombay Presidency, and especially the Moderate party, loses in him a great social reformer, a sincere adviser and an influential leader. He was deeply read in literature and more particularly in Christian and Hindu religious literature and he had also abilities certainly of a high order. But it must be said that they were not so completely employed in serving the interests of the Motherland as they ought to have been, considering the abject state of the country and the people. Yet he did his best to serve his brethren, without, of course, harming the Government. May his soul rest in peace!

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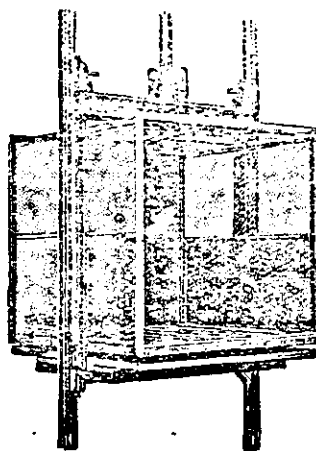
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Vol. XXXIII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1923.

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.

Mahatma Gandhi's Release: Commenting on our suggestion that the Swaraj party should demand and secure the prompt liberation of Mahatma Gandhi before the presentation of their other demands, the *Tribune* of Lahore observes:

The Government may not listen to the proposal, in which case there is no meaning in making Mahatma's release a "necessary preliminary" to the submission of the Swaraj scheme. If it is intended that no Swaraj scheme should be formulated or submitted if Mahatma Gandhi and others are not released, it would mean that the Swaraj Party in the Council would have to oppose Government on this issue and not on the scheme of Swaraj. But it is probable that Government might prefer, if at all, to deal with a scheme which is the result of consideration by Mahatma Gandhi rather than one without him. And it is equally probable that Mahatma Gandhi might not at all approve to negotiate Swaraj with Government in this manner. In any case, the country will be unanimous and enthusiastically support any plan that will secure Mahatma's release and if the Swaraj Party declares its aim to be to get the release of Mahatmaji through Council entry, the present opposition to it might be withdrawn and the Congress might yet be a united body.

If the Government do not listen to the proposal, then of course it will be the duty of the Party to try every constitutional means in their power to get them to do so. For ourselves, we think that it is impossible to formulate any scheme without the benefit of Mahatmaji's opinion. We have no fear that he would not approve of negotiation with Government, because he was himself prepared to enter into such negotiation. We thought, as our contemporary does, that there would be unanimous support to the idea of getting Mahatmaji out of jail as the first object of entering the Councils, but we see that some orthodox Congressmen would let Mahatmaji die in jail rather than depart an inch from their pet rule of Non-Co-operation!

Much Ado about Nothing: Sir Frank Sly's Government have so long managed the administration of the Central Provinces in a manner which has

won the appreciation of even opponents of the Reform Scheme. Had they been allowed to pursue their own policy, we are sure that Nagpur would not have been the scene of the ludicrous exhibition that it is to-day. The change of policy dates from a question by some anti-Indian Member of Parliament regarding the flying of a flag by the Nationalists in Jubbulpore some months ago. The Under-Secretary of State in reply gave a sort of undertaking that the incident would not be allowed to occur, and it is to give effect to this, we fancy, the Government of the Central Provinces is using all its strength to prevent the Nationalists from carrying their flag through certain parts of the city. We do not know what terrible calamity will result if they are allowed to march with their flag wherever they like. The demand for self-government cannot be arrested by this exhibition of official temper. We do not know what moved Mr. Jambhal Bajaj and the other Central Provinces leaders to embark upon this episode of challenging the bureaucracy on a side-issue just at this time when an effort is being made to focus the nationalist demands in one great movement. Whatever it may be, there is no justification, so far as we can see, for the gratuitously provocative attitude, so inconsistent with its general policy, assumed by Sir Frank Sly's Government in this matter.

A Governor on Christianity and Hinduism: The *Dnyanodaya* quotes the following from a conversation which the Rev. W. H. Hannum had with Sir George Lloyd at Kolhapur, as reported in *Western India Notes*, a bi-monthly publication of the American Presbyterian Mission.

'His Excellency requested me,' says Mr. Hannum, 'to convey to the Mission his deep and cordial appreciation of the excellent work done by the Mission, and he repeated and emphasized this, and intimated the wish of Government to give all possible help to our work. His Excellency declared himself no religious enthusiast, but a business administrator; but said that, merely on the ethical ground, even if the Mission were doing nothing deeper than that, the work was essential to the people's welfare, and that without Christianity he saw absolutely no hope for India. He found no satisfactory ethical or religious teaching in Hinduism. He spoke of a letter lately received from a friend a Dominican Father, of London, who is now visiting New York, who thought many Americans were losing the religious spirit and adopting new fads and theories, and many also were becoming materialists. His Excellency had confidence, however, in the work of American missionaries as he had known of it.'

The last thing that Christ intended his religion to do was to assist "the business administrator" who was "no religious enthusiast." That the *Dnyanodaya* should take this as a tribute to the work of Christian Missions in India, is a surprising sign of the times. Millions of people find both ethical and religious teaching in Hinduism and it may not, after all, be the fault of Hinduism that His Excellency does not see either in it. It is possible that Sir George Lloyd was not properly understood by his Missionary interlocutor

as it is hardly conceivable that a mind so keen as His Excellency's should have failed to appreciate the moral and spiritual grandeur of the teachings of the Gita. Edwin Arnold's "Song Celestial" is a fairly good presentation of the contents of that immortal poem. A more literal English translation has been made by Mrs. Annie Besant.

The Development Department Chawls: The Director of Information has entirely misconceived the purport of the criticisms in reply to which he supplied the information regarding the number of rooms taken up in the Department's chawls. In the present congested condition of Bombay any kind of accommodation is bound to find tenants. Nobody said that the Development Department chawls would remain unoccupied. The class of people for whom they were intended, however, cannot obviously occupy these rooms because, according to the working-class budgets recently published by the Labour Department, Rs. 3-12-0 a month is the most common rent for a single room paid by the working classes, and even the reduced rent charged by the Development Department for its one-room tenement is more than double that amount. The Director of Information has supplied us with a list in which the tenants are classified according to the nature of their employments but, in the face of the distinct statement of the Labour Bureau as to the average rent paid by the working-classes in Bombay, we can only conclude that the tenants are drawn mostly from the class whose occupations involve more skill than labour, and are the highest paid in the city. The result is, that these rooms are occupied by a class accustomed to a higher standard of life, and as it is impossible to maintain this standard for a whole family in such rooms, many of the occupants are forced to live without their families. This gives rise to serious problems which may be outside the purview of the Development Department but cannot be ignored by anybody who takes a larger view of life in Bombay. The Labour Department quotes from the authors (one of whom was His Excellency Sir George Lloyd) of "The Great Opportunity" as follows:

Good houses mean the possibility of home life, happiness and health. Bad houses spell squalor, drink, disease, immorality and crime, and in the end demand hospitals, prisons and asylums in which we seek to hide away the human derelicts of society that are largely the result of society's own neglect.

If these tenements were occupied by the classes for whom they were intended, the resulting evil would be much less. Since the above was in type, Professor Stanley Jevons has written a letter to the *Times of India* urging the revision of the plan of these tenements.

A Much-Interrogated Party: Mr. Das's most onerous duty as leader of the Swaraj Party is to answer the endless questions put to him as to what his party will do in every possible contingency. If the party consisted of pieces to be moved by one man it would still be difficult to answer all these questions. Even the most expert player cannot give beforehand a schedule of all his movements in a game of chess because he cannot foresee what the moves on the other side will be. The Swaraj Party, moreover, is a political party and not a military regiment. It is quite clear that it means to contest the elections. Its published programme is framed on the assumption that it will obtain a majority in the Councils. If it does not get a majority in any of the Councils or if it gets a majority in some but not in others, the question of what is to be done is wisely left for consideration when the situation arises. Its demands also are left to be formulated

with reference to the result of the elections. The Swaraj Party does not consist of astrologers or soothsayers, and those who take delight in putting all sorts of questions to its leaders must be satisfied with their delight in putting them. Even the inexhaustible patience of Mr. Das is at times sorely tried by the extraordinary ingenuity displayed by his questioners who are ready, however, to swallow a good deal without question in the anti-Council party.

Privilege of Legislators: The immunity of members of Legislative Councils from legal responsibility for statements made in the Councils during debate, is essential to the proper discharge of their duty to the public. The moral responsibility for the right use of it, is all the greater. As the privilege is conferred on legislators in the public interest, it should be used by them entirely in the public interest. The public is a collective name for all the subjects of a State, and every individual member of them is entitled to expect that his reputation will not be aspersed wantonly or needlessly under cover of the privilege. It is only in very exceptional cases that it may become necessary in arraiguing the conduct of a public servant to cast aspersions on his motive. When, however, such an occasion does arise, a Member of the Legislature should be completely protected in his privilege of not being legally responsible for his utterances in the Council. Ordinarily, every public servant looks to the Parliamentary head of his Department to defend him from personal attacks, and the protection thus afforded is quite effective. Members of the Legislative Council should not be approached by individual officers except through their constitutional chiefs.

India and the Opium Traffic: Mr. C. F. Andrews has done a great service by repudiating the allegation that Indian leaders were not opposed to the Opium Traffic. The following passage is from a speech by the late Mr. Gokhale delivered in March 1911 in the Imperial Legislative Council in moving a resolution that an additional loan of two million pounds to be called the Opium Fund be raised for the purpose of meeting the loss from the Opium revenue. He said:

I may say at once that personally I do not regret the prospects of this loss. I have always regarded this opium revenue as a great stain on our finances, because it is drawn from the moral degradation of the people of a sister country. Indeed, I am glad that this revenue will go, and I do not mind having to face the situation which the loss will create.

This is only one of many statements that can be quoted from Indian publicists condemning the opium traffic. Dadabhai Naoroji said that the opium trade was a sin on England's head and a curse on India for her share in being the instrument. It was not only in words that he condemned the opium trade. When he joined a mercantile firm in 1855 he made it one of his conditions that he should have nothing whatever to do with opium.

Tagore on Gandhi: We read in the *Bombay Chronicle* that Rabindranath Tagore has hastened to repudiate entirely the statements put in his mouth by Mr. Lowell Thomas, to which we referred in a recent issue. We have not seen the repudiation ourselves. We prefaced our comments by pointing out the possibility of the Poet having been misrepresented. What impelled Mr. Thomas to impute such flagrant observations to one Indian of another, calculated to exacerbate communal feeling, we are unable to imagine. All that we can say is that we, Indians, have to be very careful in speaking to casual foreigners who seek to supply their want of knowledge by statements such as the alleged statements of Tagore about Gandhi's betrayal of the Hindus.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 2, 1923.

CONGRESS AND THE COUNCILS.

At its sitting on Saturday last, the All-India Congress Committee adopted by a majority of 25 (96 against 71) a resolution, moved by Mr. P. P. Tandon of Allahabad, directing that no propaganda be carried on amongst voters in furtherance of the resolution of the Gaya Congress relating to the boycott of Councils. The resolution stated that the Committee deemed it absolutely necessary that Congressmen should close up their ranks and present a united front in view of the fact that there is a strong body of opinion within the Congress in favour of contesting elections to the official Councils and that the existing division among Congressmen had already led to the lessening of the influence of the Congress. As has been pointed out, this resolution does not remove the boycott of Councils imposed by the Gaya Congress resolution. It only directs that no active steps be taken as contemplated by that resolution to give an aggressive turn to the boycott by going among the voters with a propaganda against voting for Congressmen who stand as candidates for the Councils. In other words, while the Congress holds to its view regarding the inutility of entering the Councils, the All-India Congress Committee, in order to avoid fratricidal strife, has resolved that those Congressmen who think the other way, should be allowed to give effect to their conviction without let or hindrance by other Congressmen. In taking this step, the All-India Congress Committee has not only acted in a truly statesmanlike spirit, but has accurately reflected the predominant public feeling in the country. If this is a triumph, it is a triumph of sound sense and patriotism over party predilections. No responsible leader of the Swaraj party regards this as a triumph for his party. On the contrary, this high-minded action of the All-India Congress Committee imposes on the Swaraj party as a whole, and its responsible leaders in particular, the duty of carrying on their propaganda for the Councils in as unobtrusive a manner as possible and the further and more important duty of actively and energetically co-operating with all Congressmen in promoting inter-communal unity, removal of untouchability and the other items of the constructive programme. The suspension of part or even the whole of the Gaya Congress resolution cannot of itself produce unity. On the other hand, it might increase disunity if those opposed to Council entry allow the thought to rankle in their minds that they are forbidden to carry on their propaganda while others in favour of it are free to carry on theirs. The known magnanimity of the leaders of the anti-Council party, is the best security against this danger. But this ought to be reinforced by the most urgent and earnest efforts on the part of the pro-Council dissentients to multiply their points of contact and occasions of collaboration with the other side as much as possible. The total absence of any

elation in the Swaraj Party, is the best proof that this is well understood by that party. Mr. C. R. Das, the leader of the Party, the wanton attack on whom by the *Times of India* can only be excused as proceeding from ignorance of the man's real greatness, actually broke down when he had to express his thanks to the All-India Committee on taking leave of it. Nothing but the most urgent sense of public necessity, it is clear, could have induced Mr. Das to adopt a policy not approved by the entire body of the Congress for which he has sacrificed and suffered as only few others have done.

Extraneous forces have much helped to foster unity during recent years, but it is high time now to find other and more abiding substitutes for them. The principal of them was the Khilafat question. It is not a mere coincidence that, while the Councils boycott resolution was adopted when the agitation over the Khilafat question was intense, the resolution of the All-India Committee virtually suspending that resolution, was adopted when we seem to be within sight of the settlement of the question by mutual agreement at Lausanne. It was Mahomedan influence which determined the majority attitude at the Gaya Congress against the Councils, with Dr. Ansari as its chief spokesman. Dr. Ansari was, again, the chief spokesman at the All-India Congress Committee of the practical consensus of opinion among Moslem leaders that the division in the Congress should be closed at all costs in the interests specially of Hindu-Mahomedan unity, which was showing unmistakable signs of strain in the Punjab and elsewhere. Hakim Ajmal Khan could foresee a year ago that the boycott against Council entry could not be maintained after the compelling influence of Mahatma Gandhi was withdrawn, when the constraining influence of the Khilafat question was not likely much longer to exert itself as a force making for solidarity, and when occurrences like the Mopla outbreak demanded a new visualising of the problem of Hindu-Mahomedan unity. Dr. Ansari, more vivacious than Hakimji, has less of the brooding intuition of the great physician-statesman of modern India; and, hence, there had to intervene a lapse of twelve months before he could see things in the same light as Hakim Ajmal Khan. With the Khilafat question out of the way, as we trust it will be within the next few days, even Mahatma Gandhi were he free, as we trust he will be soon, will have to remodel the whole policy and programme of the Congress on entirely different lines. The full fruit of the new settlement with Turkey can be gathered only if Indian Mahomedans are effectively represented in the Legislature, and there are ample signs that, so far as they are concerned, the boycott of Councils has become a political impossibility. As the boycott was originally adopted mainly as a measure demanded by the needs of Hindu-Mahomedan collaboration, it cannot be maintained when that need in the particular sphere where at the time it was most required, has disappeared or is likely soon to disappear. A new and more effective sphere of co-operation in the pursuit of self-government is to be found in the Councils and if Congress cannot actively

advocate Council entry in view of the Gava resolution, it should at any rate not oppose it. Such a process of ratiocination obviously led Dr. Ansari to insist on closing the division in the Congress at all costs, even that of the abandonment of non-co-operation if necessary. The question of the relation of the two great communities of India is the most important question of the day. We are glad that the Khilafat question will be soon out of the way; it has done much to demonstrate the benefits of co-operation between Hindus and Mahomedans. But it has also secured to some extent the real and fundamental issues a right settlement of which alone can ensure the unity which, being organic, will not require any artificial stimulus to keep it alive and growing. It was in the Legislative Councils that, thanks to the co-ordinating genius of Gokhale, Hindu and Mahomedan leaders acquired the habit of working together for common ends, and it is there that they will have the best opportunities of developing that habit and extending it to the civic and social spheres. The Mahomedan leaders who so earnestly and insistently urged the All-India Congress Committee to stop the division in the Congress ranks, are entitled to great credit for their political insight and foresight. If the people of India did not live in water-tight communal compartments, the opposition to Council-entry can be sustained on more weighty grounds. As things are, local and Municipal Boards and the Legislative Councils, besides their official functions, serve the higher purpose of creating and fostering among members of our different creeds and sects the desire and the habit of acting together for the good of the country, in matters that concern all irrespective of caste or creed. While for these reasons we are glad that the All-India Congress Committee has directed that there shall be no active propaganda among voters against entry into the Councils, we realise all the more, for the same reasons, the urgency of intensive work on the constructive programme. All members of the Swaraj party are not needed in the Councils, and we are sure that many of the best of them will find ample scope for work quite as important in this direction.

Sir N. Chandavarkar: A meeting of the leading citizens of Bombay was held in the Council Hall of the Bombay Municipal Corporation on Tuesday afternoon to arrange the preliminaries for a public meeting to be convened through the Sheriff of Bombay to place on record the loss the city and the country have sustained by the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. The Hon. Justice Sir Laloobhai Shah was voted to the chair. Sir Cowasji Jehangir then moved the following resolution:—(a) "That a requisition be forwarded to the Sheriff requesting him to convene a public meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay to express its sense of profound grief at the loss sustained by the City and Presidency by the death of their distinguished citizen, Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt., LL.D., (b) and that with a view to carrying out all necessary preliminary arrangements for the meeting the undermentioned gentlemen be nominated provisional secretaries:—The Hon'ble Mr. Purshotamdas Thakurdas, C. I. E., C. B. E., Mr. Mahomedbhoy Currimbhoy, Mr. Narottam Morarjee, Mr. Cowasji Jehangir, C. I. E., Mr. S. Addyman, Mr. H. P. Mody, Mr. Ratansi D. Morarji, Mr. N. M. Joshi, and Mr. Ishwardas Lakbmidas." Mr. H. B. Clayton seconded the resolution and it was carried.

THE REVOLT AGAINST THE WEST.

(By P. L. M.)

"What is important for us to know of any age, our own included, is not its peculiar opinions, but the complex elements of that moral feeling and character in which, as in their congenial soil, opinions grow"—MORLEY.

In former days some presidents of the Indian National Congress used to begin their addresses by enumerating the benefits British rule has conferred on India and specifying railways, post and telegraph, telephone and tramways among these. A day may perhaps soon come when presidents of the Congress will commence their speeches by recounting the evils done by British domination of India and may mention these very things among them. The new attitude may be as mistaken as the old and yet is its logical outcome. From being considered as opportunities these and other resources of the western civilisation are detested as snares. The pendulum has swung.

For the old illusion that western civilisation represented the last word in human evolution and that to imitate it was to attain a social paradise is no more. The Indian *intelligentsia* has gradually come to believe that while western civilisation has achieved many things, performed some notable feats and has contributed something really valuable to human progress its contribution has been limited and its achievement narrow, and that on the whole the West has not succeeded to any very great extent in emancipating either the body or the soul of man. Yet this reaction against the West is not free from the usual dangers of reaction and in order to realise its merits and demerits it is essential to discover the causes that have led up to it.

A movement, says Dean Inge, has more to fear from its disciples than from its critics: and for a movement aiming at social regeneration, no dictum is more pertinent. For some reason or other, the movement for social reform in India has been looked upon by the orthodox as being synonymous with westernisation; and have the social reformers always remembered that to borrow is not necessarily to assimilate? Nor has it been always realised that destruction of social restraints is not the aim, but the means, of a new reconstruction of society. Moreover, it is not desirable to take as standard a civilisation that was, at its best, struggling its own way through, and at its worst, emphasised the possessive impulses of men at the expense of creative ones.

What has made the East more critical of the West, however, has been the war and the behaviour of the peoples of Europe in and since the war. To thoughtful Indians the war seemed not an abnormal incident in contemporary history but an apt climax of an acquisitive society that had accumulated enough wealth to be torn in conflict for its possession: a society, moreover, that made competition the basis of its social religion and physical force the basis of all its settlements. Perhaps this view read

more logic in events than history would warrant but it was a view that encouraged our self-dependence and self-righteousness at a stroke and was, therefore, considerably popular. The orthodox in India prided himself on having detected the shallowness and perversion of the West long before the catastrophe. So while thinkers in Europe were dreaming of a new Utopia to be created after the war, social reformers in India felt sick at heart. The war was a calamity no less for Europe's name than for her men and women. Science, it seemed, has resulted in enhancing human suffering rather than in mitigating it. Newton and Watts and Darwin had ended in poison gases and in tanks. The transition was swift and subtle. Science and not its use was disparaged: material resources, and not their abuses, were discredited. An exaggerated asceticism that mistook sentimental speculation for philosophy and negation of life for its fulness was again in ascendance.

Mixed with this intellectual reaction and deeper than it, in some ways, were the economic forces. Industrialism is a product of the West and the import of industrialism into India was not all for the good. To many, industrialism meant only smoky and ugly cities, wage-earning proletariat tied to mechanical drudgery, a break with all the hygienic, aesthetic, and moral advantages that rural life implies. Trade depressions and exchange fluctuations, high prices and strikes—all these seemed not consequences of a maladjustment in an industrial society but as symptoms of a disease, the disease being the industrial society itself. Even the high rate of mortality was viewed as a result of industrialism which necessarily creates unhealthy towns where engineering skill is utilised to secure overcrowding and clean air is considered a luxury. Japan became the classic illustration of what an Asiatic nation would be if it imitated the western industrial system. Nor was this all. While the main problem before the country was that of increase of economic productivity, its educational machine turned out mere lawyers. Education was too abstract and too remote from economic realities: life was too hard and difficult and full of struggles. The consequences of such a contradiction are plain. The feeling increased that it was an alien and unnatural culture that was being thrust upon our young men which was as ill-suited to them as the European costumes that they wore. It was better perhaps that our peasants listened to the recitals of the ancient epics than become versed in literacy which brings misery in its train. Compulsory and primary education is all very well—but literacy is not education any more than illiteracy is ignorance. So the opponents of western education argued in the unconscious depths of their soul and looked upon superficiality of character as the only cultural product of that education.

Not the least important influence making for this reaction was political. The introduction of western habits of life and the establishment of western institutions have been, in the main, the work of the British administration. While it is possible to learn a good deal from both of them the mode of that

teaching by a governmental system has been singularly unfortunate. For apart from the fact that no culture that is superimposed on a nation can ever be as educative and as vital as one that is absorbed by the nation itself, the very process of that superimposition has made culture so entangled with politics that any real separation between the two becomes hard. Every action of the Government that antagonises the people against the Government antagonises them also against the culture of whose transmission it has been the medium. A general who shoots down an unarmed mob blows up in the air not merely the bodies of the people present but also the chances of any organic synthesis between the culture of his own nation and that of his victims. The extent and depth of the revolt against the West is a true measure of the distrust the existing system of government arouses in the hearts of men and women in India.

WHAT DOES THIS PORTEND ?

(By G. A. SUNDARAM.)

An advertisement is to be found, in some Lahore papers, of a medicine which is claimed to guarantee the birth of a male child. Testimonials given by people who have "profited" by the medicine are also published with it. I am not concerned here with the merits of the medicine or with the ethics of advertising it. I ask my readers to give some thought to what this signifies. The invention and advertisement of the medicine only reflects an ugly distemper which disfigures some large sections of Hindu society; that society has been treating women with cruelty and parents view with sorrow the birth of a female child. It lies in the hands of the parents themselves to work strenuously to reform the society of which they are members and secure for women proper treatment. But as all this involves not only effort but also suffering—without any theatrical parade which may relieve it—they succumb. The result is monstrous. We see parents and other elder relatives of a new-born girl baby sitting in sulks immediately after child birth and neighbours comforting them by telling them that next time a male baby will be born. I am not at all drawing from my imagination. I have seen such sights with my own eyes in the homes of some highly educated and well-to-do friends of mine. What a blessing that the new-born babe cannot form any idea of the sort of welcome it receives! Fortunately, the frigidity with which a female child is received does not last long. For this the credit does not go to the grown-ups. The thousand little sweet tricks of the baby itself win the hearts of the wise elders. A baby—even of the unwelcome female sex—in the home is one of the purest and greatest blessings of our earthly life. In some homes even during the early babyhood of a female child, the elders refuse to completely get over their adverse feelings to a mere girl and at the back of the real pleasure found in the baby's little ways, you detect an under-current of sorrow at its being after all "only a girl." No wonder that an enterprising exper-

mentor puts before the public a medicine to "guarantee a male child" and no wonder that newspapers advertise it. Has any one cared to spend a thought about what this portends? Does it not show that our society has become utterly unhealthy? Does it not show more, that it has become quite monstrous? It shows worse things. It shows that we are not much better than the savages who used to kill their girls in order to increase the material efficiency of their tribe. It also shows we are in for race-suicide.

It is needless to examine the question of partiality towards male children historically. In the savage stage such partiality was unquestionably marked. But no one would admit that it is proper in an advanced, a civilised society. The sentiments found in some ancient Hindu law books laying it down as a duty to beget a son are, to my mind, traceable to a survival of an earlier period of history. Those sentiments are counteracted by the equally pronounced laudation of begetting girls and reaping the rewards *kanyaku dan*. In fact, the net result of the teachings will be found to be advice to marry and multiply, a very healthy social advice. True, the idea that to get a son is an act of virtue persists in Hindu society, but I submit it is absurd to drive it to impossible lengths as some people do. To those who believe in progress Shastraic injunctions make no appeal but to the large mass of men and women they are still a powerful lever of action. I submit that it is not fair to attribute to our ancient law-givers any anti-social teaching. I have dwelt on this at some length because some absurd deductions have been made by some people from the Shastraic saying that the sonless parents will have to go to some hell. One very orthodox gentleman explained once that the whole affair of getting children is a religious act. He went on to say that our ancient Rishis used to marry and limit the offspring to a single issue which too would invariably be a male child. One irreverent listener retorted: "then, Sir, it is clear that you and I and all who claim to be Brahmins are really of mixed blood. The pure Brahmin caste became extinct with its second generation and the sons of the Rishis married girls of other castes" This silenced the orthodox preacher.

The invention of the Lahore genius, assuming that it is what it claims to be, is a portent of race suicide. Any society which welcomes it is rotten. We, Hindus, affect to be horror-struck at accounts of the practice of birth prevention in France and other countries. We condemn them as perverse products of a material civilisation. We must turn the search-light inwards and see if our own "spiritual" civilisation is not equally sinful.

INDIANS IN KENYA.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The following resolution has been passed by the Executive Committee, and by a number of leading Indian Christians representing the Indian Christian Association of these Provinces. I am sending it to you for favour of early publication in your esteemed paper. I need not comment on it

for it shows clearly the attitude of our Association in the matter. We strongly hold that our religion stands for justice to all classes of people and racial distinctions are against its very nature and spirit.

The resolution (or protest) reads thus :

"The Indian Christian Association of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh has read with dismay of the attitude adopted by certain missionaries and Christian ministers in regard to the position of Indians in Kenya. It sincerely hopes and trusts that these gentlemen do not represent the views of the Christian Churches in general. The Association condemns the dragging in of the name and religion of Jesus Christ in this controversy which is being pursued in a spirit quite contrary to the spirit and teaching of the Founder of Christianity. Avowing its firm belief in the religion founded by the Divine Master the Association appeals to the Church in Kenya and other lands where such a spirit may be abroad that by prayer and fasting they seek their Master's will in this matter, and regulate their conduct accordingly.

The Association would make it plain to the Churches all over the world that the cause of Christianity is bound to suffer in India and in the East, if the un-Christian spirit which underlies all such racial and selfish movements is not checked.

The Association also protests against the statements made concerning the character of Indian civilisation, family life and social customs, and emphatically repudiates the implication that they are degrading and immoral."

Thanking you for your courtesy.

Yours faithfully,
(REV.) J. R. CHITAMBAR,
President,
Indian Christian Association,
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh
and

22nd May 1923.
Lucknow.

Principal, Lucknow Christian College.

WANTED A NEW HISTORY OF INDIA.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

The Indian Social Reformer has rightly laid stress on the subject of history. The history of a country may be written for two purposes, one to help, the other to harm. In a competitive age when every nation seeks to impose on all other nations its own civilization, its own religion, its own language, its own policies, its own industries and trade, in fact, to gradually displace their respective populations by its own, every nation must write its own history lest it be deceived. If, on the other hand, they let the nation, that seeks to absorb them as a regular scientifically righteous policy, do that work of history-writing, as we do in India, it must necessarily—though unconsciously it may be—misrepresent their past, misread the present and misguide the future. That that is what has happened to India has been increasingly evident and is more and more prominently brought home to men's minds.

The Indian Social Reformer in its issue of 28th April in pointing out three vital misconceptions inculcated by the text-books usually read in schools, says that they are the prolific source of all our difficulties in nation-building. They are, the theory of an Aryan invasion of India, the garbled and exaggerated accounts of Mahomedan miracle and the illusion about the British conquest of India. Not only should these misconceptions be corrected, but the true

scope of history should be understood and brought home to the minds of people. History must say a great deal more about a country than what the race of its people is, and who conquered it and how it was once governed. It must give an account of the economic condition of the country from time to time and for each constituent territorial area, how many occupations served as the means of subsistence for the people, how many families subsisted on each occupation, what was the average life of the people engaged in each occupation, what was the income of each family, whether it was sufficient to enable each family to exchange the results of its labour with the results of other families' labour what was the number of the unemployed in each occupational grant, what were the markets to which the produce from the area was distributed and what were the means adopted by the Government at each period to keep the people in full employment, and to ensure an equitable exchange of services between the several constituent organs of the body-politic, and so regulate internal and external trade as not to be harmful to the interest of any in the trading or producing countries. It is by such accounts duly recorded in histories and handed down as sacred legacies from generation to generation that we can guide the present and control the future. It is such histories of India that India wants now, and shall ever want. Not India merely, but all countries.

N. SUBRAMANYA Aiyar.

Trivandrum,
15-5-28.

ISABELLA THOBURN COLLEGE.

One year is not a thousand years with us at Isabella Thoburn College. Last year at this time the most vital question to be solved was where to house and school the eight-two students who had applied for admission into the College, never having such a large number of applications before. It was trying in more ways than one to live under three different roofs and carry on college work, but it has shown what women can do under most unfavourable circumstances.

Only a year, and lo, our new buildings are all ready to move into them by the nineteenth of July! It shows that some steady heads and hands have been busy at work. There is a fine administration building which faces the Fyzabad road; behind it are the dormitories, spacious and airy; the dining room, the hall, the hospital and the retiring rooms are not attractive in looks alone, but promise rest, ease, health and comfort to a hundred and fifty girls who would be desirous of higher education. The separate teachers, quarters and the beautifully laid-out grounds form the necessary enclosure.

But the brick and mortar work is not all that makes the Isabella Thoburn College the best women's college in Northern India. The training of an ideal woman is a distinguishing feature of all teaching given in the college. The highest aim is to give a life training to young girls, Christian and non-Christian alike for a life of usefulness and service at home and abroad. While the non-Christian girls have been a challenge to the Christian girls to live up to the highest ideals of Christianity, there has been much which our non-Christian girls have been grateful to learn from their Christian sisters, and all this has been possible because both parties realize the advantages of living together in harmony in spite of our racial and religious differences.

The efficiency and standard of our class-room work can be judged by the recent Lucknow University results: cent.

per cent. results in the M. A. department; Miss Nur Jehan Yusauf and Miss Regina Thumboo, both students of history, made third division in the M. A. Previous.

Ninety per cent. results in the B. A. department: Misses Nora Roy, Gladys Gideon, Anugrah Hari Narain, Gertrude Almeida, second division; Tiazah Mayall, Ivy Thomas, Shri Kunwar Seth, Winifred Shaw, Nur-ul-Nisa Abdul Hafiz, third division.

SHELOMITH VINCENT.

A TEMPERANCE CONFERENCE.

The following resolutions were passed at the Temperance Conference held at Mahabaleshwar on the 8th and 9th May 1923.

This Conference records its firm conviction that the rapid spread of the habit of indulging in alcoholic drinks and deleterious drugs is a serious menace to the progress and happiness of the people of India, and that prompt and effective measures must be taken by all classes, castes, and creeds in co-operation with Government to fight the evil in all practical ways.

2. This Conference, representative of Indian, British, and American opinion, expresses its deep and grateful appreciation of the Rationing Scheme introduced into the Bombay Presidency by the Minister of Excise in the Bombay Government, the Hon. Mr. Chanilal V. Mehta who for two years in succession has reduced the amount of alcohol for sale in Bombay City by ten per cent. per annum, and in the mofussil by five per cent. per annum, making a total of twenty per cent. and ten per cent. respectively; the Conference also urges upon the Government of Bombay the imperative necessity of continuing this decrease every year and pleads with the Minister for Excise to announce the Government's intention of making such annual decrease until the liquor traffic in Bombay Presidency is ultimately abolished. The Conference further decides to forward copies of this resolution to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay and the Honourable the Minister for Excise.

3. This Conference urges upon the Excise Commission of the Bombay Legislative Council that in its report to Government it should include the following recommendations:—

(1) That the Rationing Scheme introduced by the Minister for Excise be continued, and that the reduction in the supply of liquor during the last two years be enforced annually in the same proportion until complete extinction is reached;

(2) That with a view to securing the immediate cessation of the liquor traffic within the boundaries of those municipal and district areas which, by the majority of the electorate, desire it, a Local Option Bill be introduced into the Legislative Council at the earliest possible date;

(3) That the Government announce as the aim of its Excise policy total prohibition of the liquor traffic within ten years.

This Conference resolves that copies of this resolution be sent to H. E. the Governor of Bombay, The Hon. the Minister for Excise, and the Chairman of the Excise Commission.

4. This Conference, with a view to attaining ultimate prohibition, desires to impress on all Temperance workers the necessity of making Local Option a test question at the forthcoming elections for the Legislative Council, and suggests that all organisations interested in Temperance Reform should arrange to have the question put to every candidate whether he will support the principle of Local Option if embodied in a Bill when it is introduced.

5. This Conference is of the opinion that the cause of the Temperance movement will be effectively promoted by the provision of instruction regarding this subject in the schools. The Conference therefore urges Government to consider the question of adequate instruction on the evils of drink and the importance of total abstinence in the text-books used in schools and in other ways that may be thought suitable.

6. Since the Press is such a powerful factor in creating public opinion and since there is such a great need of well-prepared Temperance literature, the Conference resolves to commend to the Gujarati language area the "Gujarat Temperance News" and to the Marathi Language area "The Marathi Temperance News" in order to promote the Temperance cause in the vernaculars of Bombay Presidency.

7. This Conference is of opinion that the influence of the women of India should be more utilised in the Indian Temperance cause and recommends that definite Temperance work be started in as many of the villages of the Presidency as is practicable so as to cover the whole province in time.

8. In order to meet the needs set forth in this Conference and take steps towards organising Temperance for the entire Marathi-speaking area, the Conference appoints the following as members of a Provisional Committee with power to add to their number :—

Chairman : Rev. R. B. Douglas, Secty. L. R. Gokhale, Esq., and Miss M. Navalkar (W. C.T. U.)

THE MAYAVATI CHARITABLE DISPENSARY.

Away from the bustle of city life, in the forest retreat of the Himalayas, is a monastic settlement known as the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, founded by the illustrious Swami Vivekananda. The extreme poverty and ignorance of people of the surrounding regions induced the little band of monks to open a charitable dispensary at Mayavati in the year 1908, which ever since its inception has been of inestimable help to the poor hill-people of Kumaon, who seek its aid from places even twenty miles off. There is a small indoor hospital, with an outdoor dispensary stocked with both allopathic and homoeopathic medicines, while the doctor in charge makes occasional rounds to the neighbouring villages and visits patients in their own homes. Like other similar institutions in the Ramkrishna Order the Seva is absolutely free and offered irrespective of caste, creed or colour. Through the kindness of some friends the dispensary has got a building of its own, the roof of which, however, needs immediate overhauling. The funds of the Dispensary have of late been very poor, so much so that the purchase of necessary medicines, etc. for this year has not only exhausted its small resources but has also entailed a debt. To remove these difficulties we need for the present a sum of Rs. 2,000. We need hardly emphasise the need of such an institution in these hill-tracts. But one great disadvantage the Dispensary labours under is that people of the plains cannot visit it with ease and this accounts for the paucity of its funds. In the name of suffering humanity we earnestly appeal to all generous-minded people to come forward in aid of the Dispensary and save it from its critical position. We have every reason to believe that our appeal will not fall on deaf ears. Contributions, however small, will be thankfully received at the following addresses and acknowledged in the *Prabuddha Bharata* the monthly organ of the Ashrama :—(1) The President, Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati Dt. Almora ; (2) The Manager, Advaita Ashrama Publication Dept., 28 College Street, Market, Calcutta.

MADHAVANANDA.

President, Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati.

SOUTH INDIAN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN BOMBAY.

A meeting of the South Indian residents of Bombay was held at the Depressed Class Mission House, Parel, Bombay on Sunday the 20th May to consider the question of opening Primary Schools in Bombay for the benefit of the South Indian children resident in Bombay, when Rao Bahadur A. K. Pai presided.

Many of the members present spoke at great length upon the necessity of establishing Primary Schools in various parts of Bombay City where the South Indians domiciled in Bombay had settled down. It was also decided that in view of the fact that the requisite number of children of school-going age being available at Parel, the first South Indian Primary School should be started in that part of the city.

The following Resolutions, moved from the chair, were unanimously passed :—

(1) "This meeting of the South Indian residents of Bombay is of opinion that it is desirable and necessary that Municipal Primary Schools for the benefit of the South Indians domiciled and resident in the City of Bombay, should be opened and authorises and requests the Chairman of this Meeting to take steps with a view to getting such schools established at an early date.

(2) In view of the fact that the number of students necessary under the Free and Compulsory Primary Education Act of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, for the opening of a Primary School is available at Parel, steps should be taken forthwith to have the first South Indian Municipal Primary School started here, and that all the South Indians having children of school-going age should be prevailed upon to have their children sent to this school.

(3) This meeting deems it desirable to have a Committee of the South Indian residents in Bombay to advise and to take active interest in matters pertaining to the education of the South Indian children in Bombay, and accordingly appoints the following persons, with power to add, to work on this Committee :—

Mr. K. Natarajan, Rao Bahadur A. K. Pai, Messrs. K. S. Ramaswami Iyer, K. Subramania Iyer, B. Venugopala Naidu, J. M. Nataraja Pillai, D. Sarangapani Naidu, K. S. Ramachandra Iyer, K. N. Ramasubba Iyer, Mr. S. Venkatasubramania Iyer, K. N. Ramachandra Iyer, Rao Sahib C. P. Ananta Narayana Iyer, Messrs. K. Sivasankara Iyer, C. R. Subramania Iyer, and Lakshmi Narayana Iyer.

With a vote of thanks to the chair, the meeting terminated.

M. R. ANANTA KRISHNA IYER.

THE LATE SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.

SIR M. VISVESVARAYA'S TRIBUTE.

The following speech was delivered at the funeral of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, on 15th May 1923, at Bangalore, by Sir M. Visvesvaraya.

As a friend of the deceased gentleman who knew him well both in Bombay and in this city, I have been asked to say a few words on this melancholy occasion and I bespeak your indulgence while I say them.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar came to Bangalore a little over a month ago in search of rest and change. He was in his usual health which was never very robust of late, but no one who saw him a week ago would have suspected that

the end was so near. The end has been more or less sudden, and there is additional sadness in the fact that he dies at a distance from the home which he loved and from the great city which has been the scene of his labours and triumphs for the greater part of his life.

I believe it was his deputation as a Congress delegate to plead for the Indian cause before the people of England over twenty-five years ago that first brought him into prominence as a politician and public speaker and he has been before the public eye in some capacity or other, in some office of distinction, ever since. He has been in turn a lawyer, a Judge of the High Court, a Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, a President of the Indian National Congress, a Prime Minister of an Indian State and now for the past two and a half years, the first President of the reformed Legislative Council for the Presidency of Bombay. So you see when he died yesterday in his 68th year, he was still in harness.

It is as a Judge, a social reformer and an educationist that he is best known to fame. He was the executive head of the Bombay University for many years. Last year he was Chairman of a Committee for the spread of elementary education which led to the passing of the recent Compulsory Education Act in Bombay. I believe he was the President of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj and he was connected with most movements in India designed to promote social reform. A special feature of his recent activities was his writings to the public press of Bombay on the daily life and struggles of the poor. His work as President of the Bombay Legislative Council has won universal approbation on account of his wide sympathies and breadth of view.

To great natural capacity he added a rare power of application and unceasing industry. He possessed sound judgment, a correct sense of proportion in public affairs, high sense of honour and, that gift from heaven—the power of graceful and eloquent speech.

I was privileged to be present when he made his last public speech in Bombay, exactly two months ago, on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of another departed great Indian by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay.

In Sir Narayan's death, India loses an eminent citizen of outstanding abilities and many-sided culture. As was remarked by a friend in this audience a few minutes ago, India is poorer for this loss. His death creates a gap particularly in the public life of Bombay which it will be difficult to fill. Bombay will miss his presence on its public platforms, for it was as a public speaker, as a platform athlete, that he excelled and his services were in great demand. He leaves many friends in Bombay and friends in all parts of India, and in all communities, to mourn his loss. On this occasion the deepest sympathies of all of us go forth to his bereaved sons, daughter and relations in their heavy affliction.

MR. C. Y. CHINTAMANI'S TRIBUTE.

It was in 1895 for the first time that interest in public affairs was awakened in me, and in the same year I heard of Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar. He had delivered some years earlier an address on the responsibilities of students and it was published as an anna pamphlet by the S. P. C. K. of Madras. I saw the pamphlet by accident with a friend at Vizianagaram, borrowed it, read it, re-read it, and repeated the reading to myself and my fellow-students many times over. I at once became a youthful admirer of Mr. Chandavarkar and whenever taken to task by my teachers and

elders for the excess of my premature interest in politics—I was only 15 and still in the matriculation class—I used triumphantly to cite eloquent passages from that address and later, from Mr. Surendranath Banerjea in self-defence. I have no doubt now, and have not had for many years, that I went farther than either of them would have approved and that my mentors were right and not I. My ignominious failure in the F. A. examination in 1897, which owing to adverse domestic circumstances put an end once for all to my collegiate education, was due as much to my diversion of attention to politics as to protracted illness. If I had understood Mr. Chandavarkar correctly I would have fared better. When I grew older and wiser (comparatively), I realised the harm which patriots unintentionally did to students by appealing to them to cultivate public spirit without at the same time qualifying the advice and impressing them with the supreme necessity of their doing their immediate duty of attending to their studies first and foremost. My own case has always been the greatest of warnings to me and this explains my modified views on the subject of students and politics. There was a debate at Madras at the time of the Congress of 1894 and Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya were the protagonists on either side. Mr. Chandavarkar would have agreed much more with the latter than with the former, but at the time Panditji's advice was quite unpalatable to us the young enthusiasts.

In the years following 1895 I devoured with avidity any speech of Mr. Chandavarkar's that I could get at, as of several others of our distinguished public men many of whom, alas, are no more with us. His speech on the Age of Consent Bill made a powerful impression upon my mind although in these years I was more an opponent than an advocate of social reform, despite my years. This attitude is explained by the very atmosphere I breathed. I was born in one of the most orthodox of Brahman families and three-fourths of the talk I heard was a lament that the godless and Christian English education made men atheists—a term that was synonymous with failure to observe custom in every detail and in all its rigidity. It used to be my pride and my brothers' (my father had passed away when I was only 12) that whomever else English education had spoilt I had withstood its iconoclastic effects and remained a good orthodox Brahman boy! How far I have travelled since then—among other influences that contributed to the change being Mr. Chandavarkar's speeches. By the end of 1896 I had read all of his Congress speeches, and I used to feel no end of regret that so gifted a man and eloquent a speaker gave up attending the Congress after the year 1889—he did not take part even in the Congress at Poona in 1895 although he lived next door at Bombay! But I was rejoiced at his acceptance of the presidentship of the Ninth Bombay Provincial Conference held at Karachi in 1896, and read with breathless interest his great speech there together with the *Hindu's* high encomium of it. I similarly welcomed his election as the University member of the Bombay Legislative Council in 1897 in the place of the deceased Mr. Javerilal Umashankar Yajnik.

I was much hurt by Mr. Chandavarkar's support of the Sandhurst Memorial Movement in 1899 as Lord Sandhurst, having started well, had subsequently made himself very unpopular by the campaign of political repression on which his Government had embarked in 1897, Mr. Tilak being the most distinguished of the victims. Mr. Chandavarkar was looked upon in Congress circles as an ultra-Moderate who cared more for social than for political

reform and the sudden announcement that he was to preside over the Lahore Congress in 1900 met with a mixed reception in the Indian press. The *Times of India's* congratulation of the Congress on securing him as president did not raise him in the estimation of the more ardent spirits in the Congress. It was an Anglo-Indian paper that had very warmly supported the policy of Lord Sandhurst's Government, and on the occasion of the retirement of Mr. T. J. (now Sir Thomas) Bennett from its editorship Mr. Chandavarkar delivered an eloquent paucy upon him. Public criticism has never been very charitable in India and I know few deserving public men who have been its undeserved victims to a greater extent than was Mr. Chandavarkar. What the people wanted was radicalism in politics combined with caution in social reform and conservatism in religion. This was what passed for patriotism in the market-place and Mr. Chandavarkar was too knowing a man and too wise a patriot to satisfy the multitude. Add to this a certain pride in the man, and expression too hasty and too incautious, and too assertive, and there is a complete explanation of the circumstance that he never was among the more popular of our public men. We could wish there were more men among Indians of his lofty personal worth—of unblemished character, of wide and profound learning, with a faculty of facile and rich expression (which I learn from Mr. Natarajan he used to say that he had acquired as editor of the *Indu-Prakash*) loyal to his convictions and scornful of mere popularity, thoughtful and public spirited.

Mr. Chandavarkar and I first wrote to each other in the year 1900 when I sought his esteemed co-operation in the compilation of my book *Indian Social Reform* published in the following year and I first had the privilege seeing him and being introduced to him by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer in Christmas week of the same year at the Lahore Congress. For the first time that year Mr. Justice Ranade could not attend the Social Conference and Mr. Chandavarkar took his place. Little did we realize that Mr. Ranade was to pass away eighteen days later and Mr. Chandavarkar was to succeed him not only on the bench in the Bombay High Court but as general secretary of the Indian Social Conference. The earnestness, ability and devotion of Mr. Chandavarkar at the Social Conference struck people much more than his interest in the Congress. His concluding speech at the Congress was much more impressive than his inaugural address, and his expression of boundless admiration for the British character, his exhortation that excess should be avoided as under-statement was much better than over-statement, and his fine admonition that our salvation lay in 'consecrations not constitutions' have stuck in my memory. I recall, too, his sermon on love at the Lahore Brahma Samaj.

The Congress did not know Mr. Chandavarkar again until 15 years later soon after 1915, in which year he took active part in the session held at Bombay under the presidency of Lord (then Sir Satyendra) Sinha. He was among the founders of the present Liberal Party, the successor of the Congress of Hume, Wedderburn and Naoroji, of Bonnerji, Mehta and Gokhale, and took a leading part in the first session of our Federation held at Bombay in 1918. But he was at most sessions of the Social Conference held with the Congress and delivered thereat many stirring addresses. Sir Narayan's (as he had by now become) Convocation addresses delivered as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay were an intellectual treat. I recall one in particular specially distinguished for learning and power—the address on Words. He took a keen and unstinted interest not only in religious, social, educational and

political reform, but also in the welfare of students. The Bombay Students' Brotherhood owes him a deep immense and endless gratitude. I cannot but wish that more of our public men evinced in our students—the countless hope for the future—a fraction of the abiding solicitude that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar never failed to show.

I last saw Sir Narayan in July when we had a brief talk on the threatening non-co-operation menace. Earlier I had long talks with him in November 1919 on my return from England. He presided over the meeting of the Liberal Association of Western India held in the Servants of India Society's Home to welcome home my friend and colleague Dewan Bahadur M. Ramchandra Rao and myself. He entertained us at breakfast the next morning, and took part in the evening in a discussion at Sir Dinsha Wacha's residence as to whether Liberals should take part in the Congress at Amritsar. I recall with gratitude his appreciation and encouragement of the *Leader* which he regularly took, and his personal kindness to me. It is a great loss India has sustained in his death at the age of 68. Our consolation is that as India advances she will produce more Chandavarkars. —The *Leader*, Allahabad.

FURTHER PRESS OPINIONS.

(The *Swadeshamitran*, *Tamil Daily*, Madras).

We have learnt with deep regret that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who has been connected for many years with the cause of political and social reform in this country, passed away at 10 A. M. yesterday at Bangalore. He entered public life many years before the cleavage between the Moderates and the Nationalists and took part both here and in England, in the agitations for the redress of Indian grievances. He presided over the Indian National Congress in 1900 at Lahore. Later, he was for some years a judge of the Bombay High Court. After retiring from Government service, he joined the Moderate party and was one of its chief leaders. He emphatically thought that if Hindu society was to advance, it was necessary to alter according to the times, all old customs that impeded progress, however useful they may have been in the past. In matters of social reform, he has been a worker of remarkable enthusiasm. He subscribed to the tenets of the Brahma Samaj.

There are differences between the political views of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and our own. But neither in him nor in similar men do they blind us, to greatness and excellence of character. At a time when the very idea of public service was but slightly prevalent among even the educated classes, Chandavarkar came forward to work for the public cause. When the Congress was started, officials generally held in derision all those connected with the movement. Some ultra-loyal officials even went so far as to call the Congress, a seditious organisation. We cannot afford to forget the courageous men who in spite of all such attacks worked whole-heartedly in the Congress. Many of the leaders of social reform who advocated changes in Hindu customs in accordance with the times, in order that society at large and especially Hindu society may live and progress, have often been persecuted by the ignorant few. All praise to the leaders who unmindful of them, worked solely for the public weal. Sir Chandavarkar was a convinced believer in social reform and has in many places written and spoken about it. Especially in the matters of Women's Rights, Removal of Untouchability etc. he has done important work through his articles in the Press, and through his speeches. It has only been for the last

two years that removal of untouchability has found general acceptance—at least in lip service. Sir Chandavarkar's advocacy dates from long before this. He brought to the study of public questions, a keen intellect, an extensive knowledge and a power of deep examination. His death is a misfortune indeed. The writer remembers a sorrowful remark of his about the poverty of the country and the spendthrift policy of the Government which was as follows. "The way of increased cost of administration is the way to ruin." People of all parties whether with or without faith in the Government, will, we trust, ponder over the above piercing words of the departed leader and strive to fulfil his objects which were also the objects of other former leaders.

(The Thana District Gazette.)

It is with the keenest regret that we announce the sad and sudden death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. His demise removes one more stalwart figure from the world of Indian politics. As scholar, lawyer, journalist, priest, educationalist, politician, administrator and social reformer,—thanks to his remarkably industrious and painstaking habits, his wide and varied culture, and his singular freedom from presumption or vanity,—he reached the highest pinnacle of fame in each of these spheres.

He was one of the pillars of the Liberal party and his absence at a time when this party was never in greater need of a staunch and indefatigable leader, will be felt the more by his adherents. He was a firm believer in the progress of India towards self-government by strictly constitutional means, and stood second to none in his faith in the Reform Act, towards which he consecrated every fibre of his being and every moment of his life.

We may or may not agree with his political views. Yet it is certain that his name will go down to future generations together with his great contemporaries and compeers, the brilliant constellation comprising Ranade, Telang, Dadabhai, Moha and Gokhale, who have built up the national life of this country and are the makers of modern Indian history.

(The Guardian, Calcutta.)

The sudden death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has removed from among us one of the most attractive figures in the public life of India to-day. Sir Narayan may not have been a great personality; he was certainly a gracious one and few will be longer remembered or more sincerely mourned by those who knew him. Bombay Presidency produced during the generation that is past not a few notable leaders; it produced four who were specially notable in the sphere of social progress and reform, and who were closely related through the spirit that inspired them and the aims that they pursued. These were Mahadev Govind Ranade, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Narayan Chandavarkar. Of the four one alone, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, survives, aged and revered. They differed greatly in their characters and their gifts, but, though Gokhale was perhaps less deeply religious than the other three and though he gave himself to politics as they did not, all alike shared certain common ideals and believing that that way lay their country's salvation, gave their whole strength to their realisation. As Gokhale looked up to Ranade as his master and guide, so Sir Narayan Chandavarkar may be said to have been, on his part, a disciple of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar—one, that is, for whom, as for his guru, religion had always the first claim and always commanded his chief allegiance.

That, in spite of their unity of purpose, he was so different from the other three may partly be explained by the fact that he was not, like them, a Maratha. Though he knew Marathi literature well and had a peculiar affection for the Maratha people, he himself belonged to the Kanara country and his native language was Kanarese. He did not possess, in consequence that hard fibre that is the distinguishing mark of the Maratha nature and, if that made him less practically effective and sometimes less firm and forceful than they, it made him also more winning and gracious. A quality of the Hindu nature everywhere, whether in Bengal, Maharashtra, in Madras or the Punjab, is its simplicity and charm. Of these qualities Sir Narayan had a double portion, and the root from which they sprang in him, as in so many of his countrymen, was a deep piety which he continually nourished by devout study and meditation. He knew the Christian scriptures with the intimacy of one who read them and fed his soul upon them continually. He loved to discuss the meaning of some passage that had arrested his attention. Thus on one occasion when he was inspecting a Bombay college, he drew the present writer aside to ask him how he understood St. Paul's great challenge, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" Sometimes his familiarity with contemporary Christianity revealed itself in an amusing fashion, as when he spoke of the father of the President of the Legislative Assembly as "a modern Isaiah" and explained that he had read many of his sermons in the *British Weekly*.

Next to the Bible the greatest influence in his life was I think, the poet Browning, whose strenuous message has remarkable attraction for thoughtful Indians. He was scarcely less familiar with Wordsworth, and indeed the great English poets were much in his mind and on his lips. I cannot estimate the relative significance in his inner experience of the message on the one hand of Indian religious aspiration, as expressed, for example, by the Maratha poets whom he knew and loved, and of the message of the Christian scriptures on the other. I am sure, however, that in the whole spirit of his life he was in very close sympathy with Christ and His teaching and that he would never hesitate to acknowledge how deep his debt to Him was.

After his retirement from the High Court Bench he discharged for a time the office of Dewan in a Native State, but it was not possible for him to adjust himself to the tortuous ways that such a position often demands. When, later, he was appointed the President of the new Bombay Council he found a sphere that admirably suited his gifts and training and in which he rejoiced. His knowledge of history and of law, and, not less, his sense of dignity and decorum fitted him admirably for the task of creating a worthy tradition in the conduct of the business of the legislature. People sometimes smiled at a strictness which made them feel like naughty boys in the presence of a school-master, but there is no doubt that he discharged his duties with admirable skill, patience and success. His place will be exceedingly difficult to fill.

But Sir Narayan was happiest, not in the chair as President of the Council, but talking with the village people as he went for his daily walk, learning of their troubles and rejoicing in their shrewd and homely wisdom. In the latter letter which the writer received from him, written from Bangalore a few weeks ago, he spoke of his longing to be back in Poona and to renew his acquaintance with his peasant friends. He loved his kind and had none of the airs towards them of the superior person. He was eager to see them helped, to secure for them medical relief and make their bare lives easier. In such simplicity and gentleness he lived among his fellows, loving, and beloved. He may not have achieved great things or made a deep mark upon his time, but his life was like a pleasant melody that will linger in our ears long after he is gone.

(Hitavada, Nagpur.)

The late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was an eminent and distinguished son of India who made his mark in many a field of public activity. As a lawyer, as a judge, as a politician and as a literary man, he was an outstanding figure among his contemporaries. But Sir Narayan will be remembered by his countrymen more for his work in the cause of social reform and for the interest, the passionate interest, he evinced for the uplift of the depressed classes in India. He was 68 when he died and he died full of honours. He was a liberal in politics and though during the early stages of the non-cooperation movement, he was active in creating a break-water against the rising wave of anti-social feeling in this country, his acceptance of office as President of the Bombay Legislative Council curtailed his freedom latterly. But still he was frequently appearing on Bombay platforms and writing to newspapers in his own remarkable way, always throwing his influence on the side of justice and humanity. In the death of Sir Narayan, India has lost one of its greatest citizens.

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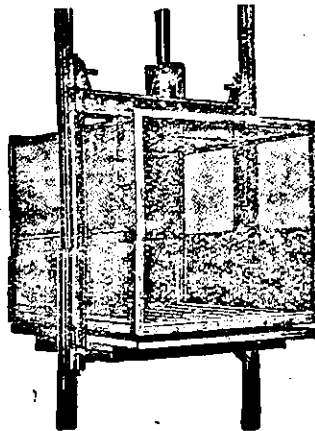
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No. 41.

"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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Christianity and Nationalism: We are indebted to a friend for the report of Dean Inge's inspiring sermon to Edinburgh students which we reprint to-day. At the outset, the Dean laid down three ways of judging of a great religion. They are good tests, but how rarely are non-Christian religions judged as he would have us judge Christianity? If every religion is judged by these tests, there would be no room for the adherent of any religion to regard other religions as inferior to his own. Certainly, Sir George Lloyd's verdict on Hinduism as having no satisfactory ethical or religious teaching, would be seen to be of no value. Without Christianity the Governor of Bombay saw absolutely no hope for India. Dean Inge, on the contrary, sees absolutely no hope for Christianity in Europe in its present mood. "Nationalism," said the Dean, "is an open revolt against the Gospel, as is the whole theory of superior or inferior races, which is bad science as well as bad religion. Equally unchristian is the desire for territorial expansion without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants. 'Take away justice,' says St. Augustine, and 'what are empires but great acts of brigandage?' The bitter jealousy and competition within our societies in peace time is equally unchristian. Any fair-minded man must surely see that it is the practical rejection of Christianity and the adoption of quite different ideas which are responsible for our troubles." The sermon is worth careful perusal by English administrators in India.

An Irrelevant Argument: Mr. Srinivasa Sastry's statement to Reuter that it was unthinkable that the intelligentsia of India would ever consent to emigration restrictions relative to the Crown Colonies, has given an opening to the *Natal Mercury* for a disingenuous subterfuge. It writes:

He (Mr. Sastry) placed in the forefront of his argument a protest on behalf of "the Intelligentsia of India" against the restriction of Indian immigration into the Crown Colonies. It is worth while to ask what portion of the Indian population the individuals constituting the "Intelligentsia" represent. The answer is to be found in the ethnic history of India,

They represent the Aryan or Caucasian element in the population, which in the course of many centuries has been absorbed, but not assimilated, by the numerically larger element of Dravidian extraction. Hence their ability to acquire a large measure of Western civilisation utterly foreign to their countrymen. The individuals who earn their title to be ranked with the "Intelligentsia" by distinguished achievements in literature, education, statecraft and other spheres of intellectual activity are, probably without exception, men in whose blood the Aryan strain is dominant. They are in a false position in putting themselves forward as spokesmen of the population as a whole. It is hardly going too far to say that if Mr. Sastry and the "Intelligentsia" generally were really typical of the Indian population there would be no Indian question in the Dominions or Crown Colonies to-day.

The argument in plain language comes to this: that every educated Indian, because he is educated, has a predominant Aryan strain in his blood and is not entitled to speak for the bulk of the population which is non-Aryan. A slight knowledge of the Indian social system, of which caste is the basic principle, would have saved the writer from this absurd generalisation. There is no ethnic difference between the intelligentsia and the masses, and it is rather unfortunate that, by his careless use of this term, Mr. Sastry should have given an opening to the *Natal paper* to mislead its readers.

Swadeshi and Khaddar: We have not been able to find any resolution of the Congress justifying the exclusive interpretation that is being put upon swadeshi, by some earnest Congressmen, as meaning only hand-spun, hand-woven cloth. The resolution passed at the Calcutta Special Congress in September, 1920, by which Non-Violent Non-Co-operation was adopted, distinctly contemplated hand-made cloth as being supplementary to Indian mill-made cloth. The relevant part of the resolution ran as follows:

This Congress advises the adoption of *swadeshi* in piece goods on a vast scale, and *inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and are not yet likely to do so for a long time to come*, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement.

The italics are ours. It is quite clear that, if Indian mill-made cloth can be made available, it will not in the least contravene this resolution to use it even in preference to *Khaddar*. The Nagpur Congress resolution is even less insistent about *Khaddar*. In the Ahmedabad Congress of 1921 *Khaddar* assumes a more prominent place but even there we do not see that it is made to cover the whole meaning of *Swadeshi*. Mahatma Gandhi, no doubt, gradually grew to think of the spinning wheel as emblematic of the nation's salvation, and those who think likewise are certainly bound not only to wear *khaddar*, but also to spin yarn

But there is clearly no authority for demanding that every Congressman should wear *khaddar* and nothing but *khaddar*.

Mr. Rajagopala's Outbreak: We admire a man who sticks to his convictions against the whole world. But Mr. Rajagopala Charya's defiance of the All-India Congress Committee's resolution, suspending the aggressive half of the Gaya Congress resolution, does not come in this category. He acquiesced in the calling of the All-India Congress Committee meeting avowedly to arrange a compromise relating to the Congress resolution. He attended the meeting, spoke in it, and never once suggested that it was engaged in an operation exceeding its powers. If the majority had been on his side, he would undoubtedly have claimed that the All-India Committee's view was authoritative. His colleague, Babu Rajendra Prasad, told the Behar Provincial Congress Committee that in his opinion the resolution passed by the All-India Committee was in order. A dispute of this kind would have been avoided if the resolution had made it clear that what really led to its passing was the occurrence of events since the Gaya Congress, which have totally changed the political situation and have rendered the Gaya resolution inoperative. The strong opinion in the Congress in favour of Council entry, to which the All-India Committee resolution refers, is the result and not the cause of these occurrences. It would have been more in consonance with what we have always respected in Mr. Rajagopala, if, finding himself unable to fall in with the resolution, he had retired from the field of controversy, devoting himself to the quiet promotion of the constructive programme in his own district. How can any one blame the rank and file for not finding the programme unattractive, when an eminent leader like Mr. Rajagopala, whom Mahatma Gandhi regarded as one of those who had understood him best, could not endure the prevalence of a view different from his own, without an exhibition of violent temper?

A Great Orissa Patriot: The *Searchlight* (Patna) understands that Pandit Gopabandhu Das, at present undergoing his sentence in the Hazaribagh jail, is strongly in favour of Council entry. It is believed, adds our contemporary, that when Babu Nilkantha Das, who is one of his principal collaborators in Orissa and who was convicted along with him, is released about the middle of this month, he will set about organizing a Swaraj party in Orissa. Apart from his views on the Council question, Mr. Gopabandhu Das is, perhaps, the greatest son of Orissa at the present time. Several years before the Non-Co-operation movement, he gave up a large practice as a lawyer in order to devote himself to the building up of a model High School which, for its originality and efficiency, received high encomiums from eminent educationists, official and non-official. A man of pure character and lofty ideals, he was naturally attracted by Mr. Gandhi's idealism, and he threw himself into the Non-Co-operation movement with all the fervour of his ardent nature. This school is now in urgent need of help without which it may have to be closed. Mr. Gobinda Chandra Misra is now in Bombay seeking help for this institution and we trust he will be able to get it in liberal measure.

Mahatma Gandhi's Release: Mr. George Joseph, in a recent communication to the English weekly, *Swadeshmitran*, referred to a projected international representation for the release of Mahatmaji, which had to be abandoned because certain Non-co-operation leaders frowned upon it. The idea of an international memorial was given up almost at the outset,

and the memorial was to be a national one. It was thought possible to obtain a good number of Englishmen to support a representation which asked for Mr. Gandhi's release entirely on the ground of his exceptional character and service to humanity. It may be that one or two Non-co-operation leaders who got to know of the project, intimated that they would feel it their duty to oppose and protest publicly against it. This, no doubt, was a surprise, and it might certainly have retarded progress to some extent, but it has not been and will not be abandoned. One of the most fatuous illusions is that it redounds to the credit of the Non-co-operation movement or to the good name of the country to have a man like Mahatma Gandhi shut up in jail for any length of time.

Buddhist University at Sarnath: The current number of the Mahabodhi Society's journal reports the holding in April last of the first Convention in connection with the proposed Sarnath Buddhist University. Sir Asutosh Mukherji presided. In his address, Sir Asutosh expressed his approval of the choice of Sarnath as the site of the University, as he, as an orthodox Brahmin who took great interest in Buddhism, liked to see the Buddhist seat of learning near the holy city of Benares. Referring to the suggestion that he should be Vice-Chancellor of the proposed University, Sir Asutosh said he would accept it on condition that Mr. Dharmapala was its Registrar. The land for the Sarnath University has already been acquired. The Government of the United Provinces made a grant of Rs. 10,000 for the purpose. The design for the proposed Vihara and University is also ready.

The Non-Brahmin Party in Madras: We have more than once called attention to the signs of disintegration in the Non-Brahmin Ministerial Party in Madras. Mr. Kandaswami Chetty, one of the most intellectual men in South India and one of the founders of the Non-Brahmin movement as a social reform movement, has in two remarkable speeches deplored the falling away of the Ministerial party from its high ideals. At a recent public meeting, a non-Brahmin leader had the courage to state certain blunt truths to the face of Sir Pitti Theagaraya Chetti, the titular leader of the movement, who left the place in a rage. The correspondence that has ensued since this incident is not of a very edifying character. At this juncture, Mr. C. R. Das arrived at Madras and was received with enthusiasm by all classes. He announced at a great meeting that at the next general elections in Madras, the Swaraj party would put forward the largest proportion of non-Brahmin candidates, and the Brahmins would stand aside "not in annoyance, not in anger, but for the cause of freedom gladly." No wonder, *Justice*, the organ of the Ministerialists, breaks out in impotent invective against Mr. Das.

The Poet's Disclaimer: We reprint from the current *Modern Review*, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's disclaimer of the "interview" with him chronicled by Mr. Lowell Thomas in a recent issue of the Illustrated Weekly *Times of India*. The repudiation is not as categorical as the statements imputed to him regarding Mr. Gandhi's efforts to bring about a good understanding between Hindus and Mahomedans. The impression left on one's mind is that Mr. Lowell Thomas caught the Poet in a pessimistic mood and, no doubt, added some salt of his own to add to the savour of his conversation for English readers. For nothing seems to rejoice the heart of a certain type of Anglo-Indian as a conflict, real or imaginary, between Hindus and Mahomedans. "Thank God," he seems to say, "we are safe for at least the next ten years!"

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 9, 1923.

CENSUS VAGARIES.

"During the life of the present generation," observes the *Modern Review* in the course of its comments on Mr. Lowell Thomas' interview with Rabindranath Tagore, "the Bengali Musalmans, from being a minority, have become a majority in Bengal." On the face of it the statement is so startling—it means that the Musalman population more than doubled during thirty years—that one looks about for materials for verifying it. Our contemporary does not give figures, and we have with us neither the report of the Bengal Census nor the All-India Report for 1921 to verify its statement directly. A table appended to the chapter on Religions in the All-India Report on the Census of 1911, however, shows that no such reversal of the numerical proportions of Hindus and Mahomedans in Bengal could have occurred. In every 10,000 of the population of that province, there were at the census of 1881, Mahomedans 5,009, Hindus 4,855; at the census of 1891, Mahomedans 5,108, Hindus 4,727; at the census of 1901, Mahomedans 5,158, Hindus 4,660; and at the census of 1911, Mahomedans 5,274, Hindus 4,480. The Hindus, it is clear, were never in a majority in Bengal during the life-time of a generation and even more, if we take it, as is usually done, to be thirty years. The proportion of Hindus shows, no doubt, a progressive decline, and that of Mahomedans in Bengal a progressive increase. But that is a different matter. We cannot think that, on a question of this kind, so careful an observer as the editor of the *Modern Review* would have relied on personal impressions which, as he well knows, are extremely deceptive in such matters. It may be that the Bengal figures for 1921 show a further progressive decrease of the Hindu population. That cannot justify, in the face of the statistics given above, the statement that the Hindu majority has become a minority in the course of a generation. The fact is that the *Modern Review* has instituted a comparison between two different Bengals. At the Census of 1901, Bengal had an area of 189,873 square miles and a population of 78½ millions; at that of 1911, its area, including Cooch Behar and Hill Tippera, was only 84,092 square miles and its population, less than 46½ millions. The reduction was due to Lord Curzon's Partition. In the Bengal before the Partition, Hindus were in an overwhelming majority as shown by the census figures. At the census of 1881, there were in 10,000 of the population, Hindus 6,536 and Mahomedans 3,122; in 1891, Hindus 6,407 and Mahomedans 3,170; and in 1901, Hindus 6,330 and Mahomedans 3,248. Even then, in Bengal proper, Hindus were always in a minority as compared with Mahomedans, and it was Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur, which were then part of Bengal, that, with their predominant Hindu population, turned the scale in favour of the Hindus. If we

take Bengal to include Bihar Orissa and Chota Nagpur, it is true that Hindus were in a majority during the present generation, and the Hindus are still in a majority. In Bengal proper, Hindus have been a minority and continue to be a minority. It may be, as the *Modern Review* says, that the Mahomedans multiply faster than Hindus in Bengal. The minority character of the Hindu population in the province has been certainly accentuated during the last forty or fifty years. But there is no basis for the statement that the Musalmans from being a minority have become the majority in Bengal. We have been at some pains to elucidate the point because a statement of the kind, while it alarms the Hindus, creates suspicion among Mahomedans regarding the goodwill of the Hindus towards them.

The fact, nevertheless, remains that, whether we take Bengal as it is or Bengal as it was in 1901, the proportion of Hindus has progressively declined while that of Musalmans has progressively increased. Even here, however, we have to proceed with caution. Every census has had its own peculiar definition of the term "Hindu" according to the idiosyncracies of the Census Commissioner. Jains, Sikhs and Lingayats have at some censuses been returned as Hindus, while in others a more rigid line of demarcation has been required of the enumerators. The total Sikh population of the country showed an increase of 62.6 per cent. between the censuses of 1881 and 1911! Of this, 37.3 was the increase in the ten years 1910-11! Conversely, the Jains have steadily declined since the census of 1901. The Animists, who are a discovery of Anglo-Indian Census Commissioners, showed a sudden increase of 20 per cent. at the census of 1911. Mr. Sedgwick in his Report on the current Bombay Census gives us a glimpse of how this happened. "In 1911," he writes, "Mr. Gait, the Census Commissioner, when visiting this Presidency on tour, converted 70,000 Bhils in Reva Kantha from Hindus to Animists by a stroke of the pen." (page 63). Talk of the forced conversions by the Moplas! That was child's play as compared to Mr. Gait's wholesale conversions to Animism! The Revakantha Bhils, we may be sure, were not the only victims to his Animistic zeal. Thousands of others must also have been so treated to swell Animist figures at the expense of the Hindus. It may be recalled, merely as a coincidence, that Lord Minto's Government had pledged themselves to give the Mahomedans representation in excess of their numerical proportion in the Reformed Councils on account of their historical importance. If the numerical proportion of Mahomedans in relation to the Hindus automatically increased by classifying as Animists a large section which had thereto been classed as Hindus, it could not have been a matter of regret to them. The wheel has turned now. In the current Bombay Census, Mr. Sedgwick is at great pains to show that the returns for Animists are *absolutely worthless* (italics his own). "I have no hesitation in saying" he adds, "that Animist as a religion should be entirely abandoned,

and that all those hitherto classed as Animists should be grouped with Hindus at the next Census." The proportion of Hindus in this Presidency shows an increase from 7,863 in 1911 to 7,947 in 1921, while that of Mahomedans shows a decline in the same period from 1,810 to 1,729, in 10,000 of the population. Much of our communal squabbles in politics is the direct outcome of the Census reports. In Great Britain, the census enumerator is forbidden to ask what a man's religion is. It is very desirable that the same practice should be followed in India. Each community, if it likes, may arrange for its own census. A minor advantage of doing so will be to reduce the size of our census reports which, at present, consist of several pages of theological rather than demographical significance. The chapter on Caste belongs to the same category and may be profitably omitted. The census tables relating to age, sex, civil condition, literacy and infirmities afford all the material necessary to the social reformer who wishes to ascertain the sources of national decline, irrespective of caste and creed. The social statistics of each district throw light on the social problems of that area and, generally speaking, communal differences are of very little importance. The different phases of the social life of the Mahomedans in Gujarat correspond more nearly to those of the Hindu in Gojarat rather than to those of the Mahomedans in Sind or Maharashtra. While we do not want statistics for castes and creeds, we want more detailed statistics for different-areas. From this point of view, we regret that Mr. Sedgwick has omitted to deal with the different natural divisions in the Presidency proper, such as Gujarat, Maharashtra and the Karnatak in his chapter on Civil Condition on the ground that examinations in the past have not revealed any palpable difference between different portions of the Presidency proper in the age of marriage and widowhood. On the contrary, we think that there are differences between the natural divisions in respect of civil condition, which ought to be indicated in the Census.

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.*

(By RAO BAHADUR O. KANDASWAMI CHETTI.)

The late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was pre-eminently a man of the Bombay Presidency. The city of Bombay claims him as one of her foremost sons of whom she is justly proud. But there was nothing narrow or provincial about him. Being a native of Kanara, the northern part of which belongs to Bombay and the southern to Madras, he felt quite at home among the people of this Presidency, with some of the cities of which he was as familiar as any of their permanent residents. Madras, Calicut, Cannanore and last but not least Bangalore, where he breathed his last, may be said to have been his adopted homes which he frequented not only for the sake of health—his own and that of his esteemed partner in life who preceded him to her rest a few years ago—but for the purpose of knowing the people high and

* Address delivered at the Brahma Mandir, Madras.

low,—studying their manners and mode of living, their needs, their virtues and their aspirations, articulate and inarticulate.

Belonging to the Sarasvat community whose ancestors are believed to have migrated to the south from the holy city of Benares and whose members live more or less compact in considerable numbers in every important city in Bombay and Madras Presidencies, his outlook on India extended from Cashmere to Comorin, from Calicut to Calcutta, which is more than can be said of most of us. India is no doubt a vast country, nay, a veritable continent and her name is every day on our lips; but how many of us have a living knowledge of her innumerable people, her complex civilization, and of the variety of religions and customs beneath which one has to seek for a unity which is buried in the past and has to be built upon in the future. Such was the pregnant and comprehensive idea of India which Sir Narayan possessed, an idea which animated and lay behind all his endeavours.

But it was not merely his communal traditions which helped to widen his outlook on life. He was one of those few Indians who combined patriotic service with cosmopolitan aspirations. Indeed the great danger which confronts our nation-building endeavours is the tendency to shut ourselves up in narrow nunnery walls and instead of trying to win a place in the fellowship of nations to assume an attitude of isolation and of antagonism to what are called foreign nations. I admit it is not an easy thing to be national in our aspirations and at the same time to be cosmopolitan in our sympathies. The nationalist is too often a despiser of other nations than his own, and a cosmopolitan is too often an admirer of all other civilizations but his own. The great problem which all thoughtful Indians ever since the days of Rammohan Roy, and through all the intervening generations, have had to solve is to relate the demands of nationality with the demands of humanity and to do justice to both. Towards the solution of this problem, Sir Narayan's life is a potent contribution. If ever there was an Indian in the most real and the most comprehensive sense, he was one. If ever there was among Indians a lover of his fellowmen, in Abu Ben Adhem's sense of the word, it was Sir Narayan Chandavarkar.

How Sir Narayan was able to effect this most important reconciliation between two seemingly conflicting ideals is well worth studying.

If I may venture an explanation, it was due to the fact that he was a student par excellence of the Wilson College in Bombay.* That college represented missionary work in the field of education, somewhat like the Christian College in Madras, and its relation to Elphinstone College was somewhat the relation of the Madras Christian College to the Presidency College, Madras. While most of the prominent men of Bombay in those days were, if I am not mistaken, the alumni of Government colleges, Chandavarkar was a Wilson College man, taking a

* Sir Narayan was an Elphinstonian, but his earlier education was in St. Mary's School,

prominent place in the public life of Bombay.

Missionary education, where it is received in a spirit of intelligent sympathy, produces one of two effects. One is to bring about a visible conversion resulting in a change of community on the part of the individual student. Another is to open the mind and heart to all that is good, true and beautiful, come from what quarter of the globe it may, and to urge the individual to a life-long endeavour transforming the existing state of things to a condition nearer to the realization of his ideals.

I fancy that, when Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar came out of his College, he came out as a young man who was intent upon making the best of his life for himself and for his country. He was a distinguished student who not only achieved splendid success at examinations but devoted himself to the improvement of his mind and character, to the enlargement and refinement of his nature, covering the wide expanse of culture and scaling the heights of experience and thus rendering himself useful in uplifting his country in the scale of humanity. He did not cease to be a student when he entered the arena of active life. On the other hand, he seemed to derive strength and skill in battling with the difficulties of life from an appropriation of the vast store-house of what men have thought and said and done in this country and in all countries in this age and in all previous ages.

With such a habit of mind and such a mode of life, he soon found his place in the galaxy of the public men of India who were struggling to raise India among the nations of the world: Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Telang and Ranade in Bombay, W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendranath Bannerjee, Manmohan Ghose, Kali Charan Bannerjee, and a host of others in Bengal, and Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar, G. Subramanya Aiyar, S. Subramania Aiyar, P. Ananda Charlu, and Sankaran Nair in Madras.

Though it was as a politician that N. G. Chandavarkar first came to public notice, i.e., when he went on deputation to England in 1886, on behalf of the Indian National Congress, yet politics was merely the outermost layer of his patriotism. This patriotism urged him to the work of social reform with reason, efficiency, sympathy and justice as its animating principles of conduct both for individuals and for communities. Nay, his patriotism went down deeper still to the springs of national life. He was not only convinced that self-government and national unity which constitute Swaraj were almost impossible without a very considerable change in the social institutions, i.e., in the customs and manners of the people, but that such social changes could not be brought about without a considerable transformation in the religious beliefs and practices of the people. Social conservatism is the twin brother of religious orthodoxy; and a liberal faith in God as the Father of all and in man in whatever condition he may be, as the Child of God, is necessary for doing away with all those customs such as untouchability which stand

in the way of the full attainment of Swaraj, which is but a preparation for an international brotherhood in which nations will co-operate instead of fighting with one another.

I had opportunities of coming in contact with Sir N. G. Chandavarkar on three occasions,—every time in connection with the Madras sessions of the Indian National Social Conference of which he was the General Secretary in succession to the late Justice Ranade.

In 1903 the controversy was raging between those who wished for social reform on rational lines and those who wished for social reform on what they called national lines. I remember the trumpet-like challenge Sir Narayan flung down to those who pretended to espouse the cause of social reform with their faces turned towards the past and their eyes closed to social evils which flourished among them.

In 1909, he seemed to realise that an all-embracing faith insisting upon moral purity was indispensable to the success of social reform in India.

In 1914 he was filled with the conviction that in social service, the service of the poor,—both social reform and religion found a fulfilment which was as acceptable to God as it was useful to man. He realised that Pure Religion and undefiled before God and man is this: to visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction and to keep oneself unspotted from the world.

If I were asked what were the leading notes of Chandavarkar's life I should say—Study,—he was a student all through life; thought—he was an independent thinker; Reflection—he pondered on all that he saw, read and heard; Cultivation of Character in all its width, depth and height—he tried to grow in stature and in wisdom; Work, honest and conscientious, and leading to Service and Worship in the sense of communion with God, through Nature and through an observation of life in its commonest aspects, in the life of the poor and of the ordinary life, in Literature, in Art and in the secrecies of the heart.

If I were asked what the message of his influence on the life of the country, is, I should say,—that in striving for the uplift of the country, we should never forget the eternal principles of Justice and Love in their application to the relations between various sections of the people and between the people of this country and other countries.

Such is the man for whose removal from the earthly sphere we are assembled here to express our grief,—a man whose last position in life as the President of the Bombay Legislative Council typified the position of a man who after having helped to bring a New India into existence was fortunate enough to be allowed to guide its activities from afar and yet not from afar,—a position of intimate transcendence not unlike that of the Gods who loved to move among men.

THE PUNJAB VIDHVA VIVAH SAHAIK SABHA.

The custom preventing Hindu widows belonging to the Brahmin and other high castes from re-marrying is gradually losing its rigidity. Although the Widow Remarriage Act of 1856 has given legal sanction to widow marriage, the influence of immemorial custom has been too strong till recently to show any appreciable result. Among those communities which are obliged to get girls married before they attain puberty, it is not seldom that girls become widows before they become wives in the ordinary sense of the word. The removal of this cruel and tyrannical custom of keeping child widows in enforced widowhood was the first reform after the abolition of *sati* which enlisted the sympathy and strong advocacy of social reformers.

Among the institutions established for the purpose of improving the plight of Hindu widows, the Punjab Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha is the pioneer institution which is doing most intensive work in that direction. The Sabha was founded by Sir Ganga Ram, Kt., C.I.E., M.V.O. who has been generously financing the institution. Beginning with giving a grant of Rs. 100 a month in the beginning, he increased it to Rs. 1000 a month since 1921. It is gratifying to learn from the eighth annual report of the Sabha, for the year 1922, that besides the sum of Rs. 42,000 already spent by Sir Ganga Ram, he has lately given away property worth about ten lacs of rupees for establishing a regular trust. It is estimated that the income from this will amount to Rs. 60,000 a year of which, the report says, 25 per cent will be allocated for the cause of widow marriage in India. Among Sir Ganga Ram's colleagues are R. S. Lala Kashi Ram, R. B. Lala Sevak Ram, Bar-at-Law, Dewan Khem Chand, M. A., Sirdar Sundar Singh Chowla, Lala Nand Lal and Lala Lajpat Rai Sahni. The permanency of the Sabha is now secured through the munificence of Sir Ganga Ram and the management is safe in the hands of its enthusiastic and energetic Secretary, Lala Lajpat Rai Sahni who, like its president founder Sir Ganga Ram, has been putting his heart and soul in pushing forward the movement visiting several places and personally studying the progress of the cause so dear to his heart.

The activities of the Punjab Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha are not, as its name implies, confined to that province. It has created a network of agencies throughout the country and has established 239 branches in different places during the year as against 113 during the previous year. Readers of the *Reformer* would have noticed the progress of the work done by the Sabha and its co-workers from the monthly returns which appear in this journal from time to time of the number of widow marriages celebrated under its auspices. The report records 453 widow re-marriages celebrated by the Sabha and its workers during 1922 as against 317 during the preceding year. In 1914-15, the year when the Sabha was founded, the number

of widow marriages celebrated by it was 12. From that figure it rose to 13 in the next year, 31 in 1917, 40 in 1918, 90 in 1919, 220 in 1920, 317 in 1921 and 453 in 1922. It will be seen that since 1920 the movement has made rapid progress. The report says that besides those recorded in the report many more widow marriages have taken place during the year as the result of the Sabha's propaganda. Among the marriages celebrated by the Sabha are 90 interprovincial marriages and 73 inter-caste marriages.

Considering the number of widows of marriageable age in the country, it cannot be said that the movement has already made much headway and that more vigorous propaganda is not necessary. There are, according to the report, 153,00,761 Hindu widows in India of whom 10,75,935 are of marriageable age. The report records with regret that the workers of the Sabha could not make much progress in Madras and Bengal. The Madras Presidency contains 3,538,576 widows of whom 198,014 are of marriageable age. Yet not a single marriage is reported by the Sabha's workers from that Presidency. Early marriage is still prevalent among the Brahmins of South India and naturally there must be many thousands of child widows. Is Madras still going to remain a "benighted presidency" in social matters? What if a pious resolution was passed in the Legislative Council enfranchising the women of Madras Presidency when such cruel customs remain in all their ancient rigidity? The report says that "the society especially tried to push the work in Bengal, the home of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, the pioneer of the movement of the widow marriage in India, but it has failed owing to no response." The "home of Vidyasagar" quietly shelved the question of women franchise, and so far as the position of women is concerned, Bengal cannot think of approaching Bombay. In the course of one of his speeches recently delivered in Bombay, Sir P. C. Ray paid an eloquent tribute to Bombay for pioneering the cause of women's emancipation and confessed that his province was still lagging behind in moving with the times in this respect. It is a strange irony that the province which gave birth to such great reformers as Ram Mohun Roy, Vidyasagar and Tagore still remains backward in social matters. Generally speaking the women of the Punjab are not more advanced than their sisters in Bengal or Madras and it is evident that the progress made by that province in the cause of widow marriage in having been able to record the highest number of marriages is entirely due to the activities of the Sabha. It is gratifying to find that the Sabha is not discouraged by the poor response it has had from Bengal and Madras and that it has decided to establish two societies in Calcutta to push on the work and to give a paid worker to Mr. Subbukrishnaiya, Secretary of the Bachammal Widows' Home in Bangalore, who has agreed to work in the Madras Presidency. We trust that the social reformers of Bengal and Madras will render all possible help to the workers of the Punjab Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha in their endea-

yours to ameliorate the condition of Hindu widows. We have in Bombay a Social Reform Association which conducts a Widows' Home. The Sabha is going to appoint a paid worker in Bombay and it is stated that Mr. P. K. Pange of this city, a short notice of whose appointment appeared in a recent issue of this paper, has agreed to work through a Committee.

Besides encouraging widow marriages, the Sabha is conducting an Urdu Magazine, *Vidhva Sahaik*, and also an Ashram where the necessary training is imparted to the widows to make them useful citizens till they are married. The Sabha sent two workers to the Social Conference at Gaya during the last Christmas week and has organised an All India Vidhva Sahaik Conference at Meerut. The Gaya Conference passed a resolution expressing its high appreciation of the work of the Vidhva Vivah Sahaik Sabha and the munificence of Sir Ganga Ram in maintaining it.

In reviewing the last year's report we referred to the *Pratiloma* marriages and inquired whether such marriages were registered under Act III of 1872. That this has not escaped the notice of the Sabha is evident from the following observations in the report :

From certain quarters, the Bombay Presidency in special, it has been pointed out that some of the marriages celebrated are not legal in as much as a Khatri is married with a Brahmin and so on. To this it may be mentioned for the information of the readers that the Sabha does not take any kind of responsibility whatever. It is for the parties to see to this, as it is they who take up the responsibility. The members and workers of the Sabha never induce for any kind of action. It is what is required of the parties that the society helps them to carry out according to certain rules and regulations by which it is guided. The parties or their relatives are brought face to face as per their own wishes, and no further action is taken except helping them as per their inclinations. It is considered better to settle the marriageable widows, willing to marry through their parents in life rather than create difficulties for them, when those on whom they depend are sure to place all kinds of obstacles in their ways as must make their condition still worse, wretched and miserable.

Now that Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill has been passed by the Legislative Assembly and is expected to become an Act at no distant date, there may not be any difficulty in getting such marriages registered under that Act. That 5054 men candidates applied to the Sabha for widow marriage is itself sufficient evidence to show that the prejudice against this reform is gradually declining. We congratulate the Sabha on the progress made and wish it increasing success in the future.

Princes Protection Act: The Daxini Samasthan Hitavardak Sabha has issued a useful publication relating to the passing of the Princes Protection Bill. The appendices contain Press opinions and articles on the Bill. The book is priced Rs. two only, and may be had from the Aryabhusan Press, Poona.

President of the next Congress: The 38th Indian National Congress is to be held at Cocanada in December next. Provincial Congress Committees are invited to suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are eligible for the presidency of the ensuing Congress.

MINISTER AND VICE-CHANCELLOR.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Your reputation for fairness is so well-deserved that the following lines of your articles on the ministerial resignations in the United Provinces were read by me with painful surprise. "The Vice-Chancellor is appointed by the Governor-in-Council, not like the Fellows, by the Chancellor. Since Education became a transferred subject, the appointment is made by the Governor acting with his Minister. Under the new Allahabad University Act, moreover, the Vice-Chancellor is a salaried full-time officer. Even an officer lent to local bodies is subject to the rules governing the public services. There is no question of lending here because the appointment of Vice-Chancellor is made by Government just in the same way as the appointment of Collector or Commissioner."

Will you kindly allow me to point out that you are quite wrong? The first Vice-Chancellor was appointed by the Chancellor (please see Section 51 of the Act) and the successors of the first Vice-Chancellor will be elected subject to the confirmation of the Chancellor (please see Section 11 of the Act). The Minister has nothing to do with the Vice-Chancellorship except as a member of the Court of the University.

Yours etc.

"ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY."

[We are obliged to our correspondent for the correction. We can never hope to know the details of the Allahabad University Act as well as he does. The important point, however, is whether or no the Vice-Chancellor's doings are open to discussion in the Legislative Council, and if they are, on whom does the responsibility rest of meeting criticisms of them?—Ed. I. S. R.]

THE EAST AND WEST.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

May I be allowed to make a comment on one remark in your interesting obituary notice of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in your issue of May 1928?

You say that he believed in the possibility of a synthesis of all that is best in the East and in the West; and that Rudyard Kipling broke this belief by his well-known lines. Will you allow me to quote those lines in full?

Oh East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,

Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great judgment seat,—

(Is it not possible that they are standing there together—already?)

But there is neither East nor West, Border nor Breed nor Birth,

When two strong men stand face to face, this they come from the ends of the earth.

And the poem which follows tells the story of a warm and sincere friendship between men of the East and the West:

They have looked each other between the eyes and there they found no fault,

They have taken the Oath of the Brother in Blood on leavened bread and salt,—

(Barrack Room Ballads East and West.)

I think one may hope that these lines would not have been altogether distasteful to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar.

I am,

Yours truly,

(Miss) D. J. STEPHEN.

[We took care to add that Sir Narayan remained firm in his faith and illustrated in his life the possibility of such a synthesis. Kipling's influence was first felt by Englishmen and from them it re-moted upon the generality of Indians.—Ed. I. S. R.]

A DISCLAIMER BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

The *Modern Review* of Calcutta for June prints the following from Dr. Rabindranath Tagore:—"Since the time when I unfortunately stumbled into public notice, I have gained a wide experience of interviewers and reporters, both professional and amateur. This has saved me from too rude a shock of surprise when lately at a friend's house my attention was drawn to an account published in the *Times of India* (dated 9th May?) of what has been termed an interview with me. Fabrication of news is bad enough, but distortion of it through inaccuracy of understanding and expression is a great deal more mischievous. There is only one portion of the report in which I find vaguely expressed my own idea about the present government of India as a marvellously efficient machinery of administration perfecting law, preserving order and repressing life, claiming perpetuity of its reign of toothed wheels on the plea of the successful emasculation of the disarmed people of India for all time to come; boasting of the fact that an immense multitude of human beings have lain beautifully still under its well-regulated pressure for over a century.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

GOKHALE ON THE OPIUM TRAFFIC.

Speaking on the Indian Budget in March 1907 in the Imperial Legislative Council, Mr. Gokhale referred as follows to the proposal to put an end to the opium revenue:—

My Lord, I have read with sincere pleasure the important statement which the Hon'ble Member has made on the subject of the Opium revenue, coupled as it is with a reduction in the area under cultivation for the ensuing year. I confess I have always felt a sense of deep humiliation at the thought of this revenue, derived as it is practically from the degradation and moral ruin of the people of China. And I rejoice that there are indications of a time coming when this stain will no longer rest on us. I have no wish to go today into the historical part of this melancholy business. The Secretary of State admitted freely in his speech last year on this subject that there were few things which Englishmen had reason to regard with less pride than this. The only practical question now is, how to put an end to this morally indefensible traffic with the least derangement in our finances? It has been suggested in some quarters that the British Exchequer should make a grant to India to compensate her for the loss of revenue which would be entailed by the extinction of this traffic. Now, apart from the fact that there is not the slightest chance of England making such a grant, I think the proposal is in itself an unfair one and ought to be strongly deprecated. No doubt there are important questions like the Army expenditure, in regard to which India has to bear serious financial injustice at the hands of England. Then the cost of the civil administration ought to be substantially reduced by a large substitution of the Indian for the European agency in the public service. And if only justice were done to us in these matters, we could let the whole Opium revenue go at once and yet not feel the loss. But, these questions have to be fought on their own merits and they must not be mixed up with this Opium question. So far as the Opium revenue is concerned, whatever may be the measure of England's responsibility in forcing the drug on China, the financial gain from the traffic has been derived by India alone, and we must, therefore, be prepared to give up this unholy gain without any compensation from anybody—for that would be only another name for charity —

when in the interests of humanity this wretched traffic has got to be abolished. Of course we have a right to urge, and we should urge, that we must be allowed to spread our loss over a certain number of years—say ten years—so that our finances should not be suddenly disorganised. That would be a fair position to take up, and we should have there the support of all right-minded people. But the traffic itself must go, and we must cheerfully co-operate in any reasonable scheme for its final extinction.

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.

FURTHER PRESS OPINIONS.

(The *Modern Review*.)

By the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the whole of India, and the Bombay Presidency in particular, has lost an eminent citizen who had distinguished himself in many fields of national activity.

In our country, the habit of looking upon human life as an organic whole, began in modern times with Rammohun Roy. He thought that for the regeneration of India, reform was necessary in all spheres of life—religious, social, moral, educational, political, economic, etc. His life was in harmony with his conviction. In the Bombay Presidency, Ranade, Telang, Agarkar and others held the same view of Reform as Rammohun Roy. Among our contemporaries Sir Narayan was the most eminent representative of this school of thought in that Presidency.

The spring of all his activities was to be found in his faith in God. We had no opportunities of knowing him intimately, but we believe, of all the associations and institutions with which he was connected, he attached the greatest importance to his connection with the Bombay Prarthana-Samaj as its President. He was of a devout disposition. He could not but have thought that its work was fundamental and essential for national progress.

As he was a public man, we had occasion sometimes to criticise him. But in spite of that fact, and though he could have found a ready and true excuse in the multifarious and heavy nature of his duties, whenever we made demands upon his time and knowledge, he responded readily and punctually with his usual kindness and courtesy. It was because he was very methodical and punctual that he was able to do so much work in so many capacities. Our impression is that though he adhered firmly to his political and other convictions, in his private relations he cultivated the habit of thinking of men as men, not as members of any particular party. Of this we remember an illustration. During one of his visits to Calcutta, happening to pass by our office, he entered it, and engaged in conversation. A well-known Bengali gentleman was also present there. In the course of our talk this gentleman let fall a sweeping condemnation of all extremists. Immediately, Sir Narayan very politely yet firmly contradicted him by saying that there were black sheep both among Moderates and Extremists, and good men, too, were to be found in the ranks of both parties.

Sir Narayan was a man of wide culture and up to date in his studies. It would be natural to expect such a man to have a retentive memory. His memory was really very tenacious, and he could recall even what others would consider trifles, years after the incidents had happened. We could give very remarkable examples, but these being of a private and personal character, we refrain.

From the fact of his having been a very busy man it might be natural to conclude that Sir Narayan was a dry-

machine-like man. But so far as our knowledge of him goes, he was the exact opposite. We found him genial, affable, kindly, and affectionate to young men and women. He could even be humorous at his own expense. Of this we remember a public example. On the occasion of one of his visits to Calcutta, the Sadharan Brahma Samaj organised a party in his honour. After Sir Nil Ratan Sircar had made a speech in praise of the guest, Sir Narayan rose to return thanks. One of the first things which he said was that Lady Chandavarkar (she was then alive, and present at the meeting) had often told him not to speak so often in public, as, in her opinion, he did not know when and where to stop!

He had the greatest respect for the spiritual heritage of the Hindu race, and combined in himself Eastern and Western culture.

(*To-morrow, Ahmedabad*).

On Monday the 14th instant Sir Narayan Chandavarkar died of heart-failure at Bangalore. Sir Narayan was one of that illustrious band of reformers and idealists who adorned Indian public life in the latter part of the last century. There is not a single movement of reform in Bombay of any importance, with which he was not connected and to which he did not make his personal contribution.

Sir Narayan held a high position in Indian politics. He presided at a session of the Indian National Congress; Indian political life has since then evolved difficult standards of conduct for public workers, but even in those days it was regarded a misfortune that Sir Narayan accepted a place in the High Court Bench immediately after presiding over the great National Assembly.

Sir Narayan entered life with a robust faith in British Justice and Ideals and the providential nature of India's connection with England. That faith remained unshaken through all the vicissitudes of recent Indian History.

A profound scholar, a brilliant writer, a man of high ideals and lofty standards of conduct, Sir Narayan was one of the most outstanding figures of modern India.

(*G. I. P. Union Monthly*)

We are very much grieved to learn that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar is no more with us. His wide sympathies, vast erudition, amiable nature, unflinching courtesy and above all his robust patriotism won for him the respect and admiration of all Indians. The members of the G. I. P. Staff have special reasons to be grateful to him for the unique services he rendered as an arbitrator on the Manmad Agreement. We offer to the members of his bereaved family our heartfelt condolence and sincerely pray to the Almighty to give Eternal Rest and Peace to his soul.

BUDDHIST VIHARA AND UNIVERSITY AT SARNATH.

His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler laid the foundation-stone of the proposed Buddhist Vihara and University at Sarnath, near Benares, on the 3rd November 1922. We take the following history of the site selected, from the report presented on the occasion by the Anagarika Dhammapala:

Rishipatna, the Deer Park, is eternally sacred to the Buddhists, for here the preceding Buddhas of this great Kalpa also proclaimed the Sacred Law of Righteousness. Four places are sacred to all the Buddhas—Buddhagaya,

Rishipatna, Sravasti and Sankassa, of the past, present and future. Our Gautama Buddha was born at Lumbini near Kapilavastu in the Kosala country, became enlightened at Buddhagaya, preached the Dharma Chakra at this place and realized the final emancipation of Parinibbana at Kusinara. For three months—July to the end of the rainy season, the Blessed One stayed at this spot teaching and training the sixty Bhikkhus, and on the full moon day of the Kartika, coinciding with the ceremony to-day, He gave them the order in stirring words of compassion. Thenceforward Rishipatna became one of the four *Achala* Chaityas the site unshakable, undisturbable for all time in the history of Buddhism.

The Buddha, lying at Kusinara between the two Sala trees, at the close of His missionary life of forty-five years, recapitulated the Aryan Doctrine, and enjoined on all Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, Upasakas and Upasikas, to treat the four sites as consecrated ground *viz.*: the birthplace of the Tathagata at Lumbini, the site whereat He obtained the *Anuttara Samma Sambodhi*, the site where He proclaimed the Anuttara Dharma Chakra, and the site where the Tathagata obtained the final Release of Annapadissa Nirvana Dhatu.

The Rishipatna Vihara during the life-time of the Great Teacher was known as Mulagandhakuti. At Sravasti, at Jetavana, there was the Kosambagandha Kutj, and in each of the great Viharas that He stayed the sanctified room consecrated to Him was called "Gandhakuti." The original *Gandhakuti* is here, a few yards from the spot where the Asoka Column stands. In later times, the site where we are assembled was known as Dharma Chakra Vihara and Rishipatna Maha Vihara. To this place came Asoka, the Great Emperor, under the guidance of his spiritual Protector, Asvagupta, or Indragupta, and, at the spot where the Tathagata sat to preach the Dharma, the Emperor caused the erection of the stone pillar in commemoration of the great event.

Rishipatna was a centre of activity until the place was totally destroyed by the Moslem invaders. It is evident that for some time after the destruction of Buddhism the place was in the hands of the Brahmanical worshippers, as we find many images of theirs. Then the place evidently decayed and remained so until Jains came and on a portion of this site built their Mandir.

In January 1891, the present General Secretary of the Maha Bodhi Society visited the sacred site, which was then totally abandoned. In February 1893, he again visited the site with Colonel Olcott, who was the Director General of the Maha Bodhi Society and the latter entered into negotiation with the then Commissioner of Benares in the hope of restoring the site, but that official could not give us any kind of information, except to say that the surrounding land is owned by a Zemindar. Since 1893 every effort was made by the Maha Bodhi Society to purchase the site, and at last in 1900, it was able to purchase three bighas of land from Babu Raghbir Singh, Zemindar. The small Dharmasala was built for use of pilgrims, and in 1904, another ten bighas were purchased to the east of the Dharmasala. In June 1916, the Government of India promised to give the Maha Bodhi Society, a relic of the Buddha, if the Society would undertake to build a Vihara at Sarnath, and have it enshrined therein.

The devastating Great War as well as other obstacles prevented the Society from starting operations to erect the

Vihara, and it was in the beginning of this year that the Society was able to turn their attention to Sarnath. The General Secretary of the Society communicated the wishes of the Society to the enlightened Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, Rai Bahadur G. N. Chakravarti, who very promptly communicated the fact to His Excellency, Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler, who most graciously consented to lay the foundation stone of the Vihara, and the date was announced for the ceremony to be held on November 8, 1922.

The Society has earmarked the sum of Rupees thirty thousand for the construction of the Vihara, but it is estimated that a further sum of Rupees thirty thousand may be needed to complete the shrine, which will be erected after the design has been approved by the Archaeological Department. The gracious lady, Mrs. Mary Foster of Honolulu, well known for her marvellous benefactions has kindly contributed rupees twenty thousand for the Vihara fund, and it is hoped that the balance needed will be contributed by Buddhists as well as by the Hindus. The Maha Bodhi Society has also formulated a scheme for the establishment of a Research College at this sacred spot where Pali, Sanskrit, English, Hindi, Urdu, etc., shall be taught to about fifty residential Brahmachari students whose life will be devoted for the dissemination of Buddhist knowledge in non-Buddhist lands.

It is proposed to raise a fund of three lakhs of rupees for the construction of the building necessary for a Buddhist College as mentioned in the Pali Mahavagga.

"HAS CHRISTIANITY FAILED?"

DEAN INGE'S SERMON TO EDINBURGH STUDENTS.

(The Scotman.)

The visit yesterday (13th May) afternoon of Dean Inge, the Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, London, to St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, where he preached the sermon on the occasion of the annual church parade of the Officers Training Corps and cadets of the University and Edinburgh schools, aroused considerable public interest.

Dean Inge based his sermon on the text, "When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" (Luke xviii. 8.) He said:—Christianity is said to have failed, and this war is said to have made its failure manifest to the world. Many answers to this charge have been spoken and written; but it continues to be brought, so that apparently the answers do not seem satisfactory to those who consider that Christianity has failed. The subject is so important to us all, and so vital to the future of the Church, that we must face it frankly, and if we think we have anything useful to say about it we ought to say it.

WAYS OF JUDGING A GREAT RELIGION.

There are three ways in which we may judge a great religion. First we may take the precepts of the Founder, and of those who are able to speak with authority in His name, and we may try to understand what the Founder meant to teach, and what the result of faithfully following His commands would be. Secondly, if we take the tried of the men and women who have actually tried to frame their lives in faithful obedience to that religion, and we may consider for ourselves whether such lives merit our complete admiration. Thirdly, we may pass in review what we are able to collect of the whole civilisation of nations which profess that religion, in order to determine what influence it has had upon national life.

All these ways of discussing a religion are legitimate but the results are very different. If we want to know what Christianity was when it was fresh from the mint, we must go to the New Testament. We must study the Sermon on the Mount, the parables, and the discourses of St John. We must read St Paul's epistles, and the other books of the New Testament. Let us try to put ourselves in the position of an intelligent stranger from another world or another age, who had studied the Gospels and Epistles for the first time. Would his opinion be something of this kind? "It seems to me," he might say, "that Christ did not mean to found a religion; his example and teaching are rather a deepening and elevating of the religious principle itself. The doctrines which seem most distinctive of this Gospel are the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man; the intense inwardness and spirituality of the moral teaching; the universality of a creed which destroys all artificial barriers by ignoring them; the supremacy of love over justice as the primary virtue, and the high place given by the side of love to faith and hope—an entirely original ideal this; and an equally original and distinctive doctrine about the necessity of self-surrender, the purifying and ennobling influence of suffering, and the law that we must crucify the old man that the new man may be raised up in us." If our stranger were asked what would be the results of living in obedience to the law of Christ, he would say—"A society of Christians will be united as a band of brothers, bearing one another's burdens, and sympathising with each other in joy and sorrow. It will be singularly happy and light-hearted, being full of faith, hope, and love, and free from all the passions which make life miserable. It will have no enemies, and no bitter feelings towards other societies, believing that all mankind are children of God. It will be free from bitter rivalry and sharp competition, because it attaches little importance to those external goods in which one man's gain is another man's loss, and because it has its own standard of values, which precludes envy, greed, and injustice. Its members will bear the sorrows to which all flesh is heir, not only with resignation, but with a kind of thankfulness that they are given their share of the world's burden to carry, and remembering that there is no sonship without chastisement." Something like this, I think, would be his answer. He would see more clearly than we, who have been brought up as Christians, what are the distinctive features of our religion—what are the points which Christianity emphasises, and which other religions and ethical systems either neglect altogether or throw into the background.

CHRISTIAN IDEALS.

Now let us consider Christianity from the second point of view, and ask how it has shown itself in the lives of individuals who have tried to frame their lives in accordance with its principles. If we do this, we shall see at once that we have to make allowance for an external factor—the prevailing ideals of conduct at the times when our chosen representatives lived. And the influence of those reigning ideals is so strong that our typical Christians will be found to differ very widely from each other. At one time we shall find that the hope of any improvement in human conditions burns very low indeed. The conditions are such as to destroy for the time any idea of progress. At such periods the saint seems to turn his back upon society. He is not selfish; but he tends to say, as St. Augustine once says, "What do I wish to know? God and the soul. The soul and God; these and nothing else." These cloistered saints endeavour to

keep the Christian ideal pure and unspotted from the world. For them the knowledge of God is the beginning and the end. They love their brethren as members of Christ, but all the machinery of social life interests them but little. At another period the representative Christian is a valiant soldier of the Church. His virtues are the military virtues of courage, unquestioning obedience, cheerful endurance of hardship, and self-devotion, even unto death. At another period the typical Christian is the philanthropist, the man who devotes himself to the abolition of slavery, or to the amelioration of the lot of prisoners, or to the liberation of some downtrodden nation, or to the redress of economic and social injustice. In all these topical developments we can trace the working of the Christian spirit, but the forms are determined by local and temporal ideals, which belong to the stage through which the life of the race is passing. It is the same religion which inspires the careers of St. Thomas a Kempis, of the militant missionaries and statesmen of Catholicism, and of Howard the philanthropist; but how very different their lives are!

Thirdly, we may try to estimate the civilisation of the Christian nations as a whole, and ask how their religion has affected their moral condition. But here it is quite necessary to remember that our Lord never held out the slightest hope that His Gospel would ever be accepted by the majority of men. The crowd will always be gathered before the gates of the broad way. "Strait is the gate and narrow the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." "If they have called the master of the house Babelzabub, how much more them of his house-hold." "In the world ye shall have tribulation." "When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" He said the same thing many times in different words, and it is inexcusable that we should forget it, and make ourselves uneasy because "the masses"—a most unchristian way of thinking of mankind—are obviously not Christian except in name. Further, Christ taught us to have the most complete distrust of labels. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord," &c. It stands to reason that the morality of a whole nation, the majority of which is only nominally Christian, cannot be much in advance of what it would be with no religion at all. I do not mean that the leaven has had no influence upon the whole lump—it certainly has; but unless we set aside a great deal of our Lord's teaching we must expect that real Christians will always be in a small minority. If a Church becomes popular and powerful, it is always because it has made some unholy alliance with a political party, whose aims have nothing in common with the mind of Christ.

ACUTE RIVALRY BETWEEN NATIONS.

If we consider the causes of our public troubles, whether with other nations or arising out of our internal conditions, we shall find that they have nothing to do with Christianity, which, if it had had a fair trial, would have prevented or cured them all, but that they arise, on the contrary from principles of conduct which are flatly contrary to Christianity. The acute rivalry between nations, which on the whole share the same civilisation arises from a perverted and exaggerated patriotism, which is expressed in the heathenish sentiment, "My country right or wrong." Our recent enemies carried this false ideal further than we ever did and even declared explicitly that there is no such thing as international morality—a most shocking view, which Government have often acted on, but have seldom or never avowed till now. It is combined with a hatred and contempt for other nations and with a complete denial of any moral obligations to those people outside Europe who are arrogantly called the inferior

races. We have here a reversion to the barbarous tribal morality which even the middle Ages had outgrown. It is unnecessary to argue that it is quite inconsistent with Christianity. "In Christ," says St. Paul, "there is neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free." Nationalism is an open revolt against the Gospel, as is the whole theory of superior and inferior races, which is bad science as well as bad religion. Equally unchristian is the desire for territorial expansion without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants. "Take away justice," says St. Augustine, and "what are empires but great acts of brigandage?" The bitter jealousy and competition within our societies in peace time is equally unchristian.

CAUSE OF OUR TROUBLES.

Any fair-minded man must surely see that it is the practical rejection of Christianity and the adoption of quite different ideas which are responsible for our troubles. History has set its condemnation, not on the Gospel of Christ, but against perverted and half-insane national arrogance, against public and private greed, and, amongst other things, against faith in machinery—laws and institutions and policy—for making men bitter. If you will think of the characteristics of New Testament religion, as I tried to summarise them just now, I am sure you will be convinced that if any serious attempt had been made to guide the public and private life of Europe in accordance with those ideals, our late troubles would not have occurred. You remember St. Paul's metaphor of a building in 1st Cor. iii. The builders have brought materials of all sorts, good and bad; and the fire has come which has tried every man's work of what sort it is. What has been burnt is assuredly not the Christian element in our civilisation. It is the masonry, daubed with untempered mortar, the wood, hay, and stubble, set up by men who deemed themselves wiser and more practical than Christ.

"When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" The question implies that he will not find it; that is to say, I suppose, that not before the end will his enemies be put under his feet. The Church militant is to be always in a minority, though with God on our side we may say that "those who are with us are more than those who are with them." But if this is the prospect which Christ showed us it is plain that the arguments so often adduced to prove the failure of Christianity are beside the mark. By the democratic test of a plurality of votes Christianity has been a failure ever since the Sanhedrim declared unanimously that its Founder was "worthy of death." But none the less it was the judges, not the prisoner, who was condemned on that occasion. It is the world, and not its Redeemer and His followers, who are condemned and sentenced in every crisis of history. The Gospels have shown us, once for all how men might live happily and peacefully together if they would only listen. They won't listen, and therefore, as St. John says, "the whole world lieth in the Evil One." But beyond all this turmoil and folly and wickedness there remaineth a rest for the people of God. The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and there shall no torment touch them. If we are faithful unto death, He will give us a crown of life. As for human society at large, we may hope for some improvement, but we must not be sanguine, and, above all, not impatient. The race is young, and the Church younger. Those who dream of Utopias on this earth must learn to think in millennia, not years or centuries, and they must not forget St. Paul's emphatic words now, I suppose, very unpopular, "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable."

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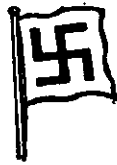
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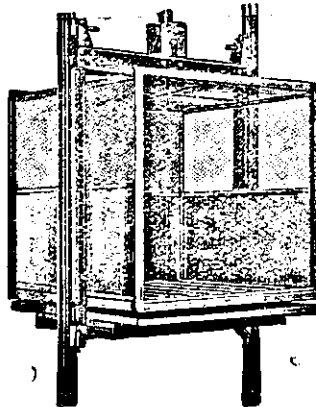
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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

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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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A Wrong View of Indian History: We almost completely agree with the views expressed by the *Prabuddha Bharata* on the Hindu revival signs of which are visible on all sides. The reservation is necessitated by the use by our contemporary of expressions implying that outbursts of fanaticism and religious persecution were habitual or frequent during Mahomedan rule. As we have more than once stated, that is not our reading of Indian history. Organised fanaticism and religious persecution were neither normal nor frequent features of Mahomedan rule but sporadic and even rare occurrences. In his eloquent and admirable address on Sufism at the Student's Brotherhood last Saturday, Professor A. M. Maulvi of the Karnatak College, conclusively showed that religious persecution is repugnant to the spirit of Islam. The acts of bigots and hooligans cannot fairly be laid at the door of that great religion. Moreover, Indian Mahomedans share with their Hindu countrymen the innate disbelief in religious proselytisation, as shown by the fact that, as a rule, there is very little of active and organised proselytising in Indian Islam. Some bigoted rulers like Aurangzeb and Tippu Sultan might have occasionally indulged in "forced conversions". But as their examples prove, when they did so, the sovereign power very soon passed out of their hands. That the price of religious discrimination is loss of empire, is writ large on every page of Indian history. All good Mahomedan rulers knew this quite well, and as for tyrants, there have been Hindu as well as Mahomedan tyrants. We think it highly important to get a right perspective of Mahomedan rule in India, for much of the antipathy between sister communities is due to a wrong reading of history. The social reform movement has throughout had for its object to make Hindu society strong with the strength of perfect social justice. Many of the so-called "forced conversions" are those of persons who on account of their grievous social disabilities in Hinduism, were not unwilling to be forced into any other fold. Even during the Mopla outbreak in Malabar, a distinguished Malabar Hindu leader told us that several

persons of the untouchable classes made their way to the mosques as quickly as possible, had themselves converted on the spot to Moplaism, and went straight from the mosques to the houses of Nairs and Nambudiris to loot, burn and outrage. We have not seen this matter referred to anywhere, no doubt, because neither Hindus nor Mahomedans have reason to be proud of the affair.

Distracted Punjab: We have received a lucid statement of the situation in the Punjab from Mr. K. Santanam. The conditions in the Province are described to be alarming. Police oppression is said to be rife in the two districts mentioned. We do not wonder that this should be the case. The practical immunity of the officials guilty of excesses in the martial law regime in 1919 in the Punjab, cannot but operate as an encouragement to others to go and do likewise. It is high time that the Government of India stepped in to save the situation. There is also another aspect of affairs in the Punjab which demands prompt and earnest attention. The press communiques of the Punjab Government, for some weeks past, have had references to the occurrence of political murders. Mr. Santanam confirms the existence of a small party which has openly disavowed its belief in non-violence and is deliberately murdering persons whom it suspects of helping Government. Only a few months ago, the Central Publicity Officer of the Government of India, in his review of Indian Administration during 1921-22, handsomely acknowledged that anarchical crime had practically ceased, largely owing to the influence of Mahatma Gandhi's idealism. The recrudescence of such crime in a part of the Punjab, where Congress activities have been intense, after Mahatmaji has been a year in jail, conveys its own meaning which, we trust, will not be lost upon the country. *Young India* abjures us to spare Mr. Gandhi's feelings, which, our contemporary assures the world, are likely to be hurt by pressing for his release. It is not, so far as we are concerned, a question of his feelings, but a question of vital public importance and if in urging his early release, we unwittingly offend his feelings or those of any entitled to speak for him, we are very sorry, but we must continue to press the matter upon the public attention in the public interests. The fact of the existence of a party which uses murder as a political weapon is the greatest outrage on Mahatmaji's teachings. Mahatma Gandhi attached so great importance to Non-Violence that he would have promptly thrown Non-Co-operation overboard in order first to put down this sinister development. We would suggest that the immediate duty of Government, Congressmen and the Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee, is to combine to find ways of putting down this dangerous movement which, if it spreads, is sure to undo the best results of the Non-Co-operation movement for years. The last-named body did excellent service in a similar direction during the recent Amritsar riots. The Government of the Punjab, if it cares for its good name, ought to keep a tight hand upon the agencies employed for the

prevention and detection of the murders. Excesses estrange popular sympathy and make the task of detection almost impossible. The Punjab has been the martyr province of India for some time and there is no end to her woes yet.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad : The Director of Information sends us copies of the letters which passed between His Excellency the Governor of Bombay and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. Sir Chimanlal says that he is formally tendering his resignation of the membership of His Excellency's Executive Council in accordance with "the private conversations" he had with the Governor. What the purport of these private conversations was, will appear in due time, for, as the ancient saying has it, there is nothing hid which will not be revealed. Sir Chimanlal reminds Sir George Lloyd that he resigned from the High Court Bench in 1920 to become a member of the Reformed Legislative Assembly to which he was duly elected, the Congress party having decided to boycott the elections. Before he took his seat in the Assembly, however, His Excellency invited him—appointment to the Membership of Council is made by the King-Emperor—to serve on his Executive Council, and he (Sir Chimanlal) felt it was his patriotic duty to accept the invitation. Another General Election is in prospect, and "in the present state of politics in the country and looking to the needs of my party," he feels very strongly that it is his imperative duty to resign office and seek election to the Legislative Assembly. Meanwhile Sir Chimanlal will not be altogether without a semi-official position, because it was announced only a few days ago that he was one of the members of the Royal Commission to enquire into the grievances of the England-recruited Indian Services. He will not find this very useful as a recommendation to his electors, as this Commission is one of the most unpopular Commissions ever appointed. Rumour has more than once anticipated Sir Chimanlal's resignation for various reasons, and this announcement, therefore, has not created the sensation that may have been expected of it. The publication of the correspondence which passed between the Governor and Sir Chimanlal, is no doubt intended to show that the resignation is not prompted by any disagreement, such as led to Mr. Chintamani's resignation, between Governor and the erstwhile Member of Council. Both protest that their relations have always been of the most cordial character, as if anybody else may feel concerned to doubt or deny it. Sir Chimanlal, about a year ago, maintained that his being a Member of the Executive Council did not affect his freedom as a politician. He seems to have discovered at last that this is not altogether the case and that there is a larger public life from which the smaller public life of the Executive Council cut him off. Sir Chimanlal's strong asset as a public man is a certain intimate knowledge of the by-ways of Bombay life which is of little avail in all-India affairs. Hence, he has never been a recognised Indian publicist like Gokhale, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar or Sir Dinshaw Wacha. He will find his level in the next Legislative Assembly, if he gets elected to it, to be not on a par with what he occupied as a member of Government in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Constitutional Reform in Mysore : The Report of the Committee, appointed by the Government of Mysore to frame a scheme of constitutional reform on the lines of an announcement made in the Representative Assembly last October by the Dewan, leads one to expect some new and startling consti-

tutional discoveries. The actual recommendations are, as a matter of fact, but a pale shadow of the Montagu reforms in the Government of India. The Committee seem deliberately to have set themselves to offer a current illustration of the old adage about a mountain in labour. What is the sum and substance of their recommendations? It is contained in the following clause relating to the Budget discussion in the Legislative Council :

The Government shall have power in relation to any demand to act as if it had been assented to notwithstanding the withholding of such assent or the reduction of the amount therein referred to, if they consider that the restoration of the grant is necessary for the carrying on of any department.

Not even the form of "certification" is required. Government simply ignore the vote of the Council. The "certification" of the salt duty by the Governor-General has created a commotion which it ought to be the aim of the Mysore Government to avoid. In an Indian State, surely the Government are expected to have more confidence in and regard for the views of the representatives of the people, than this implies. The Representative Assembly is to be "consulted" before any Bill is introduced in the Legislative Council. Amendments to the general principles of a Bill—whatever that may mean—can be moved in the Assembly, but not to particular clauses. Suppose the Bill relates to the protection of minor girls. It will be in order for a member of the Representative Assembly to move an amendment as to the 'principle' of such protection, but not as to who is a minor girl or how the protection is to be given. Our first impression on reading the report and the recommendations is that these have been framed so as to cause the maximum of irritation with the minimum of benefit to Government and the people from their association with each other. The position of the Economic Conference in the scheme is not at all clear. Between the Legislative Council, the District Boards, and the Economic Conference which includes education, the Representative Assembly seems likely to dwindle into insignificance.

A Woman's Plea : At a time when the caste and communal spirit seems to have taken on a new lease of life, it is refreshing to read an educated woman's brave attempt to stem the flowing tide. Presiding at a conference held in Quilon of women of her caste, Srimati B. N. Minaksui, B.A., delivered a remarkable address in the course of which she strongly urged that caste and communal feelings should not be allowed to transgress their legitimate bounds and to overflow into regions which concern the nation's well-being. She said—"This is an Ezhuva women's conference, and therefore an Ezhuva woman must preside: it was this familiar vanity that brought me here. I do not respect this narrow view. Caste sense and pride are necessary things, but there is a limit for all that. Beyond that limit, such sentiments will lead to narrow-mindedness and false pride. Are not non-Ezhuva women also women? If we, who are eternally fighting against caste prejudices, are unable to subjugate our own caste feeling, how can we logically ask other caste people to forget their caste? There are several accomplished women in our neighbourhood who are more competent to preside at this conference. We are entirely wrong in neglecting them for the reason that they were not born in Ezhuva caste." The salvation of the country, it is becoming increasingly clear, will come mainly from the depressed and repressed sections of the Indian people—Sudras and women. The stone which the builders had set at naught will become the head of the corner.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 16, 1923.

ANIMISM AND HINDUISM.

It was shown last week on the testimony of Mr. L. J. Sedgwick, the Superintendent of the current Bombay Census, that the statistics for Animists were deliberately manipulated by Sir Edward Gait, the Commissioner for All-India at the Census of 1911, to suit a pre-conceived theory. "In 1911," observed Mr. Sedgwick, "Mr. Gait, the Census Commissioner, when visiting this Presidency on tour, converted 70,000 Bhils in Reva Kantha from Hindus to Animists by a stroke of the pen." (p. 63) Mr. Gait was not evidently satisfied with this achievement, as he remarks in his All-India Report (p. 130), that Mr. Macgregor (the Bombay Superintendent for 1911) says "that the vast majority of the Dangi Bhils of the Bombay Presidency, who were returned as Hindus, are outside the pale of Hinduism and ought to have been shown as Animists." As to this, it is only necessary to say that Mr. Sedgwick has given very cogent reasons for his opinion that the Bhils are practically Hindus and should be shown as Hindus. There is no reason to think that Mr. Gait's Animistic conscience was exercised only in respect of Bhils and the Bombay Presidency. No doubt, his omnipotent pen converted thousands of Hindus also in other parts of the country to the category of Animists. By such strenuous feats the Animist population at the 1911 Census was made to show the extraordinary increase of 20 per cent. in the 10 years since 1901. The increase was, of course, at the expense of the Hindu population. By way, perhaps, of reassuring the Hindus, Mr. Gait in his report observed:

In the whole of India the proportion of Hindus to the total population has fallen in thirty years (1881-1911) from 74 to 69 per cent., but this is due partly to the inclusion at each succeeding Census of new areas in which Hindus, if they are found at all, are in a great minority. In the area enumerated in 1881 the proportion of Hindus is now 71 per cent. or only 8 per cent. smaller than it then was. This figure represents the loss they have sustained owing to a relatively slower rate of increase and to conversions to other religions.

The most conspicuous of new areas where Hindus were in a small minority brought into the Census since 1881, is Upper Burma in 1886 with a population of over three millions mostly Buddhists. The loss of the Hindus would be even less than 3 per cent. but for the increasing emphasis upon communal distinctions such as Sikhs, Jains and Animists in each succeeding Census. Sikhs in the Punjab and Sind, and Jains in Gujarat and other places, intermarry with Hindus and are socially indistinguishable from them. As the Census is not a denominational institution, there is absolutely no reason why these kindred communities should not be grouped together. The main purpose of the Census is to furnish the Administration with vital statistics which are the data for sanitary reforms. The

Indian Census Reports have in addition been made the means of communal, sectarian and even political propagandism.

Mr. Sedgwick has done a useful public service in exposing the Animist "stunt" which obsessed Census Commissioners for nearly a generation. The differentia of Animism is psychological. A man who worships a stone is an Animist if he believes that the stone itself is the Power which directs his destinies but not if he believes that stone is the representation or repository of such Power. As there is no means whereby the enumerator can test the belief of each individual Bhil or Chodra, it very much depends upon his whim or prejudice whether any member of a jungle tribe is returned as a Hindu or Animist. "It is necessarily a matter of doubt," writes Mr. Sedgwick, "whether a Bhil is accepted as a Hindu by the villagers and it would be quite impossible for any enumerator to call the villagers together and question them as to the religious status of every Bhil." He goes on to point out that a Bhil does not enter any new caste when he gradually passes into a Hindu and worships *puranic* gods, and that it follows that Bhil is a recognised Hindu caste. What is true of the Bhils is true of other jungle tribes, and Mr. Sedgwick comes to the conclusion that the Bhils are practically Hindus and the other castes seem to be so also. "I have no hesitation in saying," he adds, "that Animism as a religion should be entirely abandoned, and that all those hitherto classed as Animists should be grouped with Hindus, Hinduism being defined as including the religious or semi-religious beliefs of those jungle tribes who have not definitely embraced Islam or Christianity." In an important foot-note, Mr. Sedgwick mentions that on the occasion of the reading of his section on religion at a meeting of the Bombay Anthropological Society, a learned Sanskrit scholar who was present, drew attention to the curious fact that this very question was really settled long ago at the time when the Atharva Veda, which is nothing but a mass of Animistic magic, was received into the Hindu canon of the Sruti." "Certainly", he adds, "if Animistic Mantras are a recognised portion of the Hindu Canon, there is very little justification for excluding Animists from the definition of Hinduism." This seems to be quite clear. Mr. Satyavrata Mukerjea, the Superintendent of the Baroda Census, however, is unwilling to do away altogether with Animism at the Census, though he himself shows that the Census figures under this head are unreliable. He suggests two tests for distinguishing whether a jungle tribe has become Hinduised or whether it still lingers in the Animistic stage. The first is, does it lay claim to Rajput descent? "As soon as a tribe has become sufficiently Hinduised," he says, "its first attempt to raise itself in the social scale is to trace its affinities to that race." This is far-fetched. As Mr. Sedgwick has pointed out, a Bhil does not change his caste when he becomes a Hindu. Mr. Mukerjea himself does not attach as much importance to this test as to the second, which is, the abandonment of the tribal language. "The greater the prevalence of Hinduism in a tribe,"

he remarks, "the more extensive is their employment of some such Aryan tongue as Gujarati and Marathi for their ordinary use." Mr. Mukerjee himself immediately notes exceptions to this theory. The Bavchas, a completely Hinduised tribe, still cling tenaciously to their particular dialect. So do the Chodras. In our opinion, this test is equally far-fetched as the first one. It may be that in the Baroda State owing to special causes such as, for instance, the facilities for elementary education, the process of Hinduisation in the case of certain jungle tribes includes the adoption of the language spoken by the surrounding Hindu population. But we do not think that this can be regarded as a certain test. The weight of argument is entirely on the side of Mr. Sedgwick's view.

CHARKHA OR KHADDAR?

It was pointed out last week in an editorial note that the revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving was first recommended at the Special Session of the National Congress held at Calcutta in September 1920 as a means of supplementing the supply of cloth produced by the power mills in India. The resolution is worth repeating :

This Congress advises adoption of Swadeshi in piece-goods on a vast scale, and inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement.

Three points emerge from this resolution. The first is that cloth woven from yarn spun in Indian mills, is given the first place in the category of Swadeshi; the hand-spinning and weaving industry is to be stimulated, because the power mills do not and cannot in the near future produce sufficient cloth for the whole country; and that, while hand-spinning is to be introduced in every home, hand-weaving is to be revived through the millions of weavers whose ancient and honourable calling it was. Next in chronological order comes the resolution passed by the Nagpur Congress in December 1920. This resolution is as follows :

In order to make India economically independent and self-contained by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations, to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in that behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott etc.

There is nothing in this to indicate that hand-spun, hand-woven cloth is alone to be regarded as *swadeshi* cloth.

The Working Committee of the Congress met at Calcutta on the 31st January 1921 with Mahatma Gandhi in the chair. The first resolution passed by the Committee related to the curriculum of National schools. It was therein enjoined that one of the subjects should be "to teach hand-spinning and

manufacture of yarn in order forthwith to supplement the shortage of yarn spun in Indian mills and to encourage the revival of the art of spinning." We put this clause in italics, because it has since come to be a part of the *khaddar* cult that hand-woven cloth made of Indian mill-yarn should be taboo'd. Then came the Bezwada All-India Congress Committee meeting on the 31st March, 1921. One of the resolutions passed here enjoined the introduction "timely into the villages and houses 20 lakhs of charkhas (spinning wheels) in good working order and before the 30th June." This is the resolution to which Mr. C. R. Das referred the other day at Kumbakonam when in reply to an anonymous pamphleteer, he pointed out that he wanted then to keep intact the ideal of *Khaddar* which was put forward at Bezwada. That ideal, he added, was not that *khaddar* factories should be started and that *khaddar* should be forced on the people of this country with 50 per cent. profit. He assured them that, if they wanted to do *khaddar* work, as an item of constructive work, they should go the villages and try to make the homes of poor people self-contained so far as cloth was concerned.

The resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee which met at Bombay in July 1921 marks the first departure from the attitude thereto maintained towards hand-spinning and hand-weaving. The "manufacture" of *khaddar* is to be undertaken in an organised fashion. Still, mill-made cloth is not banned. Spinning and weaving companies are invited to sell cloth at a price which will be within reach of the poorest. The All-India Congress Committee met at Delhi in November 1921, and here *khaddar* was advocated as a preparation for civil disobedience. One test of the preparedness of a place for civil disobedience was to be that a vast majority of the inhabitants should be clothed in *khaddar*. Families of civil resisters should support themselves by producing *khaddar*.

The Ahmedabad Congress of 1921 prescribed a declaration for Congress Volunteers in which the following was included: "I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation, and shall use hand-spun and hand-woven *khaddar* to the exclusion of every other cloth." Here also distinction is made between Swadeshi and *khaddar*. It was evidently intended by the last clause that the volunteers should wear one particular make of Swadeshi cloth as a sort of uniform by which they can be easily identified. Another resolution of the Ahmedabad Congress appealed to all those who do not believe in Non-Co-operation or in the principle of Non-Co-operation," among other things,

to popularise carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry necessary in order to supplement the resources of the agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation, and to that end preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments.

This resolution, in fact, foreshadows the Bardoli programme which two months later became the constructive Bardoli programme, and it is noteworthy that

it was first designed for "those who do not believe in Non-Co-operation or in the principle of Non-Co operation." In the face of this fact, it is surprising that some partisans should argue that the Bardoli programme was a part of Non-Co-operation. Among the resolutions of the Working Committee at Bardoli, was one advising all Congress organisations "to popularise the spinning wheel and to organise the manufacture of hand-spun, hand-woven Khaddar." A note to this resolution added: "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 themselves should learn hand-spinning." This is the first occasion in which *Khaddar* is indicated as the official clothing for Congress workers and office-bearers. The All-India Congress Committee which met at Delhi at the end of February 1922, endorsed the Bardoli resolutions generally with two exceptions. The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee was appointed in June 1922 and made its report in October of that year. They unanimously reported on this particular item as follows:

The great demand for Khaddar has tempted foreign manufacturers and local dealers to introduce a foreign substitute for Khaddar in the Indian markets and the fraud has been so cleverly carried out that it defies detection. The Khaddar depots in the larger towns easily lend themselves to this fraud as the demand on them is great and the sources of supply are limited. It has also been our painful experience to find that certain unscrupulous producers of the finer textures in and around Bezwada which had justly earned the reputation of being the modern Dacca of India have, in their cupidity, allowed the good name of their district to suffer in public estimation, to the serious detriment of themselves and the more honest members of the trade. It appears that these profiteers have used foreign and Indian mill-made yarn in great quantities to meet the enormous demand from other Provinces. Not many of the numerous Khaddar Bhandars dotting the whole country deal exclusively in the genuine stuff. Indeed it has now become impossible to say with certainty of any particular piece that it is Shudh Khaddar without elaborate enquiries, the result of the majority of which is highly unsatisfactory. It is said that there are experts who can distinguish the genuine from the spurious article, but it is impossible to refer every purchase to them. We have carefully considered the question and, in our opinion, the only way out of the difficulty is to confine all Congress activities to the encouragement of the cottage industry and abandon all attempts to supply the requirements of dwellers in towns by opening large stores and depots and stocking them with cloth of unknown origin.

Such fraud as the Committee describe in the Khaddar trade is inevitable so long as the production of *Khaddar* does not keep pace with the demand. Notwithstanding this, we find enthusiasts carrying Khaddar propaganda to the point of a nuisance to and almost persecution of their neighbours. Mr. Maganlal Gandhi whose bulletins, issued from the Congress Khadi Information Bureau, are inspired by a correct appreciation of the real obstacles to the dissemination of the hand-spinning and hand-weaving industry, states in a recent bulletin that, while

the taste of wearing khadi seems to be increasing, the work of khadi production is lacking in vigour. In another bulletin, he says: "There are only two objections that are generally raised against the use of *khadi*. One is that it is not good in appearance and texture. No objection is raised against *khadi* of good, even texture whether it be fine or coarse. It sells off all at once as soon as it gets ready. As regards *khadi* of shabby appearance it remains lying in heaps in spite of its being cheap. This shows that if the quality can be improved, its use will spread much more quickly." Yes, but if the use of khadi is forced up by a political propaganda, if khadi is not produced in larger quantities also to keep pace with the demand, the result must be what the Committee found it to be. We quite agree that as regards durability and other advantages, hand-spun, hand-woven cloth is superior to the machine-made stuff. Most people, and not only in India, would prefer hand-made goods of every description to machine-made goods, if the former can be had as readily as and at not a much higher price than the latter. Propaganda in favour of the use of Khaddar will be entirely unnecessary if the production of Khaddar, both as to quality and quantity, is attended to. If production is not improved, the propaganda for the mere use of Khaddar must inevitably lead to fraud and profiteering such as the Civil Disobedience Committee has described. The conclusion is that while a political propaganda can spread the use of *Khaddar*, it cannot and has not built up the hand-spinning, hand-weaving industry which alone can provide an adequate supply. That can only be done from an industrial motive and in accord with industrial principles; and so long as this is not done the political propaganda will remain indistinguishable from economic exploitation.

THE BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

(By MR. G. B. TRIVEDI, M.L.C.)

A special session of the Bombay Legislative Council was called at Poona on the 8th instant to accord its approval to the Sakkur Barrage Project on which Government propose to spend 22 crores in 12 years. The Government further wanted the Council's permission to commence the work as soon as possible and asked for a supplementary grant of 56 lakhs to commence the work.

In view of the importance of the question H. E. the Governor thought it necessary to address the Council to impress upon the members the desirability of passing the Government proposal in its entirety without further delay. It is also reported that leaders of different groups were called for private interviews for the same purpose before the session began.

The attendance was a record one, 105 out of 111, usually it is 60 to 80. Sindh sent its full contingent eager to get the project sanctioned without any delay.

Government took 20 years to formulate the present scheme. Its first scheme costing about 9 crores was

sent to the Secretary of State in 1912. The latter appointed a committee of expert engineers with irrigation experience of Egypt and other countries to examine it. The committee considered it unproductive as it would not earn even 5 per cent. It also recommended change of site of the barrage. Government then formulated another scheme and sent it to the Secretary of State in 1920. It was to cost 18 crores for construction and 7½ crores for interest, nearly three times the first project. On account of the Reforms, there is a change in the financial responsibility. The first scheme if it had been undertaken before 1920, would have been financed by the Government of India. Now it is to be financed by this Presidency. The Bombay Council passed a resolution in 1921 asking the Central Government to bear one-third of the cost, but this help was refused. Thus by the delay, the Presidency has to bear a burden three times of the original estimate. Undaunted, our persevering Government, in the midst of financial stringency, has decided to launch the scheme under the fear of the Punjab Government taking away the water of the Indus and thus ruining Sindh.

Financial forecasts are as follows. At present 20 lacs of acres are cultivated. As a result of this project, after 40 years, 33 lacs of acres will be cultivated which will bring in a net annual revenue of about 2 crores. Government have 15 lacs acres of land which by sale will, it is estimated, realise 12 crores which will go to meet construction charges. Export of wheat and rice will increase ten times whereas that of cotton will increase four times. Cultivators, merchants and Government will all benefit immensely. That is the anticipation of Sindh, both official and non-official.

The Council wisely decided not to question its engineering side, although Diwan Bahadur Godbole, an ex-engineer of the P. W. D, advised construction by stages, as he thought sufficient farm-labour would not be forthcoming. A practical agriculturist like R. S. Dadabhai Desai was pessimistic about farmers finding agriculture paying under perennial irrigation. A cotton merchant like Sheth Lalji Naranji doubted the cotton-yield estimate and the Diwan Bahadur on Egypt's analogy doubted the annually recurring crop-yield as estimated by Government.

The Council, however, felt strongly that financial forecasts required scrutiny in the calm atmosphere of a Committee room where doubts and suspicions can be stated and satisfied by both sides not in a debating mood but in a businesslike conversation. So the Deputy President, R. S. Harilal Desai, moved an amendment to hand over these forecasts to a Committee. He was supported in this by Mr. C. M. Gandhi who in an able and well-reasoned speech showed how Government were rushing through the scheme in a day which took them 20 years to complete. But Government and its supporters, sure of a majority, were in no yielding mood and so they passed a scheme of such a gigantic nature in six hours. Those who cried caution and halt did their duty by pointing out their doubts and

difficulties. If estimates go wrong, the responsibility will be of those who helped Government in rushing through. Messrs. Pahlajani and Petit greatly disappointed the popular party. The Hon'ble General Member was very conciliatory in his winding-up speech. He gave assurances about the sale of land, purchase of stores and employment of Indians on high posts, in the execution of the scheme and conceded that the Council had a right to insist on altering the project in future years at the time of the budget. Thus assured, the proposal was passed and the first money required for it was voted. Government in their haste to get the scheme passed without arousing public criticism failed to refer the scheme to recognised public bodies in India. This has increased Government's responsibility and showed how little it has changed in its bureaucratic ways. Our great need is a strong Council made up of strong independent men of all parties, Liberals, Swarajists, Home Rulers, Non-Brahmins, Mahomedans, and Zamindars. Bombay City too will have to take care to return stronger members. If this is done, Government will not be so unyielding as it is at present. Let the public take lessons from this session's work and make up its mind not to stay away from the poll, but go and vote for strong candidates without considerations of caste, creed, interests or parties. It is a sacred duty which we all owe to the country. Those who shirk it or who misuse it, will do harm to the country's good and will hamper our progress to full responsible Government.

PROF. BHATE ON DISCIPLES OF VIVEKANANDA.

Swami Madhavananda writes from Mayavati :

In the issues of May 19th and 26th last of the *Indian Social Reformer*, Prof. G. S. Bhate, M. A., has recorded his vivid reminiscences of the Swami Vivekananda, which are really worth reading. He has a genuine admiration for the great Swami who was his father's guest for about a fortnight at Belgaum, before his departure for America. In the concluding paragraph of these reminiscences, however, the learned Professor records a bitter experience of his in 1906, as "some new local disciple" of the Swami at the Belur Math happened to commit the mistake of telling him in confidence that "Swami Vivekananda was really the *avatar* of Mahadeva," and also asked him and a friend of his to "attend a *bhajan*." While listening to the *bhajan* the Professor came to the irresistible conclusion that "quite a number of his modern disciples" must, in the event of the great Swami being an *avatar* of Mahadeva, be "the *avatars* of the obedient dumb animal sitting down in front of Mahadeva and whose only glory and privilege, according to tradition, is to bear the burden of the Master on its back." The "new" disciple, whoever he might be, did certainly commit an indiscretion in thrusting his own views about his Guru upon a stranger. But I confess that neither in this statement nor in the request to listen to the *bhajan* do I find anything to justify the learned Professor's

sweeping generalisation that there must have been "quite a number" of such disciples,—much less his religiously shunning all the Maths and Missions of the Order "for fear of having a repetition" of the experience. From 1906 to 1923 is a big lapse of time and an admirer of the great "Vedantist," Swami Vivekananda, whose memory, as he himself says, "had an abiding effect" on his "mental growth and outlook," one might naturally expect, would be above such petty considerations as "fear" of losing his cherished ideas through the chance contact of some one who *perhaps* might shock his feeling by trying to glorify his teacher beyond the limits of conventional propriety.

Evidently the new disciple in question was unaware of the strict rules of etiquette and unwittingly made that mistake. But one is tempted to ask how a veteran Professor could so far ignore them as to boldly announce through the columns of a newspaper his *individual* opinion that the bulk of the modern disciples of the Swami are bull-headed. Is he not committing the same blunder himself—magnified a thousand times—by branding the majority of a respectable body of selfless workers as stupid and tarnishing the fair name of their Guru? It is strange that the Professor does not even stop to think that the big monster he seems to see at a distance might just be some speck on the glass of his own mental telescope, so that instead of trying to flee away from its shadow he had better clear his telescope itself. It may or may not be "a genuine desecration," as the writer thinks, "of the memory of the great man to regard him as an avatar of any deity in the Hindu Pantheon"—for the simple reason that he was a "Vedantist"—but it is certainly so to fall foul of the august body carrying on his banner. I do not know what idea Prof. Bhate has of Mahadeva, the God of gods, but considering the fact that Swami Vivekananda was a breaker of all bondages and was an eye-opener to thousands of people,—among his many disciples there may perhaps be found some holding the view alluded to by the Professor: yet it in no way represents the general view among them, and Prof. Bhate can verify this for himself by mixing with some more of them. I sincerely hope that the learned Professor will see the fallacy of his hasty judgment and acknowledge it openly.

TILAK SWARAJ FUND.

We have received a copy of the Statement of Accounts of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and of the All-India Congress Committee and the Provinces for 1921-1922 and Statements of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and of the All-India Congress Khaddar Department for the period 19th December 1922 to 30th April 1923, prepared by Mr. C. H. Sopariwala, Honorary Auditor of the Indian National Congress.

The receipts of the A. I. C. C. under various heads from 1921 up to the end of September 1923, including membership fees, the Bajaj Fund, interest

earned, amounts held by subordinate Congress Committees, etc. amounted to about Rs. 1,35,67,000. The contributions from the Provinces to the A. I. C. C. were about Rs. 14 lakhs and khaddar absorbed very nearly a like amount. About Rs. 4 lakhs was spent over national education, disbursements for famine relief amounted to nearly one lakh, grant allotments, transfers to District Congress Committees including amounts paid for education, famine, depressed classes etc. amounted to about Rs. 8,24,000. Office expenses of the A. I. C. C. including rents, postage, telegrams, salaries, furniture etc. amounted to about Rs. 1,95,000, honoraria and allowances to workers to about Rs. 1,73,000, miscellaneous items such as boycott of Prince's visit, boycott of foreign cloth, expenses of Commissions and Enquiry Committees to about Rs. 2,76,000, propaganda expenses to about Rs. 1,29,000, while the disbursements over volunteers and picketting amounted to about Rs. 45,000, over dead stock and library to Rs. 9,230 and over the removal of untouchability to Rs. 4,300. The cash and investments as on 30th September 1922 of the various provinces totalled about Rs. 24 lakhs.

The Statements of Accounts of the All-India Tilak Swaraj Fund from 23rd December 1921 to 18th December 1922 show disbursements of about Rs. 4,58,000 against receipts amounting to about Rs. 8,56,000, the balance of Rs. 3,98,000 being held in cash and investments. The disbursements include a grant of Rs. 3 lakhs to the All-India Khaddar Department, grants amounting to Rs. 95,000 and a loan of Rs. 25,000 to the Provinces. The statement from 19th December 1922 to 30th April 1923 shows receipts to be about Rs. 5,88,000, and disbursements Rs. 3,65,000 of which Rs. 3 lakhs formed a grant—apparently a further grant—to the All-India Khaddar Department, Rs. 14,600 represented grants to various institutions and Rs. 30,000 loans to provinces, and Rs. 20,600 "advance paid," leaving a balance in hand in cash and investments of about Rs. 2,23,000.

Of the Provinces, Bombay holds the highest amount out of the Tilak Swaraj Fund collections. The amount in cash and investments held by the Trustees of this Fund in Bombay as on 30th September 1922 was about Rs. 17 lakhs after deducting office expenses, contribution to the A. I. C. C. and a sum of about Rs. 53,000 paid to various educational and other institutions situated outside Bombay.

The receipts of the All-India Congress Khaddar Department during the period ended 30th April 1923 amounted to about Rs. 11,60,000, of which Rs. 1,35,000 was lent to the Provinces, Rs. 30,000 given away as grants, the general expenses of the department being Rs. 13,800. The balance of about Rs. 9,81,000 is held in cash and investments.

THE PUNJAB SITUATION.

(By PANDIT K. SANTANAM.)

Doaba is that tract of the country between the rivers Beas and Sutlej comprising the districts of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur. During the years 1921 and 1922 the Congress propaganda made enormous strides in these districts. It might almost be said that these were the

districts that responded best to the non-co-operation movement. The number of Congress Committees was over 200, the number of members was nearly 30 to 40 thousand, and there was a large number of panchayats established all over the place. Hoshiarpur especially is a great Khaddar producing district and Khaddar propaganda was vigorously pushed and over 70 per cent. of the people were to be seen dressed in Khaddar. Naturally repression was also very heavy, so much so that it became almost a crime to be a member of any panchayat or even to take cases before the panchayat courts. Among the people of this district there is a large percentage of Sikh population and the Gurdwara movement also found a ready response and great support. In view of these facts and finding that the sturdy people were not to be dismayed into submission by any amount of arrests and convictions, the Government established a large number of punitive posts all over the tract of the country. In Jullundur district alone there were as many as 29 police posts stationed, and in Hoshiarpur the number could not have been less than 20. The principal sufferers from these iniquitous posts were the Akalis and the Congressmen. Last year there were complaints received of untold oppression by the police stationed in the district, and harrowing tales of cruelty practised in the collection of the punitive tax. An enquiry was made by the Congress which brought to light many strange and heart-breaking stories of suffering and cruelty. In spite of all this the people showed a brave front and did not forsake their adherence to the Congress, even when there was a general slackening of Congress activities elsewhere.

Recently there has been a band of Sikhs styling themselves as Babbar Akali Jatha (Lion Akali Jatha) who have been carrying on a series of murders of all those men who were prominent in helping the Government in its acts of repression and who had been giving evidence against the political workers and Akalis. It is not known what the number of this Jatha is, but their plan of operation is as follows. Three men issue a notice warning all those who have been the supporters of Government. Further when they have fixed a certain man they pronounce the sentence of death on him and give him notice that within a certain time they will carry out the sentence of death. At the foot of the notice they sign their names and their designations, and they warn the police that they are the only people responsible and nobody else. In their general notice they have also warned the authorities that if they succeed in capturing these three, another three will take their place and carry on the crusade. In this manner they have committed seven murders which has certainly spread terror in the districts among the "Loyalists". These men do not owe allegiance to the Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee and have openly disavowed their belief in non-violence.

No sooner were these murders committed than the police began to get active and began investigation (euphemistically so-called) in right earnest. The two districts are overrun by C. I. D. and a friend tells me that in Jullundur district alone there must be 300 of these gentry. The latest information is that troops have been sent and also a large body of police who have formed a cordon and who are advancing in regular formation, making the closest possible scrutiny into the villages and hamlets on the way, the operation resembling casting of a net and dragging it along for catching fish. Under pretence of investigation over 300 men have been arrested on all sorts of charges, sections 802 and 120 I. P. C., sections 107 and 110 Cr. Pr. Code. Whole villages

are called together, the men made to sit under the burning sun from morning till night for days together for purposes of identification. Nobody has been allowed to go for his ordinary duties and many a crop has been ruined by the men being kept busy in this way during the harvest season. Indiscriminate arrests are made for complicity in the murders and even men who are just coming out of jail and who could have no possible connection with these murders are re-arrested. The Lumberdars and Zaildars are said to be implicating all those whom they have a grudge against. It is said that two marriage parties which had come there from outside these districts were kept without food or water for two days. The arrested men are sent to various jails. I have it on the authority of a friend of mine who is in a position to know these things that these prisoners are not allowed to see either their relations or even consult their legal advisers. They are brought in batches from jails all over the province on fixed days, remand is taken and they are hurried away. Graver allegations against the police about its extorting confessions etc. are hinted at, but no definite news is forthcoming.

Side by side with all this the collection of punitive police-tax is going on and people are subjected to all sorts of indignities and abuse without rhyme or reason, the tax falling heaviest of all on those belonging to the Congress or Gurdwara Committees. Women are said to be threatened and abused.

But the worst of all is that no news is allowed to leak out and there is a "gagged silence" as the Poet Tagore described it, worse than that in the Martial Law days in 1919. The Congress Committee sent two or three men to make enquiries and they were promptly arrested and cases are proceeding against them. In the notice served on them it is mentioned that the Babbar Akali Jatha has threatened reprisals on those who would give any information against them and so the police feared that if they conducted their investigations those who gave them information would be at the mercy of the Akali Jatha and so they were asked to show cause why they should not be asked to give security for keeping the peace. This would, indeed, be farcical if it were not for the fact that the consequences are so serious. No kind of information is allowed to come out, and whatever I have given above is only but scraps gathered from here and there. The Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee appointed a committee of enquiry to go to the spot and find out the news about the police repression. They were advised first by the Commissioner not to go to Jullundur, but when they did proceed they were served with an order not to go on with their investigations. No section was quoted under which this order was passed. The Gurdwara Committee will soon decide what their course of action would be.

This is the state of affairs in these districts, and unless some prompt steps are taken the people are sure to be terrorised and any amount of tyranny practised on the poor but brave inhabitants of this tract of country.

THE DEFERRED REBATE SYSTEM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I intend introducing during the current session of the Legislative Assembly a Bill to provide for the abolition of the Deferred Rebate System as practised by the shipping companies and for the fixation of maximum and minimum rates of freight.

You are probably aware that attempts hitherto made to run Indian Steamship Companies have, in the main, failed owing to, among other reasons, the Deferred Rebate System. The payment of rebates is deferred in order that the shipper may be compelled to ship his cargo all throughout the year in the boats of a particular company. What happens is this, at the time of the first consignment, the company undertakes to pay back a portion of the freight charged if the shipper continues to ship his goods consistently all the year through by steamers of the particular company and not to send any of his shipments by the steamers of any other company. If there is any infraction of this agreement the shipper loses the rebate. Thus he is obliged to ship his goods through the company for a particular period, however much he may desire to make his shipments through another company. In this way while old established companies secure customers, new companies find it impossible to compete with them.

The necessity for fixing the maximum and minimum rates of freight is apparent. Those that have followed the course of events in this behalf would have noticed that it is the usual practice with some powerful concerns to lower the rates as soon as they find that a new venture has been launched. The new company, which cannot be expected to have accumulated profits at its back, finds it impossible to bring down its rates, or if it does, it finds that the existing companies with large reserves piled up during the period of monopoly further reduce the rates until the new company is started out of existence. Upon the disappearance of the new venture the old monopolistic company resumes its previous system of charging high rates of freight and thus more than makes up the losses sustained during the period of the freight war. Such temporary rate-cutting, moreover, dislocates trade while it lasts and when it ends, the shippers have very often to pay rates of freight higher than those prevailing at the beginning of the freight war. This has happened at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Those that have had a long supremacy in the waters resort to the old rates of freights as soon as they have killed the new concerns. Such practices have in the past rendered it impossible for the Indians to start new shipping companies in their own country. The dream of an Indian Mercantile Marine can never be realised so long as such unfair attacks upon new Indian concerns are not declared illegal.

In the United States of America partly to circumvent the evil effects of combination attempted by some Home Companies, partly to frustrate the attempts of foreign companies to get the better of the local companies, laws similar to the one I am introducing have been enacted. In other countries also similar measures have been passed.

In India the need for legislation of this kind is obvious and pressing. The sections of the Bill I am introducing have been based on the provisions of the United States legislation. I have made a few changes to suit Indian conditions. I am sure you will find the subject interesting and as it is one of compelling interest to this country, I take the liberty of suggesting that you should give particular attention to it. I shall feel obliged by your letting me know whether the provisions of the Bill have your approval. I shall be very glad to receive your suggestions, if any, in respect of it.

Yours truly,
T. V. SESHAGIRI AYYAR.

THE ESPLANADE HIGH SCHOOL POOR BOX.

The "Poor Box," which is a unique feature of the Esplanade High School, Bombay, conveys a practical lesson in philanthropy the noble effects of which on the young

minds cannot be overrated. A nice wooden box supported by a stand, on both sides of which are written in bold types beautiful poems on the benefits of charity, is kept in the office of the school with a hole in the centre through which teachers, boys and employees of the school, past and present,—no money is accepted from outsiders—may put any sum of not less than two annas for the purpose of charity. The amount so collected is distributed for the relief of distress, misery and suffering in and out of Bombay irrespective of caste, creed or colour. Boys are encouraged in all possible ways without the least compulsion to contribute their mite to the "Poor Box" especially on all auspicious occasions and holidays like the Divali, Parsi New Year Day, Christmas Day and the Id. Leaflets with the motto, "He who giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord" are circulated and teachers are instructed to inculcate in the boys the spirit of philanthropy and impress on them the benefits of charity. That it has produced excellent results is evident from the brief report, on every page of which are printed words of great men on the benefits of charity, issued by the school. It is most gratifying to find that, besides minor help to those who seek it personally from the school, the "Poor Box" has been able to help not less than 83 public institutions and relief agencies with a sum of Rs. 5,082 during the last four years of its existence. It has also spent Rs. 4,920-5-0 on diseased, disabled and helpless individuals by way of monthly contributions varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 during the period ending April 1923. The "Poor Box" helps 25 deserving individuals including widows and children of workmen who have died of accidents in factories and workshops, with monthly payments varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10, and on this account it spends nearly Rs. 200 a month. The school has won the appreciation of many prominent Indian leaders. This training given to the boys will certainly influence them in their after life when they take up responsible positions in life, as we wish most of them would, to liberally respond to the cry of suffering humanity. We heartily congratulate Mr. H. P. Pavri, the Principal and Manager of the school, and his colleagues as well as the boys on the splendid humanitarian service they have been doing through the "Poor Box," and commend this wholesome innovation to other educational institutions.

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.

His Excellency the Governor in the course of his speech at the opening of the Legislative Council at Poona on the 8th June, paid a warm tribute to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and to Mr. Mead. He said:

Gentlemen, I have convened this Council in special session in order that proposals may be laid before you which are the final outcome of over 20 years' study and investigation and whose importance to this Presidency cannot be over-estimated. It is not, however, primarily to address you on these proposals I am here to-day but rather because I desired in person to express the deep sense of loss which this Council has suffered in the death of its first President, the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and especially to associate myself with whatever tribute this House may think fit to pay to the revered memory of its first President. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's work in this Council was to my mind of such far-reaching importance that its greatness like that of all other great constructive pieces of work will never be fully realised by this generation. Upon him fell the task of creating by direct guidance and by the indirect influence of his personality a worthy tradition for the deliberations of the Reformed Council. You who have worked

under his direction will, I know, agree with me in saying that he comprehended that responsibility to the full and to the discharge of it, brought to bear all the vast knowledge and experience, and all the tact, devotion and industry of which he had so often proved himself to be the possessor. This House will, I am confident, find other Presidents who will make for themselves great reputations in the chair, but I am equally sure that none will ever surpass him or earn in fuller measure the gratitude of this Presidency.

Of his work in other spheres of activity I may perhaps be permitted to say a few words. To me who had the privilege of his close acquaintance only towards the end of his career the most impressive and the grandest thing about that work was his irresistible moral courage. I think I have seldom met a public man who had such persistent honesty of vision and such staunchness in declaring and maintaining his views. He saw that India's greatest need was to free herself from the shackles imposed by the caste system and by existing social conditions and he never ceased to preach the need of that freedom and to work for it. If in nothing else he has his reward, at least in this that his memory will live long in the grateful thoughts of many thousands of those for whom he worked, and it is, I believe, the reward he would most have prized.

That is not the only tale of loss this Council has experienced since it last met. It has experienced a no less grievous loss in the death of our late Chief Secretary to Government, Mr. P. J. Mead. This House which is about to pass a resolution of condolence with regard to both these circumstances will understand that I who worked in the greatest intimacy with our late Chief Secretary for nearly five years cannot but say a few words to express my sense of the grievous loss we have all experienced in his death. Mr. Mead combined in himself the greatest brilliancy of gifts, the greatest determination of character and the greatest charm of personality. What Government and this Council owe to him not only in the more limited sphere of finance but in the general influence which he exerted over all, both Indian and British, with whom he came in contact, we can scarcely yet realise. I can only speak for myself in saying that I have lost in Mr. Mead a valued friend and a loyal assistant, and this Council has lost one of the greatest public servants it will ever have to serve it.

FURTHER PRESS OPINIONS.

United India and Indian States.

The late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was in a special sense the successor of Mahadeo Govind Ranade in furthering the cause of social reform. For the last three decades and, more he was the accredited leader of social reform party in the Western Presidency and the friend, philosopher and guide of young India. Sir Narayan was a tower of strength to the movement for the elevation of the Depressed Classes while it is not too much to say that there was not a public movement, having for its object the betterment of Indians, whether socially or politically, with which he was not prominently connected. In order to convey to our readers some idea of the varied and many-sided activities of the deceased gentleman we have only to enumerate the several public movements in which he took a leading part. He was President of the Depressed Classes Mission, Students Brotherhood, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Prarthana Samaj, Indian Social Reform Association, Social Service League and Beggars Relief Committee, Chairman of the Imperial Indian Association. In the midst

of his multifarious public duties he found time to contribute to the *Times of India*, *Indian Social Reformer* and other journals scholarly articles on some of the burning questions of the day. Sir Narayan, it is interesting to recall, was one of the three Indian delegates sent to England before the General Election of 1885 to plead for the redress of the grievances of Indians before the British electors, the other two being the late Manomohan Ghose of Calcutta and the late Salem Ramaswamy Madalier from Madras. Of Sir Narayan's work as a Judge of the Bombay High Court for upwards of a decade, it is not for us to say anything and it is interesting to find the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay declaring "that this ardent and militant social reformer was one of the most conservative Hindu Judges that have sat on the bench of the Bombay High Court."

THE HINDU RENAISSANCE.

(From the *Prabuddha Bharata*)

The vitality of Hindu civilisation is once again expressing itself in renewed activities in various spheres of life, political, social and religious. One of the most redeeming features of this renaissance is that Hindu society is breaking through the incrustations of conservatism and orthodoxy which once served as protective measures but are now proving to be stumbling-blocks in the path of national growth and advancement. It is again realising the ancient spirit of assimilation and inclusion which enabled it to conquer culturally even many of its political conquerors. It is awakening to its duties and responsibilities towards those classes which were the victims of the spirit of fanaticism and religious persecutions often let loose during the Mohammedan rule in India. Many of these communities, although they were forced to renounce the church of their forefathers, never lost their living faith in the ancient religion. But still no attempts were made to readmit them into the Hindu fold because of the suicidal policy of exclusiveness adopted by Hindu society for centuries together. It is undoubtedly one of the most hopeful signs of the times that, true to its ancient spirit of universalism, it has again opened its doors to all who want to be admitted into its fold, and sincerely follow the paths, leading to Immortality and Blessedness, first discovered by the great Rishis of ancient India. To many a superficial observer unacquainted with the true history of the propagation of Hinduism, such a step may appear to be a departure from the common practice. But in reality it is an expression of the infinite vitality which enabled the Eternal Religion of India to absorb diverse races and nationalities, and transform them by the potent influence of its high ideals and universal principles.

IS HINDUISM A MISSIONARY RELIGION?

This process of absorption has been going on more or less steadily although Hindu society as a whole did not interest itself much in missionary propaganda in comparatively recent times. Those who care to study deeply the history of the peaceful penetration of Hinduism into different parts of India cannot but be struck by the remarkable progress it made notwithstanding the lamentable apathy of its followers to propagate their faith among the various aboriginal communities in the country. This fact was brought to light in the administration report of Bengal for 1871-1872 by Sir George Campbell who very rightly remarked that it was a great mistake to suppose that Hinduism was not proselytising. In fact the Hindu system of caste could find room for any number of outsiders, and these people, so long as they did not interfere with

the existing castes, might form new castes and call themselves Hindus. This view was supported by Sir Alfred Lyall, who made a close study of the subject, in his remarkable book, "Asiatic Studies." Hinduism, wrote he, so far from being a non-missionary religion in the sense that it admitted no converts, was one which made more proselytes than were made by all the religions of India put together. It is indeed very strange that in spite of indisputable facts Hinduism is classed as a non-missionary religion even by most of its own followers. This is because the fault of Hinduism has been that, true to its spirit of toleration and harmony it never tried, like the aggressive Semitic religions, to establish itself by the sword or to exterminate heretics whether in India or abroad.

AWAKENED HINDUISM.

The great impact of Western civilisation has again stirred up the dormant vitality of the Hindu race. The potentiality of the Sanatana Dharma of India has again been manifesting itself in various reform movements rising one after another since the days of Raja Rammohan Roy. This has enabled Hindu religion to hold its own successfully in this mighty conflict of ideals, and to set back the tide of cultural conquest that at first threatened to overpower it. Hindu society is adapting itself to the inevitable changes brought about by time. It is modifying its social laws and systems, manners and customs, forms and ceremonies in order to meet the intricate problems introduced by modern civilisation. Social iniquities, perpetrated by the higher classes in the name of religion, which forced many of its adherents to seek shelter under alien faiths, are being gradually removed. The high ideals and eternal principles underlying Hindu civilization are being applied anew to the numerous social and religious problems of the land. Society is becoming alive more to the spirit of religion than to the forms which were about to stifle it altogether. Once again the ancient missionary spirit is in the air, and the ever hospitable doors of the Aryan religion are being opened to receive those who want to take shelter within its fold. A new life has been infused into the children of the Rishis, who are girding up their loins not only to defend themselves against the onslaughts of alien faiths and cultures, but also to fulfil the great spiritual mission which has ever been the proud privilege of India to carry on at home and abroad.

A MESSAGE OF HOPE.

No communities in India should look upon this new awakening of Hindu society with any feeling of suspicion or jealousy. They should rather welcome it heartily, and rejoice that the weakness and passivity of the followers of Hinduism, which stood in the way of true inter-communal union, is yielding place to renewed strength and activity. For truly speaking, this revival is preparing the way for a great national union which has ever been the dream of the greatest saints and patriots of this holy land. The first condition of this union is the recognition of the equal rights and privileges of all communities. A union which demands the surrender of the primary rights of any class or community for the sake of political expediency can never stand the test of time. We want the union of the strong. Sham union between the weak and the powerful is sure to end only in disruption and national disaster, if not in the most unwelcome absorption of the weaker element by the stronger. We want each community to realise its manhood and individuality, to stand boldly on the bed-rock of its own faith and culture, to assert its rights to profess and propagate by all moral and legitimate means the faith it sincerely believes to be most beneficial to itself and humanity. And

then will naturally follow an abiding national union, based on mutual respect, on equality of rights and privileges, on the recognition of the great fact that however wide may be our differences as regards matters non-essential, our highest national and communal ideals are one and the same. And these we can never realise without the hearty help and co-operation of the various sister communities which form the limbs of our common Motherland, India.

SIR GEORGE LLOYD'S ESTIMATE OF HINDUISM.

The *Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, Calcutta, comments as follows on the observations, recently reported, of Sir George Lloyd to the Rev. W.H. Hannus of Kolhapur on Hinduism: "We sincerely respect Christian missionaries working amongst our people with so much zeal and self-sacrifice. We notice with pleasure that Sir George had a good word to say on the work of the American Mission, promising it all possible help from his Government. But what strikes us as uneasy in it is His Excellency's instituting a comparison between Christianity and Hinduism. The Governor of the Western Presidency admits his lack of religious enthusiasm, but he does not suspect the possibility of any bias on his part against Hinduism owing to ignorance and apathy. He does not appear to have made a sympathetic study of Hinduism. No great historical religion is without high moral or religious teaching. It is a fact to which only a prepossessed mind can be blind."

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY SOCIAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

Under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, the remarriage of Indumatibai of the Hindu Widows' Home with Mr. N. D. Surve was celebrated at the residence of Mr. Bhagwandas Madhavdas (Madgaonkar's house, Chowpatti) one of the Secretaries of the Association, on Wednesday the 23rd May 1923 at 6 p. m. (S. T.) in the presence of well-known ladies and gentlemen. The marriage ceremony was performed according to Hindu rites by Mr. Vaidya of the Hindu Missionary Society. Mr. Surve gave as *Stridhan* to the bride Rs. 400 and a life insurance policy for one thousand rupees. He gave Rs. 51 to the funds of the Hindu Widows' Home and Rs. 10 to the Hindu Missionary Society in honour of the wedding. After a garland and a bouquet specially sent by the well-known florist, Mr. Hormuji Ardeshir Dubash, was presented to the married couple, Sir Gokuldas K. Parekh and Rao Bahadur A. K. Pai blessed and congratulated the couple.

RETURNED TO HINDUISM.

Mr. S. B. Vaidya, Honorary Secretary of the Hindu Missionary Society, writes: On Sunday the 10th June 1923, 8 persons from Christian Nakhawas of Worli returned to Hinduism. They are descendants of Christian Nakhawas forcibly converted about 3 centuries back. They were initiated by the Hindu Missionary Society of Bombay in a temple at Worli in the presence of members, friends and Hindu and Christian spectators. Mr. Sanderrao B. Vaidya L. M. E., acted as Acharya and Mr. Dattatraya L. Raje as

Agnihotri. Their Christian names, ages and Hindu names are given below:—1. Mr. Duming Juran (86, Mahadeo Budhaji), 2. Mrs. Mary Duming (28, Sonubai Mahadeo), 3. Mr. Pascol Pasou (29, Divalya Mangalya), 4. Mrs. Mary Pascol (20, Mirabai Divalya), 5. Mr. Pedru Pasou (25, Budhaji Mangalya), 6. Mr. Duming Pasou (12, Soma Mangalya), 7. Miss Madalyan Pascol (5, Krishnabai Divalya), 8. Mr. Zujya Pascol (3, Shantaram Divalya.)

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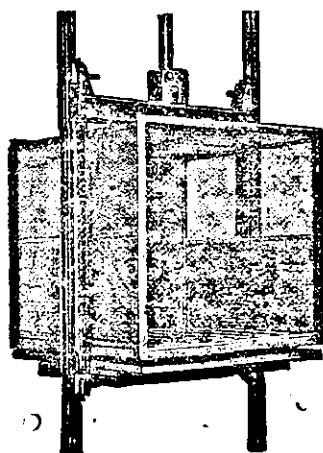
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Vol. XXXIII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1923. No. 43.

"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 Coimbatore Non-Brahmin Conference: Our special correspondent telegraphed from Coimbatore under date the 21st instant: "The following resolutions were passed at the Non-Brahmin Round Table Conference held at Coimbatore yesterday. There was an attendance of over one hundred leading Non-Brahmins, especially from the Coimbatore and Salem Districts. Mr. C. R. Das presided. It was resolved that the ensuing election to the Madras Legislative Council be left entirely to Non-Brahmins and that all Brahmin candidates be persuaded to withdraw. As regards the election to the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Das is to propose the names of candidates to be approved by the Non-Brahmin Party. It was further resolved that in all future constitutional questions affecting the constitution of the Provincial Council should be left to the Provincial Council, that the following gentlemen be requested to place the above resolutions before the meeting of the Non-Brahmin leaders at Madras on the 1st July: Messrs. V. C. Vellingiri Gounder, M. L. C. C. S. Rathnasabapathy Mudaliar, V. Verivada Chettiar, M. G. Arogyaswami Pillai (Christian), Abdur Razack Sahib, M. L. C. and R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, M. L. C.; that steps should be immediately taken to give adequate representation to Non-Brahmins in all the Congress organisations in the Tamil Nadu and that for the present not more than 15 of the office-bearers may be Brahmins and that this Conference insists that all Non-Brahmin Hindus, including Audi-Dravidas, shall have equal rights with the Brahmins in the matter of entering Hindu temples."

A Forgotten Episode: We reprint to-day a passage from a speech delivered by Mr. C. R. Das in Southern India, containing some hitherto unpublished facts relating to the negotiations for a Round Table Conference between the Viceroy and Congress leaders in December 1921. The most important point in this revelation is that His Excellency accepted the names suggested by Mr. Das for the proposed Round Table Conference. The names are not given,

but we may take it that the All brothers were among them. Mr. Das, therefore, had reason to expect that the Fatwa prisoners would also be released. We have not noticed in the published telegrams any conveying this information to Mahatma Gandhi. As Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the principal intermediary, promises to issue a note on the controversy, we may expect this and other points to be cleared up at an early date. The question has merely a historical and antiquarian interest at the present day, and we share Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's regret that it should have been brought up at the present juncture. As it has been brought up, however, we may call attention to the fact that the Viceroy declared that the terms proposed by the Bombay Representative Conference, which were practically the same as those accepted by Government a month previously, did not satisfy the requirements of His Excellency's speech in reply to the address presented by the Malaviya deputation. The only respect the Bombay terms differed from those offered at Calcutta, was that it was suggested that the Viceroy should be clothed with the authority to accept on behalf of the British Government the conclusions of the proposed Conference. This was a necessary corollary of such a proposal and it is hardly likely that the Viceroy demurred to the request that His Excellency should be given plenary power to bring matters to a conclusion. Before however it could be ascertained wherein the Bombay proposals fell short of those requirements, Mr. Gandhi had launched his Bardoli ultimatum, and the Viceroy refused to discuss the matter. It is obvious that there was a special reason why His Excellency was able to offer terms in December which he would not accept in January. If that be so, it is a legitimate question whether a Conference convoked under the stress of a special occasion, would have retained its character after the occasion ceased to exist. Mr. Das seems to admit that it would not, but he maintains that all the same it would have put the Congress party in a stronger position with the public. On the other hand, is it not possible that the public might have come to regard the Congress leaders as dupes of circumstance? The discussion is useless and inopportune, and it is a pity that it should have been raised.

The Decadence of Khaddar: With the air of handing over a heretic to the hangman, Mr. A. T. Gidwani begins a leading article in last week's *Young India* with the observation that "for some time past the *Indian Social Reformer* has been trying to minimise the importance of the spinning-wheel." This is a bit gratuitous because we have never professed any more (or any less) regard for the spinning-wheel than for the plough, the awl, the adze or any other implement of man's husbandry. If instead of tilting at windmills, Mr. Gidwani wishes to know why *khaddar* from being a symbol of freedom as Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Das, and others conceived it, has come to be, to use Mr. Das' phrase, "a matter

of the market," Mr. Maganlal Gandhi, to whose instructive tracts we referred last week, will be able to give him useful information. This is what Mr. Das said at Kumbakonam on the point a few days ago :

What I would like my friends to do is that instead of talking about Khaddar incessantly, in season and out of season, out of reason, to do something of Khaddar work. I want them to keep intact the ideal of Khaddar which was put forward at Bezwada. That ideal was not that factories should be started and Khaddar should be forced on people of this country with 50 per cent. profit. I am saying so because I personally know these institutions. If you want to do Khaddar work as an item of constructive work, go to the villages and try to make the homes of the poor people self-contained so far as cloth is concerned. The work is difficult, I admit; but whether it is difficult or not, is it any use crying about Khaddar and not doing that work? Directly you bring Khaddar in the market competition, you kill Khaddar. The principle on which the Resolution on Khaddar was passed, was not to indulge in competition. That is to say you utilise the spare moments in spinning and when the yarn is ready you get it woven by the weaver. But instead of that what do we find? People who are closely connected with the Khaddar work of the Congress have started factories and while declaiming against mill-made cloth, they have started ginning factories also. I should have thought, if they only added a little power that would have made a mill, then I could go there and lead a labour strike (laughter). How low has Khaddar fallen? When the idea was started at Bezwada we described it as the symbol of liberty. Lo! and behold, within three years it has degenerated into a market matter. You will therefore pardon me if I cannot be enthusiastic about this kind of work.

We take the extract from the very full report of the speech in the *Hindu* of the 11th June. If every one who preached the cult of *khaddar* had his *khaddar* made in his own home, as Mr. Das does, there would be more force in the propaganda. This is what Mahatma Gandhi intended by the footnote to the Bardoli resolution. Those who merely sport *khaddar* on their backs, but who otherwise "toil not neither do they spin," are no better than "wolves in sheepskins." The country will do well to beware of them.

Age of Procuration: We print elsewhere a communication issued by the Director of Information, Bombay, inviting opinions on the question of at what age procuration of girls should be made an offence. The history of the discussions in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, prior to the passing of the amendment fixing the limit at 18 years, was given in a leading article in the *Reformer* of the 21st April last. This legislation does not come into force till the Government of India notifies that it does, and as that Government does not seem to be satisfied that public opinion will support a higher age-limit than 16, opinions are invited with a view to ascertain definitely what age-limit Indian opinion approves. We have to complain of the manner in which the enquiry is worded. It is in the nature rather of a leading question than of an unprejudiced enquiry. To begin with, it should have been made perfectly clear that the contemplated offence relates to procurers, and does not in any way affect husbands. The phrase "age of consent", owing to the heated controversy thirty years ago, has come to be generally understood in this country to mean the age before which the consent of a girl would not be a defence in a prosecution for rape, for husbands as well as strangers. As the law stands at present, this age-limit is 12 years. If the public get the idea that it is proposed to raise this limit, there would be opposition because it would involve husbands also. The communication, no doubt because it was

drawn up without a knowledge of the previous history of the age of consent in this country, does not make this sufficiently clear. It brings out casually the fact that the new section refers only to the age of consent against procurers. If this point is made clear, we think that Indian opinion will support the age-limit of 21 which has been adopted in many countries. Government refer to *devadasis*, backward people and aboriginals. Procuration, however, is largely a new development of city life in India and is an incident of the brothel type of prostitution imported from the West, such as is found in Bombay and Calcutta. The Bombay Census Superintendent, in noticing the large increase in persons who returned themselves at the Census as pimps and procurers, remarks that the traditional family system is breaking down and is being replaced by the western brothel system in Bombay.

The Salt Tax in Parliament: The debate raised by the Labour Party on the certification by the Governor-General of the enhanced salt duty in the House of Commons, ended as a fiasco. In the middle of the debate, some Private Bill had to be taken up, and it came to an abrupt close. The Prime Minister has refused to give another day to continue the discussion and has explained that the Government was not to blame for the interruption of the debate. A matter affecting India so closely, must take its chance along with Private Bills. Mr. Trevelyan, the Labour Member who initiated the debate, made a very moderate speech emphasising chiefly the disservice done to Indian Liberals by overruling the Legislative Assembly on a question of taxation. The Under-Secretary of State had no reply to this except to affirm that Government did not intend to go back upon the Reforms and dwelt on a number of more or less irrelevant topics in a manner which showed his ignorance of the actual political position in this country. Some one has said that if India is ever lost to Britain it will be on the floor of the House of Commons. Earl Winterton's speech was a good specimen of a speech which would make it hard for India or any country to remain within the British Empire. He seems to be a good twentieth century specimen of Lord North who drove the American Colonies to rebellion.

Lala Lajpat Rai's Health: The fact that Earl Winterton in replying to Mr. Saklatwala's question regarding Lalaji's health, did not deny that there was something seriously wrong, as he would have done if there were no truth in the rumours, shows that the public anxiety is well-founded. The plea of expense, urged by the Under-Secretary, as a reason against having an expert medical examination made, is ridiculous. A human life is concerned, and were it that of an eminent public man like Lalaji or of the humblest peasant in the land, it is the duty of Government to see that it is not thrown away for want of proper medical assistance. Failure in respect of this duty can only mean that the Executive Government can convert, at its own will, a sentence of imprisonment into a sentence, if not of death, of irretrievable ruin to a prisoner's health.

The Swaraj Party and the Reformer: We should have thought it hardly necessary to state that this journal is in no sense an organ of the Swaraj Party, though of all existing political parties the views of that party seem to approach nearest to the views expressed in these columns. But we understand that such a misapprehension has been indicated in some of our vernacular contemporaries, and it is best, therefore, to make it clear that we are no more bound by the views of the Swaraj party than the Swaraj party is by ours.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 23, 1923.

MYSORE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS.

The fundamental fallacy in the Report of the Committee appointed to work out the details of the scheme of constitutional reform in Mysore, is its out-of-date conception of the position of the Maharaja. The high character and prestige of the present Maharaja is, no doubt, largely responsible for the excessive deference which the Committee pays to this fallacy. But in framing a constitution for a modern State, the position of the Sovereign should be determined not with reference to any particular ruler but with reference to the spirit of the age. Now, the spirit of the age is opposed to hereditary privileges of any kind. The monarchical form of Government is clearly at a discount in our times. Most of the countries of Europe have adopted the republican form of Government. Austria, Russia and Germany were ruled by powerful hereditary rulers only ten years ago. They are Republics to-day. Even Turkey has divested the Khalif of his temporal power which is now vested in an Executive elected by popular suffrage. In our own country, the Non-Brahmin movement is essentially a revolt against hereditary privileges, and it is as such that it merits sympathetic consideration. It is at present limited to a repudiation of the privileges of the once sacerdotal class, but it cannot, in the nature of things, always be restricted to them. The ancient Hindu ideal of Sovereignty was a lofty one. But it cannot be realised in a modern State based on individual rights. In the ancient Hindu State the *dharma* of the family, of society, of the State and the Sovereign were intimately related to and dependent upon one another. The ideal of Hindu sovereignty can, however, be adapted to the needs of a modern State. But it cannot be set up as a fixed quantity by which all other organs of the State should be impeded in their functioning. The republican form of Government has not so far been able to evolve any device, for maintaining the continuity of the life of the State, as effective as a hereditary monarchy. For this reason, it will not at all be surprising if we see a revival of the monarchic idea in countries which are now democratic.

The power of the Crown should be pervading but not obtrusive in a modern State. In the Mysore scheme, the Head of the State is thrust forward with almost aggressive design. That the King can do no wrong, is the legal maxim borrowed from autocracy and re-interpreted to suit modern needs, upon which constitutional government rests in most countries. The mode and manner in which the personal responsibility of the Head of the State is emphasised in this Report, is not only incompatible with constitutional development but it is also detrimental to the influence of the Crown. There should be something in the scheme to discriminate more than it does between the Maharaja and his Government, in order to endow it with the elements of a constitutional development. There can

be no constitutional development without derogating from an autocratic regime. The Mysore Committee was entrusted with the task of filling in the details of a scheme which had been outlined by Government beforehand. But it has taken upon itself to find arguments from political science, not only for the details for which it is responsible but also for the broad lines of the scheme itself, for which it has no responsibility. The Committee has had the advantage of the experience of the Reform scheme in British India during the last three years, but it does not seem to have made any use of it. For practical purposes, Mysore is one of the few Indian States which, in respect of the impact of modern ideas upon the public mind, are on the same level as the advanced provinces of British India. Constitutional developments in Mysore, therefore, cannot lag much behind British India without giving rise to legitimate discontent among the people. In one important respect, Mysore has an advantage over British India which can and should be availed of as an argument for a more rapid constitutional pace. It is that there is no ruling race in the State. There is no break of gauge between Society and the State, and the forces generated by the normal operations of Society are themselves sufficient to provide the power necessary to drive the machinery of the State. This is an important point of which the Report shows very slight recognition. Rather, it seems to make it an argument against any constitutional advance. It seems to say that as the State and the Society are one, there is no need for the latter to claim any rights from the former!

The Committee's way of dealing with the communal question is original but not on that account unexceptionable. It rejects communal electorates as well as the plan of reserving seats, for reasons which every one understands. The Committee recommends, instead, special representation of communal associations in the Representative Assembly, provided that the community to be represented numbers more than 20,000 in the State. This is a most unsatisfactory suggestion. Many Associations in India and elsewhere are run by a few individuals, and it will be the easiest thing in the world for a few busy-bodies of a backward caste numbering 20,000 to start an Association with a view to get themselves returned to the Assembly. It is even possible that a political party may start Associations among several such communities with the object of augmenting its own strength. Another very real danger is that rival Associations may spring up each claiming to be more representative of the caste or community than the other. The proposal is calculated to expose backward communities to exploitation to a far larger extent than communal electorates or reservation of seats. Of the two last, we have on previous occasions given our reasons for regarding the plan of reserved seats as a judicious middle course between communal electorates and the absolute non-recognition of communities. Situated as we are, it is an idle affectation to ignore the existence of strong communal feelings in the country. The only thing to be done is, while recognizing this fact, to provide

for their representation in a way which would be least detrimental to the national feeling. The plan of reserving seats, is such a provision. While communal representation is secured, it is secured through persons who enjoy to some extent the confidence of the other communities comprised in the electorate. The worst evil of communal electorates is that the most bigoted man has the greatest chance of being returned as the communal representative. They place a premium on intolerance and narrow-mindedness, while the system of reserved seats is likely to favour the man of moderate mind and a tolerant outlook. There is a further advantage in this system. The minority or backward community, while it is assured of a fixed number of seats, is free to secure as many more as its progress in education and intelligence may entitle it to from time to time.

THE WILL AND THE IMAGINATION.

We reprint to-day a thoughtful article entitled "Coneism and Christian Experience" which the Rev. L. C. Kitchen has contributed to the *Baptist Missionary Review*. It is now admitted that the mind is a much larger entity than that of which we are conscious. Like the iceberg in the ocean, less than a tenth part of it lies in the region of the conscious while the other nine-tenths lies hidden in the unconscious or sub-conscious region. The impressions which we receive through the conscious part of our mind, and which form our knowledge, are transformed into character and aptitudes in the region of the sub-conscious. The sub-conscious also receives impressions directly, that is to say, without the intervention of consciousness and these impressions are more numerous and not less important in the moulding of character and conduct. The child imbibes more from its environment than from the instruction imparted to it. From the nature of things, educationists were the first to light upon these facts, but they did so for a long time empirically. The systematising of these facts and the development of a philosophy or science of the unconscious, was the work of scientists who applied it to the cure of disease. Hypnotism was used as a means of healing. The hypnotiser produced artificially a passive state of mind in the patient and then made suggestions which, like seed, fell on the prepared soil and wrought the cure. Professor Cone has found from his experience that a hypnotiser is not necessary and may be dispensed with. He argues that the important point is that a suggestion has effect only when it ceases to be recognisable by the patient as an outside suggestion. In other words, a suggestion has no effect till it becomes a self-suggestion or auto-suggestion, and for auto-suggestions, hypnotisers are a hindrance rather than a help. Every patient can be his own healer, by cultivating the habit of helpful suggestion.

Mr. Cone's most important discovery, however, is that the imagination and not the will is the most potent agent of moulding character and conduct. So long as the imagination remains uncor-

rected, the power of the will can work only to intensify its influence. Mr. Cone has put this in the form of a mathematical formula: "When the will and the imagination are at war, the imagination invariably wins 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." This explains why frontal attacks upon an evil habit are so often disastrous failures. Instead of giving a new direction to the imaging faculty, the method of direct resistance fixes it more firmly on the evil image, and all the strength of will brought to bear upon the effort to get rid of it is "reversed" in order to fortify and strengthen it in its hold upon the patient's imagination. Thus, if a man is addicted to the drinking habit, so long as the image of the foaming cup continues to fascinate his mental vision, his most strenuous efforts to give up drinking will only plunge him deeper in the morass from which he is anxious to get out. Every struggle but adds to his embarrassment. He marshals all the reasons which he has heard or read against drinking but suddenly the image of the foaming cup appears on the horizon of his consciousness, and he rushes for it with tenfold more ardour than he ever did, because all the force created by his efforts to combat it has now become a force on the side of the habit instead of a force against it. Therefore, Mr. Cone laid most stress on the direction of the imagination rather than on the control of the will. The force of the will is a neutral force like steam or electricity. It may be applied to good or bad ends. Imagination is the steering wheel, and the right cultivation of the imagination is, therefore, the chief means whereby man can become master of himself. Instead of regarding himself as a victim struggling against an external fate, man should form the habit of thinking of himself as the maker of his own destiny.

Mr. Cone himself has not framed any theory. He has been content to work on certain lines which in experience has proved effective, and he has worked wonders. It is Mr. Charles Baudoin who has tried to frame a theory of Mr. Cone's results and in this theory there is an obvious defect. How is the imagination to be guided? "Let us", says one writer "represent ourselves to ourselves, let us picture ourselves, as we should like to be—vigorous, robust, overflowing with health. The greater the sharpness of outline in this idea, the more salient it is, the more it assumes the form of an image, the better the prospects of its realisation. What is well conceived will be easily realised." Mr. Baudoin approves of this recommendation. But when we are told "let us" do so and so, who or what is to let us? The will, evidently. In other words, you must will to imagine. Mr. Cone has not discarded "the will" after all. Only he has shifted its task. He has given it a more difficult one than the orthodox moralists did. They said: "You must will to be free and you will be free." Mr. Cone says, "No, you must will to imagine you are free and you shall be free." The Rev. L. C. Kitchen offers a helpful hint in this dilemma. Writing as a Christian, he, of course, tells

us that we should put Christ at the back of our will. But Mr. Cone's discovery has for ages been the commonplace of all great religions. Indeed, Mr. Bandoïn, the authoritative expounder of the theory of Mr. Cone's method, acknowledges that his theory is largely a reproduction in modern psychological terminology of "the precepts by which, for centuries past, the Yogis of Hindustan have been accustomed to attain self-mastery." The Mahomedan Sufis, too, have similar precepts. In fact, these are the common property of mystics of every religion. If that is so, it is an additional reason why we should seek in the ancient systems for light that may enable us to solve our national problems. For the philosophy of the sub-conscious has a profound significance not only in medicine, but in education and in politics as well. Impressions and ideas which merely float on the surface of consciousness are easily replaced by other ideas and impressions, and have no creative value. Only those have such value, which sink into the sub-conscious mind, germinate there and grow to be indistinguishable from our nature, becoming, so to speak, our *dharma*, that which possesses us. The educational and political methods which are likely to be most effective are those which aim at the training of the sub-conscious mind of the people. Take the case of Non-Co-operation. The Non-Co-operator is all the while thinking of the Government with which he should non-co-operate and thus he is actually giving it a greater hold and power over his imagination. Instead of, as he thinks, getting clear of the Government, he is really held fascinated by it

Like birds the charming serpent draws
To drop head foremost in the jaws
Of vacant darkness and to cease.

Seeking to paralyse Government, he is himself paralysed by Government. Emancipation of the nation, on the other hand, can come only by allowing our minds to play as little as possible on the things we would eschew, and by fixing them on the grand vision of an emancipated future with all the intensity of which we are capable. Non-Co-operation and all other negative ideas, are useful as temporary expedients, but they must be put aside as soon as they have done their work in favour of positive, definite ideas. Mahatma Gandhi realised this and sought under cover of Non-Co-operation to introduce a constructive programme. But the two things are as immiscible as oil and water, as the results show. The Swaraj party is an attempt to find a more coherent method but it also is greatly hampered by the necessity felt by many of its adherents to keep up an appearance of continuity with the Non-Co-operation programme. The future of the Swaraj party entirely depends upon how far it is able to move forward unhampered by the burdensome legacies of the Non-Co-operation programme.

The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association.
A General Meeting of the Association will be held on Sunday, 24th June 1923 at 5-30 P. M. (S. T.) at the Servants of India Society's Home to do honour to the memory of the late Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, Kt., LL. D., President of the Association.

DISABILITIES OF INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

We have received from Messrs. A. Christopher and Sorabjee Rustomjee, Hon. Secretaries of the Natal Indian Congress, Durban, a copy of the Statement dated 11th May 1923 presented to the Minister of the Interior of the Union Government of South Africa by a deputation from the Natal Indian Congress, on the Rural Dealers' Licensing Law Amendment Ordinance and the Borough and Township Lands Ordinance as passed by the Natal Provincial Council this year.

The first-named Ordinance will come into force on the 1st November next. It will apply to that part of the Province of Natal which lies outside the boundaries of Boroughs and Local Townships, and by its provisions Rural Licensing Boards for hearing and deciding applications for licenses will be constituted in each county throughout the province except Zululand and some other parts. The entire personnel of these Boards is to be appointed by the Administrator who will himself be an official acting under the orders of the Executive Committee. The Boards will have power to refuse a wholesale or retail license, and their decisions are not liable to review, reversal or alteration by any Court of Law though an appeal is allowed to a special Board, which, however, is a nominal body with power only to hear appeals in cases where a license is refused on the ground that the applicant is not a fit and proper person to hold a license or carry on a proposed business. The deputationists state that the first anti-Indian trading legislation to be introduced was the Act No. 18 of 1897 which was passed by the then Natal Legislature owing to the agitation of a section of the European population to control and restrict the issue of licenses to Indians. By this Act a Licensing Officer was appointed vested with unfettered power to issue or refuse a wholesale or retail dealer's license. His decision could not be appealed against to any Court of Law though an appeal was allowed before a Town Council or Town Board or Divisional Board (which last was appointed under the Liquor Act of 1896) according as the license was sought in a town, borough or elsewhere. Since the passage of Act 18 of 1897 the policy of administration pursued has been the undue restriction of the trading rights of Indians, which has given rise to endless litigation. The Dealers' Act and its amendments, says the statement, have cost the Indians thousands of pounds in litigation and around them has been woven a string of judicial decisions which condemn the manner in which the arbitrary and unfettered discretion given to a statutory officer in the administration of licensing matters has been exercised and against whose decision the inherent rights of the Supreme Court by legislation are ousted.

The deputationists complain that this obnoxious measure has been passed by the Provincial Council of Natal in spite of the protest of the Indians and

support of their case. The main objections to this Ordinance as given in the Statement are :—

1. The supersession of the present Licensing system by a Licensing Board will render it practically impossible for Indians to obtain new licenses as these Boards are composed of persons one of whose qualifications is that they should be enrolled as voters for Parliament, and as Indians have been denied parliamentary franchise they will go unrepresented on these Boards.

2. The Licensing Boards to be constituted have discretion to refuse a wholesale or retail license and no appeal lies from their decision except in the cases of renewals, and where licenses are refused on the ground that the applicant is not a fit and proper person to hold a license or to carry on the proposed business.

3. Whereas an appeal lies in all cases under the existing laws from the decisions of the Licensing Officer to an Appeal Board, with the further right to an applicant in cases of renewals only to pursue the matter to the Supreme Court, such rights of appeal under the new Ordinance are restricted to cases where licenses are refused on the ground that the applicant is not a fit and proper person to hold the license applied for or to carry on the proposed business, preserving, however, the right of appeal in cases of renewals to the Appeal Board, and therefrom to the Supreme Court. The deputationists say that they attach much importance to this section as it limits the existing rights of appeal in cases of applications for new licenses and transfer of licenses, and complain that it is a serious infringement upon the rights and privileges hitherto enjoyed by Indians.

4. The provision in Section 20 of the Ordinance providing application by objectors for re-hearing is likely, under the rules to be framed in terms of the ordinance, to be an instrument for the extinction of Indian traders if the rules provide that notice of intention to apply for renewal should be advertised, and such requirement will put Indian applicants to unnecessary inconvenience and loss to defend their vested rights and there will be no security for the continuance of the license.

The annexures to the Statement include a table of figures which shows that, compared with the number of European licenses there has been a decrease in the number of licenses held by Indians since 1908.

The deputationists urge that any ordinance dealing with the licensing question should state the grounds on which a license may be granted or refused, and provide for the right of appeal in all cases to the Supreme Court or a local division thereof, and further stipulate that the evidence in all cases should be recorded as also the reasons on which a Licensing Officer bases his decision in granting or refusing a license.

They set forth their chief objections to the Borough and Townships Land Ordinance as follows :

(1) It is unjust and inequitable to differentiate between Ratepayers and Burgesses in Boroughs and Townships and to place extraordinary and novel

powers in the hands of the Town Councils and Local Boards.

(2) It is un-British to deprive British Indians of existing, just and inherent rights as British subjects and South Africans.

(3) The policy of racial segregation is detrimental to human progress because, firstly, it creates conditions that make for the herding of human beings with the undesirable consequences of greater impoverishment, insanitation, ill-health and overcrowding and such a state of affairs cannot but react to the disadvantage of the country, and secondly, where the power of legislation and administration is vested in a certain section of the people to the exclusion of others it must lead to neglect of the interests of the people excluded from representation on the legislatures, and Kraaled within limited areas.

The deputationists further point out that the above two Ordinances, if they become law, will adversely affect the very existence of Indians as the same would interfere with the two essentials of life under the existing system in the world, viz., land and the opportunity to trade, and they urge the following considerations in regard to these ordinances :—

(1) The deprivation, restriction of or interference with the just, existing and inherent rights of Indians as British subjects is a breach of the assurances and undertakings given from time to time by the Governments in South Africa that Indians lawfully resident in the country will be justly and fairly treated and their existing rights safeguarded.

(2) With the stoppage of Indian immigration—free and restricted—and with the departures to India and by the death of Indian-born Indians the entire future Indian population in the Union will be South African-born in character, and as a result of environment, education and association, Colonial-born Indians who now number approximately two-thirds of the Indian population are becoming more and more anglicized while preserving in a sense their racial integrity.

(3) The Indian community has always shown its willingness and readiness to discharge its duties and responsibilities in peace as in war and have translated their willingness into action as far as they have been permitted to do so by the authorities.

In the covering letter addressed to the Indian Press under date 22nd May 1923 the Secretaries of the Natal Indian Congress inform us that the deputationists had an interview with the Minister of the Interior in May and that the latter gave an evasive reply though he promised to place their representations before the members of the Union Government. The Secretaries remark that it is apparently a question of the Union Government either of sacrificing the weaker party, Indians, in order to retain the support of the Natal members of Parliament who cry out for all kinds of reactionary measures against Indians, or of giving bare justice to Indians at the risk of losing the support of the Natal members and thereby jeopardising their voting strength as Government, which at present is not too strong.

HINDUS IN BENGAL.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In the last issue of your paper you say :—

"The Hindus, it is clear, were never in a majority in Bengal during the life-time of a generation and even more, if we take it, as is usually done, to be thirty years."

The Hindus were in a majority in Bengal Proper but have been outnumbered by the Mussalmans during our life-time; as the following figures, taken from a statement made by the Hon'ble Sir Abdur Rahim in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 25th January last, will show :—

| Year | No. of Hindus. | No. of Moslems. |
|------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1872 | 17,051,583 | 16,619,191 |
| 1881 | 18,067,816 | 18,395,424 |
| 1891 | 18,974,574 | 20,178,201 |
| 1901 | 20,152,961 | 21,951,818 |
| 1911 | 20,945,379 | 24,286,756 |
| 1921 | 20,809,148 | 25,486,124 |

(From Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings Vol. XI, No. 1, page 187).

I wrote : "During the life-time of the present generation, the Bengali Mussalmans, from being a minority, have become the majority in Bengal." Perhaps I ought to have been more precise. But what I meant is, "during our life-time," and, as I am an old man, the period covers half a century. But, after all, this is a minor point. The real question is, whether the Mussalmans in Bengal Proper have or have not reached the position of a majority from that of minority within our life-time, and I have shown that they have.

Yours faithfully,

RAMANANDA CHATTERJI,
Editor, *The Modern Review.*

Calcutta, June 12, 1923.

[The first regular Census in India was taken in February 1881. The figure given for 1872 is merely a rough estimate. The enumeration was non-synchronous and many of the Indian states were left out of account. The Hindu population in Bengal in the 1872 estimate showed an excess of only about 400,000. The two populations were about equal and the Mahomedans have undoubtedly gained ground more rapidly than the Hindus since.—Ed. I. S. R.]

DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT CHAWLS.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Attention of the public is being drawn repeatedly in the *Reformer*, to the chawls built by the Development Department, Bombay, for the working-classes. In its issue of December 23, 1922, the *Reformer* makes the following editorial comment : "Sir George Lloyd spoke of the need of sun and air in the lives of the people, but Mr. Andrews shows that these, especially the former, are largely and carefully excluded from these tenements. He likens them to jails, and another authority is said to have observed that these rooms are calculated to promote neurasthenia in their inmates." Here is the opinion of Dr. Chowry Muthu, an eminent Indian specialist in tuberculosis. He thinks that "the creation of tenements where men, women, and children grew like the fungi out off from God's light and fresh air, would make for tuberculosis and other diseases in India."

In his article, "An Indian Tuberculosis specialist in England" in the *Modern Review* for May, 1920, St. Nihal Singh gives the following details on Dr. Muthu's opinion :

"In Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, and in fact

in every large town where modern industries have grown up, he (Dr. Muthu) has discovered that the evils of Western industrialism are not merely repeated but are greatly accentuated by the climate on the one hand, and by the greed of factory-owners on the other. Men, women, and children are toiling for long, weary hours in rooms oft-times filled with steam, with an angry tropical sun beating upon the roof, living in houses that are dark and dingy and fearfully overcrowded, and subsisting upon food insufficient in quantity, and poor in quality. The most elementary laws of sanitation are defied. Men and women never have enough of tissue-building food. Germs of virulent diseases are thus encouraged to grow and multiply, while the human body does not possess the vitality to resist their attacks. Hence diseases like tuberculosis have acquired a hold upon Indian life that inspires Dr. Muthu with fear." He continues :

"Dr. Muthu estimates that the deaths in India from tuberculosis range from 900,000 to 1,000,000 per annum. Mortality from that scourge in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and other Indian cities, in proportion to their population, is larger than it is in Birmingham, Glasgow, and other industrial towns in Great Britain."

This long extract is made to convey to the reading public the awful condition of Labour in India from the view point of Dr. Muthu. The duty of an Indian publicist is not only to fight for Swaraj but to concert measures of medical relief immediately for our toilers.

Yours faithfully,

E. GOVINDAN.

12th June 1923.

North Eluppai, via Arcot.

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

We have received the following letter from the Director of Information, Bombay :—

In order to give effect to India's adherence to the International Convention for the suppression of the Traffic in women and children the Government of India introduced a bill into the Indian Legislature in September of last year, which has now become law as the Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Act of 1923. Prior to the introduction of the original bill opinions were invited as to the age limit which should be included in the legislation and as the result of the examination of those opinions, the Government of India decided that they could not safely adopt a higher limit than 16 years for the present. The Government of India's view was that, having regard to the habits and customs of the people of this country, to fix a higher limit than 16 years would be to legislate so far in advance of public opinion that probably the law enacted would be nugatory. The Legislative Assembly, however, adopted, by a majority of 3 votes, an amendment moved by Mr. Joshi raising the age limit to 18 years in the case of offences under new section 366A of the Indian Penal Code and the bill as so amended was finally passed.*

The Government of India were not satisfied that such a limit would be upheld by public opinion generally. The previous reference to local Governments elicited a few opinions

* New section 366A reads: Procurement of minor girls: Whoever, by any means whatsoever, induces any minor girl under the age of 18 years to go from any place or to do any act with intent that such girl may be, or knowing that it is likely that she will be forced or seduced to illicit intercourse with another person shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine.

In favour of a higher limit than 16 years (the Government of Bombay was in favour of 21 years) but local Governments then had under consideration the question of India's adherence generally to the Convention of 1910 with a view to prevent a traffic in girls between different countries and not the specific offence which has been given legislative form in a new section 366A and which covers isolated acts of procurement of a minor even within India.

In order therefore that an opportunity should be afforded of consulting local Governments on the advisability of this provision and on the question of age limits as a whole for the more serious kindred offences mentioned in the Indian Penal Code, a clause was inserted before the measure was finally passed, empowering the Governor General in Council to bring it into operation when he thought fit.

It is pointed out that new section 366A has been drawn in wide terms and creates not only a new offence but brings a large number of people under the Criminal Law and under Police action. It will apply to all parts of India, to cultivated Society, to backward people and maybe also to aboriginals. Instances of this which were before the Legislature included the alliances of Devadasis in the Madras Presidency, the sexual relationship prevailing among the Bhils and Kbands &c. In such cases the go-between would be punishable under the new section if the girl was under the age of 18—even though she were a widow—and not the man for whom she was procured. It is also pointed out that the question arises whether the limit of 16 years for a female under sections 361*, 372*, and 373* should be similarly raised. These sections deal with more serious offences and it would appear to be illogical to retain a higher limit for what is a comparatively minor offence and the lower limit for some of the gravest kindred offences.

Under these circumstances the Government of India has asked for the views of the Bombay Government in these matters. The Government of Bombay has referred the points raised to various associations and societies but it would also be glad to receive the opinions of the public generally on the important matters raised by the Government of India's reference. Letters on this subject should be addressed to the Secretary to Government, Home Department.

THE BOMBAY SOUTH INDIAN CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETY, LTD.

The fourth annual General Meeting of the above Society was held at the South Indian Club premises, Queen's Road, on Sunday the 10th June 1923. There was a fairly good attendance of shareholders. Rao Bahadur A. K. Pai, Vice-President, presided in the absence from Bombay of the President (Mr. K. S. Ramaswamy Iyer).

The Report of the Committee showed that during the year, over Rs. 5,000 was advanced to the members as loan. During the year there was a profit of Rs. 258-9-9 which together with Rs. 249-4-11 brought forward from the previous year made a total of Rs. 507-14-8. The Committee recommended that this amount be appropriated as follows:—

| | Rs. | s. | p. |
|--------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| To Reserve Fund | 300 | 0 | 0 |
| To Dividend equalization Fund | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| To carry forward | 7 | 14 | 8 |

* Section 361. Kidnapping from lawful guardianship.
Section 372. Selling of any minor for purposes of prostitution.
Section 373. Buying of any minor for purposes of prostitution.

After the Report was adopted, a new Managing Committee was elected and an Auditor was also appointed. The Chairman, in winding up the proceedings, observed that the Society which began four years ago with a very small number of members has to-day on its roll over 200 members and has been taken advantage of by a number of South Indians. He stated that the Committee had so far not had to refuse a loan applied for for want of funds. When a sufficient balance was not available, the necessary deposits had been forthcoming from willing members. The Committee has however, under consideration proposals for relaxing the rules re: loans so as to allow the payment of loans on the security of gold ornaments. He expressed the hope that a South Indian who join the Society and, at any rate those who require help such as it allows, will take advantage of its existence. Before concluding, the Chairman paid a well deserved tribute to Mr. P. S. K. Iyengar who had been working very energetically as the Hon. Secretary for more than three years and whose services will not be available to the Society in future on account of his transfer to Poona. The meeting placed on record its appreciation of Mr. Iyengar's good work.

The Society is controlled by a Committee which consist of leading South Indians in Bombay. The following were elected to the Committee for the ensuing year:—

Mr. K. S. Ramaswamy Iyer, B. A., B. L., (President) Rao Bahadur A. K. Pai, B. A. (Vice-President) Rao Bahadur K. Balarama Iyer, M. A., Messrs. K. Subramania Iyer, B.A. J. P., K. N. Ramasubba Iyer, B. A., B. L., J. P., C. S. Rangaswamy, B.A., S. Ramanatha Iyer, K. S. Ramachandran Iyer, and E. R. Menon with Mr. T. P. Sadasivan, M.A., as Hon. Secretary and Mr. P. C. Chakravarty, B. A., Hon. Treasurer.

With a vote of thanks to the Chairman, Rao Bahadur A. K. Pai, and to the retired Managing Committee the meeting terminated.

AN UNDISCLOSED CHAPTER OF NON-CO OPERATION HISTORY.

Speaking at Tinnevely on the 15th instant, Mr. C. R. Das made some important statements as to what actually happened in December 1921, when Lord Reading offered to call a Round Table Conference on certain terms: Mr Das said:

THE TERMS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.

An ingenious attempt has been made to treat my part of the undertaking as a part of another bigger negotiation which was going on between the other gentlemen and Mahatma Gandhi. I had nothing to do with those telegrams or messages or conversations. I was only dealing in that speech of mine with what took place between the Government and myself and Mahatma Gandhi. It was not only myself but a great Muhammadan leader Moulana Abul Kalam Azad who was at that time in prison was also with me. The terms were brought to us in the Presidency Jail on the 19th December 1921. They were firstly that the Government communique on the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the magisterial orders should be withdrawn at once; secondly that all political prisoners arrested since the first of November should be released. On these two things being done a round table conference was to be called and on the Criminal Law Amendment Act under which we all went to jail being withdrawn and the political prisoners arrested since the 1st November being released, the hartal was to be called off. When we got these terms we thought that these

were good terms, because the Criminal Law Amendment Act we could force the Government to withdraw and the people who were arrested by the Government, the Government would not be able to keep in jail. And these two things would give such an uplift to the spirit of the people and would make them taste such success that will really strengthen their desire for Swaraj. What would be the impression in the minds of the public? I ask you to consider that these people who were arrested by thousands the bureaucracy could not keep in jail and the Criminal Law Amendment Act which was forged as a weapon against the people they had to withdraw and the round table conference which they had up to that time refused to call, we compelled them to call. Remember the speech of the Viceroy that if these terms were accepted neither party should think it has conquered. Who are the two parties—the Congress and the Government. My critics and my opponents think I built high hopes of the round table. I should have thought that the whole of my life was a contradiction of such thought. But surely those who have some political insight can see that if in the matter of the round table the Government had broken its pledge, why, we would have started the non-co-operation movement with redoubled vigour. I never rely on round tables or on Government's desire to do good to us. I want to compel them to recognise what our undoubted right is. I wanted to give the people of this country a taste of success.

A PIECE OF MAYA.

That is why so far as I am concerned and Moulana Abul Kalam Azad is concerned we accepted these terms. On that very day the 19th December we sent this message to Mahatma Gandhi, signed by me and by Abul Kalam Azad. "We recommend calling off hartal on following conditions: (1) Government calling a conference which shall soon consider all questions raised by Congress. (2) Withdrawal of recent Government communique and Police and magisterial orders. (3) releasing all prisoners under this new law unconditionally. Reply immediately, care, Superintendent, Presidency Jail, Calcutta." With reference to this my critics take my breath away when they say that no terms were offered to me. It is a piece of maya, this telegram they say, it is a piece of maya that the Government gave me a line clear that the message may be transmitted at once (Laughter). It was maya when the Superintendent of the jail allowed a prisoner to send a telegram. And the maya of all mayas is that Mahatma Gandhi replied care of the Superintendent, Presidency Jail. I have seen many things in this controversy but I have not come across anywhere a statement which is as nablushing as this. Surely party polemics should not be so carried that all regard for truth should vanish. This is the answer which I had received on that very day, the 19th December. "Your wire Composition and date of conference should be previously determined. Release should include prisoners convicted for Fatwas including Karachi ones. Subject to these conditions in addition to yours we can in my opinion waive hartal." Therefore those who now charge me with trying to sell the honour of the country should remember that the difference between myself and Mahatma Gandhi was very little in the matter of this compromise.

COMPOSITION OF THE ROUND TABLE.

It is these additional terms that constituted the difference. I tell you now why I was against those additional grounds. In the first place the composition of the round table in my opinion should not have been dictated by us at all. In my opinion the right position to accept was simply

this: Let those gentlemen who want to call for a round table conference do so and if you are not satisfied with it we will carry on Non-co-operation. I wanted to keep my hands free. I felt then as I feel now that in any round table conference, this bureaucracy is not likely to give you what you want. But you must consider if after these solemn promises the bureaucracy acted unfairly in the matter of the round table what would have been the feelings of the people and how more vigorously would you have carried on this very Non-Co-operation. It is on that ground that both of us Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and myself acted.

THE FATWA PRISONERS.

I turn to the second ground—the release of Fatwa prisoners, principally, Muhammad Ali and Shoukat Ali. My feeling is that the Criminal Law Amendment Act being withdrawn they were bound to release all the prisoners arrested under that Act and the release of the other prisoners would come as a matter of course on the decision of the round table because that is not a matter of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, but of Swaraj. I was therefore of opinion that these two additional terms should not be pressed. But because of the admiration and esteem in which I held Mahatma Gandhi I put forward before the Government names of gentlemen who could constitute themselves the round table. The Government accepted those names and with regard to the release of Muhammad Ali and Shoukat Ali, I put before the Government that if you are not willing to release them now, please see that Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and myself may be detained in prison till they are released. That is a matter of record now.

COUJISM AND CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE.

The Rev. L. C. Kitchen writes in the *Baptist Missionary Review*:—

The majority of missionaries in India, doubtless, have not had the privilege of hearing M. Coue, or of reading the book authorized by him, on the subject of auto-suggestion in its relation to bodily health. We are dependent upon more or less inadequate press reports of his lectures, and reviews of his book. Unquestionably M. Coue has raised quite a stir during his recent tour in America, and where there is so much smoke, there surely must be some fire.

Although the reports are inadequate, it is apparent that M. Coue has grasped some new factor in the relation of the mind to the body. It appears that his theory is that the subconscious mind is more powerful even than the conscious mind in the influence which it exerts over the body, and in fact over the entire faculties of a person. Consequently he would work through that subconscious mind by way of the imagination, by the power of auto-suggestion. His specific formula for all cases appears to be simply to repeat "so long as we live, twenty times, each morning before rising, and each night upon retiring," the now famous slogan, "Every day, in every way, I'm getting better and better." It is not necessary to be specific regarding one's complaint as the words "in every way," cover the whole range of one's being.

The *Sunday School Times*, in its issue of February 17th, prints a lengthy article, presumably an editorial, entitled, "Can a Christian safely follow Coue?" This article reveals sufficiently the nature of the teachings, and the extent of the claims of the authorized edition of the book, to account for the editor's conclusion, that "the question can be answered in only one way. Neither

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.
FURTHER PRESS OPINIONS.

A correspondent writes to the *Times* (London):—

Of Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, President of the Bombay Legislature, and late Judge of the Bombay High Court, it can be said that no Indian of our day was held in more universal esteem, for there was none of whom it could be more unreservedly said that every phase of his many-sided career was marked by high standards of duty, dignity, kindly consideration, and purity of motive. He has left a permanent mark on the developing consciousness and character of India in many fields—as a jurist, a social reformer, a politician, a journalist, and a religious thinker and leader. His was a moderating and reconciling influence.

Born in the Kanara district in 1855, he was educated at Elphinstone College, Bombay, where he was powerfully influenced by the Principal, Dr. Wordsworth, a kinsman of the poet. Sir Narayan was enrolled forty-two years ago as a pleader of the Bombay High Court, and he combined with his practice for some time the editorship of the English columns of the bi-lingual *Indu Prakash*, wherein he set a fine example of informed and restrained judgment. He had his share in the beginnings of the political activities from which sprang the Indian National Congress, and on the eve of the general election in 1885 he was sent to this country, with two or three others, for platform work, to quicken English sympathy for Indian aspirations. In 1900 he was elected president of the National Congress session at Lahore.

His abiding interests, however, were in less directly polemical work, designed to raise the moral and spiritual tone of his country. It was not necessarily the easiest path, as he found when involved in the fierce storm of opposition in the early nineties to the raising of the very low age of consent by an Act passed by Lord Lansdowne's Government. For seventeen years he was general secretary of the Indian National Social Conference and its chief sustainer. He was always ready to co-operate in any beneficent movement. As an educationist his record was remarkable. He was the honoured head of the Bombay Students' Brotherhood, the representative of the University for several years upon the provincial Legislature, and the Vice-Chancellor for four years more.

He was also, after the death of Justice Ranade, the leader of the Prarthana Samaj, a Theistic society which rests largely on ancient Hindu thought. He was profoundly versed in Sanskrit writings, while he was as familiar with the Bible as many Christian ministers. To the value of the Bible he gave unstinted testimony, and openly welcomed every advance of Hindu thought to "the ideas that lie at the heart of the Gospel of Christ."

His Hindu law researches were of great value in the Bombay High Court, on the Bench of which he served from 1900 to 1918. After that for a few uneasy months he was Chief Minister of Indore, but the work of administration in a Native State was not suited to his temperament and outlook. On the other hand he was quite successful in the post of President of the Bombay Legislature, for which he was selected by Sir George Lloyd, when the reforms were instituted. His judicial temperament enabled him to uphold the standards of the "Mother of Parliaments." He was able to settle in later years more than one serious labour dispute, and the occasional charge that he was unpractical was not upheld by such work as his chairmanship of the recent Elementary Education Committee. He was singularly well informed on English current thought. In all his activities he had the hearty co-operation of his wife.

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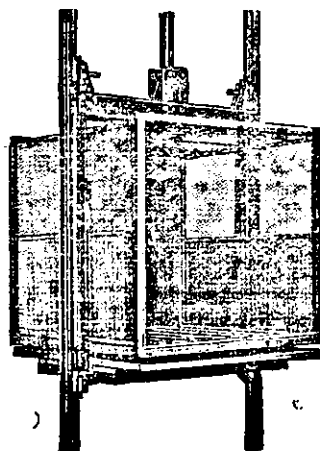
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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

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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 Calcutta Orphanage Collapse: The collapse of the Calcutta Mahomedan Orphanage, with a death-roll of 43 inmates, is one of the worst disasters of the kind in recent years. In the majority of sudden accidents like fires or collapses of houses, the inmates or a large number of them, it generally happens, are not in the place and thus escape death. This has been adduced as a proof that the sub-conscious in man is wide awake and often leads him out of the path of danger unbeknown to his conscious self. The Calcutta disaster is an exception, but it conveys a lesson which requires attention. Orphanages and other similar institutions are started more frequently than ever before in India, and probably the need for them is greater. The old family and caste obligations are breaking down and some substitute has to be found for them. But we are afraid that the managers of philanthropic institutions do not always pay sufficient attention to details indispensable in work of the kind. We are fully aware that they have often to make the most of inadequate funds, and that it is not possible to restrict admissions in the face of the large number of applicants in need of help. But the line has to be drawn somewhere. These observations are intended generally. The Calcutta Mahomedan Orphanage seems to have been recently repaired and we dare say that the collapse of the house was due to some unforeseeable cause. The managers have our cordial sympathy.

The R. T. Conference Controversy: It was generally understood at the time that the offer by the Viceroy of a Round Table Conference in December 1921, was thwarted by the late delivery of an important telegram from Mahatma Gandhi. This is confirmed by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who was in jail with Mr. Das and signed with him the telegram conveying the terms of the offer to Mr. Gandhi at Sabarmati. The Maulana said in the course of an interview by a representative of the *Servant of Calcutta*:

In all this controversy people seem to forget that on the evening of 22nd December Mahatma Gandhi sent a telegram

to Babu Shyamsundar Chakravarti withdrawing his conditions regarding the Fatwa prisoners and asking him to try to get the date and personnel of the Round Table Conference fixed. When Pandit Malaviya saw us again on the morning of 23rd December, we discussed with him the whole situation and drew up a list of the names for the proposed Conference. The names of Maulana Mahomed Ali and Maulana Shoukat Ali were the first on the list. The 15th of February was suggested by us as the date for the Round Table Conference. Panditjee went away with these papers and came again in the evening. Though he did not frankly admit, yet he seemed to us to be disappointed and it was clear that he had failed in his efforts. He informed us that the Viceroy was going to Patna where he would consult with other members of the Government of India on the question.

The Maulana said that the chief thing which weighed with the Viceroy was the withdrawing of the *hartal* of the 24th December in Calcutta. But on the 23rd, it was too late to recall the *hartal*, which was the Viceroy's chief object in agreeing to the Conference. In the circumstances, as the Maulana said, no one could be accused of bungling. It is always dangerous to carry on delicate negotiations by telegraph. Readers of the *Lives of Cecil Rhodes* and Dr. Jameson will remember how the miscarriage of their Transvaal plans was due entirely to a delayed telegram. Government gave Mr. Das a "line clear" for his message, but it was not evidently available for the Mahatma's reply.

Mahatma Gandhi and Non-Violence: In an unsigned paragraph, which enjoys the distinction of appearing in the editorial columns, *Young India* of the 21st instant, has the following:

The *Social Reformer* further makes the amazing statement that Mahatma Gandhi attached so great an importance to Non-Violence that he would have promptly thrown Non-Co-operation overboard in order first to put down this sinister development (the Punjab political murders). It is hopeless to cure such amazing misconceptions at this late hour. We believe, the *Social Reformer* must be aware of Mahatmaji's telegram to Malaviyaji in the course of 1921 negotiations, published in all the papers, in which he said that non-cooperation could only cease after the three outstanding questions, i. e., Khilafat, Punjab and Swaraj, were satisfactorily settled. We also hope, the *Social Reformer* is not unaware of the famous declaration which Mahatmaji once made that, even if the Amir of Afghanistan invaded India, he would still consider it a crime for any non-co-operator to assist the Government or to cooperate with it in any way in repelling the invasion. But probably these facts do not suit the *Social Reformer's* convenience.

This is truly amazing from *Young India*. The Bardoli resolutions speak for themselves. The Non-Co-operation programme was suspended be-

cause of the Gorakhpur riots. The Nagpur Congress in a special clause of its principal resolution laid "special emphasis on Non-Violence being the integral part of the non-co-operation resolution" and invited the attention of the people to the fact that Non-violence in word and deed was essential both as regards Government and as between the people. *Young India* would tell us that Mahatma Gandhi would have dispensed with Non-Violence and proceeded with Non-Co-operation! The writer in *Young India* puts a perverse interpretation on what Mahatmaji said on two occasions. Let us quote to him two sentences from a letter in Mahatmaji's hand. "They (his followers) respect me but not my non-violence. They appreciate my fighting quality but not the absolute self-surrender that gives me that quality." The writer in *Young India* is evidently one of this class.

A Vindictive Rule: We received this extraordinary press note last week from the Bombay Director of Information.

In paragraph 5 of the Educational Department Press Note No. 206, dated the 19th February, 1923, it was announced *inter alia* that if any private grant-in-aid institution, unless it is specifically intended for special classes, *discriminates against* the depressed classes this would be taken into consideration and a portion of the grant otherwise payable to it be withheld. On further consideration Government have now decided that no grants shall be paid to aided educational institutions to which students belonging to the depressed classes are refused admission on account of their caste.

We objected to the former rule on the ground that it is wrong to penalise school-going children for their parents' prejudices and that the education of children, of whatever caste, is an obligation upon the State. The present rule goes further than this and denies grants to private schools maintained for special castes, which do not admit children of the depressed classes on account of their caste. It is hardly necessary for us to profess sympathy for the depressed classes, but the Government resolution amounts in effect to a policy of reducing, as far as Government can, children of castes which are afflicted with the prejudice of untouchability, to a condition of illiteracy. No social reform can be advanced by such vindictive means. The rule is an inducement to hypocrisy because a school can find several reasons other than caste to justify its exclusion of children of the depressed classes from school.

Is it Suggestion? Mr. V. Muthu, B.A., writes in the *Hindu* of the 19th June his experiences as a pilgrim to the Tiruvannamalai temple during the recent Karthikai festival. While climbing the rock on which the temple stands, he was miraculously cured of his malady by a Sanyasi. He says:

As I had ascended some 200 feet I met on my way a Sanyasi, or Samiar as he is usually called, seated on a leopard skin, with some bottles by his side probably medicines, beneath a tree, close by a stream. He accosted me particularly and bade me not be anxious about my ailment. I was then suffering from acute pain in my belly. How came he to know about this, I am at a loss to know. Before I could recollect myself he gave me sacred ash which he extracted from his shoulder, to be besmeared over my body and asked me to say "Annamalaiki Arahara." This said, he, to add to my wonder, next plucked some leaves and put them into my mouth. I thought that it was some herb which might miraculously cure me, but alas! when I tasted it, it was sugar. He administered a second dose,

saying that I was already cured. The belief, or what I do not know, brought about the miraculous cure, for from that moment I felt at ease and free from the stomach ache.

Ten or fifteen years ago, this would have been dismissed as humbug, but no one would venture to do so to-day. It is clearly a case of suggestion reinforced by accessories calculated to facilitate the belief in the patient's mind that he has already been cured. One need not be a Swami to discover from the facial expression that a person is suffering from acute pain in the stomach. The bottles ranged round the Sanyasi were evidently a concession to modernism. The tiger skin, the ashes, and the leaves were all meant to impress on the devotee's imagination the faith that he was cured of his malady. The Swami, in stationing himself at an altitude of 200 feet, might have also had in mind the effect of moderate physical exertion in toning up the system of sedentary persons, preparatory to complete relief.

The Poona Women's University: Sir Hormusji Wadya, presiding at the last annual meeting of the Poona Women's University, laid his finger on the weak spot of the institution when he advised the College authorities to give due and proper attention to the study of the English language and literature which must, he said, remain the *lingua franca* of the Indian nation for a long time to come, and which, therefore, deserved to be studied more carefully than merely as a second language. Professor Karve, in thanking Sir Hormusji, is reported to have regretted very much "the lack of appreciation and moral courage on the part of the people" who, he said, were still unwilling to take advantage of the facilities provided by the Indian Women's University for women's education. Experiments must continue to be made in education, and Professor Karve's experiment was well worth making if only to show that, in modern India, the idea of having a separate system of education for women, has no chance of acceptance. Those who are really earnest about giving the best education to their daughters, naturally prefer to send them to institutions affiliated to the recognised Universities. Professor Karve's claim that he was providing a national system has been superseded by the *Charukha* school of educationists. It has also since become known that the majority of women students in Japan attend the same Universities as men and that the Japanese Women's University is no more typical of Japanese, than Professor Karve's of Indian, women's aspirations. Instead of chiding the public for their "lack of moral courage"—where does moral courage come in, we wonder—Professor Karve would do well to adopt Sir Hormusjee's suggestion which has all along been also ours, and convert his University into a Women's College affiliated to the Bombay University. A good College is better than a doubtful University.

Bombay's Tribute to Sir N. Chandavarkar: A public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held in the Town Hall on the 28th instant under the presidentship of H. E. Sir George Lloyd, at which a resolution was passed placing on record their sense of profound grief at the great loss the city and the Presidency sustained by the untimely death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. It was also resolved to raise a suitable memorial to the deceased, and a Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen, with power to add, was appointed to collect subscription and take all necessary steps in that behalf:—The Hon. Sir Purshotandas Thakurdas, the Hon. Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Messrs. Narottam Morarji, Mahomedbhoj Currimbhoj, Cowasjee Jehangir (Jr.), J. Addyman, H. P. Mody, Ratansi D. Morarji and Iswardas Laxmidas.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JUNE 30, 1923.

MAHOMEDANS IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

In view of the controversy regarding the growth of the Mahomedan population in Bengal, it is interesting to consider how that community stands in this Presidency. For the first time since regular Censuses began to be taken, that is, since 1881, there was a decrease in the proportion of the Mahomedan population of this Presidency at the last (1921) Census. The number of Musulmans to 10,000 of the total population in this Presidency, in 1881, was 1627; it was 1629 in 1891; 1807 in 1901; 1810 in 1911; and 1729 in 1921. That is to say, the proportion of Mahomedans to the total population in the Presidency was lower in 1921 than it was twenty years ago. The proportion has remained stationary in Gujarat, and has actually increased in the Deccan and the Karnatak. It is only in Bombay City and Sind that it has decreased. Taking Bombay City first, the proportion was 2063 in 1881; it was 1889 in 1891; 2007 in 1901; 1831 in 1911, and 1571 in 1921. Mr. Edwardes, the Census Superintendent, explained the high proportion in 1901 as due to the fact that while others ran away from the plague in the city the Mahomedans stuck to it. The validity of this explanation, which appeared to be satisfactory at the time, is discounted by the striking decrease shown by the recent Census. The Mahomedans were over one-fifth of the total population of Bombay City in 1881. In 1921, they had become less than one-sixth of it.

The decrease in the Mahomedan population of Sind is even more striking. Sind is a predominantly Mahomedan province. Of the Mahomedans in the Bombay Presidency, nearly 55 per cent. are inhabitants of Sind. In 1881, the proportion of Mahomedans was 7808 in 10,000 of the population of Sind; in 1891, it fell to 7,705; in 1901, it declined further to 7,619; in 1911, it went down again to 7,514; and in 1921, it was 7,387, or nearly 500 less than in 1881. The rate of decline was accelerated in the decennial period 1911-1921 by the epidemic of influenza which prevailed in a virulent form in Sind. It seems to have taken a heavy toll from the Mahomedan population, as suggested by the fact that the decline in the number of women was much larger than in that of men. But the proportion of Musulmans in Sind has been steadily declining since 1881. The Census Superintendent, Mr. Sedgwick, notices this in his Report. "It is interesting to note", he writes, "that Islam is being encroached upon in Sind by Hinduism, using that term to include Sikhs and Jains. The fact seems to be fairly well-known, and is apparently usually attributed to the superiority of the Hindu in all intellectual occupations, which, with advancing civilisation, must be of necessity of increasing importance." This explanation does not explain anything. How, if the

superiority of the Hindu in all intellectual occupations be the cause of the decline in the Mahomedan proportion in Sind, is the steady increase in that proportion to be accounted for in Bengal? Besides, intellectual occupations and advancing civilisation are more frequently associated with a diminishing than with an increasing birth-rate.

Referring to the relatively larger increase of Mahomedans than of Hindus in the country as a whole, Mr. Gait, in the All-India Census Report for 1911, said that the main reason was that Mahomedans were more prolific, and that the main reason for this is that their social customs are more favourable to a high birth-rate than those of the Hindus. He went on to observe:

They have fewer marriage restrictions; early marriage is uncommon, and widows remarry more freely. The greater reproductive capacity of the Muhammadans is shown by the fact that the proportion of married females to the total number of females aged '15-40' exceeds the corresponding proportion of Hindus. The result is that Muhammadans have 87 children aged '0-5' to every 100 persons aged '15-40' while the Hindus have only 83.

In Sind at the 1921 Census the proportion of married females to the total number of females aged '15-40' was about equal for Mahomedans and Hindus. The actual figures were 819 for Hindus and 820 for Musulmans in 1000 women of that age period. If Mahomedans were more prolific than Hindus in Sind as in other provinces, their population must show a proportionate increase instead of decrease. There are proportionately more married Mahomedans, men and women, in Sind than married Hindus. In the face of these facts, the declining proportion of Mahomedans can be due only to an increasing immigration of Hindus into or emigration of Mahomedans from that province, perhaps, both. It seems to be the case that more Hindus come into Sind from outside than Musulmans, though no definite statistics are given in the Census Report. It is also probable that there are more Mahomedan than Hindu emigrants from Sind. This can be only ascertained from the Census Reports of the neighbouring provinces of Punjab, Rajputana and Baluchistan.

Reference must be made in this connection to certain intermediate sects which lie on what the Census Superintendent calls the borderland between Hinduism and Islam. To many persons brought up in the belief that between Hinduism and Islam there can never be any common ground, the fact of the existence of such sects would come as a startling surprise. But Humanity is vaster and greater than the small section of it known as Theologians, and where men live together, they will, despite the efforts of Theologians, steadily tend to grow together. The question of inter-communal unity in India or elsewhere, is largely a question of eliminating the impediments, theological and political, to the free operation of the natural impulses of Humanity. Hindus and Mahomedans, have lived for centuries together in India and it would have been really surprising if such intermediate sects had not arisen.

Some of these sectaries, have returned themselves at previous Censuses enumerations as Hindus and some as Mahomedans according to their personal predilections. Red-tapeism, however, demands clean-cut classifications, and the Census Commissioner of India objected to the scientifically correct classification of these sects as Hindu-Mahomedan and insisted on their being included either under Hindu or Mahomedan. The Kabirpanthis, a minority of whom returned themselves as Mahomedans in 1901, were all transferred to the category of Hindus in 1911 on the fiat of the Census Commissioner. These borderland communities are not large enough to make such manipulation affect the proportion of Mahomedans or Hindus in the country or in any province, but it may vary it appreciably in smaller areas. As adding strength to our protest against sectarian enumerations at the Census, we may mention that the number of Sunni Mahomedans in the Bombay Presidency at the 1921 Census was 4,107,221 while in 1911, it was only 975,213. On the face of it this enormous increase would suggest the inauguration of an intensive Sunni proselytising propaganda. There has been, of course, nothing of the kind. The large majority of Indian Mahomedans do not care, they perhaps do not know, whether they are Sunnis or Shias, and these at the 1911 Census were grouped under "sect not returned." But red-tape asserted itself and at the last Census all those who did not positively object to be classed as Sunnis, were transferred to "Sunni"!

NAIDUS IN CONFERENCE.

Readers of the *Reformer* need not be told that we strongly hold that the caste system, as it exists to-day, is a hindrance to national solidarity. The Indian nation consists of different communities, each community consisting of several castes and sub-castes. As a result of our growing national consciousness those communities which were hitherto considered "backward" are beginning to realize their weaknesses and are trying to reform themselves to suit the changed conditions of the times. The communal conferences, especially of the backward communities, of which we have been hearing recently, are signs of this awakening. The education of the backward communities, on which there is no need to lay special emphasis, is the immediate task before our leaders and we are glad to see that attempts are being made towards this end. While we are not unmindful of the harm which caste conferences may do by widening the gulf between them and other communities in some ways, we welcome the first Naidu Conference held on the 23rd instant in the Pachaippa's College Hall, Madras, under the presidentship of Dewan Bahadur Surianarayanamurthi Naidu, convened with the object of the educational and social uplift of the Naidu community. It is gratifying to note from the proceedings of the Conference that the speakers confined themselves strictly to the objects for which the Conference was convened without drifting into controversial politics.

The Naidus are one of the Non-Brahmin communities in the Madras Presidency and, according to *Justice*, the organ of the Madras Non-Brahmin party, they "occupy by no means a satisfactory place in the scale of literacy, and what is worse they are hopelessly divided among themselves," intercaste troubles and sectarian difficulties being rife among them. As regards the origin of "Naidu", the President had the following to say in the course of his address:—

If one has to go into the original meaning of the word Naidu, it only meant Headman. Even at the present day in my own part of the country there exist certain Inams known as the Naidu Service Inams and tracing their history to their original source it would appear that the Naidu grantees were the heads of villages. During the time of the existence of that wonderful republic peculiar to India—the Hindu village community the disappearance of which has been the bane of Indian politics—the Naidu was the head of the Hindu village and in a sense corresponded to the second order in the State. Or again we have heard of Naidu and Naik chiefs during the time of Krishna-deva Raya and others. They were in charge of principalities and their traces could be noticed even as late as the 19th century. It appears as if the word Naidu was applied as an honorific title to a person who had secured a certain position and status.

In the course of his welcome address, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rao Bahadur T. Varadarajulu Naidu, observed that the idea of holding a Conference emanated from some ardent members of the Naidu Sangham which was started in Madras in 1917. He deplored the backward condition of the community in point of literacy and added that the inclusion of some of the sub-sects of the community among the "backward communities" which are entitled to special concessions under the educational rules, though beneficial to such classes, was degrading to the whole caste. He further emphasised the need of bringing about the fusion of the different sub-sects of his community. He said:—

Those that are styled Naidus now stand divided into a number of sub-sects between whom inter-marriages are rare. We find here and there some strong-minded persons, actuated it may be in several cases by the special exigencies of their position, breaking through sectarian trammels and contract alliances outside their special sub-sects and I for one shall be delighted if in the near future a fusion of all the sub-sects is brought about, a consummation which I doubt not most of you devoutly wish for. Ethnologically, it has been shown they all belong to the same stock and there is considerable body of evidence that these sub-sects are of recent growth. What then stands in the way of this fusion of the sub-sects which most of us ardently desire, but which very few are prepared to help to bring about by their own personal conduct? It is the lack of a broad outlook and a due appreciation of our present needs which perpetuates our slavish submission to blind custom and that outlook and appreciation can be secured only by a proper system of education permeating the masses of our community especially the women-folk who are to a large extent responsible for the petrification of our social system.

The President proceeded to say:—

There are certain social changes which have to be effected among us sooner or later, in order that we may be welded

together into a single community. It is a grand conception and noble aim to weld together all these non-Brahmin communities of the land into an organic unity. It was such a hope that brought to the forefront of our movement such pioneers in social reform as my much revered friend Dewan Bahadur K. Venkates Ratnam Naidu. Following in the footsteps of such men let us endeavour to wipe out as far as possible all social differences among ourselves.

It is gratifying to note that the leaders of the Naidu community are trying to bring about the fusion of sub-castes as a first step to "weld together all the non-Brahmin communities of the land into an organic unity", and when this is accomplished we are sure it will be easy to bridge the gulf between the Brahmin and Non-Brahmin. The President dwelt at length on the need of organising Sanghams all over the Presidency for the spread of education and especially vocational training by reviving and improving the cottage industries and for the improvement of labour.

Before concluding the President referred to the unfortunate differences that have sprung up recently in the Non-Brahmin Party. "It is doubly unfortunate", said he, "that such differences should have arisen just on the eve of the elections. The great movement started under the auspices of the late Dr. T. M. Nair and Sir P. Theagaraja Chettiar and conceived on the principle of equality of opportunity for all, ought not to be permitted to run into the shoals of selfish interest. I sincerely pray that the leaders and the followers should put the cause above all personal considerations and find an immediate solution tending to unity". Resolutions were passed calling upon the members of the community to contribute generously to institute scholarships in schools and colleges for indigent Naidu Sanghams in the Presidency, to build a hostel at Madras for messrs Naidu students, to start cottage industries in different parts of the Presidency under small committees for the help of orphans, widows and other helpless members of the community, to establish weaving societies on co-operative basis, to establish a central library in Madras of all works in Tamil, Telugu and English relating to the history of the community and the history of the Empire of Vijayanagar and to collect books written by members of their community, to bring about the fusion of the sub-sects so that the community may become a homogeneous whole for all purposes, to encourage education among the Naidu ladies, to remove untouchability of the Panchamas, and to advocate the cause of temperance. Besides, resolutions to request the authorities concerned to have a Telugu school where there is a predominant Naidu population in the southern districts of the Presidency and to provide for a Telugu teacher in the existing public schools and to afford special facilities to Telugu youths to join the military service in higher ranks, were also passed. The Conference has also appointed a Working Committee consisting of prominent leaders of the community to take necessary steps to carry out the resolutions. From the proceedings it seems the leaders of the Naidu community really mean business and are not going to rest content by merely passing some pious resolutions. We wish them success in their efforts to improve the educational and social conditions of their community.

THE NON-BRAHMIN PROBLEM.

(BY MR. R. K. GOLIKERE.)

It is to be earnestly hoped that the Brahmin leaders of the Southern Presidency will co-operate whole-heartedly with the Non-Brahmin leaders who took part in the recent Non-Brahmin Conference held at Coimbatore under the presidentship of Mr. C. R. Das, in the carrying out of the resolutions passed by that Conference. Few will dispute that the Non-Brahmin movement in Madras was the logical outcome of the failure of the local Brahmin leaders to recognise the rightful place of the Non-Brahmins, who form an overwhelming majority of the population in the province, in the public life and administrative departments of the Presidency. The Brahmins as a community must accept a fair share of responsibility for any militant aspects of the Non-Brahmin movement, and it is now their duty to help in directing the enthusiasm of the leaders of this movement into channels of broad, national constructive work. Mere criticism of the policy and actions of the Ministers or of the members of the "Justice" Party would only serve to add to the intensity and bitterness of feeling and render the solution of the problem more difficult.

The Coimbatore resolution that the ensuing elections to the Madras Legislative Council should be left entirely to Non-Brahmins and that all Brahmin candidates should be persuaded to withdraw their candidature, is wisely conceived. Not only should the Brahmin candidates withdraw, but they should actively canvas the Brahmin votes in favour of patriotic and public-spirited Non-Brahmin candidates. I fear that Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's anti-Council propaganda will do a lot of harm in the course of the working out of this resolution if, as he recently advised pro-council voters to do, a number of Brahmin and Non-Brahmin voters should give their votes at the next election to conservative Brahmin candidates of the Moderate persuasion who may not sympathise with the resolutions of the Coimbatore Conference, in preference to public-spirited Non-Brahmin candidates of the Swaraj Party. Whatever Mr. Rajagopalachariar may now advise voters to do or not to do, it is to be hoped that when the time for action comes, he will realise the absurdity of his advice and give up his ill-advised propaganda.

It was quite in the fitness of things that the Non-Brahmin movement originated in a province where the Non-Brahmins, including the Audi-Dravidas (depressed classes) have been living under the greatest social and religious disabilities. The very first reform in this direction needed to-day is the one adumbrated in the last resolution of the Coimbatore Conference, namely, that all Non-Brahmin Hindus, including Audi-Dravidas, shall have equal rights with the Brahmins in the matter of entering Hindu temples. If only the Brahmin leaders of Madras would combine with a determination to end this grave injustice they can bring pressure to bear on the authorities of the temples and succeed in gaining

their object. I could hardly believe my eyes when I read in a recent issue of *Justice* a letter from Swami Vishwananda of the Ramkrishna Mission at Madras, complaining of the high-handed treatment he received during a visit to one of its southern districts, at the hands of some Brahmins as he went to bathe in one part of the river which they haughtily claimed was reserved for the exclusive use of Brahmins. This incident will at once remind the reader of the claim of the Europeans in Kenya for reservation of the highlands for their exclusive occupation and use, a claim which we Indians including the Brahmins are so loud in protesting against to-day.

The Brahmin leaders of the Madras Presidency, including the Non-Co-operators among them, have so far done practically nothing for the removal of disabilities of this kind under which the Non-Brahmins including the depressed classes are labouring. Removal of untouchability and promotion of intercommunal unity are two important items of the Bardoli Constructive Programme, and yet we find so responsible a Congress leader as Mr. Rajagopalachariar saying that since the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay there is no programme before the country! Does Mr. Rajagopalachariar still fail to realise that so long as over 95 per cent. of the population in his Presidency are smarting under great social and religious disabilities and so long as the evils of untouchability, unapproachability and "unseeability" exist in their most tyrannical forms in his province, no political movement or agitation for *Swaraj* can succeed? Is it too much to hope that instead of chasing shadows and frittering away his time and energies and the Congress funds in barren controversies and council-boycott propaganda, he will concentrate his labours upon and devote a part of the Congress funds at his disposal to the solution of the Non-Brahmin and Depressed Class problems in his own Presidency?

Though the Non-Brahmin movement as a separatist movement originated in Madras, it has within the last few years spread to the Province of Mysore and several parts of the Deccan. For the Brahmins to merely fret and fume at it and remain in sullen aloofness from its leaders and followers is nothing short of communal and national suicide. I feel that a more healthy and progressive turn can be given to this movement if the Brahmin leaders are prepared to formulate and accept for themselves a programme of self-denial and service. I venture to suggest, for the consideration of the Brahmins of Southern India and the Deccan, that Brahmins of all shades of political opinion in these parts of the country should organise themselves, not into a party which would most probably grow into a militant sectional association, but into several provincial Conferences with the sole object of examining the situation and devising measures for the solution of the Non-Brahmin problem in a liberal and self-sacrificing spirit and at the same time planning projects regarding the future careers of Brahmin aspirants for service. These provincial Conferences, as also the present and any

future Non-Brahmin organisations in the country should be affiliated to the Indian National Social Conference at which delegates from both sides should meet and discuss the whole situation and a suitable programme of work should be drawn up and a strong and representative Committee appointed to carry out. The next session of the Social Conference to be held at Cocanada offers a suitable opportunity in this direction.

It is to be hoped that the leaders of the "Justice Party will join hands with the Non-Brahmin leaders who organised the Coimbatore Conference and act in unison with them at the forthcoming Non-Brahmin Conference at Madras.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION, MANGALORE.

The Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore, now managed by the Servants of India Society, is the oldest indigenous mission in South India working for the amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes on the West Coast. These people form more than 10 per cent. of the population of South Kanara District, and are steeped in great degradation and misery. Rai Sahib Ranga Rao, the pioneer of social reform on that side of the country, began his work nearly 27 years ago. From humble beginnings it has now assumed, thanks to his devoted and one-pointed exertions, large proportions. But old age and ill-health have recently told heavily on him, and in his anxiety to prevent his life-work from crumbling away he turned to the Servants of India Society for assistance. In January last, the Society formally accepted the management of the Mission and deputed one of its members for the work. The splendid relief work done by the Society in Malabar during the troublous days of the Moplah Rebellion there has resulted in creating a centre of work at Calicut. With two such centres as Calicut and Mangalore, the Society hopes to extend its scope of work on the West Coast there.

Our methods of working are detailed in the latest report. So far as the *educational side* of the work is concerned, the grants from Government are very helpful indeed. But as in addition to free instruction, books, dress, and even free meals are provided to the pupils, the Mission has to find money in excess of the grants. The *Industrial Section* may be made to pay its own way. But it will be noted that weaving had to be stopped some years ago owing to financial difficulties and it is difficult to revive it without an initial outlay. We would lay the greatest stress on *Colony work*, which provides the largest opportunities for both propaganda and practical uplift work among the poor. The Mission now holds about 75 acres of land, of which only 35 acres have been converted into settlements for nearly 70 families. A large plot of 35 acres given for an agricultural settlement more than three years ago by Government is left untouched. One great difficulty with these lands is that they are wastes, not of the best type. Hence they need a comparatively large investment for bringing them under any proper cultivation. We run the risk of losing the 35 acres if we do not attempt anything on it within the next year.

The total number of scholars in both the day and night schools at the present time is about 350. The great financial difficulties in 1921 necessitated the closing down of six schools. The number of people settled on the colonies

and receiving every available help in the shape of building materials, cocconut and vegetable seedlings etc.. is about 400.

A few of our most pressing needs may be summarised thus:—

(1) An initial outlay for reviving Weaving Rs. 1,000.

(2) The starting of an Agricultural Settlement on the 85 acres referred to above Rs. 2,500.

We are looking forward to some one individual to give us this amount and to permit us to name the colony after the donor or some dear relation.

(3) The completion of the colony for the homeless Koragars—a class of people of the lowest social rank amongst the depressed classes. The Government have given a subsidy for helping only six families, but the Mission could not deny shelter to the rest, about nine in number. This obligation will mean an additional requirement of Rs. 1,000.

These are, of course, our major needs. The minor ones still remain, and we commend to the kind attention of the generous public the several ways indicated in "How you can help the Mission," on the back of the cover page of the Report.

The Poor and the Lowly are a main charge on our Charity.

Depressed Classes Mission,
Kodialbail, Mangalore,
19th June 1928.

M. S. EKAMBARA RAO,
Hon. Secretary.

ANIMISM AND HINDUISM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In your leader of the 16th June, you have rightly censured the action of Sir Edward Gait, the Commissioner of Census, in converting 7,000 Bhils in Rewa Kantha from Hindus to Animists by a stroke of the pen. The Bhils and other so-called Animists have a right to be called Hindus. They worship our puranic gods, follow many customs of our backward Hindu classes, and keep a huge tuft of hair on their heads. It must be admitted that what encourages such acts on the part of the Census Commissioner is the woful indifference of the higher classes both Brahmins and Non-Brahmins towards their common religion. The so-called jungle tribes can be thoroughly Hinduized within 10 years if our religious authorities will shake off their lethargy and be more active, liberal, and sympathetic. I have seen some Bhils with surname (Pavri) claiming their descent from the Rajputs.

Yours etc.

JAWHARIAN.

I. O. S. EXAMINATION.

(A BOMBAY PRESS COMMUNIQUE)

The annual competitive examination for admission to the Indian Civil Service will be held at Allahabad commencing on 7th January 1924. The number of candidates from Bombay Presidency is limited to 25 and if the applications exceed this number a quota committee will select the 25 candidates from amongst the applicants. Applications to sit at this examination must be made on the prescribed form (copies of which can be had from the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Revenue Department,) and must be sent in on or before the 1st August.

PUNJAB VIDHYA VIVAH SAHAIK SABHA.

Report of 68 widow marriages has been received from the different branches and co-workers of the Vidhya Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore (Punjab) throughout India in the month of May, 1928. The total number of marriages held in the current year, i. e., from 1st January to the end of May 1928, has reached to 298, as detailed below. Brahman 57, Khatri 69, Arora 70, Aggarwal 38, Kaisth 5, Rajput 25, Sikh 4, Miscellaneous 30, Total 298.

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.

A REMINISCENCE.

(By THE REV. FATHER R. ZIMMERMAN, S. J.)

During May of years gone by, early risers at Lonavla could see from afar a white turban moving slowly along the high road from Khandala. When nearing Lonavla it would bend off into the old Maratha Road, follow a by-way towards a private bungalow and finally disappear behind the garden gate. Only last year still on an early bicycle ramble I thus saw Sir Narayan on his morning stroll. He being by far the bigger of us two, I left it to him to bid me halt. He must have been absorbed in deep thoughts, anyhow he did not stop me and I slipped by. Next morning at about the same time, Chandavarkar's stately figure again was moving along the same road, the grave step measured and supported by an alpen stick, as it seemed. With a cordiality that would have stopped a much greater man and a larger vehicle, he bade me good morning, and a minute or two later we were engaged in a conversation on the pleasure and pain of human life, the happiness and the misery of the struggle for existence, joy and honour in this world. Sir Narayan, the eminently successful man of the world, as he appeared to all of us, seemed to be full of admiration for the true Sanyasin's life, who gives up everything the world has to offer and to promise, for God's, his soul's and the neighbour's sake. He referred to the quiet greatness of life in some of the teachers of his boyhood whose regular, even a little stern, habits he had adopted in early youth and faithfully kept up to a venerable age when he was visited with the frailties of the advanced years. He bore these frailties manly, and the younger of us two took a lesson in fortitude from him. Our ways had to part for that day. Was not this great lawyer and judge, this prominent politician, this far-sighted reformer, this ardent patriot, a sanyasin, a recluse at heart?

It was on the University Library Committee that I first had the pleasure of meeting Sir Narayan and seeing him at work. Nobody of those present could ever fail to be impressed by his keen interest in everything, the quick grasp, the sure decision, even in matters that came up for the first time. Flaws in contents and form of papers and documents would never escape the trained, lynxlike eye of the lawyer, and were pretty sure of a fairly well-shaken measure of censure. At these meetings too the wise man, the true philosopher, used to come out; in scientific questions within his ken Sir Narayan had a sound judgment and for the benefit of others used it; in matters outside his range he trusted others to whose opinions he invariably would defer. But his intellectual range was wide indeed. In the sincere effort in course of time to build up, according to means slowly but surely, a useful library for the University of Bombay Sir Narayan had a main share, and the student who finds a spiritual home in the magnificent Library Hall will gratefully treasure his memory.

Again I had the privilege of meeting Sir Narayan often at the Royal Asiatic Society. He was Vice-President when I first came there, but after two years or so he was elected President of that Society which has perhaps the greatest past of all the learned societies of Bombay. Before Chandavarkar's chairmanship there were fairly peaceful days in those comfortable rooms with the goodly amount of entertaining literature, then accessible to everybody for Rs. 50 (Fifty only!) a year. The society seemed to be content to tread softly along the paths of traditions of nearly a century. Literary and archaeological treasures of various kinds and great

value had been collected and more or less safely deposited: coins and copperplates in coffer and cupboards, the priceless Dante manuscript, the pride of our Branch, leading a hidden life in the safe, the 2000 not less valuable Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts stowed away on the open shelves of an open room, the 200,000 printed volumes approachable by various adits. It is an undying testimony to the public's honesty as well as to the alertness of the Honorary Secretaries and the Library staff that not half the coins, manuscripts and books had walked off in course of time. This was a state of affairs which was not likely to be continued with Sir Narayan as President of the Society. Such treasures had both to be safeguarded and utilized. He had not taken the chair long before with the help of the Honorary Secretary—the highly deserved "executive"—he organized the Managing Committee into sub-committees, one for manuscripts, another for coins a third for accommodation, etc. Perhaps it was then for the first time that some members of these bodies discovered they could be of real service to the Society, though they might not be in a position to contribute a profound paper to the journal. The catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts now ready for print, the coins examined and classified, increased safety for objects that cannot be replaced if lost; these and others are the outcome of Chandavarkar's suggestions and organization. The ready co-operation of all the officers, honorary and otherwise, testified to the practical turn of mind as well as the influence of the President of the Society.

Sir Narayan, both as chairman of the ordinary meetings and as a mere member was inspiring. It often struck me how he found in a topic evidently new and positively till then of little interest to him, some aspect that would show the subject-matter in an important and even attractive light. He never would pose as a scholar. It was nothing short of an inspiration to younger members to see the venerable man sitting near the table with new books—for he tried to keep abreast—his face buried in the pages, little heeding comers and goers, but always replying to a friendly salutation. Never have I seen Chandavarkar with a novel in his hands; life was too real for him, and the world of novels could not be his.

The scrappiest sketch of Chandavarkar's life and character would be incomplete without mentioning the filial loyalty he entertained towards his former teachers throughout life. No change of place or social position, not even half a century, was able to efface the loving memory of his Guru. There was one above others whom he never tired to mention. It was Father Willy of St. Mary's High School, Mazagon. Young Narayan came under the influence of that remarkable educationalist between 1869-73, at the age of about fifteen. Willy's personality appealed so strongly to Master Chandavarkar that he copied some of his teacher's habits, such as rising early, clocklike regularity in life and work. Chandavarkar was at the school only for a short time, but during that short period and for ever after there was a close link between pupil and master; a certain affinity of mind had brought the two together, differ though they might in nation, age, conditions of life, religion. Sir Narayan very rarely, if ever, missed an opportunity of showing his veneration for the character, work and ways of the teachers of his boyhood. Unless our memory plays false, he held as Vice-Chancellor of the University in a Convocation address Father Willy up as an ideal of an educator. The serene earnestness that had been the teacher's distinctive trait seemed to be reflected still in the sexagenarian Chandavarkar.

The oneness of purpose, the decision as well as the endurance in his character may very well have cast their first root during the contact between the soul of that master and that of his pupil. The great unchangeable truths of life and eternity he had heard of five decades ago seemed to shine out of Sir Narayan's deep eyes, when in great moments of his life the sonorous voice proclaimed the man's innermost conviction. It was at St. Mary's probably too that Chandavarkar got that open-minded, benevolent attitude towards Christianity he was never afraid to profess. And as Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar was for ever grateful to the School and the teachers of his early days: so is St. Mary's Institution proud of him as the greatest Hindu pupil that ever stood on the rolls of the School.—*The Bombay Chronicle.*

FURTHER PRESS OPINIONS.
(*The Indian Nationalist.*)

Let me recall for a moment a forgotten incident.

It had been already announced that Lokamanya Tilak was to address the meeting on untouchability. Mr. V. R. Shinde—the friend of the depressed classes, was busy with the proceedings. Sir Narayan had occupied the chair in the absence of the Maharaja Gaikwad. The impatient crowd grew restive with no interest in the proceedings. All eyes were rivetted to the entrance. In haste appeared Dr. Sathaye, and announced to the eager audience that the train was late and Lokamanya would be amongst them within a few minutes. The news was received with subdued emotion. A few minutes later Mr. Tilak arrived amidst the deafening applause of the people whom he loved. It was a right royal reception. On to the dais he was led and Sir Narayan embraced him; it was a most touching sight. After a prolonged separation the two met. It was the meeting of two forces—one slowly marching but marching with all dignity towards the destined goal; while the other was some tremendous energy deep and all-embracing determined to carry along with it everything that could be useful to the national uplift in both aspects, breaking down old prejudices and building up new ideas. Sir Narayan belonged to that set of educated men who believed in the providential meeting of the East and the West. He represented that class of people who maintained that Indian society, as it was, was rotten to the core; and the introduction of Western ideas, customs and manners would prove our salvation and would be for the general well-being of the country. He did not so much believe in reforms as he did in complete transformation. The vigour and power which resulted from European civilisation had so impressed the people that they came to regard that India had nothing worth having and they could not see whether she had any in the ages gone by. Every action of theirs, in the direction of reform came to be stamped with the civilisation of the West. The Prarthana Samaj is the living monument of this tendency. People began to look on their society, not for what it had, but for what it had not. The point of view had changed. So amazing were these ideas that orthodoxy eyed every educated man with suspicion. Sir Narayan was steeped in the literature of the West—saturated with the ideas of Burke, Mill and Spencer. Hopes which these ideas gave rise to in the younger bosoms could not at once be translated into reality and landed them into disappointment. Huge social anomalies attracted their attention. Anomalies there were; this even orthodoxy recognised. The manner of handling social problems and the element of contempt that this manner brought in, provoked orthodoxy beyond measure. Unlike many Sir Narayan did not give himself

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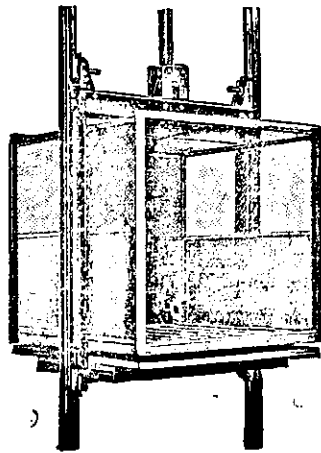
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

—:o:—

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Statement: Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has issued a lengthy statement regarding his negotiations with the Viceroy in December 1921. The two chief points that emerge from it are that the Pandit supported the idea of the visit of the Prince of Wales in an interview with Lord Reading in June 1920 and that the suggestion of a Round Table Conference as well as the stoppage of the *hartal* on the occasion of the Prince's visit in December 1921, originated with him and not with the Viceroy. As a matter of fact, according to Pandit Malaviya's statement, the Viceroy was rather slow to accept his suggestions, and when the required assurances were not forthcoming at the time which His Excellency had fixed to receive the Malaviya deputation, Lord Reading dropped the proposals with rather more alacrity than Panditjee was evidently prepared for. There was no bungling on the part of Mahatma Gandhi either. As we remarked last week, Mr. Gandhi had agreed in deference to the Viceroy's scruples to omit the condition about the release of the Fatwa prisoners. But the telegram in which he conveyed this decision reached its destination after the deputation had met the Viceroy. If it had reached it a few hours earlier, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya implies that the negotiations would have borne fruit. The moral of it all is, as we said last week, that delicate negotiations should not be conducted by telegraph. If Mahatma Gandhi had been on the spot, the several questions would have been decided as they arose, and we might have been spared at least the unedifying controversy that has sprung up over a year and a half after the events, to which it relates, occurred. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, by taking upon himself the entire responsibility for the initiation and conduct of the negotiations, absolves the Viceroy and Mahatma Gandhi of all blame in the matter. We think that Panditjee made a mistake in advising in favour of the Prince's visit, but it is a mistake which any one of us might have committed. His candid and courageous admission that he was mistaken, must disarm criticism.

The Swaraj Party: The selection of candidates by the Swaraj Party is going on in several provinces. The quality of the candidates selected will be a reliable test of the probable strength of the Party in the Provincial Legislative Councils and in the Legislative Assembly. Mere numbers are not enough. The wolf, as an ancient sage has observed, does not consider how many sheep there be when he goes forth on his daily quest. Unless the names of the candidates put forward by it inspire more confidence in their capacity and character than those of candidates of parties or no parties, the Swaraj Party cannot justify its intervention in the elections. A number of nonentities who will automatically raise their hands when the leader does so, will only bring discredit on the Party and be of disservice to the country. It is the fact that many able and independent publicists who do not and cannot go with the Liberals but who are practically in full sympathy with the main objects of the Swaraj Party, are yet unwilling to cast in their lot with the latter, because it makes membership of the Congress a condition precedent to its membership. The reason for their reluctance to join the Congress is not that they object to its goal, namely, the attainment of *Swarajya* by legitimate and peaceful means, but because of certain associations, personal and other, which have gathered round the Congress in the last two or three years, and which, they feel, will be a source of embarrassment to them in their work within the Swaraj Party. The Party may find it necessary to relax in such cases its rule that none but a member can be selected as an approved candidate for election to the Councils. If those who wish to overthrow, at the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Nagpur next week, the resolution passed at Bombay restraining the anti-Council Party from carrying on a propaganda against the Swaraj Party, succeed in their attempt, the latter Party will have no alternative, if it is to continue to exist, but to carry on its programme from without the Congress. It will not be enough if the proposal to annul the Bombay compromise, is carried by a small majority. The situation will in no wise be better than what it is. In that case also, the Swaraj Party may well consider the desirability of its working independently of the Congress. Its present position is not an enviable one. Many of the best men in the Congress hold aloof and other good men will not join it because it is confined to Congressmen. The next few days will decide the future of the Swaraj Party. It cannot stand where it is.

The Nagpur Flag Affair: We regret that the Central Provinces Government have not yet seen their way to rectify the blunder which they committed in prohibiting the carrying of a flag in procession by certain Congress volunteers through a part of Nagpur city. Nearly one thousand persons from several parts of the country have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for seeking to break this order, the legality of which is doubtful. The

country has been thrown into commotion by what is rightly regarded as a gross infringement of the rights of Indian subjects of the Crown in the supposed interests of the English community. There is absolutely no proof that any considerable body of Englishmen even in Nagpur object to the flag. Even if there were any, it is the duty of Government to determine whether their objections are just and reasonable. No greater disservice can be thought of to inter-communal goodwill than to make the sentiments of a handful of Englishmen in any part of the country the deciding factor in a question involving a large mass of Indian sentiment. If the Central Provinces Government wished to promote cordial relations between Englishmen and Indians, it has not gone the best way about it by the action into which it has blundered. We should find little difficulty in Bombay in getting the signatures of responsible Englishmen to a representation to the effect that they do not feel in any way annoyed by the exhibition of the Indian flag. The good relations between the two communities is worth a thousand times greater sacrifice, if there be any sacrifice in it. If any one had said that the object of the agitation is to plant the flag on the English Club or the Government House, he would have said something utterly repugnant to the principle of the Satyagraha movement, which should be promptly disowned by the leaders. Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj has made the position quite clear by stating that the object of the agitation was not to annoy Englishmen but to assert the Indians' right of using the King's highway without molestation from anybody. The delay of every single day in recalling its order and releasing the persons imprisoned under it, adds to the already heavy responsibility of Sir Frank Sly's Government.

Mr. Jayakar on the Non-Brahmin Problem: Mr. M. R. Jayakar, speaking at a meeting of the Swaraj Party on the 29th June, made what is perhaps the most weighty contribution that has yet been made to the discussion regarding the non-Brahmin problem in Madras and Maharashtra. Mr. Jayakar, who is an accomplished Sanskrit scholar, showed from ancient Hindu tradition how similar problems had been solved in times past by Hindu society in a spirit of mutual appreciation and goodwill. He emphatically declared that it was not a mere increase in the number of appointments in the public services or seats in the Legislative Councils that was needed, but an active desire on the part of the Hindu community as a whole to set up a revised cultural standard approximation to which, and not mere birth, should entitle persons to the status now enjoyed by individuals of the Brahmin caste. The whole address is worth careful study. We shall take an early opportunity of printing it in full.

A Vindictive Rule: *Justice*, the anti-Brahmin Madras newspaper, thinks that our comments in the last issue on the Bombay Government's decision to refuse grants to aided educational institutions to which students of the depressed classes are refused admission on the score of caste, belie the name of this journal. We beg leave to remind our contemporary that this is the *Reformer* and not the *Deformer* of Indian social conditions. We want the depressed classes to be raised to the level of other castes, not the latter to be brought down to the level of the former. The policy of *Justice* is, of course, different. Our contemporary says that the rule "only provides a means to punish those who wilfully disobey one of the first canons of all civilized government." We all know how far the *Justice* party has observed, in practice,

the first canon of civilized government. But who is to punish and whom, and for what? It is a wise saying that you cannot indict a whole people. Are you going to punish the children of caste Hindus for their parents' prejudice, by denying them facilities for education? *Justice*, no doubt, thinks that the rule will hit Brahmins most. As a matter of fact, our information is that the greatest objection to untouchables sitting in the same class room comes in the districts not from Brahmins but from non-Brahmins.

Starving Secondary Education: We have received the following resolution passed at a representative meeting of the heads of 52 Aided Secondary Schools in Bombay, Indian and European, held on June 27th, at the Cathedral and John Connon High School with the Rev. Father Blatter in the chair:

This representative meeting of Heads of aided Secondary Schools in Bombay enters the strongest possible protest against the proposed action of Government in reducing the rate of Grant-in-aid from 1/3 to 1/4 of the approved expenditure. They recognise the need for economy but they respectfully urge that retrenchment in the grants made to Secondary Schools is not true economy, for the result can only be less efficient education in the future and a consequent retardation of progress. They maintain that economy of working is assured by the fact that grants are given on approved expenditure only. This expenditure is scrutinised by the Government Inspectors and no extravagance can be maintained. In any case the managers pay twice as much of the expenditure as the Government and in their own interests practise economy. Therefore a reduction in grants is mere retrenchment that will cause a diminution in the amount and quality of the work done and not economy. Further they would point out that the Government's policy in establishing free primary education must have as a corollary an increased demand for Secondary education in the future. If a reduction is made in the grants, this demand will have to be met by the foundation of Government Secondary Schools, which will be a greater burden to Government than the continuance of the grants on the same scale as at present to Schools maintained by voluntary effort, for no public bodies will be likely to establish new Secondary Schools if they cannot expect adequate aid from Government. Again the existing aided Secondary Schools were founded by the various authorities concerned on the understanding that grants from Government would be received on a basis of 1/3 of the approved expenditure. They cannot but protest against the reduction of this promised aid without which the Schools would have not been founded.

We endorse every word of the above resolution, and we are sure that the Hon. the Education Minister will do the same. Secondary education is the pivotal stage of education, as it supplies the teaching strength for primary and the material for Collegiate education. The Education Minister has shown himself to be lamentably lacking in the strength to resist encroachments on the important Departments entrusted to him, and his term of office has been consequently a period of sad retrogression.

Social Service League, Bombay: A General Meeting of the members of the Social Service League, Bombay, was held on Saturday, the 30th June 1923 in the Servants of India Society's Hall, Sandhurst Road, Girgaum, to express its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Kt., the President of the League. The Hon'ble Justice Sir Lallubhai Shab, Kt., presided on the occasion.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 7, 1923.

MARRIAGE PROBLEMS.

We reprint from the *Catholic Leader* a letter from an Indian Catholic lady, married to a Hindu who is about to take a Hindu second wife, and our contemporary's comments on it. The *Catholic Leader* is right in saying that public opinion among the Hindus will condemn the action of the husband in flouting the solemn promises which he made before entering into the marriage contract. Our contemporary describes the conditions under which the Catholic Church permits marriages with non-Catholics, one of which is that the non-Catholic husband shall not contract any other marriage. The other conditions, especially the one regarding the bringing up of children in the Catholic religion, can be subscribed to only by a person who attaches very little importance to his or her own religious convictions. In the present case, we are told, the Hindu husband wanted to become a Roman Catholic before the marriage, but the Catholic Priest thought that his motive was marriage, and would not convert him, but gave a special dispensation for the marriage. The Rev. Father seems to have thought that though the man was not good enough to become a Catholic, he was good enough to become a Catholic woman's husband. This is unusual. The fact seems to be that the parties were in a great hurry to get married at once and the priest weakly yielded to their importunity and gave them the necessary dispensation, as he was unable to trust the man's motives sufficiently to admit him to the Catholic fold. We wonder whether the parties were the same as those who came to this writer about a year ago. An Indian dressed in the English style, hat and all, came up as the writer was getting ready to leave for his office, and said he was a Hindu and wanted to get married to a Christian lady who, he said, was waiting outside in a carriage. What was the readiest way of getting this done? He was told that he must consult some lawyer about it, as it was rash for a layman to venture an opinion upon such a serious matter. This writer did not see the lady.

If the case of this Indian Catholic lady stood by itself, the *Catholic Leader's* advice that young people of marriageable age should desist from the thought of marrying persons not of the Catholic faith, would perhaps suffice to prevent similar hard cases in the future. The fact that the Catholic Church is obliged reluctantly to grant dispensations for such mixed marriages "in order to avert greater evil," shows that even this is not so easy as our contemporary takes it to be. But this case does not stand by itself. It is purely an accident that the aggrieved lady in this case is a Catholic, and we may be pardoned for saying that in this case a little more care and circumspection on the part of the priest who gave the dispensation, might perhaps have averted the marriage. What greater evil the Reverend Father had in

mind to prevent by giving his dispensation so easily, we do not know. That, however, is by the way. Precisely similar cases have occurred and are occurring within the Hindu community itself. The matrimonial adventurer is abroad and it is immaterial to him what religion a woman professes. The precepts of Hinduism and the practice of the vast majority of Hindus favour monogamy. A second wife is not prohibited by the Shastras but the taking of a second wife is safeguarded by very strict conditions calculated and intended to make it as little irksome as possible to the first wife. A second wife can be taken only when the first wife has not borne and can no longer be expected to bear a male child, and even then it was with her consent and, indeed, at her instance, can the permission be availed of. Many good men without in the least pretending to any special enlightenment, have quietly declined to marry a second wife even when pressed to do so by their first wives for this reason. On the other hand, we are sorry to say there have been too many cases of well-educated men setting aside their first wives on the flimsiest pretexts and marrying a second time. The Indian Catholic lady pathetically hopes in her letter that if the fact of her husband's marriage with her was known, "no sane man will ever think of giving (him) his daughter" in marriage. Alas, her hope is vain. Such is the deterioration of Hindu society—we cannot speak of any other—and such is the cruel pressure of custom upon the mind of Hindu parents, that scores of poor fathers will be ready to give away their daughters in marriage as second or even third wives to men whose maltreatment of their first wives is a matter of notoriety.

The husband rightly says that if he had been baptised, his Hindu friends would not have asked him to marry a Hindu girl; though his saying it raises the doubt whether he honestly intended to marry the Catholic girl and whether he has not all along contemplated with complacency the possibility of his contracting in the future a regular marriage with a girl of his own community. The Catholic Priest might have sincerely believed that his dispensation had relieved the man of all connection with Hindu religion and society and that any further burning of his boats in the form of baptism was unnecessary. But the Hindu system is more rigorous than the Catholic in this respect. No authority exists in the Hindu system which can grant "dispensations" to individuals to act in violation of custom and tradition. Many things can be and are connived at but no power can sanction beforehand and formally action or conduct in contravention of established custom. Hindu society cannot recognise the union of the Hindu husband with a Catholic lady as a regular marriage. The Catholic Church might have agreed to it as the lesser evil, but the Hindu Church or Society must and will regard it as a matter beyond its purview and, therefore, as of no validity. And we are bound to say that if Christian missionaries, Catholic or Protestant, are not extremely scrupulous as to how they countenance violations of Hindu law and custom

in the hope and belief that such violations will ultimately redound to the gain, not to say the greatness and glory, of Christianity in this land, they have no right to complain if Hinduism declines to recognise any obligations to Christian propagandists. There have been many cases of Hindu husbands being converted to Christianity consigning their wives practically to perpetual widowhood. The man can re-marry in his new community but the woman cannot. In all the reforms proposed in the Indian Christian law of marriage, we have not seen any consideration shown to such cases. The wife must either make up her mind to follow her husband renouncing her own ancestral faith. If not the husband has the right to call upon her to live with him, and if she does not do so, *he* is free to marry again. But she is not and never will be in this life. Christian Missionaries have treated the fate of such wives with indifference. The whole subject demands the most anxious consideration of all right-thinking men.

THE PROHIBITION LAW IN AMERICA.

(By THE REV. J. W. PICKETT.)

During June the daily newspapers have published a number of telegrams regarding the repeal of State Prohibition laws in America. In one of the leading newspapers a telegram was published with the headline "Many States Going Wet." In the same newspaper another telegram appeared under the headline "Another American State Goes Wet." In neither case did the headlines correctly represent the contents of the telegrams. "Going Wet" has always been used to indicate a vote to permit the legal sale of intoxicating liquors. Neither New York, nor Wisconsin, mentioned in these telegrams, nor any other American State has "Gone Wet."

The headlines in several other newspapers have been almost as objectionable as those quoted above. That the messages with these headlines have created an altogether erroneous impression in many minds has been made clear to me by the following experiences: A high official in the United Provinces told me a few days ago that "half a dozen or more States have voted to restore the liquor trade to its former legal position, having found Prohibition a failure." The next day a British missionary and an Anglo-Indian friend each told me of the great sorrow they have felt on account of "the rejection of Prohibition by so many American States." These men all stated that they had taken their information from the newspaper quoted above. That newspaper was directly responsible for two errors stated in the headlines. The first is in the use of the word "many" when only two States were mentioned in the telegrams, *i.e.*, New York and Wisconsin. This mistake was made more serious when the next telegram was printed about Wisconsin and headed "Another American State Goes Wet." The names of American States are not familiar to most people in India and when their newspaper tells them of many States "going wet," naming one as having repealed its enforcement law and another as being about to

do the same thing and then a few days later says "Another American State Goes Wet", they do not remember that this new State is one of the two previously mentioned. The average reader of these lines probably thought "Many States had gone wet before that last telegram and here is another one. Evidently this is the beginning of the end with American Prohibition." Indeed an Indian Christian weekly which I have received today contains an editorial with just such an interpretation over which it mourns exceedingly.

Having dealt with the headlines, I wish to call attention to the contents of the telegrams and then to consider the significance of the actions reported. Regarding Wisconsin attention must be called to the fact that only the lower House of the State Legislature has voted in favour of repeal. Before the bill could become a law it would have to pass the State Senate, or upper house and be signed by the Governor. As no report has been made of any action except that of the lower house it is practically certain that the measure has not been enacted into law.

Concerning New York the papers that have just reached me from America indicate that the Governor was urged by vast numbers of citizens to refuse to grant his approval to the measure and that the great majority of the newspapers of the State, including many of those that have never been favourable to Prohibition, have declared that public opinion is overwhelmingly against the repeal.

It is also very interesting to find that some members of the Legislature who voted for the repeal say that they are in favour of the Prohibition law and voted as they did because they believe the National Government can enforce the better without the assistance of the State officers, and that the expense of enforcing an amendment to the National Constitution should be assumed entirely by the National Government and not in part by the States.

No State acting alone has the authority to restore the liquor trade to its former legal position, or to adopt any method of regulation or license for the trade, but it would be quite possible for the States acting together to repeal the Prohibition Amendment. If New York should want to "go wet," the way to do it would be to obtain a majority vote of the members of its Senate and House of Representatives and a majority vote of the legislatures of thirty-five other states. No single State has voted for repeal of the Prohibition amendment and it is significant that no effort has been made to secure a vote for repeal in any State. There is a vast difference between a vote repealing a State law for enforcing Prohibition and a the return of legalized liquor-selling. The States are under no legal obligation whatever to enforce the national law but the national law applies within all of the States. The State of Maryland ratified the amendment to the national Constitution but has never enacted a State Enforcement law.

Nothing that I have written must be interpreted as indicating that I regard the repeal of New York's enforcement law with indifference. From the standpoint of the Prohibitionist it is an unfortunate act.

It reveals a certain "wet" sentiment. However, it does not suggest the failure of Prohibition. It does not mean that New York is tired of Prohibition. The legislators did not consider the only action that could have put them on record as wanting to repeal Prohibition, or if some of them considered it privately they made no attempt to get the legislature to vote for such a proposal.

It must be borne in mind that New York State is to a large extent dominated by New York City in which more than sixty per cent. of the voters are of foreign birth or parentage, and where a notoriously corrupt political machine has exploited the foreign vote with rare efficiency. During the war for obvious reasons the foreign voters were more subdued than is normally the case and the legislature elected during the war contained a very high percentage of native Americans. This perhaps accounts for the ratification of the Prohibition amendment by both houses of the State Legislature and the passage of the enforcement law, which has now been repealed. Competent observers say that there has been an immense gain in prohibition sentiment in New York since Prohibition began and that thousands who regretted the ratification of the Amendment are now enthusiastic Prohibitionists.

In conclusion I want to call attention to the fact that the telegrams sent out by Reuters agency uniformly present the news or alleged news that is most favourable to the liquor interests. When facts develop that would be recognized by the newspapers and the public as favourable to Prohibition, Reuter keeps quiet. To illustrate, let me quote two recent instances. At almost exactly the same time that the New York legislators were repealing their enforcement law, the legislators in the neighbouring State of Massachusetts were passing such a law. No message was sent regarding the latter's action.

Pennsylvania has recently enacted a most stringent enforcement law and by an overwhelming vote has elected a Governor pledged to use, if necessary, the entire resources of the State to enforce the law. New York's action is not one whit more important than Pennsylvania's while the latter state is much more American and gives a far more reliable index of public sentiment throughout the nation, yet Reuter has nothing to say about its action.

THE COMING GENERAL ELECTION.

(By Mr. ASIT MUKERJI.)

The life of the present Legislatures in India is nearly at an end, and the general Election will take place in the coming November. So, barely five months are the only intervening period within which party-politicians should engage themselves in their electioneering campaigns. It goes without saying that all other questions of national importance will be subordinated to this coming fray. The Congress, divided and torn down with the diametrically opposite view-points of two powerful factions, is admittedly impotent to exercise its great influence on the elections. If "no-vote" campaign is at all resorted to

by some provinces against the Bombay decision, it will prove nothing but a half-hearted attempt and consequently is doomed to failure. Therefore, it is proper to leave aside the question of resistance to elections completely out of consideration.

Let us take a prospective view of the fate of the parties that are standing for election. Three distinct parties with three distinct programmes and mandates will fight the issue—the Swaraj party, the Constitutional Oppositionists and the Conservatives, or in the Parliamentary parlance, the Radicals, the Liberals and the Conservatives. The programme of the Swaraj party has been repeatedly placed before the public opinion of the country. Mr. Das and others of his party have declared that they should stand before the electorate with the programme which contains the detailed scheme for more or less complete self-government for India. They will, on entering the Councils, move for the immediate acceptance of their Scheme of Swaraj. If the proper recognition is made by the Government of their Scheme, then they would honourably participate in the proceedings of the Legislature. But if their proposal is thrown out, a thorough opposition of any and every measure thus creating deadlocks and adjournments, will be their next weapon. This is, in short, the election-programme of the Swaraj party. Much criticism has been meted out to it on the score of the great difficulties of its success. It cannot be denied that the election of Swarajists as a majority in the Councils requires a very efficient thoroughly-managed education of the electorate. The voters as a rule, in this country, at present have no clear understanding of the respective programmes of different parties. Personal prepossessions and prejudices play a very important part in their selection. Monetary and financial questions largely influence their decisions. Hence the candidates of the Swaraj Party will have to train the electorate and "to educate the masters" in their peculiar programme. One important fact that weighs heavily in the situation is that electors generally vote for any candidate with the sole view of representing their interests in the Councils through him. Their interests may be commercial, industrial, educational etc. So, the candidates to secure their votes, expressly state in their programmes and manifestoes, their willingness to represent the particular interests of the electors. But the manifesto of the Swaraj Party evidently has no express recognition of subserving the interests of the voters. Therefore, their election to the Councils will be highly problematical, if they do not, with diligent perseverance and resourceful manoeuvres, win the politically-minded electors to their side. So, a substantial amount of political-mindedness is expected in the voters who will elect the Swaraj-party candidate. If the voters are ignorant of the possible developments of this novel programme, they cannot be expected to sacrifice their particular vested interests to the indefinite and uncertain speculations of "political propagandists." This is one of the great difficulties that stares the Swaraj-Party candidate in the face. But if an intelligent and well-equipped electioneering campaign is set on foot, this difficulty

may be obviated to a large extent. But signs of such a sturdy campaign are unfortunately absent. Local candidates enjoying the confidence of the local public should be procured and set up as rivals against the land-holder or the candidate of the Liberal or Conservative party. Otherwise an abjectly unfit person without any stake in the country representing the Swaraj party will be but a poor show against the influential land-holder or popular candidate of the Liberal party. Those elementary truths of election should be borne in mind and realized, if a majority of the seats in the Legislatures is to be won by the Swaraj party. The elaborate efforts expended by the political parties in bringing electors to the poll require a large sum in the fund. It is too often the case that the defeated candidate ascribes his failure to the lack of motor-car!!! So, it is the primary duty of the Swaraj party to strengthen their purse to carry on such expensive campaigns. However, critics have expressed a great doubt of the success of the party in achieving their ends. But that is a different story altogether. Opportunities should be given unstintedly to the party to justify their stand. And it is a bad taste to sing the hymn of failure before a trial has been given to them.

Let us now turn to the Liberal element standing for the elections. We are not far from the truth when we say that a substantial Liberal majority won the seats in the Legislative Assembly. And this year, it is within the range of the possible that the Liberals may again capture the majority. But in Provincial Councils, the Liberal element is not strong. In the coming elections, the Liberals should attempt at gaining the majority, otherwise their position in the Councils will be hardly enviable. It will be of great value to the Liberal party, if they form a distinct party of their own in the Provincial Legislature and voluntarily bind themselves to the principles and programmes of the Party in general. In this connexion we use the term, "Liberals" in the sense of the Democratic party in the present Assembly, and the party of constitutional obstructionists to be led by Mr. Chintamani and others in the next Legislature.

In this connexion, it may be offered for keen deliberation that a compromise between the Swaraj party and the Liberals will render a great service to the country. As the constitution of this country is dictated by the Bureaucracy, and as the country is a great dependency under the Britishers, it is not wise nor will it be successful to honeycomb the country with parties and party organizations.

In the present day India, circumstanced as we are, there can be, at least in our opinion, two parties only for the complete self-government in India in the near future—the non-co-operators who stand rigidly outside the governmental machinery and completely identify themselves with the interests of the people, and the party that will co-operate with the government where possible and obstruct it where necessary. So, taking consideration of the voters who at present utterly lack the political instinct, we can aver that

the possibility of the success of a party for all-round opposition (like the Swaraj party) is doubtful. The all-powerful land-holders, the so-called "natural leaders of people," will by their extravagant use of money and privileges successfully contest the seats in the Councils, while the titled gentry with great influence will not fail to capture seats. This is the stern reality that staggers us with doubts and fears. Still, we do not advise Mr. Das and his party to give up their programme. They should try their best to justify their stand. But if they fail to capture the majority of the seats in the Legislature, or in other words in realising their programme, they should join hands with the constitutional oppositionist party provided that the latter should fall in with some of the advanced views of the Swaraj party. Thus, a strong and patriotic majority will fight the Bureaucracy within the Councils. Though their voices may be disregarded by the certifications of the Viceroy and the Governors, they should appeal to the country to back them. In the meantime, Non-Co-operators who should work out the constructive programme and educate the masses on the lines of the advanced Congress programme should make it possible for these members of the Councils and the Assembly to get unstinted co-operation and support from the people who should be prepared to re-elect them on their resignations upon the issues of conflict with the Government. Thus, the two parties can successfully and harmoniously co-operate with each other in their labour of love for their distressed motherland.

Though a rosy picture of a united action is painted here, there is in this country a chaos of conflicts and splits, dissensions and recriminations of petty personal character. But we earnestly hope that better counsels would prevail and the disintegrating forces that now darken the counsel and disrupt the unity, should give place to a harmonious blending of two parties for a common purpose and a common will. To effect this much-needed compromise a representative Round Table Conference should be held comprising leaders of all shades of public opinion in the near future to find out avenues for united action on the lines of least resistance. The time for brilliant orations and bragging harangues has gone away. The time has come for mutual discussions in a representative conference. Discussions and confabulations among the representatives of the various parties in the country wishing for complete self-government for India in the shortest time possible will, we hope, clear the atmosphere surcharged with personal and party-squabbles and set the seal of the country's verdict on a common programme.

A Vindictive Rule: Referring to our remarks in the last issue on the Bombay Government's decision that no grants shall be paid to aided educational institutions to which students of the depressed classes are refused admission on the score of caste, *New India* of Madras observes: "Frankly speaking, this compulsion is not the best means of promoting social reform or of education either. Are there not schools meant for Europeans or other classes exclusively, and do they not receive grants from Government?"

"SCIENCE AND POLITICS."

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

At last the matter has been put to the test of personal experience; and in the light of it I must say that the Bombay Director of Information has proved himself for once a Director of Mis-information, sheer and unabashed.

When, after obtaining from the Director of Wireless, Simla, (through whom the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, the proper declared authority in this behalf, has acted in this affair throughout) a copy of the rules governing the grant of wireless licenses in India, I applied in the due prescribed form (enclosing two certificates as to character and one about nationality, as required) to the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, through the Government of Bombay (as was required), for license to possess one set of wireless apparatus of the variety known as "scientific toys" or of the minimum available range and power, for purposes of amateur practice *pari passu* with an advertised postal course to be ordered from Edinburgh, it must not be supposed that I had any very high hopes of my application being granted. Was it not myself who in two past issues of this journal (of January 27 and February 17 last) quoted specific instances of the jealous attitude of an obscurantist Bureaucracy towards the spread of modern science in India, though I did so under certain pen-names? And did not the respected Editor of the *I. S. Reformer* himself supply that farther information about wireless apparatuses of private persons being *confiscated* by Government—Vandal-fashion—one notable case being that of Mr. Khandubhai son of the Hon'ble Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, C. I. E. and a graduate of Bombay University? But then came forward our doughty Information Director to clear the aspersed honour of the fair Dame Bureaucracy whom he defended in this wise (in your issue of February 24 last):—

"The writer seems to be entirely misinformed as to the attitude of Government towards wireless telegraphy, as enquiry at any Post and Telegraph office in India would have shown him. Government is only too anxious to foster the development of radio telegraphy in India;" etc.

Now on the very face of it, anybody who had cared to go over my previous correspondence to which this from the Director had reference could detect at once one glaring misstatement where the Director says: "Your correspondent seems to be entirely misinformed as to the attitude of Government towards wireless telegraphy." But the fact? Your correspondent had had no allegations of his own to make,—he had merely quoted instances on the authority of a very responsible section of the public press in India (not excluding this journal itself); but the Director prudently enough blinks those instances altogether, and instead of attempting even to gloss over them, contents himself with a glib answer about your correspondent being *entirely* misinformed and the Government being only *too* anxious!—with nothing to support him except his own words.

But the shuffling nature of the answer is not all; there is something more which is of interest to follow. The Director spoke of how an enquiry at any Post and Telegraph office in India would show me my error. I suppose our Director will grant that the Post and Telegraph Office at Karwar (which is the Head Office for the N. Kanara District) is such an office and not a disaffected N. C. O. Bureau. Well, I approached the Postmaster in charge here, showed him the Director's own statement in the

Reformer and asked him what he had to say to that. The Postmaster, poor man, confessed he knew nothing of wireless development officially (beyond what he read privately in the papers), had seen no rules about the grant of wireless licenses, or known till then that these had to be taken by people or that they were granted by Government nor received any notices, circulars or anything about it officially. Thus this Postmaster, loyal servant though he was, had no choice but to betray on that point another loyal (?) servant of His Majesty, viz., the Director of Information, Bombay! In fact the Director's statement about "any Post and Telegraph office in India" was "unfounded and baseless."

Now finally for the claim: "Government is only too anxious to foster the development of wireless telegraphy in India." Well, there is nothing like personal experience to test the truth of such a statement, I thought when I read it. So I applied to the proper authority on the 20th February last and after more than a fortnight I got a reply from the Director of Wireless, Simla, stating: "The Government of India have decided that all applications for Wireless Licenses shall be submitted through the Local Government concerned, whose sanction is necessary before a license can be issued, and it is requested that this procedure may be observed." (Apparently Government came to that decision and never let their Bombay Publicity officer know of it, or did they only do so after the latter's last apology in their behalf in the *Reformer*?) With that reply was sent me also a copy of the rules governing wireless licenses, called General Instructions "published by order of the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs" and bearing date 10-12-21 in the imprint at the end. So I applied again to the proper authority through the proper channel in due prescribed form (as stated above in the beginning) on the 19th March. After a prolonged correspondence of vexatious delays, and reminders followed by bare acknowledgments (of the "under-consideration" and "receiving-attention" sort) and a summoning by the Mamlatdar to see him in connection with my application forwarded to him by Government for report thereon, (I learnt it was come from the Bombay Secretariat down through the Division Commissariat to the District Collectorate and thence *via* the Prant to our Mamlat: these were the principal stages of its progress through the Circumlocution Office!)—at last on the 23rd of this month, after nearly four months of "negotiations" comes this courteously worded refusal without any reason being given:

Sir,—With reference to your application dated 19th March 1923, for a license for wireless telegraph, forwarded through the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, I have the honour to inform you that it is regretted that your request cannot be complied with.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Sd.) R. L. NICHOLSON.

Director of Wireless.

Simla, 18th June, 1923.

Such, Sir, is the story of my personal experience which I went through at the expense of so much time, energy and money, acting on the assurance of so highly paid a public servant as our Director of Information. I suppose, if an assurance equally irresponsible and misleading, only in another direction, had been made by any one in the non-official press, perhaps our Publicity Officer should have

helped to prosecute him (or her) for libel, disloyalty or what not!

What is the moral of it all?

Whereas in free England and the West generally, the use of wireless telegraphy is so popular and even vulgar a matter that minor boys called Boy Scouts and others of school-going age are allowed without question to keep or make for themselves wireless sets like toys which they handle daily and are encouraged to experiment with successfully—and almost every well-to-do household, especially at Christmas time, possesses a wireless listening-in set to hear music as it is being broadcasted from a central Hall in the country or across the Atlantic; and even some Railway saloons are provided with such sets for the use of the passengers—in India under the Bureaucracy, a wireless installation is taboo to the post-graduate students of the premier institution devoted to science in India, viz., the Calcutta University Science College; and so too is the case most probably with all other colleges; while for private amateurs and *bona fide* experimenters it is a matter of an application for license, wherein so many details have to be supplied, a declaration made, testimonials as to character produced, nationality proved, a sum of Rs. 10 paid (in stamps) along with the application as license fee for the whole or a part of the annual period (fixed from Jan. to Dec.) etc. etc.—all to be forwarded through the Provincial Government whose *previous* sanction is necessary before the license can be issued, all of which process takes some four months of “negotiations” before the matter is disposed of with a—refusal, as I must say from my typical experience, unless perhaps the applicant is an Anglo-Indian or Eurasian or Armenian or such like.

(In passing, but in fairness to Government, I must observe that in the D. of I.’s letter in the *Reformer* above-mentioned, there has crept another mistake, viz., where he speaks of the minimum allowable age for applicants as 27 years. This is a mistake—possibly a misprint only—for 21 years, as will be seen from the Licence rules published by the D. G. of P. and T.)

Further as regards these rules, I as well as many interested in this subject must be very thankful to anybody who could inform us through these columns on these points:—

(1) When were these rules first made?

(2) Were any of the apparatuses that were confiscated (as in the case of Mr. Khandubhai son of Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas) already in possession of their owners when the rules were made, and if so, were the rules made retrospective?

(3) Do the rules possess any semblance of Legislative sanction?

As Bombay Publicity has failed to answer these several questions put forward in my last correspondence, may may not the Central Publicity at Delhi usefully tackle them?

As one more testimony to our Government being “only too anxious to foster the development of wireless telegraphy in India” I beg to bring to your and your readers’ notice a letter written by a research scholar, Mr. H. Parameswaran, M. A., Ph. D. (cantab) appearing originally in the *Hindu* and extracted therefrom into the *Bombay Chronicle* of April, 6, last, P. 11. Writing from England he says: Throughout the length and breadth of India there are not more than half a dozen Indian individuals knowing anything of practical wireless matters and still less of wireless manufacture. In fact even many of the professors of physics in premier laboratories in India have not yet taken pains to familiarise themselves or their students

with experimental aspects of this science.....If the Government is really interested in promoting wireless activities amongst Indians, they could remove the existing restrictions on such activity and grant free experimental licenses to those who seek it.”

Thanking you, sir, in anticipation.

Karwar, June 27, 1923.

I am etc.,
S. D. NADKARNI.

A ROMAN CATHOLIC-HINDU MARRIAGE.

An educated Indian Catholic lady writes to the *Catholic Leader*, Madras:—

Please excuse me for the liberty I have taken to pen these few lines to you. Necessity made me approach you for help. I introduce myself as one of the members of the Catholic Church at First I belonged to the Church of England but now joined the Catholic Church. I was baptized in the Roman Catholic Church and my name is I was married about the beginning of this year according to the Catholic law. My husband wanted to become a Christian before we were married but Rev. Fr. thought that he was coming for the sake of a wife and hesitated to receive him into our fold; but he blessed our marriage with the special dispensation of the Bishop I now beg to tell you all the troubles I undergo after the marriage. When it was known to the public that we were married, all the non-Brahmin and non-Christians joined together and condemned my husband for having taken a Christian wife. They ran to the Father and found out that he was not baptized. And now they advised him to leave me and marry a Hindu girl in their religion. My husband began to say that they would not have asked him to marry a Hindu girl if he had only been baptized. I do not know how my fate would turn out. I expect a baby and if he leaves me and takes another wife, I do not know how to live in this world. It is a disgrace to me and I can say that it is a great disgrace to our Christian community. Is there any hope or way of stopping his marriage? Some friends advised me to publish an article saying that he has got a Christian wife and expects a baby soon.

I request you, Sir, to kindly see a way to stop it or not to give him time to marry a Hindu girl. He was here till last Tuesday and all on a sudden he received a wire from his people on Wednesday the 18th June and left this place for where he has his elder brothers. I now hear that he is not there. His whereabouts are not known. He has got his people at Secunderabad and Bangalore. It is not known whether he is gone to Secunderabad or Bangalore and he has not written to me till now. There is a strong rumour in this town that his people are arranging for his marriage and that he will be married soon. We cannot waste time now. I request you to kindly publish an article for which I have given just a few hints. You need not mention my name. If people know that he is already married and got a Christian wife, no sane man will ever think of giving his daughter or if there is any means of bringing him to the way, I request you to kindly take steps and do the needful, for which act of kindness I shall ever be grateful to you. I am very unhappy now and have no other help but my Saviour. I hope you will be kind enough to help me in my trouble.

Thanking you for all the help you would do to me.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
(Signed).

The following are the *Catholic Leader's* comments on the above:

The lady correspondent, whose letter we publish in another column, has our sympathy, but we do not see our way to help her out of the quandary. She placed herself in an awkward position by marrying a person who differed from her so fundamentally in religious belief and worship. Among the impediments of the Church which render the marriage contract null and void is that of disparity of worship. The Church is very anxious to safeguard the sanctity of marriage and with that purpose has made a law debarring Catholics from contracting marriages with persons unfit to receive the Sacrament. In countries, where Catholics are largely outnumbered by non-baptised inhabitants the Church in exceptional cases and for grave reasons grants dispensation from this impediment but does so only upon the fulfilment of certain conditions and guarantees, that safeguard as far as possible the end of marriage. Before any such dispensation is granted, the Church insists upon certain conditions and promises, which must be committed to writing and signed. The promises on the part of the unbaptised party are (1) that he or she will afford the Catholic partner full and perfect freedom to practice the Catholic Faith and that he or she will abstain from saying or doing anything to weaken or change that faith and that *he will not practice polygamy*, (2) that he or she will permit all children of their union to be baptized and reared in the Catholic Faith and that he or she will do or say nothing calculated to lessen their faith or turn them away from it or its practices. The non-Catholic party is bound in honour to keep the solemn promises he has made but what happens when actuated by family considerations or for business motives, he refuses to keep his promise? The Church has no legal power to enforce the conditions on the acceptance of which the requisite dispensation was granted.

The present instance is an unfortunate one. The non-Christian party does not believe in the two essential properties of marriage, namely, unity and indissolubility. The husband is still a Hindu and is governed by his own personal law, the Hindu law. And Hindu law gives him the liberty to take more than one wife. The only course, therefore, left open for the Catholic wife is to sue the husband for maintenance as well as for damages for a breach of the undertaking, by which he promised not to marry again during the life-time of his wife. Public opinion even among the Hindus would condemn the action of the non-Catholic party in flouting so easily the solemn promises he made before entering into the marriage contract. But the civil law gives him the necessary freedom and unless Catholic members of the Council agitate for an amendment of the Marriage Laws, in virtue of which the promises made before marriage by the non-Christian party are binding not only in conscience but also before law, the Catholic party in such cases may be put into considerable difficulties. Though this particular case deserves our sympathy, it should serve as an example and a warning to Catholics. We should not forget that the Church merely tolerates such marriages and dispensations are granted reluctantly by the ecclesiastical authorities to avert greater evil. The Catholic who contracts a marriage with a non-Christian or a Protestant enters into an agreement which is entirely binding on him, but from which the other party may obtain release. Young people of marriageable age, therefore, should ask themselves when the thought of marrying any particular person occurs to them: What religion does he or she belong to. If their faith is different from your own, turn away your heart and thoughts in another direction.

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR.

TRIBUTE OF BOMBAY CITIZENS.

We take the following report except Mr. Natarajan's speech from the *Times of India*.

The public meeting of the citizens of Bombay, convened by the Sheriff and held in the Town Hall on Thursday the 28th June for raising a memorial to the late Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, was generally pronounced to be a great success both on account of the representative character of the audience and the speeches that were delivered.

Sir Temuljee B. Nariman, the Sheriff, read the requisition sent to him for convening the meeting and called upon those present to elect their chairman. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, in proposing the name of H. E. Sir George Lloyd, eulogised the several qualities of His Excellency making special reference to the Development Scheme which, the speaker said, would in future make this a healthy city removing congestion.

Sir Hormusji C. Adenwala seconded the proposition and it was carried by acclamation.

GOVERNOR'S APPRECIATION.

H. E. the Governor who was warmly received, said: Mr. Sheriff, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, ladies and gentlemen,—I should like, before opening the proceedings, briefly to thank you for the very kind words which you have said in asking me to take the chair, and also at the same time only in a very few words, as there are many speakers to follow me, to associate myself very fully with the objects for which the Sheriff so rightly convened this meeting, namely, to pay, if we may, one last public tribute to the memory of one of India's greatest public servants. (Applause). I have in another place already expressed on behalf of my Government what our feelings are at the premature bereavement of this Presidency from Sir Narayan's death. It was after all in this hall that he initiated not so long ago the first session of the reformed Council of India, and I think that no greater President could have been selected for the post to give dignity, order and honour to the proceedings of the Bombay Legislative Council. (Hear, hear). In his private life as in his public career he deserved the very best tribute that the people of India can possibly give to him. I think of no man can more be said. (Applause).

His Excellency then read some messages of sympathy that had been received. One of these was from the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, who regretting his inability to attend stated that by the death of Sir Narayan Bombay had lost one of the most devoted and patriotic citizens. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy wrote that Sir Narayan was a great social reformer, a man of sound judgment and sober views, and one of those stalwarts who had helped to make the public life of this city. There were also messages from the Hon. Mr. C. V. Mehta, Mr. Cowasji Jehangir, Sir Hormusji Wadia, Mr. J. B. Petit, Mr. Mavji Govindji and Sir Jagmohandas Varjivandas.

SOCIAL WORK.

The Hon. Sir Lalubhai A. Shah moved the first resolution as follows:—"That this meeting of the citizens of Bombay resolves to place on record its sense of profound grief at the great loss the city and the Presidency have sustained by the untimely death of Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, Kt., LL.D., who distinguished himself during a career of forty years by his versatile talents and manifold activities in various branches of public life and won the esteem and regard of all classes of people in the country by sterling patriotism and courage and by a private life of exemplary purity which was both highly inspiring and ennobling."

Sir Lalubhai spoke on the various phases of Sir Narayan's public activities, political, social and religious. He said he first came to know of him so far back as in 1895 in connection with the part he took in the controversy on the Age of Consent Bill and by reading his reminiscences of the late Mr. Telang, and the impression which was then created upon his mind was that he was a man of very broad outlook of life. Subsequently watching his career as High Court Vakil he was impressed by his great ability and fair advocacy. That showed the character of the man. But his public spirit was put to the test in a pre-eminent degree when in December

1900 he accepted the presidentship of the National Congress of that year and a few days later his appointment as a Judge of the High Court was announced. On that occasion he showed a happy combination of patriotism and courage which won for him the respect of Government as well as the people. Sir Lalubhai thought that the future biographer of Sir Narayan would find ample material from his life and life work during the last eight years of his retirement. Unlike many people time did not hang on him after retirement, and the burden of his talk was not how to kill time, but how much to do and how to do. The one great feature of Sir Narayan's public career was that in approaching a problem whether it was social, religious or public, he viewed it from two points of view. One was the historical point of view. He never considered any question without reference to its past and its bearing on the future. Secondly as a great constitutional lawyer, he considered every subject from the constitutional point of view.

Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy in seconding the resolution said Sir Narayan was a many-sided man, and the range of his activities and the catholicity of his interests were such that he left Bombay the poorer by his loss. Sir Narayan's claims on their gratitude were based not upon his work as President of the National Congress, or as Judge of the High Court, or as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University or as President of the Bombay Legislative Council, but upon the energy, enthusiasm and courage with which he carried out his ideals of social service which was his main work during his life-time. He hoped Bombay would raise a memorial which would keep green his memory and place before the rising generation the example of a noble career and blameless life (Applause.)

A FRIEND OF THE STUDENTS.

Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad in supporting the resolution said: Standing in that hall and on that platform one felt overwhelmed with the great loss they had sustained by the removal of Sir Narayan, for many of them could recall the numerous occasions on which they had heard Sir Narayan's oratory in that hall and it was only recently that they saw him presiding there over the deliberations of the Legislative Council with such ability and fairness. The manifold activities of Sir Narayan had been referred to by the previous speakers, and he would only confine himself to what he might call his educational activities. For thirty years and more Sir Narayan had been connected with the University of Bombay, in whose work he took a leading part and to whom his advice, experience and assistance had always been invaluable. Speaking for himself as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University for some years he must acknowledge the debt of gratitude that he owed to Sir Narayan for his advice and guidance in connection with the work of the University. But above all, the way in which Sir Narayan guided the students of the Presidency by his example and advice would always be remembered. Lectures to the Students' Brotherhood and the classes he took there would always be memorable and he was not exaggerating when he said that he was always so sympathetic about their wants that it was common knowledge that the student in this Presidency could approach him with infinite confidence for getting what he wanted from him. He was sure Sir Narayan would be missed by many students of the Presidency.

IDEAL HINDU LIFE.

Sir H. Macnaghten in further supporting the resolution said the life of Sir Narayan seemed to him to have fulfilled more perfectly than that of most men the aspirations of those philosophers of the heroic age of India who divided the life of a man into three parts. First, as a learner; secondly, in his youth as a man of action; and thirdly, as the head of the household, whether his household was large or small. Sir Narayan fulfilled that position more happily than it was given to most of them, and in his old age he was given the last final blessing of rest and quiet before passing into the great unknown. It was not given to him to know Sir Narayan personally during the years he had been fighting for the good of the city with the wonderful vigour that characterised his youth. But he was privileged to know him during his later age and to realise the peace, happiness and unity which were diffused round him by kindness, courtesy and dignity of his personality.

The following is the full text of Mr. K. Natarajan's speech:—

Your Excellency,

I have little to add to what the previous speakers have so well said as regards Sir Narayan's great services in the cause of religious, social and national reform. I will, therefore, devote the few remarks that I have to make on this occasion to what seem to me to have been the inspiring principles of his public and personal life. Sir Narayan's life was one continuous whole to a larger extent than that of many men. He had not one set of principles for public, and another for private, use. It was one of his fixed convictions that no one can do real solid work in public life unless he was trained and disciplined for it by a pure and unspotted personal and home life. Quoting one of his favourite philosophers, he often used to say that without the unclouded heart, one cannot have the clear eye and the clean hand needed for right judgment and right conduct in public life.

I said that Sir Narayan had one set of principles which inspired his whole life, public and private. These principles, however, were derived from two widely different sources. They were, first, his inherited Hindu culture and tradition, and secondly, his sympathetic and appreciative understanding of British culture and character. I cannot help thinking that there must be something essentially similar in these two great streams of culture to make so many of our best men able to understand and assimilate to a large extent the spirit of the literature and history of England. However that may be, Sir Narayan's ideal of public life was derived from the great emancipating principles of English history, as his ideals of private life were mainly rooted in his own national culture though greatly enriched by his study of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. One of the phrases which he often used to quote was "animated moderation" which Bagehot fixed upon as the distinguishing characteristic of British public life. "Animated moderation" was inculcated in an objective way by the inscriptions on the triple gates that gave access to the ancient academy to which Emerson refers. Over the first doorway as you entered was the inscription "Be bold." At the second entrance, again, was the re-iterated exhortation: "Be bold. Be bold. Ever more be bold." On entrance to the third and inmost sanctuary, however, the entrant found emblazoned the motto: "Be not too bold." This combination of courage and caution in public life is what is meant by the phrase "animated moderation". This is a quality which we find more exemplified in the public life of Bombay than in that of any other part of the country. The public life of other parts of the country may in some places be characterised by over-boldness or by overcaution. It is in this Presidency, and especially in this city, that we find the two great qualities of public life in balanced proportion, and I venture to think that the precepts and example of Sir Narayan, during nearly half a century, has been the great formative influence to this end.

Sir Narayan's work in the field of social and national reform is known to all, but what is not so well known is his constant striving in the direction of personal reform. It is so much easier for a man to undertake to correct Society or the State than to correct himself. We are all, most of us, social or political reformers nowadays, but I often doubt whether our most successful achievements in these directions are of as much permanent benefit to the country and the nation as the sustained and successful efforts of a single man to build up his own character. "Man is dearer to man," says the poet, "than any angel." The same poet also says that it is when the fight begins within himself that a man is worth something. That is to say, a man's value to his brother-man lies in the example which he affords by overcoming his own human weaknesses which do not exist in the case of angels. The great thing that impressed any one who came in close contact with Sir Narayan was his constant endeavour to overcome his own little human shortcomings. Sir Narayan formed and held strong opinions about most of the persons with whom he came in contact. They were occasionally unfavourable. But when he had to deal with any one of whom he had a strong opinion, he would not only deliberately put aside his opinion, but he would make an effort and often successfully to bring the most generous judgment to bear upon the question when it affected the interests of such a person.

Sir Narayan was a distinguished judge on the High Court Bench and he was sometimes said to have been a severe judge,

but he was habitually more severe to himself than he ever was to the worst criminal that came before him. Of him it may be truly said that he constantly held

A silent Court of Justice with himself,
Himself the judge and jury and himself
The prisoner at the bar.

Above all, he was a man of faith. He lived by faith, acting the faith he lived by without fear. And because he did so, misunderstanding and misrepresentation was frequently his lot. He felt this keenly. For no man loved his people more deeply, and no one was more sensitive to public approval than Sir Narayan. But when it was a question between doing the right thing, as it appeared to him, and incurring unpopularity, he unhesitatingly chose to do the right. He loved his people too well, as was said of a great English public man years ago, to be afraid of their frown. We do well to do honour to the memory of a man who in his life did so much in so many directions to ameliorate the conditions of life for the depressed and oppressed and to mould our public life on high principles. The gentlemen who form the Committee to carry out this Resolution may be completely trusted in deciding upon the memorial to keep in full view the abiding aspects of Sir Narayan's life and work.

HIGH PRIEST OF ORDER.

The Hon. Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna said: Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was held in high esteem not only by the many, who claimed the privilege of his personal acquaintance, but by thousands upon thousands of others who had read or heard of his many activities in their mindst. If Sir Narayan was a successful lawyer, a distinguished judge, a sound educationist, a wise and sagacious politician, he was also and perhaps more so a stout and sturdy social reformer, a great lover of books, a friend of the poor, the lowly and the depressed, one who lived a pure, righteous and godly life believing in it as the basis of human happiness and the root of national advancement and progress. (Applause). Sir Narayan was a many-sided man, but what struck one most about him was his tenacity, his laboriousness and above all his indefatigable humility for which in particular all hearts warmed to him with the glow of an abiding affection. Was a very capable and at the same time a shrewd man. His, however, was not the shrewdness of the mere man of the world, but the wisdom of one who had the poet's heart and the statesman's brain. He might well be called the High Priest of Order, for he was a lover of settled ways, of justice, peace and security. Throughout his long and interesting career he worked with such sublimity of conception, such broad capacity and such unresting energy that he must for long remain with them a figure and a force. He should with profit be held up as an exemplar to younger generations of their countrymen for the more Narayan Chandavarkars they could boast of, and particularly in times like the present the better would they be assured of India advancing rapidly both politically and socially on sound and sober lines. (Applause).

The resolution was then put to the meeting and passed in solemn silence, the whole assembly standing.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEE.

The Hon. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas then moved:

"That this meeting resolves that a suitable memorial be raised to Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar and that a Committee consisting of the gentlemen (named) with power to add to their number, be appointed to collect subscriptions and take all necessary steps on that behalf, and that the following gentlemen be appointed secretaries to the Committee:—The Hon. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Kt., C.I.E., M. B. E., Mr. Mahomedbhoy Currimbhoy, Mr. Cowasji Jehangir (Jr.) Mr. J. Addyman, Mr. H. P. Mody, Mr. Ratansi D. Morarjee and Mr. Iswardas Laxmidas."

Sir Purshotamdas said he was very greatly impressed when he came in close contact with Sir Narayan as President of the Bombay Legislative Council by his great solicitude to hold the scales even between the Government and non-official members of the Council. He was also struck by Sir Narayan's great anxiety for the welfare of his humble younger generation. He always called the students the hope of the country's future. Another thing which impressed him much was his work among the depressed, but correctly speaking the oppressed classes of the Presidency. Although Sir Narayan had very radical views as a social reformer he was respected

both by the orthodox and by what was known as the reformed portion of the community. He was a person trusted all round by Government and the people, and he (the speaker) was sure the citizens of Bombay would not fail to raise a suitable memorial. (Applause).

The Hon. Mr. Justice A. M. Kajiji seconded, and Mr. H. P. Mody supported the resolution which was carried.

Dewan Bahadur G. S. Rao moved that Mr. Narottam Morarji and the Hon. Sir D. E. Wacha be appointed treasurers. Mr. Rao said Sir Narayan was a finished product of liberal education. He was a born champion of female education and a great patron of the depressed classes. His judgments on Hindu law would rank as those of Sir Raymond West and Sir Michael Westropp and would go down to posterity.

Mr. J. Addyman seconded and M. S. S. Patker supported the resolution, and it was carried.

A vote of thanks was then accorded to the Sheriff for convening the meeting.

The Hon. Sir Dinshaw E. Wacha, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency for presiding at the meeting, said there were traits in Sir George Lloyd's character which endeared him to all, namely his uniform courtesy and complaisance. As the leading citizen of Bombay Sir George had always shared in the joys as well as in the sorrows of the people for whom he had the greatest esteem and regard. Sir Dinshaw hoped that this complaisance would be reciprocated as the time was coming near for expressing their gratitude to His Excellency for what he had done for them.

Mr. Mahomedbhui Currimbhui seconded the resolution which was carried by acclamation.

His Excellency thanked the meeting, and the proceedings terminated.

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In Christ's prayer to God for those who should accept his claim to be the world's Saviour, he said: "This is life eternal that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Him whom thou hast sent, even Jesus Christ."

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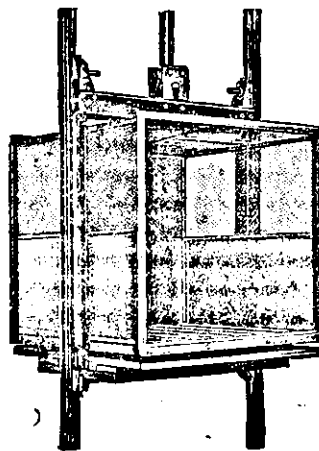
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Vol. XXXIII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1923. No. 46.

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Mahatma Gandhi's Release: The Legislative Assembly as at present constituted is by no means a very distinguished body, but it never appeared in a worse light than on last Wednesday in its disposal of the resolution for the early release of Mahatma Gandhi and other political prisoners. The member who had given notice of the motion was not present and it was moved on his behalf by Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer. We are sorry to have to say that if Mr. Seshagiri had nothing better to urge in support of the motion, he would have done well not to have undertaken to move it. By his weak, apologetic speech, he simply gave an opening to the Home Member, Sir Malcolm Hailey, to indulge in a violent diatribe on Mahatma Gandhi and the Non-Co-operation movement which is likely to mislead the outside public unacquainted with the facts of the case. We have not supported the Non-Co-operation movement for reasons which need not be repeated now. The programme by which it was sought to be carried out, was ill-considered and was drawn up more to suit some of Mr. Gandhi's peculiar views than the actual conditions of the country. But the principle of Non-Co-operation is one of which no man, who has a sense of right and wrong implanted in him, can question the legitimacy on proper occasion. A sense of despair had seized the Indian population at the virtual condonation of the Punjab martial law excesses by Government. The Mahomedan population was dangerously excited by the terms of draft Peace Treaty with Turkey. As we showed in a series of articles, which have been since reprinted in pamphlet form, Mahatma Gandhi, who had done his best on several occasions to support Government, started the Non-Co-operation movement as the only means of providing a non-violent channel for the feelings roused in the country. It is not in the nature of a bureaucracy to acknowledge responsibility for its own blunders. The origin of the Non-Co-operation movement is really due to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and others in India, and in England to the framers of the draft Treaty of Sevres. In the situation created by them, Mahatma Gandhi could not think of any less drastic course which would have been equally effective in leading the public

indignation into peaceful channels. The Non-Co-operation movement was merely the gesture of the man who moved to great wrath, and dreading its manifestation in violent action, declares to the object of his anger: "I do not want to speak to you." We say that, for most of the outrages which ensued subsequently to the inauguration of Non-Co-operation, the authors of the Punjab excesses and of the Sevres Treaty must bear at least an equal share of blame with Mahatma Gandhi. But while Mahatma Gandhi is sent to jail for six years, those responsible for these wrongs, are not even referred to as being indirectly responsible for the later developments in the country. That Mr. Gandhi's efforts succeeded wonderfully in their purpose of producing a non-violent atmosphere in the country, is testified to by the Government of India's own Information Bureau whose Director, Mr. Rushbrook Williams, in his last annual review, wrote: "During the year 1921 anarchical crime has practically ceased..... This party has been largely captured by the idealism of Mr. Gandhi's movement." (p. 272, India in 1921-22). And yet it is this man that the Home Member denounced as the one who "has done more than any man to disturb the peace of India." And there was not a single member in the Assembly, who could answer Sir Malcolm as he should and could have been answered. The resolution was thrown out by a majority of 40 against 22, and among those who opposed the early release of Mahatma Gandhi were such important Liberals as Sir Sivaswami Iyer, Mr. N. M. Samarth, and Mr. N. M. Joshi of the Servants of India Society! There is such a thing as political decency, and political decency would have been better exhibited if these gentlemen had refrained from voting, especially in view of the angry protests that have been raised against the imputation of responsibility to the Liberals for Mahatma's incarceration.

The Bombay Swaraj Party: The following communication was issued last Saturday:

The undersigned have decided with much regret that it is their duty to sever their connection with the Swaraj Party in Bombay City. They had an opportunity when on Saturday the 7th July Mr. C. R. Das was in Bombay on his way to Nagpur, to explain to him fully the reasons that have led them to come to this decision. Briefly these are summed up by saying that there is a certain section in the Party in Bombay from which they are fundamentally and irrevocably separated in principles and methods. They have Mr. Das's permission to say that he appreciates their reasons and agrees that it is best for them to work independently for the common cause which Mr. Das and they have at heart.

The signatories were Messrs. K. Natarajan (President,) M. R. Jayakar (Vice-President,) S. N. Dabholkar, Manilal D. Nanavati (Treasurer,) Hiralal D. Nanavati (Member of Managing Committee), U. S.

Desai, Purshottam Trikamdas (Secretary), B. G. Kher (Secretary), A. G. Mulgaoker (Secretary), N. B. Vibhakar (Member of Committee), and S. H. Jhabwala (Secretary.) The conflict of principles and methods referred to in the announcement, may be described as a conflict between the preamble and the programme of the constitution adopted at Allahabad in February last at a General Meeting of the Party. When Mr. Das was in Bombay in January, he, in consultation with some local leaders, drafted a programme for the Swaraj Party. The Bombay draft programme left the Party open to all those who agreed to it, whether Congressmen or Non-Congressmen. The Party meeting in Allahabad, however, restricted admission to Congressmen and adopted a preamble purporting to deduce its pro-Council programme from the Non-Co-operation and constructive programmes adopted at Calcutta and Bardoli. (The Bardoli programme suspended all previous Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience programmes, but the preamble lumped them both together as if they were supplementary to each other.) Owing to some reason or other, the Bombay Branch of the Swaraj Party had from the very first, and has perhaps even now, a majority of members who cared more for the programme than for the preamble. But there was a minority which attached as much importance to the preamble as to the programme, if not more, and the members of this group directed their energies to imposing on their colleagues all the conventions and dogmas that had grown up under the shadow of the simple Congress creed, to an extent not observed even in the orthodox camp. The phenomenon is well-known to students of religious schismatism of a seceding sect adopting with greater rigour than the parent orthodoxy the outward symbols of piety. This cannot but be a constant source of friction with those who had joined the party with the object of carrying out its Councils programme. There were, of course, personal differences, but these might have been adjusted had there been no differences of outlook and principle. Under the circumstances there was only one course open, and that course has been adopted by the signatories to the announcement. Whether the Swaraj Party will be able to maintain itself as a Congress party after the forthcoming Special Congress, remains to be seen. If the Special Congress endorses the Gaya Congress resolution regarding the boycott of Councils, the way will be opened for an independent Party with a clean slate to write upon.

Abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha: The Government of India press *communiqué* relating to the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha, will be read with sincere regret. His Highness has had the advantage, rare for ruling Chiefs, of having worked for a time in the old Imperial Legislative Council. He came in contact with Mr. Gokhale, and the latter formed a high opinion of the patriotism and abilities of the Tikka Saheb as he then was. His Highness was President of the National Social Conference held at Lahore in 1900 and his presidential address was a thoughtful pronouncement on the problems of social reform. A notable feature of the address was the evidence of deep study it gave of the Hindu Shastras and Puranas, and the sympathy it showed with Hindu ideas generally. That the rule of a cultured and accomplished Prince like His Highness, should come to an untimely and abrupt end by abdication, is, indeed, a sad reflection on the position of Indian States. While we have no reason to doubt the correctness of the conclusions of Mr. Justice Stuart's report on the disputes between the Darbars of Patiala and Nabha, we think we are expressing the general feeling when we say that the association of a Ruling Chief of the same status as

the two Maharajas concerned, with Mr. Justice Stuart in the enquiry, would have invested its conclusions with additional weight and propriety.

Excessive Punishment: Mr. S. Sadanand, the Editor of the *Rangoon Mail*, has been sentenced to two years' simple imprisonment for reprinting in his paper certain articles, which had been published in some Indian newspapers without anybody being the worse for them, alleged to be of a seditious character. Mr. Sadanand said in his statement that he would not have reprinted them had he read them carefully, which he was not able to do as he was ill when they were reprinted. The Magistrate in sentencing him to two years' imprisonment as much as implied that he would have thought a less punishment sufficient but for the fact that two of Mr. Sadanand's predecessors in the editorship of the *Mail* had also been prosecuted and punished for similar offences. A man's previous record is supposed to be a valid reason for giving him enhanced punishment, but we have never heard that the previous record of other men who happened to hold the same office as one does, is also a lawful ground for passing a severer sentence on him than is due to his own offence on its merits. We cannot help thinking that the Magistrate was not acting judicially in going beyond the record of the case before him and introducing into his judgment considerations which were totally unconnected with it. We trust that the Government of Burma will see the propriety of reducing the sentence on Mr. Sadanand. A fine would have completely met the needs of the case which is a technical one especially after the Editor's acknowledgment of his mistake in publishing it.

Religion and Nationalism: The *Indian Messenger* has a thoughtful and suggestive leading article in a recent issue headed "Clash of Unworkable Ideals". Our contemporary rightly points out that it is well-nigh impossible in India to proceed with the work of nation-building with the religious factor left out. At the same time, it is keenly conscious of the risks that attend the application of religion in a narrow dogmatic sense to our national life. It observes that "the *Suddhi* movement and the reclamation of the Malkana Rajputs has brought home to us the inconvenient fact that neither Hinduism nor Islam nor Christianity, so long as they have not outgrown their credal conception, will work in the building up of a composite nation professing diverse faiths and different prophets." We agree with our contemporary that "aggressive Hinduism and aggressive Islam will keep the Hindus and Mussalmans at arm's length nullifying all endeavours after the evolution of a healthy and vigorous Indian nation until the leaders, both Hindu and Moslem, come to realise the supreme importance of the ideal which seizes the unity and does not at the same time ignore the difference, and in which these partial ideals find their fulfilment." To empty Hinduism of its credal contents, is not a difficult task, as Hinduism is very little a matter of creeds. But it will be difficult to do the same for Christianity and much more for Mahomedanism. Mysticism is without credal contents and it has been suggested that the spread of Sufism would help the cause of Hindu-Mahomedan unity. The Brahmo Samaj has or ought to have practically no creeds, and Keshab Chunder Sen in his *New Dispensation* gave it a mystic side. We should much like to see the *Indian Messenger* develop its argument further, and make concrete suggestions as to how Christianity and Mahomedanism can give up their credal contents and yet continue to remain Christianity and Mahomedanism.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 14, 1923.

MR. DAS IN NAGPUR.

When Mr. C. R. Das unfurled the banner of the Swaraj Party at Gaya in December last, few people thought he would be able to carry out his intention of converting his minority party into the majority party in the National Congress. He himself was sure that he would do so, and his faith seems to be in a fair way of being realised. It was a striking victory for him when in May last the All-India Congress Committee which met in Bombay passed a resolution suspending all active propaganda against entry into the Legislative Councils under the resolution of the Gaya Congress. Mr. C. Rajagopala Chari and others who were opposed to Council entry, refused to abide by the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, which they declared was *ultra vires* of that Committee, although they themselves had joined in calling a meeting of the Committee for the purpose of effecting a compromise with the Swaraj Party. They continued to carry on their agitation against the Councils in spite of the All-India Congress Committee's resolution. One of them, Mr. Jammalal Bajaj, launched the flag agitation at Nagpur not without a thought to the effect it might have in side-tracking the movement in favour of entering the Legislative Councils. Within scarcely two months of the Bombay meeting, the All-India Congress Committee was again called to meet last week at Nagpur, the scene of the flag agitation. If Mr. Rajagopala and his friends thought that the excitement of the flag agitation would sweep the members of the All-India Congress Committee off their feet into rescinding the Bombay compromise resolution, the event must have convinced them that they were much mistaken. Mr. Das attended the meeting fresh from his whirlwind campaign in Southern India, and he had no difficulty in persuading a majority of the Committee to throw out the motion to set aside the Bombay compromise. Foiled in their attempt, the anti-Council members brought in a proposal to hold a special session of the National Congress next month to consider the question of Council entry and the present political situation in the country. Mr. Das of course, opposed it as being deliberately calculated to embarrass his party in its election campaign, but the resolution was carried by a small majority. The President-elect, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, is a leading member of the Centre Party. There is every reason to hope that the special Congress next month will definitely declare itself in favour of entering the Legislative Councils. That, indeed, will be a well-deserved triumph for Mr. C. R. Das whose indefatigable energy and unflinching courage have extorted the admiration even of the *Times of India* which not long ago denounced him as a charlatan.

Mr. Das showed both courage and the quality of true leadership in the attitude he took up to the resolution moved by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in the All-

India Congress Committee at Nagpur on the flag agitation. Mrs. Naidu, in one of her Madras speeches only a few weeks ago, had strongly condemned artificial attempts at civil disobedience which, she rightly held, can only succeed when it was the spontaneous outcome of the passionate resentment caused by a grievous wrong involving the emotions of a large section of the people. And yet she commended her resolution practically pledging the support of the Congress to the Nagpur flag agitation, on the specific ground that it was a cold-blooded enterprise. Mr. Das took up the point and declared that just because it was cold-blooded, it did not appeal to him. An anti-Council Congress organ, the *Janmabhumi* of Masulipatam, had the candour to recognise in a recent issue that the Swaraj Party can identify itself with the Nagpur *Satyagrahis* only if it is prepared to give up its very *raison d'être*, namely, entering the Legislative Councils at the next elections. Some leading members of the Swaraj Party in Bombay were so far from realising this simple matter that they were quite indignant when they were not allowed to spring a resolution on the subject on a general meeting of the local Branch at a late hour of the evening. Mr. Das, however, is not the man to be lured away from his pre-determined course by way-side attractions. He told the All-India Congress Committee in effect that he would join the *Satyagraha* at Nagpur if the Committee joined him in his Council propaganda. He asked them first to settle the differences in the Congress in order that they may present a united front to the encroachments of the Executive on the people's rights and liberties. He might have gone further. The only way of effectually putting an end to such encroachments is to get control of the Legislative Councils which pass the laws and provide the funds to arm the Executive with the power and the force necessary to make such encroachments. Since the Committee would not support his agitation to enter the Councils, Mr. Das advised his party to abstain from voting on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's resolution covering the Nagpur flag movement. This does not mean that Mr. Das or any other member of the Swaraj Party is indifferent to the serious conduct of the Central Provinces Government in arresting and imprisoning hundreds of persons for exercising their rights as free citizens. It only means that they have their own view of how that Government and other Governments which act similarly, can be brought to book and prevented most effectively from repeating their procedure, and that they must not be deflected from their straight course by incidents for which the real remedy can be found only when they reach their goal.

There can be no doubt whatever that in Mr. Das the country has found the leader who can lead it out of the present political muddle. In energy, courage, disinterestedness and devotion to his cause, he stands out pre-eminent among his contemporaries. In the sweltering heat of Bombay last May, coming down with Mr. Das the fourth or fifth flight of stairs which we had climbed that afternoon, this writer

overheard his muttered remark : "At this age, instead of spending the summer on some cool hill!" Mr. Das smothered the sentence as soon as it was uttered with a half laugh which seemed to say "What a fool to indulge in such reflections!" The mood passed and he was a moment later racing in his motor car to keep another engagement. That is typical of the iron will which overcomes all obstacles. As for his courage, an instance during his flying visit to Bombay last Saturday will suffice. Almost as soon as he arrived, with no more than a few minutes for rest and refreshment, he was surrounded by people who wanted to discuss the latest developments in the political situation with him. One of them told him bluntly that he (Mr. Das) had lost twenty-five per cent. of his supporters by his reference to the bungling about the Round Table Conference negotiations. "Have I?" Mr. Das replied on the instant, "I am very glad if I have, because I do not want supporters who cannot bear to be told the truth!" As for his disinterestedness and devotion, little need be said. He has reduced himself to practical poverty from one of the most lucrative practices at the Calcutta Bar. When the Bengal Government proclaimed the Congress Volunteer organisations as illegal associations, his wife was the first to be arrested and he, the next. He is not one of your professional political leaders who perpetually preach civil disobedience but are careful to keep themselves high and dry while hundreds, misled by their teaching, find their way to the gaol. The object which Mr. Das has set before himself is to convert the Congress to his views. In order to do this—and we are sure he will do it—he has necessarily to use the terminology of non-co-operation which the rank-and-file have become accustomed to and understand. Some one asked him if the policy of "wrecking the Councils" had been rightly interpreted by the *Reformer* as the systematic use of the constitutional rights of an Opposition, embodied in the principle of "Grievance before Supply." He replied without a moment's hesitation that that was only another way of putting the same thing, and it was purely a matter of temperament whether one called it this or that. "You call the chess-board black, I call it white." When Mr. Das has brought the Congress round to his views it will be then time for him to revise its political terminology. He has a firm grip upon facts, as the *Times of India* has been reluctantly forced to admit, and since that is so, it is foolish to quarrel about words. We shall be content to watch his progress with sympathy until the time comes when we can help without embarrassing him.

WHAT IS SUFISM.

(By MR. HUKUMCHAND KUMAR.)

Every religion has two phases : Inner and Outer, Mystic and Ceremonial, Esoteric and Exoteric. The Inner is the Spirit, the Outer the Form. The Inner is the Life, the Outer the Body. The Inner is the path of the Earnest, the Outer that of the Easy-going. The Inner is for philosophic temperaments, the Outer for energetic temperaments. The Inner side of Islam is

called Sufism. The ancient Egyptian and Greek religions had their Inner side in the Greater and Lesser Mysteries respectively. The Hindu religion has its mystic teaching in the Upanishads. Early Christianity also had its Inner teaching in reference to which the Master said : Cast not your pearls before the swine.

The foundation of Sufism was laid by Hazrat Ali, the beloved son-in-law of the Prophet. In the year following the flight from Mecca, 45 earnest men headed by Ali, bound themselves together to follow God and His Prophet, to live as a community, and to observe ascetic practices. After the death of Hazrat Mohammed—on whom be peace—the most earnest adherents of the Faith were called "Companions of the Prophet." (Ashab) ; their successors bore the title of "Followers" (Tabaiyun) ; and in the third generation this title was altered to that of "Ascetics" (Zahid), or "Devotees" (Abid). The first to bear the name 'Sufi' was one Abu Hashim, a Syrian ascetic who died in 150 A. H.

Although the early Moslem Mystics derived their mysticism from the Koran, there is little doubt that their doctrines were considerably modified by the Neo-platonism of Greece and to somewhat less degree, by the Vedantic philosophy of India. But before long asceticism developed into "Quietism," and later into "Mysticism." Rabia, the Miran Bai of the desert of Iraq, was the most remarkable expression of the former phase. Asked if she wished to marry, she said, "The bonds of wedlock have descended upon me, I am not my own but my Lord's, and must not be unfaithful to Him."

From Quietism to Mysticism is but a short step, and it is upon this that the whole fabric of Sufi philosophy rests. According to this doctrine, there is a "mystic union" between God and man. This is referred to in the Koran (Chapter VII), where God is represented as saying to all creatures, "Am I not your Lord?" and they answer, "Yes." Since then every Sufi hears in his soul the mystic vibration of that question : "Am I not your Lord?" This longing for mystic union between the human and the Divine Spirits is the burthen of all Sufi song, and the be-all and end-all of all Sufi effort. When Rabia went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and saw the Kaaba, she said, "I see only bricks and a house of stone, what do they profit me?" "Thou that I want." This saying is perhaps the earliest expression of that indifference to outward forms which distinguishes Sufis as a class.

In the third century of the Hijra, there flourished that great doctrinaire, Bayazid of Bistam in Khurasan, who gave to Sufi doctrine its permanent shape. The *Tazkirat ul Aulia* records this saying of his : "God, most high, has laid down commands and prohibitions, and to those who obey Him, he gives a robe of honor. Other men earnestly strive to gain that robe, but I desire of Him naught but Himself." Again, "Every one is drowned in the sea of works but I am drowned in the sea of Unification (Tahid)." Herein is the hint of an esoteric religion for "Ahl-i-batin," as the Sufis called themselves, as distinguished from the exoteric religion of the mass of Moham-

madans. The latter sought salvation through the works of the Law (Shariat), while the Sufis followed the higher road of the Truth (Haqq).

The doctrine of 'mystic union' implies that the human spirit was once one with the Divine Spirit but that during the course of manifestation, the latter rayed itself out into creatures, and so there is a constant longing on the part of the human spirit to be reunited with the Divine which is its source. The ordinary religion which draws mankind to all sorts of externals, is not sufficient in itself to effect this union, and must be transcended and supplemented by an earnest seeking *within the heart*.

Bayazid gave the Supreme Spirit the name of Al-Haqq, The Truth, which corresponds to the Vedantic *Sat*, the One without a second. With the Sufis The Truth is a personality so wide as to include in itself all existence and all action, all matter and all force, but it seems to be regarded as a personality for all that. The words of the Psalmist, "Like as the hart desireth the water-brooks, so longeth my soul after Thee, O Father," find an echo in every Sufi heart. There is no end to the similes and the metaphors which Sufi poets have lavished on this theme of Love. The greatest Sufi work extant, the *Masnavi* of Maulana Rumi, opens with the moanings of the reed-flute complaining of the pains of separation: "Ever since they tore me from my osier-bed, My plaintive notes have moved men and women to tears." Union ('Wasl') being the goal of Sufi effort all that the followers of ceremonial or exoteric religion strive after, is to the Sufi nothing but "chaff and dust which let the wind carry whither it listeth," as Carlyle would put it. Junaid of Baghdad, who after Bayazid was the greatest name among the early Sufis and on whom the mantle of Hazrat Ali had descended through Hasan of Basra, said: "The hearts of religious men are veiled by three veils, to wit, estimation of their own works, expectation of recompense for them, and pre-occupation with the hope of Divine favours." A converted brigand, Fudahail Ayaz, being asked who was base, replied: He who worships God out of fear or from hope of reward. "But", they asked in astonishment, "in what way dost thou worship God?" "In love," said he, "and friendship, for by the bond of love am I held in subjection to Him." Abu'l Khair, the founder of Sufism as a distinct system, put the matter in a most beautiful way when he said that "Love is the net of Truth," a saying which Tennyson has recorded in his poem "Akbar's Dream." "God is Spirit," said Christ, "and he who would worship Him must worship in spirit."

On this view, the outer forms of religion do not matter in the least. "Who worships God by the light of ordinary religions," said Hallaj, "is as one who seeks the sun by the light of the stars." This is the ONLY TRUE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL RELIGION. It agrees with the spirit of every religion and there can be no religious or, for the matter of that, any unity, except on the bed-rock of this understanding which alone can bring about broad toleration. Sri Krishna taught the same truth when He said in the

Gita: "However men approach Me, even so do I welcome them, for the path which men take from every side is mine, O Partha." The mere external righteousness, generated by *Taqiid*, the mere matter of course adoption of the virtues of the age, the class the sect, is compared to a 'veil of darkness'; for self-deluding goodness is of necessity unrepentant, while the avowed sinner is already self-condemned and advanced one step on the road to repentance.

Such being the attitude of Sufism with regard to the outer forms of religion and their bickerings, it is not surprising to see that all the forces of orthodoxy were turned against this heterodoxy. Matters came to a head when that wool-carder of Iraq, Husain bin Mansur alias Hallaj, who was a disciple of Junaid, outraged the popular feeling by declaring, 'Ana'ul Haqq, I am the Truth. The result was that he was sent to the gallows. His dying words were: "My Friend is not guilty of injuring me: He gives me to drink what, as master of the feast, He drinks Himself."

According to the Sufis, God judges not as men judge, from outward conduct, but looks at the heart, the secret motives and the aspirations (Koran III, 86). The *Masnavi* relates the story of how Moses was rebuked by God for chiding a shepherd who, he thought, had been insolent to God in pouring out the feelings of his heart in his simple, rustic language. "Fools exalt the Mosque and ignore the true temple in the heart." This sums up the position of the Sufi. He seeks God in the temple of his own heart and he exhorts others to do the same. And since his own journey on the path has been a difficult one, he realizes the limitations of his less evolved brothers and is tolerant even to the idolatrous. For he knows that it is not from any perverse preference that men buy counterfeit gold, but only because it seems to them genuine. Man, he feels, is not saved by "naming the Divine names" with orthodox accuracy, but by heartfelt love and earnest endeavour to please God. In every nation, he who loves God and does His will according to his light is accepted of Him.

(To be continued.)

THE FUTURE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.*

I am highly obliged to the Bombay Missionary Conference for the privilege accorded to me of addressing it on this occasion. With several Christian missionaries, past and present, I have been and am in terms of friendship, and I beg of you to take whatever I say to-day in the true spirit of friendship.

It is, of course, unnecessary for me to tell you that I am not a professing Christian, though I cannot sufficiently acknowledge my spiritual debt to the life and teaching of Jesus. To a Hindu, like myself, the great defect of Protestant Christianity is the absence of a metaphysical background to it. Hinduism has this in ample measure, but the picture does not stand in sufficient relief. Hinduism is the great blue sky in which the sun, moon, the stars, the

* An address delivered by Mr. K. Natarajan at the Bombay Missionary Conference on Monday the 8th July 1923.

comets and the clouds have each their proper place and time. Many good Hindus have painted the figure of Christ prominently upon this background, and they find that it suits it quite well.

In the history of Christian Missions in India, there was never a time so fraught with such great issues as the present. The European War and no less the European Peace have discredited the Christianity of the Churches. The Christian Missionary has no chance of getting a hearing now unless he distinguishes between Christ and Christianity and between Christianity and Western civilization. The material wealth, the political power and the dazzling civilization which at one time undoubtedly helped Christian Missions in this country, have now become his great hindrance. Some Missionaries to my knowledge used to descant on these things as the results of Christianity and point the moral to Indians that the adopting of Christianity would lead to political power and material wealth. This was obviously wrong. In any case, the wheel has turned and the Christian missionary has rather to apologise for Western civilization as the term is ordinarily understood. That is not his only difficulty though it is a great difficulty.

The Christian Missionary is now confronted in India with a Hinduism which was hitherto passive to his proselytising efforts, but is now gathering its forces to resist them. Hinduism with its multitudinous castes and sects is ordinarily incapable of aggression. But there is a point at which its long and brooding passivity and patience give place to more active qualities. The rise of the Sikhs and of the Maratha power almost simultaneously in reaction against the departure from the tolerant policy of Akbar and his successors, is the instance in political history of this capacity of Hinduism. There are numerous signs, each not very important in itself but with the others forming a cumulative testimony of much significance, to show that Hinduism is approaching such a point. The religious and social reform movements for nearly a century have been slowly having their effect. The new nationalism, tending as it does, to run first in the old communal grooves, is eagerly gleaming the old reform fields for all that they can yield.

The Non-Brahmin movement in Madras and Maharashtra may seem to contradict what I have said about the new phase of Hinduism. But these movements, as my friend Mr. Jayakar pointed out in an admirable speech the other day, are no new developments in Hinduism. They have in the past always resulted in the greater consolidation of Hindu society and so will they do now. The point to note is that no non-Brahmin leader has shown the slightest inclination to abandon Hinduism. On the contrary, I have seen a distinguished non-Brahmin friend who ventured to differ from the Party held up to obloquy as being a christianised Hindu. The number of converted Hindus re-admitted to the Hindu is small, but it is significant of the changed attitude of Hinduism. Many of you might have heard of the great

stir caused by the re-conversion of the Malkana Rajputs to Hinduism. It is significant that these persons do not wish to become Arya Samajists, but to be taken back into the ancient Sanatanist fold.

In the current Bombay Census Reports, a letter is quoted from the Rev. Father Goodier in which he said that the movement to win the Christian Kolis of Bombay Island resulted only in the going over to Hinduism of five families of about 20 persons. Within the last few weeks several more are stated to have returned to Hinduism and I was told by one who may be expected to know that there is a growing desire among the Christian Kolis along the Coast to return to their Hindu caste. Even where persons do not wish themselves to go back to Hinduism, there seems to be a tendency for some to seek to get their sons and daughters, especially the latter, married into Hinduism. As editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, I am often made the confidant of unknown correspondents regarding their domestic problems, and I received a letter some time back from a respectable Indian Christian who desired to be put in touch with educated Hindus who might be willing to marry his daughters who, he added, would have no objection to become Hindus if necessary. This is the only instance directly within my knowledge, but I am informed that there are several others.

Concurrently with this narrowing of the gulf between Hindus and Indian Christians, there is, as you know, an increasing dissatisfaction among the latter and also among the Christian missionaries regarding their mutual relations. The *Christian Patriot* of Madras is the most prominent exponent of the discontent among Indian Christians. The Christian Missionary is, of course, more reticent, but some recent articles, notably one in the *Baptist Missionary Review*, show that he also is far from content with things as they are.

These difficulties are largely recent developments. But even in more favourable conditions, has the proselytising part of the work of the Christian Missions been commensurate to the labour devoted to it? I was surprised on looking into the Census Report that the number of Christians in this Presidency, which has a population of about 20,000,000, is only a little more than 2½ lakhs, of which about 42,000 are Europeans. Over a lakh and a half are Roman Catholics who, I think, are not represented in this Conference. The Protestant Indian total is under 70,000, divided among some eight or ten denominations. In passing I may observe that the numbers of males and females among Indian Protestants are so very nearly equal that I doubt if the factor of proselytism is as great a factor as it used to be in the increase. In fact, the Census Superintendent, Mr. Sedgwick, observes of Ahmednagar, one of the important Mission fields, that there seems reason to think that that field has been worked out. Of Kaira, another important field, he remarks that a decline in the Christian population may be anticipated in the next or the following decade.

Nobody knows more than I do that the direct work of conversion represents a very small fraction

of the work of Christian Missions. Your educational, medical and other philanthropic work, and, above all, the example of the devoted lives of men and women among you, often in isolated places, have influenced a very much larger circle than that represented by the small Protestant Indian community. Personally, I think that this is the most abiding result of Christian Missions in India.

In connection with the disputes that have arisen between Hindus and Mahomedans over the re-conversion of the Malkana Rajputs, a Mahomedan leader suggested that all communities in India should come to an agreement to give up organized proselytism, as a step towards promoting inter-communal unity. As a matter of fact, there is very little organized proselytism among Mahomedans, and of course, Hinduism is not a proselytising religion in the ordinary sense of the term. Would the Christian Missions agree, I wonder, to such a proposal? If they do, I think that they will find their scope of influence at once increased a hundred-fold in India. The idea of religious proselytism is repugnant to the Indian mind. I doubt if even many Indian Christians are very enthusiastic about it. If they were they would have relieved the European and American missionaries of this part of their work for which the latter are least fitted. Not only have they shown no inclination to do so, but they have not made their own Churches self-supporting in a large majority of cases.

In a remarkable article on "Self-support in the Mission Field," in the April number of the *East and the West*, Mr. J. C. Winslow observes: "We have now been up against the problem (of self-support) for fifty years and more without reaching a satisfactory solution. Some areas, in which the conditions are favourable, have done more than others in the direction of self-support, but, even in those places where the contributions of the local Churches make a good show on paper, it will generally be found that the greater part of these contributions consist of "cuttings" from the salaries of Mission workers." He adds: "The communities with which we are dealing were entirely self-supporting as Hindus; but we have made Christianity more expensive for them than Hinduism by telling them that they must support, not themselves, but a school and a master, a catechist or padre, and perhaps, a church also, all imposed upon them from without."

I have no intention of passing any criticism on the Indian Christian community, and I refer to these observations here only to show that the members of that community cannot be keen of additional conversions when they are unable to make their churches self-supporting even at present. Among a number of European missionaries also, which seems to be increasing rather than decreasing, a feeling appears to be gaining ground that the method of evangelisation is likely to be of more fruitful results than that of proselytisation. In any case, owing to all the reasons stated above, the rate of conversions in the future is bound to be much slower than in the past.

For these reasons, the time seems opportune for Christian Missions in India seriously to consider

whether a complete change in their methods and their outlook is not required immediately. The most important change needed is that proselytism as the object and purpose of Christian Missions should be formally given up, as it tacitly is in many cases. As I read Christ's teachings, He did not advocate proselytism as the means of extending his kingdom. The very name "Christian" was not used till about half a century after his death. Many doors that are now closed to Missionaries would open wide to them if it was known that their sole mission is to go about doing good like their Master's. A Hindu or a Mahomedan imbued by the spirit of Christ's teachings can do infinitely more good if he remains within his own community than if he cut himself off from it.

The Indian Christian community, notwithstanding the higher average of education among its men and women than among men and women of any other community in India, has produced few outstanding characters in any walk of life. Why is this? On the other hand, many of the most prominent Hindu leaders, like the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and Mahatma Gandhi, have openly acknowledged their obligations to Christian teaching. I asked Mr. C. R. Das the other day whether his religious ideas were not greatly influenced by the Bible. He said they were certainly. I have often said, and I repeat to-day, that India has no prejudice against the European or American as such. In the great task of nation-building, we want the help and assistance of all men of goodwill and there can be no men and women more inspired by goodwill than those who regard Jesus Christ as their Master. Many of the problems which confront us to-day in India have been solved more or less successfully in Europe and America. Even failures are of use because they prevent us from wasting our strength in vain efforts. The message which I leave with this Conference is this: Do not seek artificially to create and keep up an Indian Christian community. Rather sow the seed of Christ's teachings broadcast, more by your example than by your preachings and precepts. Thus you will serve your Master and India and through India, humanity.

AN UNWORKABLE REMEDY.

(BY MR. G. A. SUNDARAM.)

In the May number of the *Mahamandal Magazine* the organ of the Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, there is a thoughtful article on "Bridegroom's Price" contributed by Mr. B. K. Bose. The writer of the article suggests the revival of the order of "Kumaree Brahmacharees." The logic which drives him to make this absurdly novel suggestion to the twentieth century Hindus is worthy of attention. He starts with an exposure of the evils following the practice of exacting bridegroom's price. The gist of the data adduced is not new. However, I may be permitted to refer to two facts found in this part of the article. As an instance of grown-up young men leading indolent lives hoping to gain a comfortable

fortune in the shape of *varadakshina*, he cites the case of a lucky young man who "got a lakh of rupees from his father-in-law for fulfilling his conjugal obligations." Another gallant who refused the hand of a girl on the ground that she was not a star beauty is said to have married the same girl on receiving a tempting *varadakshina*. The writer goes on to say that the evil practice must be put down, but is very pessimistic about any good resulting from propaganda. He says that the practice has become a trade and fears that no appeal to the moral side is likely to take effect. "Has any one abandoned a lucrative trade because it is against morality? If such were the case in the practical world, we would have found the civilised British Government abandon the opium trade; bribery, corruption and rapacity of police, some Government offices altogether banished, distilleries and wine shops abolished and houses of ill-fame washed clean of the country." It is needless for me to point out the defective nature of Mr. Bose's analysis. Though wine shops and houses of ill-fame do thrive, it is an undoubted fact that public opinion is very strong against them. It is also a fact that public opinion is not equally strong against the practice of exacting stiff bridegroom prices. Notwithstanding the pessimism of the writer of the article I am discussing, it is not impossible to create a healthy public opinion about this social evil.

But what I am particularly anxious to take up here is a consideration of the remedy suggested by Mr. Bose. Social reformers will be glad to find that even orthodoxy has after all risen to a sense of the evil and thinks it necessary to suggest remedies. The remedy that would naturally suggest itself to any one is the removal of the ban on post-puberty marriage. This simple, natural and logical step cannot be resisted any longer. Orthodoxy is forced to it but would like to clothe it with some fantastic drapery according to the orthodox formula. Mr. Bose sees that "out of the sheer poverty of the parents of girls, many a girl may not be married before she attains maturity." He goes on to say "There is already a strong impression that the breaches of the rule requiring the marriage of girls before puberty are not uncommon, that their number is on the increase and that in all these cases the fact that the girl has attained maturity is kept secret until her marriage." But the idea that all that has got to be done is to sanction formally breaches of the rule does not occur to Mr. Bose's mind. He fears that post-puberty marriage will spell loss of "dignity and grace" to "the sacred institution of marriage." It is this, the fear that post-puberty marriages will increase and mar the "dignity and grace" of the marriage institution as understood by orthodoxy that leads the author to suggest a remedy. And the remedy suggested is most fantastic. He urges the revival of the order of *Kumaree Brahmacharies*, i.e., an order of life maidens devoted to holy practices. The position and duties of these maids is explained from the "Prasanna Madhaviyam" as follows:

Unmarried women who wish to be *Brahmacharies*

(devotees to God) may have the ceremony of *Upanayanam*, they may study Vedas and secure salvation." The heroic remedy of making girls who remain unmarried at puberty *Kumaree Brahmacharies* is commended on the ground that a recognised (i.e., shastraically recognised) order is assigned to such girls. Remaining in an unmarried state after puberty is considered a "transgression of shastras" which when it is "concealed or connived at is the height of hypocrisy, insincerity, and impurity." The idea of removing a fancied impurity by trying to revive a practice which at best was followed long ago only by a very few number of ladies may satisfy one's sastric conscience, but unless the idea is practical it must be rejected. From what Mr. Bose has said about it the order of *Kumari Brahmacharies* is an order of women who adopt life-long *Brahmacharya*. Is it proper to force life-long *Brahmacharya* on all girls who "out of the sheer poverty" of their parents are unable to marry before puberty? Those among them who feel the call of a life of study and spiritual exercise may certainly remain unmarried. In fact, the only test is the keenness of that call and even daughters of rich parents who can afford to purchase well-to-do sons-in-law can, if they are so inclined, adopt life *Brahmacharya*. But to condemn all girls who remain unmarried at puberty to life-long *Brahmacharya* is simply monstrous. Hindu society is already disfigured by virgin and young widows condemned to life widowhood. *Kumaree Brahmacharies* will for all practical purposes be in the same position as virgin widows. In the case of enforced widowhood, it is a punishment for chance, the chance of husbands' death. *Kumaree Brahmacharya* as conceived by Mr. Bose is something even more cruel. It is punishment for parents' poverty. Poverty carries enough punishments already and even orthodoxy, unfeeling as it is, must shudder at the sin of adding to the miseries of poverty. Already the practice of exacting bridegroom prices coupled with the social ostracism against people responsible for keeping girls unmarried after puberty is making several people feel that Hindu society has not only no tenderness for the poor but would absolutely 'out' them. Orthodox men and women must seriously think and say whether they are prepared to continue a state of things under which poor people cannot with self-respect continue within the fold. All half-hearted measures like the one proposed by Mr. Bose will be found to be absolutely inadequate.

Christianity and Superstition: There is a superstition, says Bacon, in avoiding superstition when men think to do best if they go farthest from the superstition formerly received. A good instance is that of the *Morning Star*, a Ceylon Christian journal, which asks Christians "to take risks" by marrying on days regarded as inauspicious, "in order to vindicate the cause of Jesus Christ." The *Christian Patriot* of Madras ridicules the idea and asks whether the wise men who saw the star in the East at the nativity were superstitious. Was Christ superstitious when he chose the Jewish Passover for the Last Supper?

A VINDICTIVE RULE.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In one of your editorial notes of the last week, you object to the Government Press note denying grants to the institutions which refuse admission to students belonging to the depressed classes on account of their caste. You call it a vindictive rule and remark that no social reform can be advanced by such vindictive means. Personally I don't see any vindictiveness in this Government note. You claim that the education of children of whatever caste is an obligation on the State. If it is so, I do not see how the Government are to fulfil their obligations without this necessary clause. In this Presidency there are many small towns having only private English schools, which receive grants from the Government. If these private schools refuse to admit students belonging to the depressed classes, can the Government open separate schools in all small towns? When they cannot, they must force these schools receiving people's money to open their doors to the boys of the D. P. Classes. As the depressed classes pay taxes to the Government, they have a right to get admission into these schools. Any Government worth the name must back up the just claims of the untouchables in this respect.

As regards the children of the higher castes afflicted with the prejudices of untouchability remaining illiterate, I challenge you to show me a single case of this type.

Accepting for argument's sake, that a high class Hindu being afflicted with this prejudice of untouchability, refuses to send his children to a school where boys of the depressed classes are freely admitted, is it not better that his children should suffer rather than the children of others for whom he has not the least sympathy? After a few days, this very gentleman will realize the cost of his prejudices and being a father will certainly rise above them. To-day if we hesitate to shake off these prejudices of untouchability, it is because it is not we, who suffer, but the untouchables.

Will you show me a single high-class Hindu who refuses to travel by railways because the railways do not discriminate against the untouchables.

I am much impressed with the sweet reasonableness and broad-minded humanity of your writings. You have ranged yourself on the side of the D. P. classes to carry on a righteous struggle. But allow me to say in this note, you have expressed views which will do harm to the cause of the untouchables and encourage the narrow-minded orthodox to fix themselves in their prejudices.

Yours etc.

KARKARE K. J.

Devlali, 3rd July 1923.

[The question concerns schools which special classes have established for their children and to which they do not wish to admit children of the depressed classes on the score of caste. Government at first notified that these would have their grants reduced because of their caste prejudice. They have recently improved upon their previous decision and have notified that no grants whatever will be given to such schools. Our point was, and is, that it is wrong to deny grants to these schools because those who conduct them have not reached the stage of enlightenment reached by some of us, including the Education Minister. Mr. Karkare's position is not quite clear to us. He seems to say that the prejudice against the untouchables, requires only a little pecuniary pressure on the parents of caste Hindus to be abolished. If that be so, why not suggest a poll-tax on every caste Hindu who will not associate with untouchables on equal terms? Why not assess his land and his income upon a higher scale as a penalty for his stupid prejudice? We do not see any the least difference between their devices and the Education Minister's latest ukase. You cannot cure prejudice by tyranny.—Ed., I. S. R.]

THE VITAL ISSUE IN KENYA.

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in the *Voice of India* :—I propose, in this series of articles, which I am writing on my voyage home from England for the "Voice of India," to discuss at some length what I have found out, after many discussions and consultations, and after much time spent in reading original documents, to be the vital issues in Kenya. The question in Kenya was far more complicated than I had at first supposed; it clearly involves world questions and not merely Indian questions. The whole problem of the relation of India to Africa, both in the past and the future, needs to be studied. The part that Europe is playing in Africa to-day also requires careful notice. We are not dealing with a mere question of temporary adjustment, but rather with a clash of great world forces, which sooner or later may come into collision. Even if some merely provisional agreement were reached to-day, it would probably be upset to-morrow, unless we are able to get down to the fundamental principles which are involved, making room for them in our solution and giving them scope for expression.

It will, therefore, be of the essence of the problem, and not a mere matter of interest, to obtain a correct historical view of the past. The materials for this are very meagre indeed and I have had the utmost difficulty in gathering the facts about it. Yet one of the first necessities of the case is to get these facts accurately known, without either exaggeration or distortion.

Some account may be found of the past history of the East African Coast in Major Pevce's delightful volume called "A History of Zanzibar." I met Major Pevce on two occasions while in Africa, and I was much impressed by his impartial outlook and his wide historical perspective. He told me that he was writing this book; I looked out eagerly for it, and was not disappointed when I read it. A valuable monograph on Vasco da Gama, the great Portuguese voyager, written by Mr. C. Forbes Robinson and published at Cape Town, will also well repay study.

One of the interesting questions, which is not raised by these books, but is most important, is whether the great Buddhist movement, which spread with such remarkable rapidity over the whole of the South-East Asia, civilising and humanising savage and barbarian tribes, such as those in Celebes and Java and Borneo, ever reached the East Coast of Africa and the neighbouring island of Madagascar. There are many lines of evidence pointing to a very early connection between India and Madagascar; but these have never yet been worked out to any extent, as far as I am aware. One thing is certain, that the people of Madagascar have a civilisation to-day far in advance of anything reached independently on the East African Coast. It is not at all impossible or even improbable that when the intrepid Buddhist monks, whom no physical danger affrighted, went eastward along the chain of islands in the direction of the Pacific, they also went westward from one small group of islands to another, until they reached the great island of Madagascar. With regard to East Africa, no evidence at all is forthcoming. We may perhaps conclude that Buddhism never reached the African shores. Yet, even when I write these words I have to remember that so small is the volume of knowledge and so much waits ever yet to be explored, that this assumption that I have made may be unfounded and Buddhist intercourse with East Africa may have been a definite historical event.

Coming down to later times, the fact seems to be thoroughly established on indisputable evidence, that from at least the first century after Christ, ships with merchan-

dise from the Western Coast of India reached the small, but very fertile islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and that Indians settled there. They probably did not venture at that time to settle on the mainland, because of the dangers involved, but they carried on trade with the natives of the coast from Zanzibar itself.

It was about this time, or a little earlier, that a great change in navigation began to be made. Before this time, a very long and tedious journey, hugging the coast all the way, was the course taken by these early voyagers. But after the discovery of the regularity of the monsoon winds, advantage was taken of them to sail right across the Indian Ocean, and then to return once more when the winds blew favourably in the opposite direction. These Indian sailors came from Calicut, and also from the Gulf of Cambay and Kathiawar and Cutch.

During all the centuries that followed, up to the time when Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and entered the Indian Ocean from the South, the Arab and Indian merchants were the only traders of importance, who visited regularly the East African Coast. Coast Kingdoms were established, but it was noticeable that the Indians did not form permanent colonies or hold any dominions by the power of the sword. They remained traders merely; they never became Empire-builders. Soon after the foundation of Islam in Arabia by the Prophet, the Mahommadan religion spread very rapidly along the African coast. It produced a certain form of civilization. The interior of the country was penetrated now for the first time by the Arabs, whose caravans brought back ivory and slaves. No gold was discovered, Zanzibar itself was famous for its clove plantations and for its spices, which fetched a great price.

When Vasco da Gama had sailed past the South African shores (where neither Indians nor Arabs had gone) and came to East Africa, he was at once struck by the largeness of the towns and the volume of trade and commerce. It was like coming into civilisation again. He was especially impressed, we are told, by the great size of the ships from India and from the Persian Gulf, which crowded every harbour. Indians were to be found everywhere along the coast and at Zanzibar itself. These were chiefly Hindus by religion and differed in a marked degree from the Arabs both in manners and customs.

This was Vasco da Gama's first close contact with those who had come from India. He made the strange mistake of thinking that these Hindus from India were Christians. He imagined that they had actually come from the fabulous Christian Kingdom of Prester John, the report about which in exaggerated and mythical forms had come to the West, brought there by travellers who had taken the caravan route across Central Asia.

Vasco da Gama's curious mistake was due to the marked distinction, which I have mentioned, between the dress and habits of the Hindus and those of the Mahommadan Arabs. It was noticed by the Portuguese warriors that the Hindus who came aboard their ships, bringing merchandise for sale, began at once with all reverence to bow down and worship the images of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saints, which were stationed on the upper decks. They supposed them to be Hindu gods and goddesses. But the Arab Mahommadans treated these images with marked irreverence. It was some time before Vasco da Gama discovered that there was a third religion in the world called the Hindu religion, which differed both from Christianity and Islam.

The wish that these Hindus should be Christians was quite natural at that critical time for these Portuguese sailors.

Their provisions were running out and they were in great peril of their lives. The world of Islam and the world of Christians were at this time opposed to one another in Europe; and it was difficult to regard the Musalman Arabs as other than enemies. But it was clearly different with these other strangers from India, who were clearly not Mahommadans and might even judging from their reverence be Christians.

It was a Hindu mariner, who had come from Calicut, that first piloted safely the Portuguese ships across to the Indian Ocean. When they reached India they were received in a very friendly manner. Thus began, in the providence of God, more than four hundred years ago, the momentous contact by way of the sea between India, Africa and Europe. What will be the final outcome of that first fateful meeting cannot be foreseen to-day. But human events are moving very fast which are bound to have a powerful effect upon the future. Communication also by sea and land and air is becoming so rapid, that countries, widely separated before from one another, have come now comparatively near. Yet the saddest thing in human history to-day is that, while mechanical invention of every kind has annihilated space and distance, the racial passions of mankind and above all the racial dominance and supremacy of the white race have been imposing artificial barriers of a more drastic kind than have ever been known or used before upon the different peoples of mankind.

Bearing on this last point, one incident in Vasco da Gama's voyage may be referred to before this article closes. This daring adventurer's ships had reached the Port of Natal (now called Durban) exactly on the morning of the Christmas Day, the 'Dies Natalis', as it was called in the Church Calendar. The port was named after the birthday of Christ the Saviour, and was called Natal. There can be little doubt that that Christmas morning, in the year 1494, more than four hundred years ago told of "peace on earth and goodwill towards men and yet, today, Natal has been closed to every inhabitant of Asia. If Christ, who was born in Asia, himself were to come to Natal, he might be excluded under this cruel and unjust law of the modern age. "Peace and goodwill towards men," have not yet come to earth between the inhabitants of Europe and India in the place where they have met in Africa. The European is determined to drive out the Indian and keep the country to himself.

(To be continued.)

A ROMAN CATHOLIC-HINDU MARRIAGE.

A valued correspondent writes:—

The letter written by the lady to the *Catholic Leader* reveals a state of affairs which should be an eye-opener to the Christian community and specially to those who opposed a general Civil Marriage Act. Had these people whose matrimonial affair forms the subject of that letter been allowed to marry under a general civil marriage law, *i. e.*, under Act III of 1872 with the declaration of faith omitted, the present situation would not have most probably arisen. I say most probably, because there would have been the penalty for bigamy against the husband which does not exist where the marriage takes place, as this one has, under the Christian Marriage Act, where only one party, either the bride or the bridegroom, need be a Christian, while the other may be one in whose law polygamy is permitted under the personal law to which he is subject.

In this particular case as also in the other which was hurriedly gone through in Bombay by parties hailing from Madras, and which you had commented on, the persons

responsible must have overlooked the provisions of the last section of the Christian Marriage Act. That section is No. 88 and it runs as follows:

"Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to validate any marriage which the personal law applicable to either of the parties forbids him or her to enter into."

It does not need any special knowledge of law to realise that the personal law of a Hindu forbids him or her to enter into a marriage with a Christian. One may be pardoned for thinking that the object of applying this Christian Marriage Act in the case where one party alone is a Christian was "the hope and belief that it would redound to the gain of Christianity in this land."

ABDICATION OF THE MAHARAJA OF NABHA.

The following communique was issued from Simla on the 7th July:—

The report of Mr. Justice Stuart on certain matters which were in dispute between the Patiala and Nabha darbars has now been considered by the Government of India. They have accepted the findings of the Special Commissioner throughout. One of the charges made by the Patiala State fell to the ground as no evidence was produced in support of it and in another case the Patiala Darbar were unable to prove their allegation. In the remaining six cases the findings are against the Nabha Darbar. The enquiry had shown that the Nabha Police has intentionally fabricated cases against persons connected with the Patiala State with the object of injuring through them the Patiala State. In these cases innocent men, some of them Patiala officials, have been convicted by Nabha Courts on evidence which was entirely inadequate and in the circumstances which prove the complicity of officers of the Nabha judiciary in the injustice done.

METHODICAL PERPETRATION OF INJUSTICE.

These features reveal a deliberate perversion by highly placed officials in the Nabha State of the machinery for the administration of justice for the purpose of damaging the Patiala State and its officials. The guilty knowledge of the Chief Minister of the State and of the Chief Police Officer of most of the facts is beyond question. In one case, the Maharaja was urged in clear terms to stop or postpone the proceedings and prove the truth of the case. In spite of this no steps were taken to have the wrongs righted and the proceedings were permitted to take their course.

From six cases in which the findings of the Special Commissioner are against the Nabha Darbar, there is abundant proof that the intention (?) of the policy of the police and of the Courts in Nabha was deliberately aimed to sustain a systematic attack against the Patiala State and its officials.

This campaign was allowed to persist and in view of protests from the Patiala Darbar forwarded from time to time by the representative of British Government, and the enquiries made by the Political officer in regard to the cases from the Darbar and the Maharaja, and other evidence in the report, the Government of India can come to no other conclusion than that the campaign was sustained with the general approval and countenance of the Maharaja.

The Government of India cannot conceive a more subtle and insidious form of oppression than the methodical perpetration of injustice. In these cases, under cover of legal forms, the measures which it would have been the duty of the Government of India to take were under their consideration, when the Maharaja of Nabha upon his own initiative visited the Agent to the Governor-General and voluntarily expressed his willingness to sever his connection with the administration of the State upon certain conditions.

The Government of India have felt some hesitation in accepting this offer, but after a careful examination of the circumstances they have come to the conclusion that if certain conditions are imposed, the offer may be accepted and that the advantages of speedy settlement outweighed other considerations.

THE CONDITIONS.

The following are some of the conditions on which the Maharaja of Nabha has been permitted to sever his connection with the State. The administration of the State will be handed over to the Government of India and the Maharaja will

formally abdicate in favour of his son, now aged 4 when the latter comes of age. The Maharaja will in future reside outside the State and a substantial sum will be paid to the Patiala Darbar by way of compensation. The visits which the Maharaja proposes to make to Nabha or other specified places, will require the previous permission of the Government of India.

The Maharaja will remain subject to the obligation of loyalty and obedience to the British Crown and the Government of India. The Maharaja will be permitted to retain his titles and salute and will receive an allowance from the State.

The Maharaja has signified his readiness to abide by these conditions. The Government of India will take over the administration forthwith. These measures have received the approval of the Secretary of State.

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THE GREATEST ON HINDUSTAN'S HORIZON.

(1) When the Non-Co-operators wished to compare Mr. Gandhi with the highest and best, they did not refer to Buddha, they did not think of Mohammed, they did not turn to Krishna,—they spoke of Gandhi as being like Christ!

(2) Last year at Easter time, the organ of the Non-Co-operation movement, of which Mr. Gandhi was the Editor, published four columns of matter for four weeks on the death of Christ.

(3) A life of Mr. Gandhi, put out by Hindus, is filled with references to Jesus Christ, but few allusions are made to the saints of Hinduism or Islam.

Why is this? Because Christ is humanity's ideal. On the world's horizon He is the greatest and best. To know Him is to be spiritually rich: to follow Him is to have life eternal.

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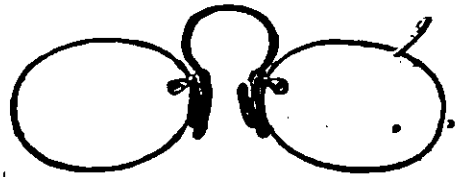
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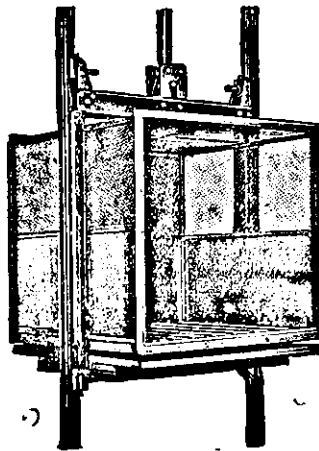
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0. (Foreign) One Pound Sterling.

Vol. XXXIII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1923. 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
hesitate, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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Bombay Bill on the Social Evil: We congratulate the Government of Bombay on having, after a long delay, made up their mind to legislate on the lines of the recommendations of the majority of the members of the Prostitution Committee which it had appointed. We do not know if it will be possible to get the Bill passed during the forthcoming session of the Bombay Legislative Council. We hope it will be, as otherwise, the change of Governors may lead to the question being again held up, as has happened on previous occasions when it had been taken up for treatment. We must reserve a detailed examination of the provisions of the Bill for another occasion. We agree generally with the provisions, except as regards Clause 12 of the draft Bill which says that it shall not be incumbent on the Commissioner of Police to prosecute for any offence punishable under the clauses relating to the unlawful detention for prostitution and the deportation of brothel-keepers except when such offence has caused serious mischief. We should not like to make any hasty comment on the point, but we feel that it would be better perhaps to make the law less drastic and more uniform in its operation than to make it very drastic and make its operation a matter of discretion, as in the Bill. Three-fourths of the moral effect of a law consists in its operation being certain, definite and constant as that of a force of Nature. We entirely agree with Government that the abolition of brothels in Bombay will be greatly facilitated by putting down professional procurers to the large increase in whose number during the last decade Mr. Sedgwick calls attention in his Census Report. But we would point out that the Bill, in not dealing with the seducer, leaves a big loophole for procurers to escape its provisions. The first seducer is often the subsequent procurer, and he, in fact, seduces in order to trade upon his victim. We should like the opportunity to be taken to stiffen up the law against seducers, as unless this is done, the provisions against procurers is likely to fail largely of their object.

Governess or Mistress? The *Hitavada* publishes the judgment of Mr. Chhotelal Varma, first class Magistrate of Nagpur, in the case brought by one Mrs. Stiffles against a Mr. Dixit for insult in that he

wrote her a letter accusing her of having improper relations with certain individuals. Mrs. Stiffles alleged, we gather, that Mr. Dixit engaged her as a governess for his children, and wrote the letter with the object of dispensing with her services before the stipulated term. Mr. Dixit's defence appears to have been that he had engaged Mrs. Stiffles not as governess for his children but as a mistress for himself, and that it was no insult to a woman who agreed to be a mistress, to be accused of misconducting herself with other men. The Magistrate in accepting the plea of the accused and acquitting him, remarks that he entertained the complaint in the belief that the complainant was a "respectable woman," but it has since been shown by the evidence produced by the accused that she was his mistress and, therefore, "the insult was not intentional but only incidental." The Magistrate also says that Mrs. Stiffles' reply on receiving the offensive letter did not show so much provocation as to make it probable that she might commit a breach of the peace. "However reprehensible from a moral stand-point Mr. Dixit's conduct in keeping a mistress may have been," the Magistrate concludes, "I am decidedly of opinion that the ingredients of the offence under Section 504 I. P. C. cannot be brought home to him." The Magistrate, we dare say, is right as to the law, but we cannot help thinking that he has taken a one-sided view of the facts. We do not see what the woman's respectability or want of it had to do with the case. If she was not "a respectable woman" because she was the mistress of the accused, neither was the accused a "respectable man" since he kept her as his mistress. It is not easy to characterise in proper language in a public journal, the conduct of a man who takes vile advantage of the necessitous circumstances of a woman, and then pleads that as an excuse for insulting her. To wrong a woman and then insult her, is apparently no offence under the Penal Code though to insult her without wronging her would come under it! Mr. Dixit seems to be a member of the Central Provinces Legislative Council. If so, we trust he will realise, or be made to realise, the propriety of resigning the office. The Indian law relating to seduction is notoriously defective, and requires to be strengthened. That apart, a man of Mr. Dixit's admitted character is not a fit man to be a legislator. No one has a right to pry into the private life of another, but when a man leads a notoriously scandalous life, it is the duty of every one who values a high standard in public life, to see that such men do not come to occupy positions in which their example cannot but have a corrupting influence.

Work among the Bhils. We invite the attention of our readers to the report of the solid work which the Seva Mandal at Dohad is doing for the Bhils of the district, under the sagacious guidance of Mr. A. V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society. It is precisely the kind of work that, undertaken in numerous centres in the country, will help the growth of the Indian people into a single social and

cultural unit. We cordially support Mr. Thakkar's appeal for funds to carry on the Mandal's work.

Devastating Floods in South Kanara: We regret to learn that, owing to heavy floods in the Udipi Taluk of South Kanara, about 3,000 houses have been swept away and nearly 10,000 people rendered homeless. The Secretary of the Congress Committee at Udipi reports that field-crops have been submerged, food-grain stores and most of the household possessions of the poor inhabitants have been washed away, and that the reclamation of the submerged lands will be impossible for six months to come. It is said that the calamity is of an unprecedented kind in the history of the district. Relief depots have been opened in the affected centres by the local Congress Committee, who have issued a stirring appeal for funds for alleviation of the widespread distress. The Karnatak residents of Bombay held a public meeting on the 16th inst. at which a Committee was appointed, with power to add, to collect funds and clothing in Bombay for relief of the distressed. We deeply sympathize with the sufferers in their distress, and hope that the response from Bombay will be generous. Donations may be sent to Mr. P. Bhima Rao, Secretary, Congress Flood Relief Committee, Udipi (S. Kanara), or to Mr. Kochikar Narayan Pai, New Bilimoria Chawl, Gamdevi, Bombay. All contributions received in Bombay will be acknowledged in the local Press from time to time.

Depressed Classes Pupils in Aided Schools: With reference to the recent Government Order depriving aided schools of their grants if they do not admit students of the depressed classes on the score of caste, which we criticised as vindictive, we learn that our criticism is based upon a misconception and that schools set up by special classes for their own children, will not be subject to such deprivation. Even then, we are not sure that the rule is right. If a school specially meant for Brahmins, for instance, will not have its grant forfeited for not admitting children of the *Antyaja* castes, it does not seem reasonable to refuse, for the same cause, grants to a school broad-minded enough to admit children of all Hindu castes (except *Antyajas*) and also Christians, Mahomedans and Parsis. The cause of the *Antyajas* is not advanced by antagonising the other classes, but by enlisting their sympathy and support for it. As we said on the occasion of the promulgation of the first rule, we appreciate the motives prompting the present rule, and we would suggest that it should be revised so as to convey precisely what it is meant to convey, which seems to be that no school which obtains public support on the pretence of being open to all classes, will be given a grant if it excludes children of the untouchable classes for no reason other than the prejudice against them on the score of caste.

Mr. Das at Nagpur: With reference to Mr. R. Venkatram's letter which we publish to-day, it should be stated that, owing to our limited space, we have had to cut it down to its present limits. We have omitted a lengthy passage about a vote of censure to which we had made no reference in our leading article. As regards its subject matter, we do not keep a file of the All-India Committee's literature and, in any case, do not wish to enter into a controversy on the topics, very interesting naturally to ardent Congressmen, dealt with by our correspondent. What we are concerned about is the net result of all these transactions, and that is the progressive disintegration of the once powerful Congress movement. At Ahmedabad in 1921, it reached its zenith. Since then it has been rapidly moving towards its nadir. The Special Congress may, for

ought we know, be the beginning of the end. Meanwhile, another All-India Congress Committee is announced for the 3rd August at Vizagapatam to reconsider the decision to hold the Special Congress! Evidently, it is becoming increasingly impossible for any one who has a settled occupation to participate in Congress politics!

Inter-Communal Dinner at Meerut: We are glad to learn from a letter sent to us by Professor Madan Mohan, M. A., of the Meerut College that, following the example set by Bombay on the 11th March last, it is proposed, as an effective means of removing the bane of untouchability from Hindu social life and of promoting inter-communal relations, to hold an inter-communal dinner at Meerut in the third week of the current month to which representatives of the depressed classes will also be invited. We are informed that Mr. Soti Brahma Swarup, who had been on a provincial tour specially to invite prominent persons to join the dinner, has returned full of hope and that all the leaders whom he met on his tour appreciated the idea and wished it success. Among those who, it is said, have promised to join the dinner are Messrs. Jawaharlal Nehru, Purshottam Dass Tandon, Sham Lal Nehru, Kapildeo Malaviya, Harkaran Nath Misra and Babu Ram Saxena, and replies from many more are awaited. The exact date of the dinner will be announced at an early date. We wish the function every success and await an account of it with much interest. We hope that many more cities in the country will follow the examples of Bombay and Meerut and organize similar dinners in the near future. Some educated Hindus at times point out to us by way of criticism that the evil of untouchability does not require so drastic a remedy as inter-communal dinners for its removal. In our opinion, the evil is so deep-seated that it may well be termed a social disease curable only by drastic treatment, and this, we think, is provided by inter-communal dinners in which members of the depressed classes are invited to join. A photograph of those who join the Meerut dinner should be taken, as was done in Bombay. We should like to have a copy.

Smuts or Rhodes? General Smuts is reported to have said in a speech at Petermaritzburg on Tuesday that his forefathers founded South Africa for a White country and South Africans would not allow anything to deflect them from that ideal. We venture to correct the General's history. His forefathers intended South Africa to be a Boer country, and the British had to teach them that this could not be. Cecil Rhodes who, more than any other Englishman, worked for the Union of South Africa, laid down the British ideal. "My motto is equal rights for every civilized man South of the Zambesi. What is a civilized man? A man whether white or black who has sufficient education to write his name, has some property, or works, in fact is not a loafer.— C. J. RHODES." This declaration is considered so important by his biographer, Sir Lewis Michell, that he gives a facsimile of this statement which Rhodes wrote out on a scrap of newspaper when he met a deputation of the coloured community on the franchise question. One of the reasons assigned for the Boer War, it will be remembered, was the unjust treatment of Indians in the Transvaal under the Boer regime. Unfortunately, the British in South Africa have now joined hands with the Boers in persecuting their Indian fellow-subjects. In fighting for their rights, Indians are fighting for Rhodes' ideal against the ideal of the forefathers of General Smuts. We may also recall what the ancestors of the Indians did for South Africa. But for them, Natal would have been a waste and not the garden Colony that they made it.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 21, 1923.

THE LABOUR GAZETTE AND THE SALT DUTY.

The *Labour Gazette* is a useful publication so long as it confines itself to its proper purpose of supplying reliable information relating to labour problems in his Presidency. But it is not serving a useful purpose when it goes out of its way to supply Government with arguments for measures which have been condemned by public opinion. The salt duty in this country has been condemned as an iniquitous impost upon a bare necessity of life. Its recent enhancement was opposed vehemently by all shades of public opinion in India. One of the strongest arguments against it was that the consumption of salt in India, already considerably below the minimum required for a healthy existence, would be still further reduced by the doubling of the duty. The minimum necessary to health has been stated on medical authority to be 20 lbs. per head a year. The average annual consumption in India is about 12 lbs. Even the spokesmen of the Government of India did not question the necessity of a minimum of salt for human health. They simply ignored the objection that the enhancement of the duty would reduce consumption which was already much below the average estimated by medical men. The *Labour Gazette*, however, in its last issue declares that the statement that a certain minimum quantity of salt is necessary for health, "has been carefully examined and found to be incorrect." It bases its declaration on the opinion of Dr. J. Cairns, M. D., Principal Medical and Health Officer of the G. I. P. Railway, who, it says, has given considerable attention to Indian diets. Dr. Cairns says that salt is a component part of a large number of ordinary foodstuffs and that, although it is present in the natural way in individual articles of food in small quantities, the total amount of salt consumed in an ordinary mixed diet is regarded by eminent medical authorities as being sufficient for the body, so that the addition of salt to the food before and after cooking is not really essential from the psychological point of view. Dr. Cairns states that the consumption of 4 lbs. of salt per head per year has been found to be more than sufficient for robust health on a mixed diet and that the average of 16 lbs. which is actually consumed by Europeans, is much in excess of what is necessary. Though the Indian's average is only 12 lbs. per head, Dr. Cairns seems to think that it militates against his general health and well-being. Vegetable foods, he says, have much less flavour than animal foods and require more condiments to make them attractive, and salt is a principal ingredient in these condiments. Dr. Cairns recommends that the Indian should be cured of his craving for condiments and that his diet should be "rectified" by the inclusion of flesh food.

Dr. Cairns' object in the observations which the *Labour Gazette* quotes from his paper, seems to be not so much to condemn salt as to recommend a mixed diet. He is evidently an enthusiast for flesh food without any addition of salt or spice which would interfere with its natural flavour. His view that animal food has more natural flavour than vegetable food, is not readily intelligible to an Indian who has daily to endure the horrible stench of the Baudra Slaughter House on his way home every evening. We recently read somewhere that the main reason why the British were so keen on having an open sea-route to India, was to ensure a regular supply of pepper which was indispensable as a relish to the preserved meat upon which in those days the nation largely depended for its sustenance. The very fact that the meat-eater takes 16 or 20 lbs. of salt to the Indian's 12 a year, shows that Dr. Cairns' opinion of the superior natural flavour of meat is not shared by the majority of meat-eaters. This, however, is by the way. The *Labour Gazette* has used a thesis meant to advocate meat-eating as an argument to support the enhanced salt duty. Our contemporary would almost persuade its readers that the enhanced salt duty is, if not actually intended, really calculated to improve the health of the people of India! On this reasoning, a quadrupling of the duty in the next Budget must be hailed as a sanitary measure of the first importance! By way apparently of reinforcing its deduction from Dr. Cairns' paper, the *Labour Gazette* mentions that the consumption of salt in Indian jails is 11½ lbs. per head of the prison population. We hope it is not intended to suggest that the lower mortality in jails is due to the smaller quantity of salt consumed by the prisoners than by the free population. There are many other important factors determining the relative death-rates such as the age-constitution of the jail and free populations. The largest proportion of deaths is among children under five years of age, and especially of infants under one year, and there are none of those ages in jails.

Mass Conversions to Christianity: Christian missionaries are finding that nominal conversions of large numbers of the depressed classes, are creating serious problems. We read in a recent number of the *Baptist Missionary Review*:

In the effort through education to develop or release a religious force, the teaching of the Bible and religion has been so stressed that religious unreality and hypocrisy largely take the place of true religion, and pious prating and professions of devotion to the service of God, provided of course the Mission or missionary will provide a good salary, often disgust the missionary who looks for virile manhood and character.

The fault is less with the converts than with the Christian Missions. The stress which the latter lay on the secular failures of Hinduism as arguments in favour of Christianity, naturally leads these ignorant converts to expect that conversion to Christianity means being relieved by their missionary converter of their daily wants. No wonder, there is a growing protest among Indian Christians against this demoralising system, and we are glad that the *Baptist Missionary Review* has spoken so frankly about the matter.

MALABAR MARRIAGES UNDER MATRIARCHY.

(BY MR. E. R. MENON.)

They (the Malabar marriages) are not regarded as constituting a religious ceremony or samskaram or sacrament in the Hindu or European sense of the term. There is no officiating priest in attendance, there is no formula to be repeated, there is no vedic, puranic or religious chant or exhortation and there is no formal benediction.

—SIR T. MUTHUSWAMY IYER ON MALABAR MARRIAGES.

With the advance of education Marumakkathayam is becoming hopelessly unworkable. It offends against every principle of political economy and of healthy family life. It is based upon the doctrine that there is no merit in female virtue and no sin in unchastity; and of this doctrine, the very founders of the system are heartily ashamed. By freeing a man from the obligation of maintaining his wife and offspring, it sanctions the reckless propagation of species, destroys all motives of prudence and forethought and swells up the population to the point where it must be put down by actual want of the means of subsistence.

—THE MALABAR MARRIAGE BILL COMMISSION.

On reading the leading article on "Marriage Problems" in the *Reformer* of the 7th July, I was reminded of the above observations of the late Sir T. Muthuswamy Iyer and of the Committee on Mr. (now Sir) C. Sankaran Nair's Malabar Marriage Bill, and to reflect on the marriage system now obtaining in Malabar among the Nairs and the allied communities which follow the Marumakkathayam system. Now, what is this system and what are its peculiarities? Without trying to be exhaustive, I shall try briefly to explain this peculiar system to which I know of no parallel in any other part of the world.

The Marumakkathayam system or Matriarchy is as peculiar to Malabar as some of its other customs like unapproachability (distant pollution) and "unseeability". And no wonder that these and other peculiar customs make an outsider look upon Malabar as "a land of surprises." A system of inheritance through the female line, which Sir Sankaran Nair rightly characterised as "unnatural," is the distinctive feature of Matriarchy. Many outside Malabar are under the impression that the head of the joint family, commonly known in Malabar as *Tarwad*, is and must be a woman. This is entirely wrong, although the female members of the family have an equal right in the family property with the male members. But in all cases, except where there are no grown-up men, the management of the family properties rests with the senior male member called *Karanavan* who, in certain cases, has even an arbitrary right to mortgage the property for purposes of his own selfish ends, although it is expected that he has to prove that his dealings are in the best interests of the family. The family consists generally of the mother, her brothers and sisters and her and her sisters' children. The father is not included among the members of the household. He belongs to a separate household where he may have his sisters and their children. The children have no right to the family property of their father. To say

that the father is not the real guardian of the child will, no doubt, be surprising to those outside Malabar. The maternal uncle (mother's brother) is generally the proper guardian of the members of the family under the Marumakkathayam system. The husband and the wife do not live in the same house and the former only pays visits to the latter. A Nair lady can hold separate properties, both those inherited from her father directly or through her mother and those given by her husband out of his self-acquired property, and she is the sole "executor" of such properties during her life-time after which, if she has any issues, they pass on to her children only and are not merged into her family property. I use the word "family" to mean the joint family consisting of mother, her brothers and sisters and her and her sisters' children and not to the family consisting of father, mother and their children as it is generally understood. This is the most distinctive feature of the Marumakkathayam family.

Although the scathing indictment on the Malabar marriage system under matriarchy, in the words quoted in the beginning of this article, was pronounced by the late Sir T. Muthuswamy Iyer and the Malabar Marriage Commission more than 27 years ago, it must be admitted to the shame of educated Malayalees that the marriage system obtaining even to-day in Malabar, except in the two Indian States of Cochin and Travancore, is just the same as it was more than a quarter of a century ago. Considering the educational advancement of the Nair community which follows this system, it will sound incredible that the community has not made any progress in the matter of their peculiar system of marriage. In the matter of female education the Nairs stand perhaps second only to Parsis among the different communities in India. Many of the Nair women who are not English-educated are well educated in Sanskrit, and I may say with pardonable pride that in no other part of India can we find so many typical women who, without the least exaggeration, can be characterised as worthy embodiments of a happy combination of Eastern and Western cultures. And I used to wonder whether it was of them that Gray wrote the following lines:—

Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness in the desert air.

The educated men of Malabar have to face their huge responsibility when answering before the bar of public opinion of the civilised world for keeping such enlightened women under a marriage system of which, as a writer has rightly observed, "a South African savage will be ashamed of." Mr. (now Sir) C. Sankaran Nair got a Malabar Marriage Bill passed in 1895. But it is to be regretted that for all practical purposes, it remains a dead letter. Sir Sankaran Nair's Bill unlike the Cochin Nair Regulation, only gave option to those Nairs who may be willing to register their marriages under it and for this reason it was quite inadequate to change the system.

The *Reformer* had exhaustively dealt with the different aspects of Malabar marriages in its Volumes V and VI (from 1894 to 1896) during the days of Sir

Sankaran Nair's endeavours to get his Marriage Bill passed through the Madras Legislative Council. Its comments on the Malabar Marriage Bill constitute a most valuable contribution on the limited literature on the subject. The blackest spot in the Malabar marriage system, to which the *Reformer* has from beginning to end called attention in the course of its comments, is the unholy alliance permitted to be contracted by Namboodiris and Pattars (Tamil Brahmins migrated to Malabar from the neighbouring districts of the Madras Presidency) with the Nair ladies. As soon as Sir Sankaran Nair obtained permission to introduce his Bill, the *Reformer* pointed out (in its issue of April 13, 1895) that "a relation in which there is no full social intercourse between the husband and the wife cannot be, we venture to think, marriage." But, alas, even the Cochin Nair Regulation permits such alliances. But there is one relieving feature under it. As the Cochin Regulation enjoins monogamy, a Namboodiri or a Pattar having a wife belonging to his caste is not allowed to marry a Nair lady. This is something when compared with the existing condition in British Malabar where a Namboodiri having one or two or even more wives belonging to his community is allowed to contract an unholy alliance called *Sambandham* with a Nair lady. *Sambandham* literally means only "connection" which can be legal or illegal or even illicit. There are two reasons for the Namboodiri-Nair *Sambandhams*. Firstly, among the Namboodiris only the eldest member is allowed to marry from their own community and the rest are to contract such *sambandhams*. The result of this has been disastrous to the Namboodiri community itself as a number of ladies of that community are forced to remain virgins—thanks, there is no communication for not getting them married before puberty. When the wretched dowry system exists in the community, the custom permitting only the eldest member to marry from their own community has naturally increased the difficulty of getting their women married. But the women of the Namboodiris are locked up in seclusion and are left to the tender mercies of a maid-servant. The callous indifference of the Namboodiris to the feelings of their women is nothing short of an outrage on humanity. Another reason for the Namboodiri-Nair *sambandhams* is the existence of a good many sub-castes among Nairs. In some castes among Nairs only Namboodiris are allowed to marry. What a pity the community does not realise that its caste pride brings it the utmost disgrace inasmuch as it necessitates the ladies of the community to lead the lives of concubines with Namboodiris? I know I had to incur the odium of some friends for venturing to characterise such Nair wives as concubines. But, what other word—excepting perhaps "mistress"—can you find to explain the position of a Nair wife of a Namboodiri or Pattar having a caste wife?

It is a significant sign of the times that even the orthodox, superstitious, aristocratic Namboodiris are beginning to realise the necessity of reforming their marriage system. It is gratifying to note that at the recent conference of the Yogakshemam Sabha, the

representative body of the Namboodiris of Kerala, a resolution calling upon the members of their community to marry from their own community in contravention of the usual custom, was passed. The rigidity of sub-castes among the Nairs is losing its strength and intermarriages amongst them are now common.

What is required is an early extinction of Matriarchy. Few educated Nairs follow it in practice. It exists, except in the remote villages, only in theory to the disgrace of the community. No measure which falls short of the Cochin Nair Regulation with an additional provision to exclude those having a personal law of their own from contracting marriages with Nair women, can satisfy the present-day Malayalees. The Moplah rebellion must have opened the eyes of Malayalees to the need of strengthening their marriage tie. That there was no law to give protection against the action of the contemptible cowards in deserting their wives and children on the slightest suspicion of the probability of their having been molested by the rebels, must awaken educated Malayalees to the need of immediate legislation. Can such a thing happen under the Cochin Nair Regulation? Some months ago, Mr. Prabhakaran Thampan, M. L. C., published a draft Tarwad Management Bill which he intended to introduce in the Madras Legislative Council. It naturally created not much enthusiasm among the Malayalees. What is required is not an extension of the scope of the wretched matriarchy, but an extinction of it. Any social legislation for Malabar which does not touch upon its marriage system is not worth the paper it is written on and this is exactly why Mr. Thampan's bill attracted not much attention. While the agitation for individual partition is vigorously going on in Travancore, Mr. Thampan contemplates getting a legislation passed which makes no provision even for *thavazhi* partition! The Tarwad management and the marriage question must be combined together as the one cannot be separated from the other. The conflict in the conception of the responsibility of making the children of Malabar useful citizens, has rendered many a youth, not excluding several belonging to respectable families, half-educated, and it is idle to pretend that the increasing emigration of youths from Malabar has no bearing on its social conditions. Dewan Bahadur Krishnan Nair who distinguished himself in the Madras Legislative Council by his championing the cause of women franchise, has not yet thought of the position of his sisters in his own district. He has been busy with a Tenancy Bill ever since he entered the reformed Madras Legislative Council, and now he has found an opportunity of using it in his electioneering campaign. Is it too much to hope that in the next elections such candidates as know something of the burning social questions of Malabar and are not afraid to act according to their convictions, will get into the Council with a determination to remove the long-standing social and economic evils of Malabar? It is not possible to exhaustively deal with this subject in the course of one article, and I shall perhaps revert to it on a future occasion.

WHAT IS SUFISM? II.*

(By MR. HUKUMCHAND KUMAR.)

A Sufi is, in short, the follower of the path of Love, not of Law. He finds God not by the painful method of sacrifices, or strict religious observances, but by a sort of direct intuition or illumination of the heart. After conversing with the greatest philosopher of the age, Avicenna, Abu Said declared, "I see all that he knows." And Rabia said the same thing: "Thou hast known after a method and certain means, but I have known immediately." A true lover is ashamed to demand proofs of his mistress, and prides himself on trusting her in spite of appearances telling against her. He has an evidence in his heart which makes him turn away from all external evidences with disgust. Just so, Sufism teaches that it is Love which generates intuition and belief. Love absorbs a man's whole being and makes him indifferent to the cavils of cold reason. "Love is the astrolabe of God's mysteries," the "eye salve" which clears the spiritual eye and makes it clairvoyant. It is Love

Which can with magic absolute
The two and seventy warring sects confute ;
The subtle alchemist that in a trice
Life's leaden metal into gold transmute.

God being the only Reality that exists, the saints see things 'as they really are.' They recognize the divinity within them, they see that 'God is nearer to them than their neck-vein', and, kindled with love of this divine nature they concentrate all their endeavours on developing it and on realizing its perfection. This is effected by purging away the clouds of non-being. The way to God, said Hallaj, is two steps, one step out of this world, and one step out of the next world, and lo! you are there with the Lord.

Abu Said was once asked, what is Sufism? He replied: 'What thou hast in thy head, resign: what thou bearest in thy hand, throw away: and whatever cometh upon thee, turn not back.' Bayazid described the end and aim of Sufism in the following words: 'To free the mind from too frequent assaults of passion, to extirpate human nature, to repress sensual instinct, to assume spiritual qualities, to attain the heights of true knowledge, and to do whatsoever is good—behold the end of Sufism !'

According to the Sufi view, some foretaste of the ultimate "union with God" may be obtained in the present life in those states of spiritual exaltation known as ecstasy. This "ecstasy" (Hal) and the raptures which attended it were condemned as heresy (*bidat*), but continued to be held by the Sufis notwithstanding. These states, they said, must be experienced to be understood. They run parallel to Yogic practices among the Hindus and end in what the Sufis called 'Fana' and the Hindus 'Samadhi'. The Sufi term for the process is 'journey'. This is divided into two parts, the journey *unto* God and *into* God, ending at last in

the "ascent up to heaven" Here is a description of the journey by Ghazzali, a Moslem theologian of approved orthodoxy and sobriety, who was born at Tus in Khorasan and lived in the 5th century of the Hijra:

"Prayers are of three degrees, of which the first are those that are simply spoken with lips. Prayers are of the second degree when with difficulty and only by almost resolute effort, the soul is able to fix its thoughts on divine things without being disturbed by evil imaginations. They are of the third kind when one can find it difficult to turn away the mind from dwelling on divine things. But it is the very marrow of prayer when He who is invoked takes possession of the soul of the suppliant and the soul of him who prays is absorbed into God, to whom he prays, and his prayer ceasing, all consciousness of self has departed and to such a degree that all thought whatsoever of the praying is felt as a veil between the soul and God. This state is called by the Sufis absorption."

This, it may be objected, is a very selfish mode of life—to be striving constantly for one's own salvation, leaving one's fellow-beings severely in the cold. On the face of it the objection is plausible. We of the twentieth century have been bred and brought up in an atmosphere where philanthropy looms large in our eyes and no one seems to be of any consequence who does not go about as a busybody doing good works. But we forget the simple truth that society is, in its ultimate analysis, a collection of individuals and that if the individuals are what they should be, society is automatically raised. "By far the greatest good," said Professor Drummond, "a man can do for his city is to be good. Simply to live there as a good man is the first and highest contribution any one can make to its salvation. Let a city be a Sodom or a Gomorrah and if there be ten righteous men in it, it will be saved." Those who set out to improve others are most likely to be the people who are apt to neglect their own improvement. "To reform a world, to reform a nation," says Carlyle, "no wise man undertakes, and all but foolish men know that the only solid, though a far slower reform, is what each begins and perfects on himself". In the second place, what is philanthropy but a half-hearted attempt to undo the wickedness that we ourselves have wrought through perversity or ignorance? Remove the cause, and there is no need of the so-called philanthropy. But if philanthropy takes its rise in the love of one man for another, we have the illustrious example of Ibrahim bin Adham, the king of Balakh, who gave up the throne to become a Derwesh. The story has been put in the form of a beautiful poem by Leigh Hunt, and bears any number of repetitions:—

Abou Bin Adham, (may his tribe increase !),
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,
And saw within the moonlight in his room,
Making it rich and like a lily in bloom,
An angel writing in a book of gold.
Exceeding peace had made Bin Adham bold,
And to the Presence in the room he said,
'What writest thou?' The vision raised its head,

* The first article was published last week.

And with a look made of all sweet accord
Answered, 'The names of those who love the
Lord.'

'And is mine one?' said Abou. 'Nay, not so,'
Replied the angel. Abou spoke more low,
But cheerily still, and said, 'I pray thee, then,
Write me as one who loves his fellow-men'.

The angel wrote and vanished. The next night
It came again with a great wakening light,
And showed the names of those whom love of
God had blest,

And lo! Bin Adham's name led all the rest.

This, in brief, is a short sketch of this fascinating subject. The longing of the human soul for the divine Oversoul; the recognition of the longing in others as well as in your own self; the diversity of the paths for the satisfaction of the longing; the helping of the fellow-travellers on the path: the forgetfulness of all selfish desire for individual salvation in the active service of one's brethren—such is the path called Sufism, Vedanta, Mysticism. There can be no peace in India or, for the matter of that, in the world, unless people learn the lesson of give and take, live and let live; unless they learn that to wound a heart is far worse than to demolish a mosque, a church, a temple, a pagoda; for the human heart is the living temple of God whereas these others are mere brick and clay. Says Sadi of blessed memory:

Shanidam ki mardan-i-rahe Khuda
Dil-e dushmanan ham na kardand tang:
Tara kai moyassar shawad in maqam,
Ki ba dnanat khilaf ast-o jang.

"I have heard that the travellers on the Path of
God

Refrained from hurting the feelings even of their
enemies;

How can you aspire to this position
When you are at logger-heads with your own
friends?"

Let us all ask ourselves one question: Is it by mere blind chance that so many creeds and religions have made India their home? Is it not rather the purpose of the Father of all religions that His children should learn in this kindergarten school of life to live like brothers? If so, is it not to our manifest advantage that we lived as harmoniously, as peacefully, nay—as lovingly as possible? Is not this the only justification of any religion worth the name—to bind back our hearts to the One Life in which we live and move and have our being; and to help one another in achieving the same goal? The Poet, the Prophet, and the Philosopher, have all pictured to us a "Bahisht anja ki azare na bashad," paradise where there is no injury. Is it a mere word-picture or is it a thing to enjoy now and here? 'Thy kingdom come', was not spoken of some far-off event. Let us all join together to bring it down and establish it *here* and *now*. All talk of Hindu-Moslem unity is sham, or at best expediency, until and unless it is based on this mutual understanding and tolerance. If we refuse to learn this lesson, Time will teach it us.

(concluded)

SCIENCE AND POLITICS.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In continuation of my letter published in your current issue, let me approach you once more with a request to publish the following correspondence which ensued after the receipt of the last letter from the Director of Wireless already published in your influential paper. For the two letters reproduced below do close the episode and also clinch the verdict at the same time. Not only has the Director (it will be seen) refused to grant my application, but is not ashamed to refuse even to assign any reason for his refusal, when asked. Nevertheless I should not be surprised if the one and the only reason which prompted the refusal of the application happened to be that the sight of the white khadi cap in which I am most often seen in this town had acted as an irritant on the delicate hypersensitive brain of some member of that benevolently obscurantist Hierarchy of the Circumlocution Office through which passed my application. (I have never been a "Revolutionary" volunteer, though, by signing the Ahmedabad or any other pledge!) After this vindication of its honour,—beshrew the man who denies that "the Government is only too anxious to foster the development of wireless telegraphy in India"!

Yours etc.,

S. D. NADKARNI.

Karwar, July 10.

(I)

To the Director of Wireless, Simla.

Sir,—With reference to your letter No. W 968 dated 18-6-28, if you could only disclose the reason or reasons for your courteous, considerate and almost touchingly worded refusal of my application after a lapse of only three months, it would obviously be of immense benefit to me and to all those similarly situated to me. A reply at your earliest convenience will oblige.

Yours sincerely,

S. D. NADKARNI.

Karwar, June 26.

(II)

To Mr. S. D. Nadkarni,

M 264, Karwar, N. Kanara District.

No. W 968, dated Simla, the 5th July, 1928.

Sir,—In reply to your communication of 26th June, I beg to inform you that I have nothing to add to my letter No. W. 968 of 18th June.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. L. NICHOLSON,

Director of Wireless.

MR. DAS AT NAGPUR.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

I have read your article under the above caption in your issue of the 14th instant with some interest. Though we mutually differ entirely in our views on the question of the Councils, I am sure you will be pleased to allow some space for the following observations in regard to some of your remarks, which are obviously based on garbled and incorrect press reports.

I feel I must join issue with you regarding your statement that Mr. C. Rajagopala Chari and others who were opposed to Council Entry "had joined in calling a meeting of the

A. I. C. C. in Bombay for the purpose of effecting a compromise with the Swaraj Party. Now, in my view, as in the view of all those who know the circumstances, this is a downright misstatement of fact. The Bombay meeting of the A. I. C. C. was called, in due course, to review the position on the termination of what was wrongly described as "The Truce," and to devise means to give effect to the Gaya resolutions. However at the meeting, certain individuals, diverted the Committee's attention by dallying with a new phrase—"Peace and Unity." Some members, otherwise staunch in their loyalty to the Congress, were taken in by the "Middle Group" and the Committee divided as 96 against 71 in favour of a so-called compromise, which in effect was no better than rescinding the Congress resolution *re* Council Boycott. As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru remarked at the Nagpur meeting, if Mr. Das as Chairman of the Bombay meeting had not been arbitrary in his rulings and allowed the Special Congress and the compromise resolutions to be voted upon separately as he should have done, the voting might have been different. However, Mr. Das took up an unreasonable attitude and stampeded the so-called Centre Party into accepting a position of surrender to the Swaraj Party. Still he knew that he could not have his own way. The so-called compromise proved still-born, and before we were a week old after the Bombay meeting, province after province questioned the validity of the Bombay decision and refused to recognize the competency of the A. I. C. C. to set at nought the decision of the Congress. This was in the nature of a bolt from the blue for the Das-ites. A requisition for the convening of a meeting of the A. I. C. C. was submitted for the reconsideration of the Bombay decision which, instead of bringing "peace and unity" had created a new distraction in the country and violently disturbed the state of public feeling. Notice of a vote of censure on Mr. Das for his arbitrary conduct as Chairman was also given.

Mr. Das proceeded on a "whirlwind tour" in the southern presidency, and I have reason to think, returned a sadder—and I hope wiser too—man for his experience. The tour was a lamentable failure, notwithstanding interested attempts to camouflage it as a tremendous success.

Your insinuation against Mr. Jambhalal Bajaj that he launched the flag agitation "not without a thought to the effect it might have in side-tracking the movement in favour of entering the Legislative Councils," is altogether unfair and is besides opposed to facts. You will please recall that the agitation had been launched on the 1st May, that is, long before the A. I. C. C. meeting in Bombay, and the A. I. C. C. notwithstanding the opposition of Mr. Abhyankar of Nagpur passed a resolution by an overwhelming majority to support the flag agitation.

As regards your other insinuation that Mr. Rajagopla Chari and his friends were responsible for the convening of the meeting at Nagpur, with a view to exploit the agitation against the Das-ites, will you permit me, as one of the requisitionists, to say that you are entirely wrong, because the responsibility for holding the meeting rests with the late Working Committee belonging to the Pro-Das Party. We had anticipated that, if we suggested Nagpur, unfair insinuations would be made against us, just in the manner you have not hesitated to do; we therefore suggested only Bombay, Madras or Calcutta as the venue of the meeting. But the Working Committee presided over by Dr. M. A. Ansari decided upon Nagpur, and I do not think anybody will accuse the late lamented Working Committee of any partiality towards "Mr. Rajagopalachar and his friends."

I do not know whether, as you say, Mr. Das had no difficulty in persuading the A. I. C. C. to throw out the motion to set aside the Bombay compromise. But as a member of the A. I. C. C., I do know this that, by a subterfuge, the centre and Das parties combined to defeat Mr. Hardayal Nag's motion declaring the Bombay decision *ultra vires*, which I had the privilege of seconding. You will be pleased to remember that the meeting was specially called partially at the instance of the Chairman himself, to give the opportunity to the opponents of the Bombay decision to argue their case, and reconsider that famous decision; but on an objection from Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel, and owing to the strange attitude adopted by the Chairman, the object was frustrated. So that when you assume it was a fresh vindication of Mr. Das's pet scheme, I think you are wrong.

Having rejected Mr. Nag's motion, the only other course for the Committee was to consider the only other resolution on the agenda from the requisitionists' side—and that was my resolution about Provincial autonomy in respect of the question of propaganda regarding the councils. Now, this resolution, was admittedly in order, but for reasons, which were not obvious to us, the Chairman overlooked it altogether until the last moment, though he was constantly reminded of it. Then the Committee considered the official resolution about the Special Congress, and though Mr. Das vehemently opposed, it the resolution was carried by as many votes as had rejected Mr. Nag's resolution. This resolution had served the purpose I had in view in giving notice of my resolution for Provincial autonomy—namely of forcing the Bombay decision to a review. Mr. Das was shrewd enough to see that the Special Congress resolution virtually killed the Bombay decision. This was also the view we took notwithstanding the hasty protestations of its sponsors, and this explains the reason why Mr. Rajagopalachar and his friends voted for it.

I have recounted these facts in their sequence just to show that when you say that, foiled in our attempt to reverse the Bombay decision, we (anti-Council members) brought in a proposal to hold the Special Congress, you are doing us a great injustice. Mr. Rajagopalachar and his friends were opposed to the holding of the Special Congress, as they have been all along; but in view of the tension produced by the behaviour of the Das-ites and the late Working Committee's kow-towing to Mr. Das, we all reluctantly agreed to the holding of the Special Congress, so that we might obtain a clear and final mandate from the country.

As regards the flag business, Mr. Das said in the meeting that he had opposed it always, but even here, the proposal did not come from us but from an entirely pro-Das working Committee consisting of such distinguished persons as Dr. Ansari, Mrs. Naidu and others.

There is only one other matter to which I should like to refer in concluding and that is about Mr. Das as a leader. In your view—and you are entitled to it—he is the only man of the moment who can get us out of the muddle, which he himself has helped to create. However much I may admire Mr. Das, his sacrifice and his courage of conviction, I feel that he will never make a good leader, firstly because of his temperamental defects and secondly because he is too one-sided to take a calm, unbiassed view of men and affairs.

Apologising to you for the length of this communication.

Yours etc.,

Bombay, July 16.

R. VENKAT RAM,

Member, All-India Congress Committee.

BHIL SEVA MANDAL, DOHAD.

Report for the first half of 1928.

The scheme for starting this indigenous mission for social work among the Bhils of Panch Mahals was published in December last year and work was immediately started. My work of famine relief among them since 1919 convinced me of the necessity of such a mission. Bhils are an aboriginal community and though they have partly adapted themselves to their Hindu surroundings, they hold themselves as far aloof as possible from them. They live scattered, each in his own farm, and their intercourse with townspeople is of the meagre. In the words of the official gazetteer they are "truthful and honest, but thriftless, excitable and given to drink." The Bhil is hardy, though idle when not engaged in field work and goes with scanty raiment and frugal fare. He is in this district mostly a peasant proprietor and has settled down to a peaceful and quiet life.

THE GENERAL FEATURES.

The Social work is organized by means of settlements, wherever possible, among the scattered population. A school, a few common medicines, occasional readings from religious books, material help with clothes and grain in cases of extreme poverty and preaching abstinence from drink—these are the features of every working centre. Five such centres have been opened, of which three are in Dohad Taluka and two in Jhalod. Each centre is in charge of a devoted worker, who does duty both as a teacher and a preacher, with the aid of a Bhil assistant. One of the centres (Jesawada) has, in addition, a boarding house for primary school boys, 20 to 25, and has also a dispensary in charge of a competent and devoted *Vaid*. The majority of the workers bind themselves to work for three years certain.

WORKING CENTRES.

The following will give a rough idea in detail of the work done and undertaken:—

1. *Garbada* is a big village 12 miles south of Dohad. A school attended by about 60 Bhil and 20 untouchable class children is run here. There has been a district board school in this village for a long time past, but for a variety of reasons very few boys of these classes were attracted to it. Our school is overflowing. Boys are provided with free clothes, slates and books and once a week are given soap for washing their clothes in the presence of teachers. About 85 boys have already progressed enough to read. A weavers' society has been formed at this place and papers for registration have been sent up. Our *Vaid* from Jesawada visits this place occasionally, to the great relief of those suffering from guinea-worm and other diseases.

2. *Jesawada* is a village 8 miles south-west of Dohad, with several villages clustered all round. Moreover it is very close to the Baria State border, and has therefore been selected for starting a boarding school. It was opened in April last and at present there are 20 boys boarded, clothed and instructed free of any charge. Coming from a wild tribe, they find it irksome to submit to the discipline of a boarding school and do occasionally run away to their villages. They are however, becoming steadier day by day.

The dispensary opened here and run by a devoted and competent *Vaid* has proved a great boon. People from villages within a radius of about 8 miles go to it for treatment. In-door patients are also kept occasionally, though arrangement has not been yet made to house them. The average daily number of patients is about 30 and is on the increase, as the news of the treatment spreads to scattered families. Guinea-worm is a very common disease, due

to the drinking water having to be taken from kucha or stepped wells.

It is intended to buy a plot of a few acres of land here and put up pukka buildings at a cost of about Rs. 5,000.

3. *Gultora* in Jhalod taluka is about 11 miles north of Dohad and 8 miles off the Dohad—Jhalod road. A day school and a night school are run here with an attendance of 49 boys, who are all provided with clothes, school materials and soap, free of charge. A wooden and bamboo structure is erected here at a cost of Rs. 400 to accommodate the school and the two teachers on a site donated by a Bhil cultivator.

4. *Mudahda* in Jhalod taluka is about 16 miles north of Dohad and 6 miles off the main road. A day school attended by 80 to 40 boys is run here. A co-operative society was also organized and registered and is now in working order. A wooden structure has been put up here at a cost of Rs. 400 on land granted free by a friendly cultivator.

5. A worker is stationed in *Dohad* headquarters, who is in charge of office work, money and accounts and supplies materials to all village workers. I am stationed in Dohad, from where I do all touring in a bullock cart. I visit every centre about once a month and stay there a night or two.

A NOVEL EXPERIMENT.

6. *Timarda* is a village 12 miles east of Dohad and has been selected for an experiment, which, if successful, will be of great interest and utility. It is at the centre of an area containing four district board schools, to which as many fresh boys as possible are intended to arrive. To achieve this intention, callmen are engaged. Slates, books and clothes are given gratis and other similar help is provided. It is yet too early to speak of the success of the experiment, which requires to be patiently nursed and watched. It need not be said that temperance preaching, Medical relief and such other work are done at this centre.

OUR NEEDS.

Our urgent needs are funds for meeting (1) the allowances of workers (2) boarding charges of the Jesawada Ashram (or free boarding school) (3) cost of clothing, soap and school material in all schools (4) cost of medicines and lastly the heavy item of (5) cost of land and buildings for the Ashram and dispensary, with a room for a few beds for inpatients, at Jesawada, estimated to cost about Rs. 5,000. Our monthly expenditure at the present day exceeds Rs. 700. Our total contributions have amounted to Rs. 2,748 up-to-date, which have all been spent away in meeting the recurring monthly expenses, leaving practically no balance. We are thus living from hand to mouth and every new month must bring in new contributions, if expenses are to be met. Not only is there no possibility of reducing the monthly expenditure, but with the necessary doubling of the number of working centres during the next year, as contemplated in the original scheme, the expenditure will indeed rise to Rs. 1,400 per month.

THE APPEAL.

Now I appeal to the numerous souls in cities and the mofussil who feel the need of ameliorating the lot of the lowly and down-trodden. The Bhil is numerous and has great potentialities, but is almost unconscious of being human. This great sturdy community is an asset worth winning back to the country and to humanity. The work of winning is not light. It requires patient application of human energy. At the same time it requires money. The fortunate few hold it in their palms and through it the means of the uplift of the down-trodden. Will they not open their palms? Will they fail to provide the open sesame to those who yearn for it? I am confident my appeal will not go in vain.

Bhil Seva Mandal, Dohad, } A. V. THAKKAR,
15th July 1928. } of the Servants of India Society.

THE VITAL ISSUE IN KENYA.

The following is the second of the series of articles on the above subject contributed by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the *Voice of India*.

During the intervening centuries, from the time that Vasco da Gama visited the East African coast, up to comparatively modern times, there was much serious notice taken of this part of Africa by the European Powers. The old Portuguese settlements at Mozambique and Sofala had been held somewhat precariously, but the interior had not been penetrated. The Arab dynasties at Zanzibar had succeeded one another; but their civilisation had gradually waned. The Cape route to India was across the open sea, and this East African coast was left on one side. Zanzibar was sometimes visited, but not the East coast itself. These Eastern shores of Africa had a bad name for slavery and barbarism, and the deadly malarial fever made any stay there dangerous for Europeans. The Arab civilisation, about which I wrote in my first article, had fallen back into decay. No religious movement had brought about any revival. No art or literature of importance had flourished. The curse of slavery had laid its dead hand upon the country, and there seemed but little hope of any recovery. The coastal Arabs had become decadent as a people.

It has to be recognised to the full that no sovereign message of religion had ever come from India to bless these shores, if we are to rule out any Buddhist influence in the distant past as not historically proved. Other religious movements had also been unsuccessful. Islam, it is true, had a greatness of its own in its early days; and more than any other religion in the past it had given a dignity to the life of the African primitive savages. But in East Africa, it was almost fatally bound up with the slave traffic, which demolished the Arabs all along the coast. Slightly to the North, the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia had existed for many centuries and it is still an independent kingdom to-day. It reached to the very borders of East Africa. This kingdom flourished, for a time, from the fourth to the ninth century after Christ. It is spoken of with the greatest respect in the Quran and gave shelter to the earliest Musalmans when they were persecuted in Arabia. But its form of the Christian religion had very few progressive features; and it, too, as well as Islam, along this East African coast, became involved in the slave traffic. Even to-day it is estimated, that two million Africans are slaves in Abyssinia out of a population of less than ten million. Christianity of this type could not bring any uplifting message to the aborigines, who were close to its borders. Slave raids from Abyssinia were as frequent as slave raids from the coast and the Abyssinians were feared inland just as much as the Arabs by the African natives themselves.

But this East African coast and the hinterland, which had been neglected hitherto by Europe, began suddenly to have importance in European eyes about the year 1880. It was about that date that the 'scramble for Africa' (as it was commonly called) began, carried on because of the mutual jealousies of the Great Powers. In its conduct, it was utterly unscrupulous and immoral. Fictitious treaties with different tribes and chiefs were trumped up in a scandalous manner, and thousands of square miles of territory were pretended to have been legally handed over by ignorant savages. All this was done by the Powers in order to make some show of claim to possession. Each Power tried, as quickly as possible, to grasp whatever unoccupied territory it could lay its own

hands on. There was no law in the process whatever, except the law of might is right—the law of the brute force.

I have seen two maps of Africa published in an important book called "Economic Imperialism." The one map is dated 1881 and the other 1901. In the former, except for some small patches of colour at the coast, the continent of Africa is left white. In 1901, however, with the exception of Abyssinia, Tripoli and Morocco, practically the whole of the continent is divided into different regions, which have been marked out and occupied by the great European Powers. In this unscrupulous procedure, the British Empire gained the largest portions of all. Therefore in all the more recent maps of Africa, red is the predominant colour. It is significant also that, of the three portions remaining outside the European share, in 1901, Tripoli and Morocco have both been occupied since. Tripoli has become a Protectorate under Italy and Morocco a Protectorate under France. It is also to be noted, that in the secret treaty with Italy, called the Secret Pact of London (which was made in 1915, during the war) Italy was to be allowed to regard Abyssinia as her sphere of influence.

Great Britain claimed the East Coast of Africa as her special sphere up to a point nearly as far as Zanzibar. She also claimed a protectorate over Zanzibar itself. The coast between this point and Mozambique was taken and called German East Africa. The coast to the North became Italian Somaliland. Great Britain obtained the coast opposite Aden, which was called British Somaliland. Thus was the whole coast line divided.

The British claim which was put forward for the possessions of this part of the coast was that British Indian subjects of Her Majesty Victoria, the Queen Empress, had resided and settled there. They needed protection. It was not pointed out by any one at the time, that Indians have resided and settled there for a thousand years without any need of 'protection' at all!

One consequence, however, followed from this claim put forward by Great Britain on behalf of India for the possession of the coast and hinterland. It was regarded henceforth as a definite objective in British Imperial policy to keep close the connection between India and East Africa; and everything was done to observe this Indian connexion.

To Great Britain the advantage of this policy was great, because at that time of extraordinary expansion in Africa it was with the utmost difficulty that the immense claims to territory elsewhere in South and West Africa could be made good by efficient occupation. Nigeria and Rhodesia were both brought within the British zone. Thus, the use of the Indian services and resources in the East, did something to lighten the pressure on the British resources at such a strenuous time. As a matter of fact, the burden undertaken by Great Britain seemed at one time too great altogether to be borne; and the every fertile country of Uganda which lies inland beyond East Africa was almost given up for want of financial means to carry on the administration.

When we study the early documents, which refer to the British East Africa Protectorate (as it was then called) and also the Uganda, we are greatly struck by the immense part in the development of the country which India was called upon to play. All the trade development of the interior was undertaken by Indian traders. The Uganda Railway was built by Indian contract labour. The coinage used was all minted in India. The Indian Penal Code was established; administrators were borrowed from India to lay down the lines of administration after the Indian model. As late as 1905, this system of taking civil servants from India still

went on, and probably ever longer. I can well remember the Finance Commissioner of the Punjab, Colonel Montgomery, being sent out from the Punjab Commission to take up the post of Commissioner of Lands in East Africa. This is only a single instance.

Furthermore,—and this was a matter of the utmost importance, especially during the Boer war,—Indian troops were sent out incessantly to keep order and to suppress disturbances. Not only were they sent to East Africa, but the Uganda and the Soudan Province as well. Indian police were brought over for police work. The Indian medical service was called upon to supply subordinate medical officers, called Sub-Assistant Surgeons. It is true, that when financial loans were needed, the money was borrowed at a fair rate of interest, on Government security, from England. But these transactions were on the whole lucrative ones, and the money was contributed by the different Chambers of Commerce with the full knowledge that East Africa was to receive its development chiefly from India. I have in my possession documentary proof of this fact.

It has been necessary for me to study different papers and blue-books relating to this subject, and nothing can be better established than the record I have given above. It has become quite clear to me in the course of these inquiries, that the British East African Protectorate could never have been opened up and its lines of internal communication developed with such rapidity, as actually occurred, had it not been for this close connection with India. Yet, without this very rapid development of communication and transport, the country could not have been held; and Uganda and the South Soudan Province would certainly not have remained in British hands. There were other Powers ready to intervene. The French were eagerly pressing across the continent from the West. Without the continued support from India and the continual presence of Indian troops, it is at least quite inconceivable that Uganda and the South Soudan Province could have been retained. Yet, if Uganda had been abandoned the whole History of East and Central Africa would have been radically altered. The testimony of every single early administrator can be trusted, giving the same verdict, that without the presence of the Indians and the support of India, East Africa could not have remained in British hands.

During the late European war, the same situation occurred again, that had happened in earlier years. During the terrible strain of the first years of the war, British East Africa relied upon India almost entirely for its support. More than forty thousand Indian troops laid down their lives in the struggle to keep East Africa within the British Dominions. South Africa was unable to spare any troops at the beginning of the war on account of an internal rebellion. Great Britain could not send troops over; for all were required elsewhere. Almost the whole brunt of the campaign fell upon India. From India came all the supplies, ammunition, rails, bridges, stores, etc., which helped to make the East African campaign at last a success. It was only towards the latter end of the war that help was sent from South Africa.

Facts of the kind, that I have just quoted, have been known all along in India, in a general way. But it is an experience, that has amply repaid the trouble incurred, to have been obliged to go into every detail and to find out how extraordinarily strong the Indian case in East Africa is. It differs remarkably from South Africa, where for the most part (with the exception of the sugar cultivation in Natal) the brunt of the work of development has fallen on the European, and the country was never reached by Indians at all until the Europeans came.

Here, in East Africa, the very reverse is the case. The British would not have been in East Africa at all, as far as we can judge from recorded facts, if it had not been for the Indians. Furthermore they certainly could not have maintained the country, on certain most critical occasions, without the help of the Indians. India, therefore, has claims of free entry and free residence, which are indefeasible and indisputable.

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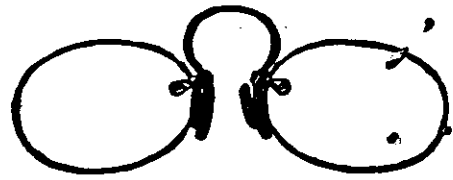
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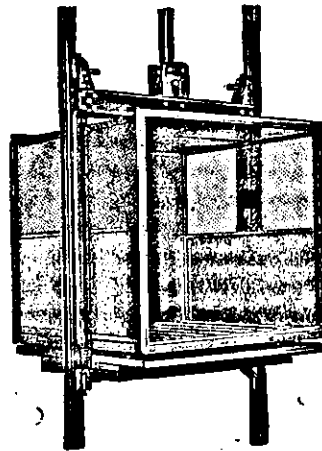
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

—10:—

The Turkish Peace: The Lausanne Treaty was signed on Tuesday. It practically restores to Turkey its territorial limits at the commencement of the War. By the abolition of the Capitulations and the redistribution of the Turkish debt among the provinces of the old Empire many of which are separate States now, Turkey has gained much both in its status and in its finances. Turkey is the only country that sided with Germany which has been able to get a new Treaty whose terms are so largely at variance with those of the Treaty presented two years ago. The main credit for this achievement belongs, of course, to Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha and his colleagues who by their determination, energy and leadership, have snatched victory out of what seemed to be hopeless defeat. The progressive disintegration of the Allied unity which prevailed during and immediately after the War, was a favouring circumstance of which the Turkish leaders took every advantage. The disillusionment regarding the German Treaty, which another War is required to enforce, also disposed the Allies (who are now veiled antagonists) to be satisfied with whatever terms can be secured from Turkey. The Governments which designed the original Treaties have disappeared in all the Allied countries, and their successors have their work cut out for them in dealing with the manifold internal problems created by the collapse of the old social order under the stress of war. The Congress-Khilafat agitation in India has been a powerful influence in moderating the half-crusading, half-profiteering enthusiasm of Mr. Lloyd George whose ambition it seems to have been to be canonized as the Oil-Saint of Christendom. All these causes gave time, and the staying-power of the Turks and their insight into and skill in the ways of European diplomacy, enabled them to make good use of it. If the Turkish leaders show in their statesmanship in peace the high qualities of generalship and diplomacy which they have shown in securing the Treaty of Lausanne, they will open a new chapter in Turkish and Islamic history worthy of its best traditions. They have already given proof of statesmanship in the master-stroke by which they, in the very midst of the negotiation at Lausanne, made the Khilafat free of the vicissitudes of politics, and recognised the right of the Arabs to have their own national Governments. The best proof that the new Turkish Treaty is satisfactory to the Turks, is that it has called forth

the bitter denunciation of Mr. Lloyd George. Kemal Pasha has beat the Allies in the game of international politics with their own weapons. This coupled with the experience of Japan, ought to convey a lesson to all Oriental nations, and not the least to us in India.

The Kenya Decision: His Majesty's Government have given their decision on the long-pending question of the constitution of the Kenya Government and the position of Indians in it. The Government is to continue to be of the Crown Colony type, with a Governor, an Executive Council and a Legislative Council with an official majority, controlled by the Colonial Office in London. The demand for self-government put forward on behalf of the nine thousand and odd Europeans in the Colony, has been declined principally on the ground that the native Africans who number nearly three millions are not, and will not be, for as long as it is necessary to contemplate at present, ripe for participating in it. We wish the same principle had been observed in the case of South Africa. If it had been, the situation there would not have become as bad as it is. Except in this one respect, the Kenya decision, especially as regards the position of Indians, is a charter of White supremacy. The worst part of the settlement, all parts of which are quite bad from the point of view of Indians in the Colony and India, is the control of immigration foreshadowed in the professed economic interests of the Africans. It will be easy to show that the influx of Indians has so far very little affected the economic interests of Africans, while the European immigration has deprived the latter of thousands of acres of the most fertile land in their own country, reducing them to be labourers on what was once their own property. The regulations regarding immigration are yet to be framed, but we object to the very principle of it, less from the point of view of Indians already domiciled in Kenya, than from that of India as a part of the British Commonwealth. The next worst item of this utterly bad settlement is that the Highlands are permanently and perpetually reserved for Europeans. The invidious distinction thus avowed as a part of Imperial policy, is very disturbing to our ideas of India's place in the Empire. Apart from this, the Highlands so reserved are sure to be the strategic centre from which the anti-Indian European influence will be continuously and persistently exerted on the Kenya administration making it practically impossible except as its pliant tool. We are surprised that His Majesty's Government do not seem to have realised that the reservation of the Highlands, as also the promised experimental reservation for Indians in the lowlands, are equally a violation of the principle of their Trusteeship for the Africans on which they lay so much stress. In the Legislative Council, the Europeans who number less than one-half of the Indians in East Africa are to have more than double their number of members. Communal electorates

are forced upon the Indians who do not want them and who, in fact, dread them as calculated to break up their present solidarity in East Africa. The narrow majority of 20 by which, in a fairly full House of Commons, the motion condemning the scheme was defeated, and the emphatic declaration of the Labour Member, Mr. Trevelyan, in the name of his Party, that they will revise the settlement on juster lines in regard to Indians when they came into power, are hardly redeeming features in what is really a humiliating rebuff to the Government and people of India.

Where do we Stand? The Viceroy's certification of the enhanced salt duty after its rejection by the Legislative Assembly passed the final sponge over the Montagu reforms. The abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha after a hole-and-corner enquiry, by a single Judge deputed by the Executive Government of India, touches the dignity and status of every Indian State. The Kenya settlement erases the Imperial Conference resolution assuring Indians of equal status in Crown Colonies. The position today is thus what it was in the pre-war time. It is distinctly worse really, because whereas before the war we were kept the state of hope, to-day we find that some substantial things which we were led to think we had secured, have been declared, by the same authorities that induced us to think so, to be vain shadows. The Simla session of the Legislative Assembly this year will be memorable for Sir Sivaswami Aiyar's broken-hearted declaration that he stood disillusioned, when Government courteously explained to him that his hopes about the early Indianisation of the higher ranks of the Army were built upon sand. Rao Bahadur T. Rangachari, the leader of the so-called Democratic Party in the Assembly, put it even more emphatically when he said that he and his friends had been fooled into accepting the Reforms. These have proved veritable dead-sea apples—rank at the core, though tempting to the eyes. The National Congress which, when it was strong and united, was able to exert powerful pressure upon Government, is now torn into factions which are each intent upon discrediting and out-witting the other. The Non-Co-operation movement is kept alive by artificial sports of civil disobedience which make very little impression upon the Government and but add to the causes of dissension in the country. While the All-India Congress Committee was solemnly witnessing the arrest of the Flag processionists at Nagpur, twenty crores of rupees were subscribed to the loan floated by Government, in spite of Mr. Rajagopalacharya's flaming resolution at the Gaya Congress. Mr. C. R. Das to-day is abused worse than Sir Michael O'Dwyer in 1919, and a young man whom Mr. Gandhi employed as his amanuensis, ventures, on the strength of his press-copying experience, to assail such a veteran leader as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. At no time during the last fifteen years, were we politically so impotent as we are to-day. The four-anna Congress franchise has done it all. It has raised the Frankenstein which threatened to drive Mahatma Gandhi to the Himalayas after Bardoli, and has driven nearly every other experienced leader from the Congress and will inevitably destroy it unless timely efforts are made to save the movement by concerted action among leaders of all parties and communities. Some thoughtful men feel that it is already too late to save the Congress and that nothing can prevent it from extinction by a process of progressive division in its ranks. In the circumstances, it is high time that a small Conference of leading men of all parties should meet, informally, to begin with, to consider the present deplorable situation and adopt steps to improve it.

The Non-Brahmin Problem: We print to-day the important address which Mr. M. R. Jayakar delivered some time back on the non-Brahmin problem. It has had the benefit of being revised by Mr. Jayakar himself, and may, therefore, be taken as the most authoritative report that has been published of that address. It is necessary, in order to appreciate the full significance of the pronouncement, to state that Mr. Jayakar himself belongs to a caste—the Pathare Prabhu—which the more bigotted of the Peishwas took extraordinary measures to prevent from claiming and establishing its right to cultural and social equality with Brahmins. Mr. Jayakar is a ripe Sanskrit scholar and knows more of the sacred books than many English-educated Brahmins. Evidence of his high appreciation of Hindu culture and religion, and of his belief that they are fully equal to the task of providing the right solution of the non-Brahmin and every other problem of the present day among Hindus, is to be found in almost every sentence of his address. His personal position and his Sanskrit scholarship enables him to direct his exhortations to Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike from the vantage-ground of an impartial and symmetrical understanding of their respective stand-points. His address, so far as we know, is the first attempt to treat the non-Brahmin problem, not as a problem artificially fostered by interested officials to secure a prolongation of their own influence, but as a problem having its roots in the history of the evolution of Hindu society into what it is at the present day. This is the only right and fruitful way of dealing with any problem, especially one which is associated with social arrangements resting upon custom and tradition. The Brahmin no more than the non-Brahmin is responsible for the position in which he finds himself, and if this is clearly grasped, the way becomes clear to a satisfactory settlement of their relations on a modern and rational basis. Similar differences in the past have been overcome by mutual accommodation, and what threatened to disrupt society became a fresh means of consolidating it. Though for the time being, the non-Brahmin movement appears to be concerned chiefly with appointments in the Public Services and representation in Legislative and Local bodies, as Mr. Jayakar points out, these things are desired only as a means to a higher end and not as ends themselves. This higher end is that birth as the sole test of social pre-eminence should give place to a common cultural standard determined from time to time with close reference to the vital needs of Hindu society. A high level of acquirement in Hindu culture must be an important factor in determining this standard, but an equally important factor would be the assimilation of modern culture and ideals of personal and public life. As a fact, a class united by ties of common culture is in the course of being insensibly formed among us, and this class exercises the leading influence in social and public affairs in present-day India. What is wanted, and what the non-Brahmin movement forces upon us, is to give a conscious direction to this tendency.

Sri Ramakrishna Mission Ashram Students' Home, Santa Cruz: We are glad to learn that it is intended to open from the 1st of August next a "Students' Home" on the ground floor of the Sri Ramakrishna Mission Ashram. The Home will be under the supervision of the Swamiji-in-charge of the Ashram. Non-students also will be admitted if accommodation is available. Those who wish to take advantage of the Home should apply early, either personally or by letter, to Swami Vishwananda, Sri Ramakrishna Mission Ashram, Jaya's Building, off Juven Road, Santa Cruz (B. B. & C. I. Rly.)

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 28, 1923.

BOMBAY PROSTITUTION BILL.

We print to-day the text of the draft Bill, to be introduced at the next meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council, dealing with prostitution. The Bill closely follows the Burma Act to a large extent, many of its sections being identical word for word with those of the latter Act. But it does not go as far as the Burma Act though its title would lead one to think that it went farther than that Act. The Burma Act is known as the Burma Suppression of Brothels Act, and its object is to put down the species of prostitution represented by brothels. The Bombay Bill, on the other hand, has for short title "The Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Bill," whereas it lags much behind the Burma Act in putting down even the limited area of prostitution represented in the brothels. The number of brothel prostitutes in Bombay is about 5,000, while that of clandestine prostitutes has been estimated to be between 30 and 40 thousands. The Bombay Bill deals only with the 5,000 brothel prostitutes, and it does not deal with them as drastically as the Burma Bill. We think, therefore, that a less ambitious "short title" would be more appropriate than the one proposed. The Bombay Bill following the Burma Act defines a brothel as any house, room or place which the occupier or person in charge thereof habitually allows to be used by any other person for the purposes of prostitution. The Burma Act makes not only procuration and detention of women in brothels illegal, but also the letting of houses for brothels with the knowledge that they are or will be used as brothels. The Bombay Prostitution Committee recommended the adoption of this section also, on the ground that if brothels are illegal, the landlord who knowingly lets his premises for purposes of prostitution clearly abets the offence. The Government of Bombay have not seen fit to make the landlord liable for knowingly letting his premises for the purpose of being used as a brothel. We do not understand this tenderness for unprincipled landlords who are not ashamed to make money by this nefarious means. If landlords refuse to let their houses for brothels, the brothel system would receive its death-blow. The omission to bring such landlords to book, is a vital defect in the Bombay Bill, and we trust that non-official members will insist on its being supplied before the Bill becomes law.

The Police witnesses who appeared before the Prostitution Committee wished the punishment for solicitation, which is eight days' imprisonment or a fine of fifty rupees under the Bombay Police Act, to be enhanced to six months' imprisonment or a fine of one hundred rupees in the new law. The Committee reluctantly acquiesced in the recommendation, remarking that prison loses its terrors with familiarity and fines impose the need of greater activity on this unfortunate class. The Bombay Bill merely repeats the existing provision of the Police Act in this res-

pect. Even so, the clause requires to be very carefully considered. We reprinted in the *Reformer* the 20th January last an important article from the *Shield*, the organ of the great British Society founded by Mrs. Josephine Butler, on the working of the English Solicitation Law. Our contemporary calls for a drastic amendment of the law under which 6,000 women a year and some few men are fined or imprisoned on police evidence only for alleged annoyance of the opposite sex. Our contemporary wrote with special reference to the case of Sir Almeri Fitzroy who has since been acquitted by the Court of Appeal of the charge brought against him of wilfully annoying women in Hyde Park. Few of the women victims are in a position to or can get off on appeal. "On the evidence of police only" the *Shield* observed, "these women are branded with the terrible stigma of being 'common prostitutes', made social outcasts and legal out-laws fined and imprisoned. Moreover, having once been convicted as a "common prostitute," a woman is thereafter liable to be arrested at any time on sight without hope of redress or acquittal." Our contemporary went on to say that the legal offence, which is not the being a common prostitute but soliciting to the annoyance of male passengers, and which should be proved, is in practice never proved or even required to be proved. The following passage from the article is worth quoting :

Those who study this aspect will rarely see a woman speak first to a man. She will loiter, and either by glances or general demeanour, will make her calling quite clear, but except occasionally in the darker side streets, she does not take the initiative. . . . No one who has any first-hand knowledge of these women's lives can doubt that they are frequently arrested when they have committed no legal offence. The police are endeavouring to carry out laws which are complicated, unjust and unequal as between men and women and between one woman and another. They doubtless do their best ; it is the law which is wrong.

It is an improvement in the Bombay Bill that, while its Burma prototype without any ado uses the feminine pronoun "her" in the Solicitation section, as if women alone can be guilty of this offence, it uses the word "his" which in law applies to both sexes. Nevertheless, the incidence of the law in India as in England, is likely to bear more hardly on women than on men. The danger here may, indeed, be greater because of the backwardness of Indian women, their lower social position, as well as the lower average competence of our Police. The power, however, is not a new one, as it has been provided in the Police Act. So far as we are aware, there have been no complaints of its abuse. We see no serious objection to its being retained in the Bill as at present but we think the Police should be instructed to act with great caution in taking action under it.

While the Bill as a whole is intended to apply only to Bombay City, certain clauses of it have been extended to the whole Presidency. These relate to procuration for purposes of prostitution, the non-liability of a woman to civil or criminal proceedings for recovery of any personal ornaments or wearing

apparel supplied to her by a brothel-keeper, the segregation of brothels, and the Magistrates authorised to try such cases. The reasons for the extension of these clauses to the whole Presidency are obvious and sound. One of the clauses makes it an offence to bring into Bombay city a woman or girl for purposes of prostitution. We think it necessary to prescribe a radius of thirty or forty miles from Bombay City, as otherwise it would be quite easy to have receiving stations of recruits for Bombay brothels at Kalyan on the G. I. P. and Palghar on the B. B. & C. I. Railways. We remarked last week on the inadvisability of the discretionary section. The offence of the unlawful detention of a woman for purposes of prostitution, is a serious one, and the Commissioner of Police cannot well be expressly invested with the power of conniving at or condoning the offence when it comes to his knowledge. We are not able to imagine the reasons which led Government to insert a clause declaring that it shall not be incumbent on the Commissioner of Police to take action under this clause save in obedience to a rule or order made by Government. If it is only meant that he should obtain the orders of Government before prosecuting in such a case, the clause is not open to objection. As the clause stands, however, it may mean that the Commissioner need not even submit such cases for the orders of Government, but must expect Government to act entirely upon their own initiative. The Prostitution Committee wished that their recommendations should be gradually given effect to, which is a very different thing from giving effect to them haltingly.

THE NON-BRAHMAN PROBLEM.*

(BY MR. M. R. JAYAKAR.)
AN ANCIENT PROBLEM.

The non-Brahman problem is the most urgent problem of the present times. I call it a "problem," because of its most complex nature and also because, on its right solution, will depend the success of our efforts to attain Swaraj at an early date. I have always felt impressed with the gravity of the problem. Perhaps, it is so because, from a very early period of my life, I have been a silent witness of the hard injustice, in some cases amounting almost to cruelty and humiliation, with which the non-Brahmans have been treated by the higher castes. The problem is not a new one. It is a very old problem, which troubled India in ancient times, causing disunion, disintegration and, in one or two cases, extinction of kingdoms. It raised its ugly head on more than one occasion in ancient times, but, thanks to the generosity of the leaders of those times, on more than one occasion, its solution was sought in the direction of sympathy, toleration, and eventual absorption into cultural affinity. At one time, the problem manifested itself in the conflict typified by the historic rivalry between Vasishta and Vishwamitra, which episode is of common knowledge amongst educated Hindus. Vasishta embodied all the culture and spirituality of Brahmanhood. He was the high watermark of Brahman splendour and asceticism. In all

the writings in which he figures, you feel a hush of respect and awe for his august personality. All that is best in the *Ramagana* or *Yogavasishta* is associated with his utterances, and as one gets more and more accustomed and attached to these writings, one finds that Vasishta typifies all that is good, noble, reverential and holy in Hindu culture. Vishwamitra, on the other hand, typifies the aspirations of the struggling non-Brahman who feels the inequality—the barrier, which the accident of birth has set in his way. By personal exertion and by individual merit, by rigid hardship and by years of ascetic penance, he endeavoured to leap over this barrier. Nothing was too hard for his efforts. To use the symbolical expression, current in those times, he lived for 60,000 years on 'grains of iron.' That summarises all the hardship of his penance, and the rigour of his strenuous endeavour to fit himself to climb over the barrier of caste. Though, he thus prepared himself, his claim remained unrecognised by Brahmanhood. Very frequently the great Vasishta would only address him as 'Raj-Rishi'—(sage among Kings)—but disdained to use the epithet 'Brahma-Rishi' (sage among Brahmins.) This struggle went on, as the Epics say, for several years, until one night Vishwamitra went, sword in hand, to wreak his vengeance on Vasishta for this affront, frequently administered in the face of learned assemblies. As he reached and stood outside the gate of Vasishta's hermitage, waiting for an opportune moment to rush in, he heard the conversation going on between Vasishta and his spouse, 'Arundhati,' in which Vasishta was praising Vishwamitra as the greatest ascetic known to history. When Vishwamitra heard the panegyric, he was touched by remorse and in a penitent mood rushed inside only to find Vasishta standing erect and offering to embrace him with the words on his lips: 'Welcome, Brahma-Rishi.' That was the first time that Vasishta had joyfully used the coveted epithet, for the meriting of which Vishwamitra had struggled for many years.

CULTURAL STRUGGLE.

In this little story, which is full of deep moral import, lies the solution, which ancient India found for the non-Brahman problem. India recognised then that, at bottom, this struggle was a cultural one, though sometimes it manifested itself as a contest for power and influence, as it is now doing. Ancient India recognised that its true and permanent solution lay not in temporary devices adjusting power and influence, but in a bold and uncompromising admission of the claim of the lower classes that, given a certain standard of individual merit and purification, which they would attain, the road lay open before them to leap over the barrier of caste and birth.

HOW IT CONTRIBUTED TO THE FALL OF MAHRATTA POWER.

There was another occasion in past history when the true nature of this problem was not recognised in an adequate measure and in consequence a kingdom was lost. For instance, in the time of the

*Address delivered at a meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Swaraj Party at the Marwadi Vidyalaya on the 29th June 1923.

latter-day Peishwa Rule, when the non-Brahman became powerful and realised his importance at the Peishwa's Court, he wanted a recognition which the "Diehards" of those times found it difficult to grant. The saner elements in the Mahratta Confederacy recognised the justice of his claim and wanted to propitiate it, but, unfortunately, decline set in, and gradually the wiser elements were smothered by a vigorous and aggressive opposition with the result that the quarrel assumed graver proportions, and at last caused a defection leading to the disintegration of the Mahratta power and the establishment and prosperity of British Rule which rose on its ruins. This was a negative instance, forming the exact antithesis of the episode of Vashista and Vishwamitra. What shape the Mahratta Power would have taken, if there had lived, in those days, a statesman of towering imagination and understanding, able to weld both the factions into a solid phalanx to oppose the alien onset, we cannot say. It is not unlikely that the Mahratta power would have consolidated itself into a homogeneous kingdom and the history of India would have taken a different turn.

PROTEST AGAINST A SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SYSTEM.

The problem is now showing its ugly head once more. With the creation of a few feeble and illusory opportunities of power and influence, under the Montagu-Chelmsford regime, the old animosities have once more come into prominence, and to-day we find, in the political arena, the non-Brahmans consolidating themselves into a resolute and irreconcilable opposition to the higher castes. The Bureaucracy—the common enemy of both—is very cleverly using the non-Brahman voice to urge its own pet arguments against the granting of Swaraj. These arguments are seemingly fair and just. "Protection of minorities"—that is the cry. I have known men in the non-Brahman party, who, in their fury against the higher classes, prefer the prospect of a perpetual domination of Britain to any kind of Swaraj, under which the higher classes will be in the ascendant. It is not my purpose, to-day, to adjudge blame between these two contending elements, but only to make out a plea as to how these contentions can be adjusted in the immediate future, so that our struggle for independence may be carried on by the combined efforts of all classes. We have to recognise that, in ancient times, when the problem was satisfactorily solved, the solution took the form of an absorption of the non-Brahman into the folds of Brahman culture, after requiring from him conformity to certain tests and standards, showing his cultural upliftment. From this past history, the conclusion is irresistible that the genius of our people would recognise no other solution of this problem as adequate. It is vain to deny that, at bottom, the non-Brahman protest is against the entire social and cultural system of which he is the victim. Take any aspect of our social life. Take, for instance, the enormous output of literature that comes out in the form of novels, plays, biographies, or newspapers articles. The non-Brahman's complaint is—I have heard it repeated time after time by their

best spokesmen—that in all this huge upheaval of ideas, the non-Brahman has very little scope for self-assertion or equal exchange. He complains that this atmosphere, which is so pleasant to us, the higher castes, stifles him and deprives him of all that self-consciousness, without which no community can maintain itself. Under the weight of the social and religious burdens, which, he says, the Brahman bears on his behalf, much in the same spirit of unconscious arrogance with which the White Man bears his notorious burden, the non-Brahman feels that his limbs, his faculties and his gifts do not receive proper exercise. If you take the entire range of our activities and of the great enterprises that stir up the Hindu community from time to time, and study the patterns and standards of the men and women who speak and work through all this welter of ideas, there is no doubt that the prevailing tone, the dominant mode of life and thought are essentially Brahman, and I can, therefore personally find a great deal to sympathise with in the non-Brahman complaint that in all the important walks of life, where freedom of movement is necessary, and where self-consciousness can be generated, the non-Brahman finds himself bound in an iron framework of humiliation, prejudice and misconception. His call, therefore, is for a larger share of freedom in the entire life of the community, commensurate with his numerical and other importance. His grievance pervades our entire social system, and its permanent redress cannot be effected by any compromises, based upon concessions about the loaves and fishes of office. No doubt, such compromises are useful, but only as temporary expedients, indicating a possible change of heart on the part of those who make these concessions in favour of the non-Brahman. But nothing short of a complete "change of heart" on the part of the higher classes will permanently solve the question. Mahatmaji used to say, in connection with the Anglo-Indian temper, that, as long as the Bureaucracy has not undergone a complete change of heart, small or large political concessions here and there, an Executive Councillorship, a Governorship, etc. will not solve the problem of Indian discontent. In the same way, nothing short of a change of heart, on the part of the higher classes, as shown by their daily behaviour with the lower classes, on ordinary occasions, in trains, temples, clubs, meetings, offices, class-rooms, and elsewhere, will eradicate the poison from our social systems.

SIGNS OF DISINTEGRATION

One may not always sympathise with the cry of the non-Brahman, especially when it takes the form of a disproportionately selfish claim for power and influence, or when such a claim is accompanied by a threat to oppose and destroy the growing feeling of unity and the consequent claim to Swaraj. There is no doubt that, on many occasions, the alliance which the non-Brahman makes with the Bureaucrat to oppose the march of national aspirations, and the easy way in which he allows himself to be exploited to further the selfish ends of the Bureaucracy, cause misconception and do harm to his cause.

This cannot be denied, but it is equally clear that if we, the higher classes, can search beneath the

surface into the psychological craving of the non-Brahman, we will have to admit that, though placed in a suspicious environment, the craving itself is just and right. Unless that craving is satisfied and the non-Brahman is made to feel that his interests are safe in the hands of his Brahman associates, it is perfectly clear that he will always act as a drag on the national effort. I hold the opinion firmly that it is a mistake to deal with him only as a political nuisance, to be got rid of by patronising concessions. At bottom, his claim is to cultural equality and absorption, and that cannot be satisfied by political expedients adjusting offices, power and influence. A bold and uncompromising admission of his right to eventual cultural affinity, will alone satisfy him. That was the way ancient India solved the problem, and that is the way we shall have to solve it. If this view is right, it has a lesson to teach to all of us that we all make a great psychological effort, gradually killing in our mind the unconscious feeling of race superiority, which shows itself in our daily life as race arrogance. We see this unconscious feeling working in the mind of the White Man. It often provokes a smile in us to see the attempts he makes to disguise it by grandiloquent names like the "White Man's Burden," "Protection of the Aborigines," etc. Similarly, our efforts to entrench our supremacy under misleading epithets must provoke a smile among the non-Brahmans. We have to make an effort, therefore, each within the small region of his own individual influence, taking daily, almost hourly, care that in our dealings with the non-Brahmans, in our modes of expression and in our unconscious thinking, we train ourselves to a habit, which accords the non-Brahman his due in the several bye-ways of life, where he may have to work alongside of us. It is only when such a united effort is made, difficult yet far-reaching, by the educated classes of this country, to recognise the deep significance of this movement and to find a radical cure for it, that this problem will near its solution. Do we not remember the happy result of the declaration by the highest caste in Japan that from a certain period onwards, they gave up their claim to racial supremacy? That declaration had a far-reaching result in securing the tranquillity and unification of the entire people. Is it too much to hope that such of us as feel our political degradation keenly is it too much to expect that they will before long, make up their mind to adopt a similar attitude towards the lower classes? I can assure them that the whole face of our agitation will then change in a minute. The confidence of the non-Brahman will then be restored, and he will feel his interests safe in the hands of his Brahman associates. No price is too great for such a result.

A NOTE OF WARNING.

The non-Brahman, on his part, however, has to remember that he will not gain much by his selfish association with the Bureaucracy. As long as he keeps such bad company and allows himself to be utilised against his own countrymen for perpetuating their slavery, his claim will be opposed with a

vigour, which he can easily avoid. He will not gain much by meeting selfishness with selfishness, jealousy with jealousy and hatred with hatred. Let him remember that his cause is just; let him boldly take his stand on the firm rock of Truth and Justice, and speak from that high pedestal, disdaining all shifty compromises for the distribution of power and influence. Attempts will be made to draw him into this Party or that. His bargaining either with the Government or with this or that political Party will avail him little. His cause is sufficiently just; and if he stands by it, he can form a Party of his own of sufficient weight and influence. He has nothing to fear as long as he fights the battle with clean weapons. I can assure him that in the ranks of political workers there is a large proportion of people, who recognise the justice of his claim. Let not his ambition take the sordid form of a claim for the loaves and fishes of office. I am not unaware that the enjoyment of power and influence often begets confidence and dignity, without which no community can consolidate itself, but let not these be purchased at the sacrifice of Truth and Justice, which are the highest assets of the non-Brahman Party. Let him not enter into a compromise, which takes the form of a selfish desire to oust the Brahman, but let it be the first recognition, in a tangible form, of his claim to equality. No concessions are worth having for long from people whose hearts are not changed. Let him aspire to nothing less than this change; the rest will come in due time. Naggling here, nibbling there, he will not get what he wants. Abject whining will never win him the struggle. Let him stand on the high pedestal of the great services of his ancestors in historic and pre-historic times, for his ancestry is noble and ancient. Mahatmaji has taught us that this problem can be solved only by a charge of heart by each man's personal endeavour to destroy the consciousness of racial superiority. You know that he has adopted into the fold of his own family a Mahar girl, in order that her daily sight and gradual upbringing may be an unfailing reminder of the common humanity. That is the real solution of the problem. And if we all have not the courage to adopt similar methods, let us, at least, practise the secret of this great man's behaviour and bring about gradually an entire change in our mental outlook towards these classes in our daily behaviour. It is only then that the problem will be solved and true Swaraj established.

THE FUTURE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

(BY THE REV. J. F. EDWARDS.)

You have rendered Christian Missions in India one more signal service by your address before the Bombay Missionary Conference on July 9, published in the *Reformer* of the 14th under the title 'The Future of Christian Missions.' The missionary forces at work in India have long known that in you they have a warm and sincere friend. For myself it would be difficult to express my debt to the *Reformer* which I have long regarded as one of the most deeply Christ-

ian journals in this or any land, and I can think of no publication more likely to help missionaries and all other foreigners to a correct interpretation of changing India. As one of your British readers who cannot agree with all you say, I may be allowed to add that your criticisms of Europeans and of Government are so uniformly just that I could wish every European in India received your message every week.

No one who heard your appeal to missionaries on the subject of proselytism could fail to be moved by its earnestness and sincerity. Before coming to that appeal, may I say something about the interesting paragraphs that led up to it? 'The absence of a metaphysical background' to 'Protestant Christianity,' to which you refer as 'the great defect', is surely more than compensated for by the living Personality of Christ whose Incarnation of the Divine on the stage of actual history and whose Death at Calvary have presented to mankind an ideal, with the power to realize the ideal, such as nothing merely 'metaphysical' can possibly do.

All you say of 'the material wealth, the political power and the dazzling civilization' of Western countries is fully deserved and I had my say on these things during my recent furlough in the West. But many of us who owe all we are to the Christian home and the Christian Church in the West know by experience whence the springs of all that is healthy in Western influence have their source. We think, too, with humbling gratitude of many hard-working Christian people whose generosity and sacrifice are making it possible for us on their behalf to extend a helping hand to one of the neediest and most deserving countries in the world. Similarly you know how deeply we rejoice with you in all 'the religious and social reform movements', in 'the new nationalism' and in every worthy leader whose 'religious ideas' have been 'greatly influenced by the Bible' and who 'cannot sufficiently acknowledge' his 'spiritual debt to the life and teaching of Jesus.'

Concerning the 'return' of 'Christians' to Hinduism, it is the unanimous conviction of all the missionaries of my acquaintance that the Christian cause is only strengthened and purified by their departure, since it is probable that every one of them has been 'Christian' only in name and not in reality. Had the Hindu Missionary Society referred for information, to the missionaries it has quoted from time to time in its journal, many enlightening facts would have been forthcoming resulting in fewer 'converts to Hinduism'. Take for example the Roman Catholic 'Christian Kolis' whose case you correctly quote from the recent Census Report. That Report goes on to say: 'It is well-known that these Christian Kolis combine the worship of idols with the worship of the Christian Trinity, figures of Hindu godlings being kept behind the altar, and covered with a cloth when a priest comes to celebrate Mass'. You will agree that the Roman Catholic Archbishop is justified in remarking that 'though we call them Christians, one has to give a very broad definition in order to include them' and that Indian Christianity will be very much stronger without them.

That there has been a healthy 'dissatisfaction' among Indian Christians regarding their relations with missionaries is common knowledge, but I believe all who know the situation would say that 'it is not 'increasing' but is already giving place to a hearty co-operation, the reconstituting of the National and Provincial Missionary Councils whereby the membership of these Councils is in future to be half Indian and half foreign, along with a similarly growing devolution of authority by missionaries on Indian fellow-workers in almost every Mission in the land, having brought the Indian and the foreigner much closer together. Regarding 'the number of Christians in this Presidency,' it will suffice to quote a resolution of the Bombay Representative Council of Missions just after the Census Returns had appeared. 'The Council calls the attention of its Committee on Survey and Co-operation to the figures of the recent Census dealing with the numbers of Christians in the Bombay Presidency and to the Census Officer's remarks on the uncertainty of the figures, that in the case of the figures for Protestant Sects, "skilled estimates would produce more reliable figures than a general Census enumeration" and that "the proper agency for framing such skilled estimates would be some Central Missionary Conference." Most missionary societies felt the figures in their areas were understated. Even so, the Census showed that the number of Protestant Christians in the Bombay Presidency had increased by more than ten per cent. in a decade during which the general population had *decreased* by nearly two per cent. In the forty years between 1888 and 1921 the increase was nearly three hundred per cent, but of course as numbers grow the percentage of increase declines, one plus one being an increase of 100 per cent, whereas, 10,000 added to 100,000 represents only 10 per cent.

As for proselytism, individual missionaries must think out for themselves, in the silence of their own conscience, the problem whether they are doing their Christian work by 'the method of evangelisation' (which you allow) or by 'that of proselytisation' (which you disallow). Speaking entirely for oneself, I am of opinion that in all our Mission work we have been in danger of carrying the practical and concrete spirit of the West too far by placing, possibly, more emphasis on the numbers won outwardly—which I understand to be what you mean by proselytising—than upon the real spiritual quality of the work done, witness the importance given in most reports to mere statistics, forgetting that were the same measure applied to the work of the Master Himself 'in the days of His flesh' we should miss its entire meaning. At the same time the border line between 'evangelisation' and 'proselytisation' under some circumstances might be so faint that the earnest 'evangeliser' might easily be viewed from some standpoints as a 'proselytiser'. Your moving appeal that missionaries and Indian Christians shall 'sow the seed of Christ's teachings broadcast', and your own loyalty to the spirit of those teachings, challenge an answering loyalty on the part of missionaries. Their supreme aim, according to Christ Himself, is to be

to establish among men everywhere the Kingdom or Reign of God. And Jesus sets forth two great methods of doing this, *viz.*, the permeation of society with the principles of Christ, and the transformation of each individual by the power of Christ. Christ always accomplished the former by means of the latter which meant an appeal to the individual. Such an appeal closely borders on proselytising. Perhaps the proselytising method will be avoided the more inward, that is the more Christlike, the appeal is in both method and content. For Christ was and is supremely inward in his whole approach, whether it be to the individual or to society, touching the realm of motive on every question and insisting that men must be pure *in heart*. That there will inevitably be a definite line of cleavage between those who accept and those who reject such a message is obvious, for we can never forget Christ's grave words about those who 'confess' Him and those who are 'ashamed to confess' Him, and many similar words.

Moreover, while India's national tolerance in the realm of religion is one of the most impressive facts in her long history, there has also been an accompanying caste *intolerance* shown to those accepting other faiths, in this case the faith in Christ. That missionaries on the other hand have not always adopted the wisest methods in protecting their converts or in separating them off from their former environment must be admitted, but the history of Indian Christianity shows that missionaries have not been the only factors in 'artificially' creating or keeping up a separate Indian Christian 'community', giving to Christianity the appearance of a merely 'proselytising' religion. The persecution of converts by their former castes will be made accountable for much by the impartial historian. But there never was a time when missionaries were so desirous as now that their Indian Christian brethren should exercise the influence they are called to exercise as 'the salt of the earth', and when Indian Christians themselves were so earnestly seeking to fulfil their God-given ministry to India's body politic. There have been many encouraging signs during the past few years that Indian Christians are being treated less and less as 'denationalised out-castes' and more and more as citizens of their motherland, but there are still many dark places in the villages of India of which this cannot be said. If missionaries can only be assured that their needy Christian brothers and sisters shall be regarded as Indian citizens and treated as such, there will disappear one of the greatest reasons for 'keeping up' separate Indian Christian 'community', for they will be welcomed everywhere. Such a consummation would help to convince all friends of India in the West that India was on the high road to a real democracy and would encourage missionaries to concentrate on their supreme task of working for the transforming of individuals by the power of Christ and the permeating of society with the principles of Christ, not caring much about 'statistics'. For, as one great Indian missionary once wrote: 'We are not responsible for success, but we are responsible for power'—true spiritual power.

May I close by a reference to the late Indian Christian poet, Narayan Vaman Tilak, now accepted by all as the greatest Maratha poet since at least 1850, and concerning whom the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar said at a memorial meeting that 'he' (Mr. Tilak) wished to dedicate himself to the service of his motherland by poetry, politics and social service'. On the occasion of his giving himself publicly to Christ and His service he composed a stirring Marathi hymn of which one verse reads:

My wealth, my thoughts, aye, verily,
My life itself I give to thee,
My Hindustan so dear to me!

His continual protest in all his writing was against the misconception that his 'change of religion' had meant a 'change of nationality'; on the other hand it meant for him he was a greater Indian patriot than ever. Surely the time is ripe for taking up again something he aspired after in his last days, a society named *God's Durbar*, consisting of 'a brotherhood of the baptized and unbaptized disciples of Christ by uniting them together in the bonds of love and service'. I am sure there are many thousands in India who would be willing, under suitable leadership, to take the 'Durbar Vow' suggested by the late poet. Perhaps Mahatma Gandhi will be that leader, or perhaps yourself. The 'Durbar Vow' reads: (1) Like Thee, O Christ, I will remain poor. (2) Like Thee I will serve. (3) Like Thee I will be 'the friend of all, the enemy of none.' (4) Like Thee I will ever be ready to be nailed to a cross. (5) Like Thee I will strive to do fully the will of God. (6) Like Thee I will love all mankind. (7) In the strength of faith I will abide in Thy presence. Thy world and mine shall be one. I will strive after Thy likeness.

THE BOMBAY PROSTITUTION BILL.

The following Bill is published in the Bombay Government *Gazette* dated 14th July under Rule 18 of the Bombay Legislative Council Rules:—

BILL No. IV OF 1928.

An Act to consolidate and amend the Law relating to prostitution in the City of Bombay.

Whereas it is expedient to consolidate and amend the law relating to prostitution in the City of Bombay and to provide for the extension thereof to other local areas in the Presidency of Bombay, and whereas the previous sanction of the Governor General required by subsection (3) of section 80A of the Government of India Act has been obtained for passage of this Act; it is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. (1) The Act may be called the Bombay Prevention of Prostitution Act, 1928.

(2) This section, section 6, subsection 8 (3), section 9, and section 13 extend to the whole of the Bombay Presidency. The rest of this Act shall extend in the first instance to the City of Bombay but the Government may by notification extend all or any of its provisions with such modifications as having regard to the principles of this Act it may deem necessary, to any other local area.

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,—'brothel' means any house, room, or place which the occupier or person in charge thereof habitually allows to be used by any other person for the purposes of prostitution.

3. Whoever in any street or public place or place of public resort or within sight of and in such manner as to be seen or heard from any street or public place, whether from within any house or building or not,—(a) by words, gestures, wilful and indecent exposure of his person or otherwise attracts or endeavours to attract attention for the purpose of prostitution, or (b) solicits or molests any person or loiters for the purpose of prostitution, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days, or with fine which may extend to fifty rupees.

4. Whoever being the keeper of any place of public amusement or entertainment, knowingly permits prostitutes, or persons of notoriously bad character, to meet or remain in such place, shall be punished with fine which may extend to one hundred rupees.

5. (1) Any male person who knowingly lives, wholly or in part, on the earnings of prostitution shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with whipping, or with any two of those punishments.

(2) Where a male person is proved to be living with or to be habitually in the company of a prostitute, or is proved to have exercised control, direction or influence over the movements of a prostitute in such a manner as to show that he is aiding, abetting or compelling her prostitution with any other person or compelling her prostitution with any other person or generally, it shall be presumed, until the contrary is proved, that he is knowingly living on the earnings of prostitution.

6. Any person who procures or attempts to procure any woman or girl, whether with or without her consent, to become a prostitute, or who, with intent that she may for the purposes of prostitution become the inmate of or frequent a brothel, persuades a woman or girl to leave her usual place of abode, shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three years or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with whipping, or with any two of those punishments.

7. Any person who brings or attempts to bring into the City of Bombay any woman or girl with a view to her becoming a prostitute, shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three years or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with whipping, or with any two of those punishments.

8. (1) Whoever detains any woman or girl against her will: (a) in any house, room or place in which the business of a common prostitute is carried on, or (b) in or upon any premises with intent that she may have sexual intercourse with any man, other than her husband, whether any particular man or generally, shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

(2) Where a woman or girl is in any house, room or place in which the business of a common prostitute is carried on or is in or upon any premises for the purpose of having any sexual intercourse, a person shall be deemed to detain such woman or girl in such house, room, place or in or upon such premises if, with intent to compel or induce her to remain there, such person withholds from her any wearing apparel, personal ornaments or other property belonging to her; or where wearing apparel, personal ornaments or money has been lent or otherwise supplied to such woman or girl by or by the direction of such person, if such person threatens such woman or girl with legal proceedings if she takes away with her the wearing apparel or personal ornaments so lent or applied, or for the recovery of such money.

(3) No civil suit shall lie, and no proceedings whether civil or criminal shall be taken, against any such woman or girl or against any person on her behalf, by or on behalf of any person occupying or managing or acting or assisting in the management of any such house, room, place or premises, for the recovery of any wearing apparel, personal ornaments or other property alleged to have been lent or supplied to or for such woman or girl or to have been pledged by or for her or for the recovery of any money alleged to be payable by or on behalf of such woman or girl.

9. (1) The Commissioner of Police may at any time cause a notice to be served upon any person who occupies or manages or acts or assists in the management of, or upon any woman who resides in, uses or frequents, any house, room, or place in the City of Bombay in which the business of a common prostitute is carried on, requiring such person or woman after a date to be mentioned in the notice, which shall not be less than seven days from the date of the notice, not to reside in, use or frequent any street or place specified in the notice; or directing such person or woman after a date to be mentioned and fixed as aforesaid to remove himself or herself to such place, whether within or without the City of Bombay, by such route or routes and within such time as the Commissioner of Police shall prescribe.

(2) If any person or woman so directed under sub-section (1) fails or refuses to remove himself or herself as directed within the time specified, the Commissioner of Police may cause such person or woman to be arrested and removed in police custody to the place prescribed.

(3) No direction under the second alternative in sub-section (1) shall be made without the previous sanction of the Government.

(4) Any person on whom a notice under this section shall have been served, disobeying the requisition therein contained, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend—

(a) in the case of a first offence, to one month, and

(b) in the case of a second or subsequent offence, to three months.

(5) Whoever, within two years from the date of his removal under the provisions of this section, returns to any place within the City of Bombay, without the permission in writing of the Commissioner of Police, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years or with fine or with both.

10. (1) Any police-officer on complaint, and any police-officer authorized in this behalf by the Commissioner of Police by general or special order without such complaint, may arrest without a warrant any person committing, in his view, any offence punishable under section 8, if the name and address of such person be unknown to such police-officer and cannot be ascertained by him then and there.

(2) Any police officer may, without an order from a magistrate and without a warrant, arrest any person who has been concerned in any offence punishable under section 8 or against whom a reasonable complaint has been made or credible information has been received or a reasonable suspicion exists of his having been concerned in an offence under that section or of his having committed an offence under section 9, sub-section (5).

11. Any police-officer authorized in this behalf by the Commissioner of Police by general or special order may, for the purpose of ascertaining whether an offence punishable

under sections 5, 6, 7 or 8 has been or is being committed, enter without a warrant any premises, in which he has reason to believe that any woman or girl is living in respect of whom an offence punishable under sections 5, 6, 7 or 8 has been committed.

12. It shall not be incumbent on the Commissioner of Police, or any Superintendent specially authorized in writing in that behalf by the Commissioner, to prosecute for any offence punishable under section 8 or section 9 (5), save in obedience to a rule or order made by the Government or when such offence has occasioned serious mischief.

13. Offence punishable under sections 5, 6, 7 or 8 shall be triable by Presidency Magistrates and the Magistrates of the first class only.

14. (1) In the City of Bombay Police Act, 1902,—
(a) In sub-section 1 (2) the figures "28" shall be repealed and for the words, letters and figures "110A and sub-section (3) of section 126 A" the word, letters and figure "and 110A" shall be substituted; (b) section 28 shall be repealed; (c) in clause 33 (i) after the figures "126" the word "or" shall be inserted and for the words "or under section 128 of this Act or" the words "of this Act or under" shall be substituted; (d) in clause 33 (j) the words "or section 126A" shall be repealed; (e) sub-section 35 (1) shall be repealed; (f) in section 120, clause (a) and (b) and the letter "(c)" shall be repealed; (g) in section 125, in clause (a) the word "or" and clause (b) shall be repealed; (h) section 126A shall be repealed; (i) in section 128 the words and letters "or section 28" shall be repealed; (j) section 129 shall be repealed; (k) in section 130 for the word, letter and figures "126A, 127 or 128" the word and letters "or 127" shall be substituted.

(2) In any municipal district to which section 9 may be extended under section 1, sub-section 152 of the Bombay (2), section 152 of the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901, shall be deemed to have been repealed from the date of such extension.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

The object of this Bill is twofold: Firstly to give effect to certain of the recommendations of the Committee appointed to consider means for remedying the evils of prostitution in Bombay; and secondly to combine in one enactment the law relating to prostitution in the City of Bombay in a form which will admit of easy extension to such areas in the Presidency as may be deemed to require it.

In the City of Bombay till the year 1920 the action of the Police was confined mainly to the segregation of brothels and the prevention of soliciting; sections 28 and 120 of the City of Bombay Police Act, 1902. In 1920, as a result of the agitation following on the Duncau Road Murder case, section 126A was added: the object of which was to prevent the detention of women and girls by force or otherwise in brothels.

The necessity however for more comprehensive measures to deal with this evil has been urged upon Government from many quarters; and by Government Resolution, Home Department, No. 469 of 16th November 1921 a Committee was appointed to consider the question. In their report submitted on 19th April 1922, in paragraph 15, the Committee have submitted their main recommendations: that the following acts should be made illegal:—

- (1) the keeping of brothels;
- (2) the procuring of women;
- (3) the letting of houses for purposes of prostitution.

The Committee laid considerable stress on the necessity for the gradual enforcement of this policy of abolition.

But the first and most necessary step in this programme is to eliminate the activities of the procurer. The existence of a class of men whose business it is to maintain the supply of prostitutes for the houses of ill fame in Bombay is responsible for a large part of the evils of the system. The procuring and importation of women and the living on the earnings of such women have been made offences under the Act, substantial penalties have been provided and will, it is hoped, prevent the trapping of ignorant women and their exploitation in Bombay. With the disappearance of the persons mainly concerned to maintain the system, the evil itself should soon be substantially mitigated.

The law on the subject in the mofussil is very meagre. Under section 41 of the Bombay District Police Act, 1890, the District Magistrate or sub-divisional magistrate in areas to which the section has been extended may order the owner or tenant of a house to discontinue the use of it as a brothel. Under section 153 of the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901, in any municipal district which is within three miles of a cantonment or to which the section has been extended, a magistrate of the First Class, with the sanction of the District Magistrate or on complaint of three or more neighbours, may pass a like order. Soliciting is also dealt with under section 152. Under the Cantonment Act, 1910, section 24 (20) and (23), the Governor General in Council may make rules for the segregation of prostitutes in and the removal of prostitutes from and the prevention of soliciting in cantonments; and for the reporting and compulsory treatment of venereal disease. Attention is also invited to sections 269, 328, 366, 367, 372 and 373 of the Indian Penal Code.

The Bill is based on certain sections—(a) of the Burma Suppression of Brothels Act, 1921, (b) of the City of Bombay Police Act, 1902. The latter have been reproduced in the Bill, the original sections being repealed. The marginal notes indicate the sections on which the clauses of the Bill are based.

12th June 1923. (Signed) M. H. W. HAYWARD.

By order of His Excellency the Honourable the Governor,
S. J. MURPHY,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

Legal Department.

Bombay, 12th July, 1923.

GOVERNMENT'S SOLICITUDE FOR DEPRESSED CLASSES.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I have followed with great interest the controversy in your paper regarding the recent Government order depriving aided schools of their grants if they do not admit students of the depressed classes. Nobody doubts the genuine sympathy for these classes on the part of the Hon'ble Minister for Education. He made provision in a deficit budget of last year for opening a Government Hostel for High School boys of the depressed classes in Poona. This year he ordered that children of these classes should have equal rights of admission and sitting-in all Government and Local Board schools with children of higher classes. These two acts do him much credit as a social reformer. But I am not prepared to give him any credit for the recent order, nor am I prepared to say that it was prompted by his sympathy for these classes. It is now well-known that his department is out for starving the aided schools whose grants have been reduced from one-third to one-fourth. It would give no grant to aided schools if it can help it. All grants for buildings, furniture etc. are stopped, and I firmly believe

that the present notification is prompted by the desire of making a saving under the cloak of solicitude for the depressed classes. In this connection it would be worth while to know how the department has cut down the boarding grant of a philanthropic body like the Depressed Class Mission Society of India. This Society got a grant of Rs. 2,000 every year since 1918 for its three boarding-houses at Bombay, Poona, and Hubli as a special case by a special resolution of Lord Sydenham's Government. This liberal resolution is given a go-bye by the department under the Minister who is a well-known friend of these classes. Lord Sydenham had given this special grant at the representation of a deputation that waited on him. Thus what was gained in 1918 from an irresponsible Government is taken away by the Government in charge of the Hon. Dr. Paranjpye. The Society's grant is now reduced to less than Rs 1,000. I drew the attention of the Hon'ble Minister to this injustice by special question and criticism at the time of the budget as also by correspondence, but it seems he is helpless in the matter before the Bureaucracy.

This instance will convince you and your readers that the present notification is prompted by no solicitude for the depressed classes, but by the ruthless retrenchment in the Education Department which is bent upon the ruin of aided schools, and the notification is nothing else but a part of this policy in disguise. Let not the social reformers be deceived by this notification and let them not believe that it is a great measure promulgated in the interests of the depressed classes.

Yours etc,
G. B. TRIVEDI.

Bandra, 28rd July 1923.

"GOVERNESS OR MISTRESS?"

THE EDITOR, THE *Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

In the July 21st issue of your most valuable paper, you have an Editorial on "Governess or Mistress" which calls forth my warmest support and thanks. Until more men of your character are bold enough to stand up for the right in such matters, we will not see much change in public opinion.

No man whose private life is not above reproach, no matter what country he may claim as his Motherland, is fit to represent the people in any public capacity. I am aware that such a statement is not popular and will not be endorsed by many, but a "white life for two", is surely the only safe foundation on which to build a strong nation, and so I personally wish to thank you for so bravely taking up this matter and so fearlessly speaking out.

Your paper is one which constantly calls for commendation because of its clean, high tone and fearless championing of the right.

Yours Faithfully,
ADA R. FERGUSON.

Vepary, Madras.
24th July.

Sir N. G. Chandavarkar Memorial Fund.

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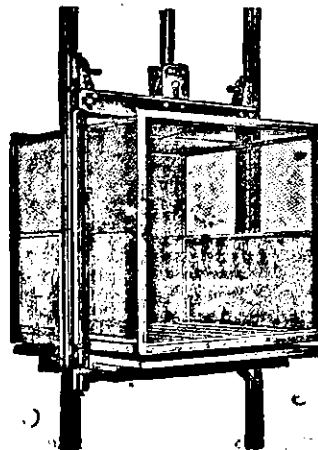
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Vol. XXXIII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1923. No. 49.

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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Bombay Widow Marriage Bureau.
Students' Anti-Dowry Association.
"Missionary Menace."

NOTES.

— 10: —

The late Rev. Dr. William Miller: The Rev. Dr. William Miller, whose death took place a few days ago at his home in Scotland, was not only a great educationist but he was more than that, a great Christian Missionary. The Christian College in Madras was entirely built up by him from small beginnings. His personal influence on his students was very great and was due to the care and sympathy which he bestowed on each individual student both at College and in after life. The Madras University, largely under his guidance, grew up on the model of the Scottish Universities. Dr. Miller's educational career is the best-known part of his career, but scarcely less important was his attitude as a Christian Missionary. It was an oft-repeated complaint that Dr. Miller as a rule dissuaded his students when they approached him with a desire to be converted to Christianity, that he seldom introduced in his prayers the name of Christ, and that generally speaking his attitude was one of broad tolerance to all religions instead of being one of insistence on the exclusive superiority of Christianity. To all such criticisms, he turned a deaf ear. In a memorable public address, which should be reprinted and widely distributed, he developed his idea of Christian work in India as being not to destroy but to draw out and to help to fulfil the best in the religions of the land. He declared in emphatic words that every religion should be judged by its highest ideals and not by its lowest failures. He pointed out that Hinduism has made two great contributions to human thought in its philosophy of the interpenetrativeness of God and the solidarity of man. The address was much criticised but Dr. Miller had in him the spirit of the Vikings and would not draw back a single inch. He discouraged the adoption of European clothes by Indians, pointing out that their own national dress was far more comfortable as well as graceful. He was the pioneer in establishing College Hostels in Madras and he was careful to make them self-governing in every instance. He was a consistent friend of the social reform movement in which, in its early struggling days in Madras, owed much to his wise and helpful advice and sympathy. The name of William Miller will long be a cherished memory with the people of South India.

The Rendition of Berar: The *Servant of India* has gone out of its way to prejudice the case of the Nizam's Government for the rendition of Berar by raising irrelevant issues. At the time of the grant of the province on a perpetual lease to the Government of India, there were few Indian publicists who did not feel that Lord Curzon had taken undue advantage of the late Nizam's embarrassments. The people of Berar were not consulted about their wishes and they were taken over by the Government of India "as if" to use our contemporary's phrase, "they were merely a herd of cattle that have no power of choosing their owners." The *Servant of India* may be reminded that Berar is even now technically Nizam's territory and the people of Berar are His Highness's and not British subjects. Their position is, indeed, anomalous. If Berar is handed back to the Nizam, the people will become in fact as in theory His Exalted Highness's subjects. The Nizam's Government may be, as the *Servant of India* declares, autocratic misrule, but it is a new doctrine in inter-State jurisprudence that "autocratic misrule" justifies the virtual absorption of one State by another. On the same reasoning the whole Hyderabad State can be taken on "perpetual lease" by the Government of India! The acquisition of Berar on a so-called perpetual lease was a wrong done to the Nizam's sovereign right guaranteed to him by solemn Treaties, and it cannot be justified by the fact that since then the people of Berar have been administered on the more advanced British Indian system. At the same time, we recognise that it would be an instance of political evolution backward for Berar after a quarter of a century of British Indian administration to become subject to a less advanced system. There is, however, a precedent for rendering back the province to the Nizam without involving the people in this retrograde evolution. When Mysore was given back to its ancient Hindu dynasty, the continuance of the administrative system introduced during fifty years of British administration of the State, was made by Treaty a condition of the restoration. A similar condition can be made to safeguard the interests of the people of Berar. We would, indeed, suggest that the restoration of Berar should be coupled with a proviso that His Exalted Highness should remodel his administration of the whole State on lines more suitable to the times than the present personal rule.

The Nabha Abdication: We have received two communications relating to this topic. One is from a Mr. Sant Singh and it gives certain resolutions said to have been unanimously passed at "a public meeting of the citizens and the officials of Nabha," held at Serai Shadyat under the presidentship of Lala Shamji Das, and attended by about three thousand persons. At the end of the resolutions, is another communication beginning "Another Nabha correspondent writes," relating to the same meeting. The second is in the form of a long letter from one Mr. Pratap Chand answering the criticisms passed on the Government communique announcing the

Maharaja's abdication. Neither Mr. Sant Singh nor Mr. Pratap Chand have deemed it worth while to give their addresses or even the name of the place from which they are writing. Both the envelopes, however, bear the Lahore post-mark, and are besides addressed in the same hand-writing and with the same superscriptions. Mr. Sant Singh and Mr. Pratap Chand would seem to employ the same clerk to address their letters. The Government communique made no mention of any oppression by the late Maharaja of his own subjects among the complaints against him enquired into by Mr. Justice Stuart. The resolutions passed at the public meeting of officials and citizens at Nabha, in this respect, far exceed the accusations advanced against the Prince in the Government communique, and it is to be hoped that those who passed them realised their responsibility. We do not publish these communications as, though two names are given, in the absence of any address, we are not in a position to judge of their *bona fides*, while the similarities noted above, raise a suspicion of interested propagandism against the late Maharaja.

Hindu-Mahomedan Unity: Now that the stimulus lent by the Kullat movement is fairly out of the way, it is important to consider ways and means by which the sentiment of unity between Hindus and Mahomedans, the value of which it brought into high relief, can be consolidated upon a permanent foundation without the adventitious aid of fleeting phases of politics. This can only be achieved by creating and fostering a sympathetic study of the ideals of Islam by Hindus and of Hinduism by our Mahomedan countrymen, especially of the student class. The illuminating articles which we recently published from the pen of Professor Maulvi of the Karnatak College on the position of women and the Purdah system in Islam have, we are glad to know, been widely appreciated and have been the means of evoking the interest of non-Mahomedan reformers in the social ideas of Islam. The scholarly address on "Tolerance in Islam", delivered by Mr. G. K. Nariman at a public meeting held in Bombay under the auspices of the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha to celebrate the signing of the Turkish Peace Treaty at Lausanne, which we publish to-day, is another valuable contribution to our understanding of the high principles underlying that great religion. As in the case of Christianity, so in Mahomedanism, the best course for the student who wishes to understand the inner essence of each faith, is to go direct to the actual teachings of the Founder and not to rely upon second-hand interpretations and commentaries thereon. We should much wish that institutions like the Students' Brotherhood in Bombay and other similar institutions elsewhere should make it a special feature of their activities to institute lectures and courses of study with this end in view.

The Third Tilak Anniversary: It is impossible to overlook an underlying note, in the significantly enthusiastic and widespread celebration this week of the third anniversary of the death of Lokamanya Tilak, of a kind of regret that if his method of "responsive co-operation" had been followed instead of that of non-co-operation, the political situation to-day would not have been as distressing as it is. Most of the speakers and writers carefully avoided any direct reference to Mr. Tilak's method as distinguished from Mahatma Gandhi's, but some bolder spirits did not hesitate to draw the distinction. Mr. Ranade's was the most massive and constructive genius which Maharashtra has produced in modern times. Tilak and Gokhale, each took a part from that great soul—Tilak evolving by antagonism to, and Gokhale in sympathy with, the two sides of the Master. The Lokamanya's fierce energies were, almost by choice, absorbed by criti-

cism of the social reformers, first, and of the system of government next. He had, of course, a purpose in this, and no selfish motive entered it. His purpose throughout was to rouse in the people the conviction that they can, if they seriously willed it, be masters in their own household. He would postpone all progress till this had become an actual fact. His mistake was in ignoring that without progress in many directions, self-government cannot become an actual fact. Mahatma Gandhi did not make this mistake, and Tilak also came latterly to recognise the importance of social to national progress. It is our strong conviction that if the Lokamanya had from the first co-operated with Mr. Ranade's efforts in the direction of progress all round, Maharashtra and the country to-day will have been appreciably nearer *Swaraj*. The non-Brahmin problem, for one thing, would not have arisen, or if it had, it would have assumed a much milder form. Mr. S. G. Warty in his judicious appreciation of the Lokamanya which we print to-day, says that Mr. Tilak justified his opposition to social reform on the ground that the late Mr. Agarkar manifested a tendency to rationalism. Mr. Tilak himself was, we think, very little addicted to dogmatic religion and the quality of reverence was not the most conspicuous feature of his life. However that may be, all leaders of social reform in Maharashtra except Mr. Agarkar, were also leaders of religious reform, and were men known for their devotion, piety and purity. Mr. Tilak's opposition to social reform was not limited to Mr. Agarkar's type of it. It extended to Mr. Ranade's and Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar's school as well. This, however, is now a matter of merely historical interest.

Objectionable Proselytism: We have recently had occasion to point out that Christian Missions stand to gain much by giving up proselytization and devoting themselves to carry the message of Jesus Christ by the example of their daily lives and service in the cause of humanity. Mr. C. F. Andrews writes to-day calling attention to the case of a young woman whom the Zenana Mission in Madras has apparently converted to Christianity. Mr. Andrews' feeling remarks are strengthened by the caustic comments of the *Christian Patriot* of Madras, under the heading "The Missionary Menace" which we reprint. The case of Miss Doris Hawker who was adopted by an Anglo-Indian family in Madras from an Orphanage in England, whose arrival in Madras created an agitation in Parliament, and who was sent back at the public expense by Government, is fresh in the remembrance of Madras. The abduction of a young Hindu woman from her home by a Missionary lady who was presumably in the relation of a tutor to the girl in that family, is a serious matter, whether it is legally defensible or not. If a few more cases of this kind occur, we should not be surprised if a demand is made that the Zenana Mission should be suppressed as a public nuisance, and we are afraid, no Government in India will be able to resist it.

The Meerut Inter-Caste Dinner: We congratulate our friends in Meerut for successfully organising amidst great difficulties an inter-communal dinner, a considerable number of guests being from the depressed classes. A sinister feature of the occasion was the disturbance caused by Mahomedan rowdies on the extraordinary ground that the inter-communal dinner was for the purpose of uniting the Hindus against the Mahomedans. This is a new development and ought to be promptly checked by Mahomedan leaders. At the similar dinner held in Bombay some time back, there were several Mahomedan guests present. The promoters of all such functions must make it a point to invite Mahomedan friends to join, and should consider that without them no such celebration is complete.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, JULY 4, 1923.

THE KENYA DECISION.

The question of the position of Indians in Kenya stands on an entirely different footing from that of their position in any other British Colony. The Indians were in Kenya long before the British and were not taken there by the British as in the case of many of the other Colonies. A close connection between the West Coast of India and the East Coast of Africa has been traced back up to the fifteenth century. Vasco da Gama found large merchant vessels from India harboured at Mombasa. Indians led the way to the British connection with East Africa. Sir John Kirk, the first Consul-General of the East Coast of Africa, stated that, but for the Indians, the British would not have been in East Africa at all. The part played by Indian workmen in developing and by Indian troops in conquering and defending East Africa is well known. About 50,000 Indian troops were engaged in East Africa during the recent War. To consent to be treated as an inferior race in a Colony for which Indians have done so much more than the European settlers, in the face of solemn assurances of equality from the Imperial authorities, is to acknowledge ourselves as unworthy of being anything but hewers of wood and drawers of water in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The *Times of India* advises us to develop the qualities which have made Englishmen what they are in the Colonies before we claim equality with them. "The British," writes our contemporary, "have obtained their present international position principally because they have a reputation for solid qualities of character which no detractors can take away from them." This was said on Monday. On Tuesday, our contemporary explained a little what these solid qualities were. Enlarging on the impolicy of Indians adopting any attitude but that of acquiescence and submission to the Kenya decision, the *Times of India* went on to point out the alternative. Supposing, says our contemporary in effect, that the British Government agree to pass a law recognising the just claims of Indians, it will avail little. "They (the Whites in Kenya)," it observes, "will seek for some means of forestalling the legislation and of circumventing it, and not all the charges of rebellion, sedition and lawlessness will turn them back." We have been recently reading the Life of Dr. Jameson of the Transvaal raid fame, and we know only too well that the *Times of India* is right in its appreciation of "the solid qualities" of Englishmen in Africa. They will circumvent laws and will not be deterred by charges of sedition, rebellion or lawlessness from doing so. "Law and order" is not for them. If "law and order" comes across their path, so much the worse for "law and order." It is extremely interesting to compare this with the *Times'* denunciation of the Flag Satyagrahis at Nagpur. Then, our contemporary says, that the Europeans in Kenya will invoke the aid of General Smuts to

annex Kenya to the South African Union. This will be high treason, and if General Smuts agrees to do so, he will be equally guilty of treasonable conduct to the Empire. If constitutional methods alone are right, the doctrine must hold good for all parties—Indians and Europeans. To ask Indians to submit to the unconstitutional temper of the White settlers, is poor service to the Empire.

The *Times of India* declares that no Indian national government would have wrung more than Lord Reading's Government from the British Government in the face of the strong opposition offered by the white settlers. Our contemporary forgets one little matter. East Africa has more than once depended for its protection on Indian troops, and Lord Reading's Government, being a subordinate Government, is not in a position to declare that such protection will be no longer available if Indians are discriminated against in East Africa. The White Settlers will have to maintain an army to protect their country against every country whose people they trample upon in their Colony. The homily of the *Times of India* amounts practically to this: that unless Indians are prepared to defend their rights, like the White Settlers, by circumventing laws, and not allowing "all the charges of rebellion, sedition and lawlessness" to turn them back, they cannot hope to be allowed to live on equal terms with the white settlers in Kenya. If it means anything else, we shall be thankful to be told what it means. If the British Government is so helpless to protect His Majesty's Indian subjects in even a Crown Colony against the opposition of white men, why not say so plainly and be done with it? Why all this pretence of impartiality and justice? The Indian will then know where he stands and will either accept the position without making any fuss about his rights or take what steps he can to get out of it. Why talk of original membership of the League of Nations, of the Imperial Conference and Dominion status, and of constitutional reforms? If Indians are to be helots of the British Empire, let them be plainly told so. If India accepts the Kenya decision even temporarily and under protest, then there is no hope for her within the British Empire. We must leave no stone unturned to have this decision upset at the earliest opportunity. The whole energy of our public men should be mobilised to fight this question out to the end. It is a matter of life and death to us. We should promptly show by every means in our power that we do not by any means intend to acquiesce in this decision. We have not seen the text of the Reciprocity Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly at the instance of Dr. Gour, but it cannot have any application to East Africa. The great majority of the people of Kenya are Africans, Indians and Arabs, and it would be as foolish as it would be unjust to take any step which will injure their interests. Nor, for the matter of that, is our grievance principally against the White settlers in Kenya who, in consonance with "the solid qualities" of their kind, wish to get as much as possible for themselves. It is the British Government which has failed to keep faith with Indians and India, and

it is against that Government that we have, as a last resort, to appeal to the British people. Our appeal can have little weight unless it is enforced by such constitutional means as are open to us to demonstrate our feelings of utter disappointment at the Kenya decision which amounts, in effect, to an outrage upon our national self-respect. The Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri has suggested some, namely, the resignation of the Indian members of the Government of India, the withdrawal of Indian participation in the forthcoming Empire Exhibition, and the withdrawal of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Indian representative, from the forthcoming Imperial Conference. The gentlemen concerned, however, seem to be no more ready to follow Mr. Sastri's advice than Mr. Sastri was to follow the Non-Co-operators' advice twelve months ago.

Viscount Peel's speech in the House of Lords conveys the impression that his Lordship did not quite realise the strength of feeling on the question in India till it was too late. If this be so, the responsibility for not keeping the Secretary of State for India and His Majesty's Government well informed as to the keen anxiety felt in this country about the question, lies with the Government of India. The chief responsibility for that, again, rests upon the Indian members of that Government, and on none more heavily than upon Sir Narasimha Sarma. His speeches in the Legislature have been generally felt to be utterly out of touch with Indian public opinion, and the hope that he might have imported more vigour in his action in the Executive Council, which is not open to the public view, seems to be belied by the tone of the Secretary of State's speech. The special correspondent of the *Voice of India* at Simla has called attention to a significant difference between the speeches of Sir Mahomed Shafi, the Law Member, and of Sir Narasimha, in the Legislature. The former referred to the Kenya decision as not being final, while the latter called in the aid of all the resources of philosophy to preach contentment to his countrymen. Lord Peel and Lord Reading have sought to make much of the refusal of the European demand for segregation of Indians in townships, but taken along with the other concessions to them, this virtually amounts to little. Indians are excluded from the Highlands, and they are to be segregated in a communal pen for election purposes. Segregation in townships is a small detail compared with this large policy of segregation of Indians. If segregation in townships had been allowed, but the reservation of the Highlands and communal electorates disallowed, the natural course of events would have largely neutralised and ultimately led to a consensus of opinion in favour of doing away with it also. On the contrary, the segregation of Indians from the Highlands and in the electorates, can hardly fail to have the effect of bringing about a practical segregation also in townships in spite of the formal refusal of it by His Majesty's Government. The Kenya decision is nothing more or less than a device to allow time to

the anti-Indian agitation of the European settlers to gather sufficient momentum to sweep away such opposition to it as there is in England at the present time, in the meanwhile holding the Indians in suspense about their future. We are not children or fools not to understand this game. The final decision may be delayed for five or ten years, in order to give time to Lord Delamere and General Smuts to mature their plan to drive the Indians from South and East Africa. The present settlement only paves the way for it and it will be folly on our part to sit complacently awaiting the severance of the hair by which hangs the Democles' sword that will put a final end to Indians in Africa. If we cannot get the sword removed from its perilous pendency, let us quietly make our exit and not wait to be kicked out of the country by Boer jack-boots with British nails to their soles.

TOLERANCE IN ISLAM. *

(By MR. G. K. NARIMAN.)

The triumph of Turkey is being celebrated in India. But I suspect it is not celebrated to the extent and depth which are its legitimate due.

Turkey was defeated in the field largely with Indian troops. Turkey has triumphed diplomatically largely because of the irresistible force of Indian opinion, particularly the impressive view of the united Musalmans of India. Had this been realised the rejoicings in India would be commensurate with the success which one regards as India's.

There are two remote causes why the triumph of Turkey falls short of being adequately appraised. Firstly, look at our education. From almost our childhood we are taught to have a view of the Turk not directly but obliquely, through the glasses provided by our foreign and prejudiced educational system. From Chaucer to Tennyson, the Turk is generally portrayed to us as a monster of iniquity and lust. Shakespeare says that in Turkey Amurath to Amurath succeeds and not Harry, Harry. Pope in his celebrated satire accuses Addison of not being able to bear like the Turk a brother near the throne. And so on. It is rarely that a travelled and cultured mind like Byron's appreciates the Turk. Even our lexicographers like Webster regard Turk and Moslem as convertible terms in a derogatory sense and Islam does not find favour in the eyes of Western Europe or America. The second cause why India does not fully participate in the exulting sentiments of Angora is that ours is a very poor country and the Musalmans of India have generally all the shortcomings which are inalienable from poverty. Hence the Hindus and Parsis and others, at least of this Presidency, think of Islam as it is embodied in the Khojas, Borahs, Memons and the others. Not that some of the latter are not highly refined and cultured. The Borahs, for instance, preserve the traditional Arabic learning to a larger extent than any other Indian community. But there is a difference between the Indian Musalman of the middle class and a gentleman from Meso-

* Speech made at a public meeting in Bombay on the 25th July to celebrate the signing of the Turkish Peace Treaty.

potamia, Persia, Syria or Turkey who has received superior education.

The well brought-up member of Islamic society outside India approximates to one's ideal of a gentleman. The most cultured and courteous family with which I have the privilege of being friendly is not Parsi or Christian or Hindu but Musalman belonging to Baku and now resident in Germany owing to the prevailing Bolshevism there.

If the Hindus and Parsis who flock year after year in their hundreds to witness the zenith of culture of Paris, Berlin and London also included in their travels sufficient long sojourns in Teheran, Constantinople, Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo, they would be astonished at the degree of civilization and the charm of manners which Islam inculcates. What a Turkish gentleman represents can be seen by he who runs and may read. Study, for instance, Raul Bey, now President of the Angora Council, and the testimony recorded by General Townshend, his chivalrous adversary.

The heaviest impediment, however, to realising the heroic efforts of the Turks which have been crowned with success, is the prevailing misconception of Islam. A student of history and religion disdains to write or speak as a propagandist. But the question of questions is whether they could find sanction in authentic precepts of Islam for this conduct. The general idea about this great religion is that it is a mighty destructive force, that it enslaves women and that, above all, it has no tolerance for non-Moslems.

It is forgotten that the Purdah system is not peculiar to Islam, that it can be traced to remote antiquity in India of the Ramayana and in Persia to the heroic ages. When we quote the dicta of the leaders of Islam: "Al ilmo farizatun alal mominin wa mominat," the general reply is: we did not know. When we cite that heaven itself is at the feet of matronhood in Islam, "Al jannate tahat ikdam-al-ummahat," the same astonished answer is returned. And the greatest ignorance prevails regarding the spirit of tolerance in Islam. No one now believes that a veritable handful of fanatic Arabs overran in a few decades the mighty Empire consisting of millions of Zoroastrian believers of Persia and forcibly reduced it to Islam without the co-operation of the inhabitants. If all the other texts, especially of the Quran, were forgotten, the single sentence 'La Ikrah Fidin' 'There is no compulsion in religious matters' ought to open the eyes of Islam's opponents. But there are historical occurrences which testify to this extraordinary indulgence granted in the middle ages to non-Moslems by Musalman sovereigns. The list is so large that I am afraid to adduce it fearing the amount of time it would consume. I would give not the only examples but the only really few of the many that occur to me at this moment.

One of the slaves of the Second Khalifa Omar who is believed to have persecuted the non-Moslems in so many lands, refused to coerce his Christian slave into Islam taking his stand on the Quranic

verse just quoted. The tolerance of Islam is perpetuated in the treaties which the early conquerors made with the Christian and Parsi conquered. The model is the convention made by the Prophet with the Christians of Najran. The instructions which the Prophet gave to Muaz Ib Jabal who was proceeding to Yaman is also a pattern. "Let no Jew be disturbed in his religious belief." There is a Hadis attributed to the Prophet; "He who oppresses a Zimi him I shall accuse myself on the day of Judgment." The English traveller Porter in his "Five Years in Damascus" points out the site of the house of the Jew where a mosque was erected which Omar directed to be pulled down, because his Governor had forcibly appropriated the house of the Jew in order to raise the sacred edifice of Islam over it.

To the Prophet himself is attributed a desire not to use the slightest force in proselytization. According to Ibn-Saad's valuable book the Tabakat (Vol. VI page 30) the Prophet said: "If they turn to Islam themselves, well and good, if not let them remain in their former faith. Islam is broad enough."

The most instructive example is that of Maimuni described by Ibn-ul-Kifti in his Taikh-ul-Hakama (page 319). This merchant-philosopher of the Jewish persuasion left Spain because Islam was forced on him, and arrived in Egypt. His talents placed him again at the head of the Jewish community. A fellow-citizen of Spain and Musalman fanatic, called Abul-Arab, denounced him before the Egyptian authorities as an apostate. And according to the law apostacy is punished with death. The case was heard by Abdur-Rahim Ibn-Ali, celebrated as Allazi all Fzel. He gave a judgment which redounds to the eternal credit of the tolerant spirit of Islam.

"There is no validity in the profession of Islam in the eye of the Law made by a person compelled thereto."

At the end of the seventeenth century a similar authoritative judgment was pronounced by the Mufti of Constantinople in the case of the Maronite, Amir Yunus, who was alleged to have been forced by the Pasha of Tripoli to turn Moslem, but who had again embraced Christianity. The Mufti gave as his decision that the force used in making the man accept Islam rendered his proselytization invalid and the Sultan confirmed the judgment. The fact is recorded by the contemporary Patriarch of Antioch, Steven Peter.

Finally I will not mix up religion with politics. The former is entirely a matter of private conscience, an individual affair in which society may have something to say but not the State. The man who entered the latter without being prepared for criticism was taking unknown risks. The movement to support the integrity of Turkey may have started elsewhere, but it found the most powerful impetus in this province and city. I confess I understand more of Siberia than saw mills and am not in a position to say anything regarding the financial aspect of the question. But this much must be patent to all Indians, Moslem or otherwise, that the part Seth Chotani has taken in

cultivating public opinion on the question of the rights of Turkey and the aggressive spirit of the Powers, stood all India in good stead. Another stalwart protagonist of Turkey whose intimate familiarity with the Middle East questions places him in the very forefront of the most accomplished of our politicians, deserves grateful and honourable mention. But for the lucid, temperate and informed writings of Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall the people in this country would have left in their minds doubts touching the justice of the cause of Turkey and doubts regarding the utter untrustworthiness of the Lloyd George Cabinet and the chauvinists of France, distrustful of each other and united only on the question of dismembering Turkey.

MR. BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

(BY MR. S. G. WARTY, M.A.)

It is now three years since Lokamanya Tilak passed away from this world. To cherish his memory always is and ought to be a duty with us. He was the people's man out and out. Nothing contributes so much to the building up of our nationality, as a universal appreciation and regard displayed from time to time, of our great men, their deeds, their endeavours and the ideals they stood for. "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it." This claim of our country, so pithily and epigrammatically expressed in this sentence of the late Lokamanya, now become historical, to-day inspires our orators, decorates our platforms and rings in the heart of every Indian. We may well endeavour to look back upon the life of this great man and get from it the inspiration and encouragement that we would desire to have in our service to the motherland.

HIS EARLIER ACTIVITIES.

The late Lokamanya belonged, so to say, to the second generation of University men. His was a brilliant academic career. A first-class seemed to be his birthright in his student life as "Swaraj" was declared to be one in his public life. But after graduation, he did not, like many of his fellow-students, accept Government service which to University men came for the mere asking in those days and besides held out high prospects to them; but remembering his dutiful obligation to his country and his people, he determined once for all to devote himself to the service of his motherland. His blood of the erstwhile ruling race of the Chitpavan Brahmins still boiling within him, with memories of the past and hopes of the future, the talented young Maratha Brahmin, with his intellect sharpened and horizon widened by the University education that he received, grasped the situation immediately and found that the key to the solution of the whole problem was education, western education, which the clear-sighted vision of Raja Ram Mohan Roy had demanded of Government during the first quarter of the last century. Soon the school was established known as the New English School which afterwards developed into the Fergusson College, now under the prosperous management of the

Deccan Education Society. Mr. Tilak, along with his friends Messrs. Agarkar and Chiplunkar, equally brilliant and patriotic men, was the founder of these institutions. While these institutions making the cheapest provision then available for the education of the people, ministered to the needs of the youth of the country and were laying the foundations of its future public life, Mr. Tilak and his associates recognised that side by side, the political education of the adults and the illiterate also required to be taken in hand. For this purpose, the *Kesari*, to-day one of the most widely circulated papers in India, was founded, and work was carried on by all the three in co-operation.

TILAK AND SOCIAL REFORM.

Soon, a sharp difference of opinion was developed in the camp. The question of social reform in those days, was the question of questions. Ranade, Telang, Bhandarkar, Chandavarkar and Malabari, the giants in scholarship, in political knowledge, in human sympathy, had raised aloft the banner of social reform, with an enthusiasm and force which even to-day strikes us with admiration. The work of these stalwarts stirred the people then as nothing else did. The inert masses were getting active; the dry bones in the valley were being galvanized. Soon an opposition took its shape. The orthodox element, roused beyond endurance, raised its massive hood. Mr. Agarkar favoured the Social Reform party and Mr. Tilak headed the orthodox party. The breach came and the erstwhile friends parted with each other, on the issue of a great principle, "except in opinion, not disagreeing." It is usual to represent Mr. Tilak as a man who did not then play his part well, as one whose one desire was to pander to the superstitions of the populace and keep his hold on them. Nothing can be more unfair to him. Mr. Tilak is one of those unfortunate men who have been more misunderstood than understood by the intelligentsia of the country. In a neat speech which he delivered in Bombay on the first Agarkar day celebration to which he was invited, Mr. Tilak made this clear. He found in Mr. Agarkar a manifest tendency towards atheism or more properly rationalism, and when Mr. Agarkar hurled his thunders against the orthodox and kicked them to awakening through the columns of the *Sudharaka* in his inimitable style, Mr. Tilak regarded it as his duty to repel with equal force the invasion and the flooding of the rationalistic ideas and atheistic philosophy. He never intended to oppose social reform as such, but he rightly protested against the revolutionary methods by which it was sought to be introduced. A people should be allowed breathing time to take up what they want, to feed themselves according to their tastes and appetites and to gradually assimilate new ideas and principles. To pour ridicule upon everything that they cherished, to cast slur on their manners, their customs, their superstitions and traditions, was to unsettle them and endanger the discipline of society. That was not the way how things were to be done. Whether one agrees with Mr. Tilak in this view or not, one cannot but admit that it was a legitimate view, and

well might Mr. Tilak endeavour to work upon it.

CONFLICT OF TWO GREAT INTELLECTS.

It was a great intellectual treat to read in those days the writings of these two great men of Maharashtra, one editing the *Kesari* and the other the *Sudharak*, each advocating and illuminating his own view of the question. In fact, public life in Maharashtra in those days was divided between these two journals and their talented editors. All politics centred round them. It was a time of great intellectual ferment; the foundations of New India were to be laid. The battle between the old and the new, the East and the West had to be fought before they could agree to peacefully march together, hand in hand, in a spirit of co-operation and harmony. And these were the two heroes who were destined to fight it on the battle-field of Maharashtra.

A REDOUBTABLE FIGHTER.

One usual characteristic of Mr. Tilak usually found fault with by his critics, was his caustic way of saying things, his illiberal methods of argument, his personal attacks on persons who did not deserve them, his imputation of motives to those whose sense of honour and patriotism was beyond reproach. We must readily admit that there is a large element of truth in this criticism and that his writings in the *Kesari* are an evidence to the point. But is there no justifying explanation for this? In all political controversies, passions are necessarily roused. Indeed, they are said to be the tests of earnestness. Besides, it must be remembered that in those days Indians had no good models of the journalistic art before them. Indian journals, quite new to their task, imitated the Anglo-Indian press which in those days happened to be what they call "rabid." Such is the evidence of Englishmen themselves. And, tit for tat, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, being the declared policy of Mr. Tilak, he never spared his opponents. Such carping criticism of his English as well as Indian opponents was then possible for him alone. For he was a man without a blemish. His moral character was above suspicion. And he commanded high respect in all circles even amongst those to whom his pen was unwelcome.

A CHAMPION OF EASTERN CIVILIZATION.

Then again, while judging of this characteristic of Mr. Tilak we ought not to lose sight of the responsibility that he had undertaken. He was the champion of the civilization of the East and feared, above all, the unsettling of the minds of the illiterate by the deep-flowing wave of rationalism then generated in the country as a result of English education and contact. If his cause was to be won, and it was indeed a noble cause with him, he was bound in duty to it, to strain every nerve to keep his people within the fold. It seemed to him a herculean task to accomplish which all weapons should be freely used. Ridicule, scorn, contempt as well as argumentation and logic, all were allowable according to their needs. The object was to win over the people to his side, to impress them with his personality and convince them of his views. To keep a hold over the masses so as

to be able to influence them at all times, was indeed the aim of Mr. Tilak and that was an understandable aim. He used to say oftentimes, that practical politics meant in the present days the enlisting of the support of the majority of the people to your side. If the majority are behind you, you can do what you like. So for any politician, that was the first thing to achieve. Service to India, pure and simple, irrespective of your following, such as the late Mr. Gokhale rendered, was not the road that Mr. Tilak trod. His was a desire for the leadership of India first, with an ultimate aim to the service of his country. It was entirely a western conception conceived in the western spirit. Like the British politician who desires to have the majority on his side and desires office, in order that he may render service to his country according to his principles, Mr. Tilak first thought of creating a party, strengthening it, widening its influence and thus pressing upon the country the principles of his action. To many, therefore, he appeared as a selfish politician, a second Nana Fadnavis, one whose sole object was to aggrandise himself, to make himself the one unchallenged leader of the country without a second and without an equal. But if we just go behind the personality and attempt to find out the reasons and motives that actuated him, we would surely come to the conclusion that the path that he trod, of organising public life, was a patriotic path and that his, perhaps, was the most systematic proceeding.

A PRACTICAL POLITICIAN.

We would not endeavour to describe the further events of his life in detail. It is enough for us to remember that it was the first seditious case against him that brought him to the notice of the whole of India, that it was in the days of the Bengal Partition agitation that he was first recognised and acclaimed as an all-India leader, that his views began to expand and take a cosmopolitan turn from the time he came in close contact with Bombay and her leaders in the great Home Rule agitation of 1917 in which he took no inconspicuous part. His travel to England to appear before the Parliamentary Committee, was an extraordinary event in his case, both socially and politically. By carrying on an extensive propaganda there, he did yeoman's service to his country. And after his return, though he characterized the Reforms as disappointing, he was not one of those who advocated their boycott. His was a shrewd intellect, practical to the core. The power of organization for which he seemed to be known, he now used to organise what was known as the Congress Democratic Party which by reason of his death and the forceful advent of Non-Co-operation did not fructify.

A GREAT SCHOLAR.

Our object in this article has been merely to describe the political activity and political greatness of Mr. Tilak. His high scholarly intellect, his researches and his literary productions, the monumental work he has written on the *Bhagwadgita*, these have all been left untouched by us. We have no space

for these here, though they do require as full a treatment as his public life in any appreciation of Mr. Tilak. But confining ourselves to politics alone, we find certain characteristics of Mr. Tilak which distinguished him from many of his contemporaries. He did not evidently belong to the Ranade school of thought or rather the Telang school of thought as Ranade himself was pleased to call it, which believed that the connection of India with England was a divine dispensation, a Providential favour, which must do India immense good. Next, he never bound himself by the ties of Government service, but from the beginning trod the path of noble self-sacrifice and independent effort for the service of his country. Then, he believed more in the awakening and education of the masses than in efforts with a stiff and obstinate Government and directed his course accordingly. Lastly, he never for once fell a prey to the wiles and practices of Government or their officials and remained to the last a declared oppositionist. To the bureaucrats, he was too hard a nut to crack. It was on this account that they imputed to him unreasonableness which, in fact, was their own. He was a great fighter and revelled in fight; and much of his popularity was due to his unceasing fight with Government and the punishment that he had to endure. He gave to his motherland a service of almost half a century. He enriched its literature, extended the bounds of ancient knowledge and has been a leader of thought in the domain of philosophy. Above all, he was a man of unblemished character, strong in body, strong in morals, strong in the sternness of his discipline.

A BEACON-LIGHT TO HUMANITY.

Such are the men who will make India great. Such are the men who will give inspiration to thousands of their countrymen. Such are the men who serve as beacon-lights to humanity. They live with us always and their work never dies. To cherish their memory is a great privilege. To admire them, to worship them, to try to follow their foot-steps, is our duty. Their great teaching should be our guide, their life should be our support, their achievements our start. Then will India reach her goal straight and without delay.

PROSELYTISING BY CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

(By MR. C. F. ANDREWS.)

The time has come, in the name of Christ Himself, to make a protest against actions, which, if correctly reported, are bringing a reproach to His name. I have been reading very carefully all that has appeared for many days in the Madras paper, *Swarajya*, concerning the hurried flight and concealment of a young girl by missionary ladies of the Zenana Mission. It would appear that what has happened may actually come within the strict letter of the law of the land, and that these ladies cannot be prosecuted for their action. But there is an unwritten law, in the heart of every one who hears what has happened; and this unwritten law declares unmistakably, that, if the facts are true, something akin to deceit has been practised by those who profess to be acting in the name of Christ. What I have

noticed with intense pain in all the issues of *Swarajya*, which have dealt with the subject hitherto, is that no defence whatever has been made for their action by the missionaries themselves. It may be that I have missed some issue of the paper; but I do not think that is likely. It would seem as though, having once got the young girl away, the missionaries are now waiting for the storm to blow over. If that is the case, they have certainly made a mistake. For the storm is not likely to blow over as easily as that. It has brought to the front something, which has evidently been going on for a long while beneath the surface; and the irritation of the disease in the body politic will not cease, until the irritating substance itself is removed.

To my own mind, the strange and unaccountable thing is, that these things can be done in the name of Christ! For Christ Himself was surely careless to the point of profound indifference concerning the outward things, if only the inward change of heart were accomplished. To the Pharisees, who were seeking to add fresh members to the Jewish synagogue, as 'proselytes of the gate,' He uttered a denunciation so terrible, that one hardly dares to repeat it: "Woe unto you," He said, "scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, you make him two-fold more the child of hell than yourselves."

Against the narrow bigotry which believes that a man can only be saved by belonging to a sect, Christ uttered the words:—"Many shall come from the East and the West and the North and the South, and sit down in the Kingdom of God but the children of the Kingdom shall be cast out." He chose the pagan Roman as the type of supreme faith, and the outcast Samaritan as the type of perfect charity. On every occasion, He broke down the superstition, that membership in a church could ever ensure salvation. "Not every one," He said, "that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of heaven but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."

I feel certain, that any unbiassed reader, who may have tried to study carefully the mind of Christ, would come to the conclusion, that such an act of secretly hurrying away a young girl into concealment from her own parents, in order to get her baptized, would be repugnant to Him.

There is one passage, and one passage only, that might be put forward as sanctioning the view of these missionary ladies. It comes in the last verse, which was interpolated at the end of St. Mark's Gospel at an early date. The true ending had got lost. The verse referred to runs as follows:—"He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be condemned." It has been proved up to the hilt, that this passage is not genuine; and it is inconceivable that Christ Himself ever uttered words of that description. No scholar of any repute would quote those words to-day as the words of St. Mark's Gospel itself, or as the words of Christ.

I hope to write again on this subject because I feel most deeply, but I wish without any delay to make my own protest against this missionary action, if it prove to be such as has been described in the Madras papers.

A VINDICTIVE RULE.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In fairness to me, allow me to answer to your long footnote tailed to my letter of the 14th July with the same, above heading. It is remarked by a shrewd correspondent of the *Times of India*, that we cannot argue with newspaper men. You are always right, because you have always your last word to say on the point. However, the well-deserved reputation of I. S. R. of being fair to those who dare to differ from it will surely carry me through the controversy.

You have been good enough to admit your misconception in your latest issue in one of your editorial notes "Depressed Classes Pupils in Aided Schools"; however, there still remains a fundamental difference between your point of view and mine. Being myself a humble worker amongst the untouchables, I know the innumerable difficulties which face an untouchable boy before he is admitted in any English School. As a friend of the untouchables I do hail the Government Press Note depriving aided schools of their grants if they do not admit students of the Depressed Classes. In criticising the Government order you have given up your usually sympathetic attitude towards the untouchables and taken up the cause of the sectarian schools. You are actuated more to safeguard their interests rather than look to the convenience of the untouchable boys, whom you want to leave to the mercy of the people who are responsible for the present hard lot of the untouchables. You refuse to see that the sectarian schools whose cause you have so gallantly championed are after all detrimental to the interest of the country. In such schools from teachers to boys being of one community or sect, boys who are brought up in such an atmosphere are bound to put the interest of their sect or community above the interest of the country. It is on account of such schools that jealousies among different castes and prejudices against each other are perpetuated. Deshabandhu Das as a lawyer wants to win Swaraj in Councils. I, a humble teacher, say that Swaraj is to be won in school-rooms. Knock down this sectarian spirit in schools, let boys of all communities freely learn together, and Swaraj will be a matter of a few generations. Government, if at all they want to discharge their duties, must discourage such sectarian schools by every means possible. If they are forced to patronize some such schools, they should be an exception and not a general rule. But in your latest issue you suggest that those aided schools which to-day are open to all boys except the untouchables can claim their grants under the very rule under which a sectarian school gets its grants. Remember, if some such schools set up for special classes get their grants, it is at the good will of the people, and not as a right. My point is this, if any school is to receive any grant from the Government, the first condition must be that it should keep its doors open to all castes, communities and races.

In your latest issue you remark: "The cause of the Antyajias is not advanced by antagonising the other classes but by enlisting their sympathy and support for it." Government are not a missionary body to preach to the people to be sympathetic to the untouchables. They must give justice. The untouchables pay them taxes like other communities. It is from these taxes that they give grants to the aided schools. Is it not therefore their duty to compel these schools to open their doors to the untouchables? If the other classes are displeased and begin to hate the untouch-

ables all the more, I ask you if it is the fault of the Government. From experience of the last 80 many years, one can safely conclude that the Hindus will never be in a mood to give the untouchables their rudimentary rights as human beings, unless the Government range themselves on the side of humanity and justice.

In criticising my letter you remark "Our point was and is that it is wrong to deny grants to these schools (i. e., aided schools refusing to admit Antyajias) because those who conduct them, have not reached the stage of enlightenment reached by us including the Education Minister." I say in order to rise above the superstition of untouchability it does not require to be a wrangler from the Cambridge University. In middle ages Eknath and Namdeo, etc., rose above it without going to Cambridge. What is required is a broader view of humanity. A Principal of an aided school who cannot shake off such prejudices against a section of our own people is totally unfit to mould the character of the young boys committed to his charge. He will instil this poison in the tender minds and does not therefore deserve to be encouraged at the hands of Government from the public funds.

As regards the suggestion of the 'Poll-tax' which is perhaps there to ridicule my line of argument, I say I am not bound to answer it, as it is your own suggestion and not mine.

Deolali, 24th July 1923.

Yours etc.
KARREK, K. G.SCHOLARSHIPS FOR DEPRESSED
CLASS STUDENTS.THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

Kindly insert the following in your columns for the information of the public.

The Depressed Classes Mission Society of India has since 1909-10 reserved certain capital, the interest on which has been earmarked for awarding scholarships to students. Up to the last year the Society had the following funds, the interest on which amounting to Rs. 240 was paid to the Bombay Branch of the Society for the maintenance of students.

1. The Miss Clarke Memorial Fund ... Rs. 5,000
2. „ Damaji Gaikwad Scholarship Fund „ 2,000

Total Rs. 7,000.

The Poona Branch of the Mission has also a fund of Rs. 1,000, the interest on which is spent in like manner.

It has up to now been the policy of the Mission to invest the amount of large donations for such purposes. In June 1923, the Society was able to secure a sum of Rs. 2,000, bequeathed to the Mission by the late Dr. V. R. Lande of Africa. The executors of the last will and testament of Dr. Lande, viz., Messrs. V. R. Gupte and V. T. Agashe of Poona, have sent us the amount through Prof. D. K. Karve of the Indian Women's University of Poona. Our Executive Committee has resolved that this amount should be invested in guaranteed securities and the interest on the same be paid in one or more scholarships to the Depressed Class students attending any recognised educational or technical institution. The interest on this amount will be available for distribution next year, when applications from deserving students will be considered.

I must, in conclusion, express our Society's thanks to the executors of the late Dr. V. R. Lande, for the above dona-

tion. The Society has sent out its annual report and has also appealed to the public for monetary help, as without such help it is well nigh impossible to carry on the several Branch activities of the Mission, which has many sympathisers among almost all the classes of India. It is only hoped that this sympathy is translated into action.

Office of the D. C. M. Society of India,

Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Girgaum,
Bombay, 25th July, 1923.

L. B. NAYAK,
General Secretary.

THE INTER-CASTE DINNER AT MEERUT.

(From a Correspondent)

The much-talked of dinner after all came off on the 22nd July. The function was held in the Town Hall which the Municipal Board very kindly lent for the purpose. Dr. K. D. Shastri of Delhi presided. It was quite an unexpectedly representative gathering. For, although everybody who is anybody in Meerut—barring, of course, the most orthodox section of the Hindu public—gave a practical proof of his sympathy with the idea by contributing liberally towards the dinner fund, yet there were quite a large number among them whose actual participation was extremely doubtful. As the time of the dinner, however, approached, in spite of the inclement weather (it had been ceaselessly raining since the previous night) there were seen dropping in into the Connaught Hall nearly all the prominent Hindus of the place with few exceptions. While the response from the city was thus beyond the expectations of the organisers, the provincial response was extremely disappointing. Out of more than half a dozen people who had definitely promised to come, not one did so and a majority did not even care to communicate their inability to attend. Pressing engagements may have prevented them from giving us the pleasure of their company at this function, but surely an intimation to that effect was the least that we expected. The ways of the great, however, are inscrutable. Nearly 200 persons participated in the dinner. The representatives from the depressed classes numbered about 60. Of these about 40 belonged to the city and about 20 came from the mofussil. Among those present were: Dr. K. D. Shastri, Messrs. B. Ghasi Ram, B. Ganga Prasad, Pandit Pyare Lal Sharma, B. Joti Prasad, Soti Brahma Swarup, B. Baij Nath, L. Bishamber Sahay, L. Shiva Charan Dass, L. Mahabir Prasad, L. Ram Kripal Singh, B. Brij Nath Mithal, Prof. Chand Bahadur, Prof. Nand Lal, Prof. Madan Mohan, Dr. Ajndhia Prasad, L. Mutsaddi Lal, B. Puran Chand, B. Gokul Prasad, B. Bhairon Prasad, Pundit Ganga Dutt Pande, B. Risal Singh Jaini, B. Amar Nath, Pundit Umrao Singh, Pundit Murari Lal and Soti Pyare Lal.

A photograph of those present was an item of the day's programme. But the weather would not allow it and it had to be regretfully given up.

The function began with *Vande Mataram* sung by the S. S. Boy Scouts here followed by a Hindi poem on the same topic sung by a pack of Wolf-Cubs belonging to the same organisation. The boys in this pack all belonged to the depressed classes. Starting troops of Boy scouts amongst the depressed classes is a special feature of the local branch of the Boy Scouts Association which few other districts in the Province can claim. Suitable speeches were made by B. Joti Prasad, Chairman of the Dinner Committee, B. Ghasi Ram, B. Ganga Prasad, Pandit Ganga Dutt Pande, Mahashaya Behari Lal, Soti Brahma Swarup and the president, Dr. K. D. Shastri.

While all these things were going on and the organisers were inwardly chuckling over the success of the function, a mob had gathered outside which was constantly swelling. It was being harangued by fanatics belonging to both the communities Hindu and Mohammedan; the Hindu expressing his holy horror and indignation at this pollution of the sacred religion of the ancient Rishis and the Mohammedan pointing to this as another example of the treacherous Hindu community gathering its forces to fall upon the throat of its sister community at the first opportunity. Both joined hands to assail the common enemy. The organisers although aware of the flutter that the announcement of the dinner had caused in orthodox Hindu circles, had no idea of things coming to such a pass. They never even dreamt that this dinner could in the remotest way injure the susceptibilities of their Mohammedan friends.

The unholy alliance assumed a very threatening attitude towards the close of the day. All sorts of abuses were showered upon those joining and even stones and mud were at times thrown. The idea of seizing the store of the eatables once got into the head and a rush was made towards the spot. The organisers who were not at all prepared for these displays of rowdiness would have been hard put to it, had it not been for the timely assistance rendered by Mr. Amar Nath with his enthusiastic band of hostellers from the Deva Nagri High School and Mr. Brij Lal with his volunteers of the Kshatriya Bal Vriddhi Mandal. These gentlemen worked under extremely adverse circumstances and at great personal risk. Great credit is due to them. They laid the organisers under a deep debt of gratitude. The function came to a close at about 9-30 P. M.

THE FIRST BRAHMIN WIDOW REMARRIAGE AT COCHIN.

(From a Correspondent)

The wedding of Mr. S. Sundaresan of the Bombay Port Trust, with Soubhagyavathi Meevakshi Ammal, the only daughter of Mr. K. Ramaswamy Iyer, Head Draughtsman, Cochin Harbour Works, was celebrated on Tuesday the 11th July 1923 at 12 noon, according to strict orthodox Hindu rites. This is the first widow remarriage that has ever taken place on the West Coast of Madras Presidency. It reflects great credit on Mr. and Mrs. Ramaswamy Iyer for boldly taking this step and celebrating the marriage themselves in their own house. Although a large number of his friends encouraged Mr. Ramaswamy Iyer to undertake this reform, only one Brahmin in the person of Mr. C. S. Viswanadha Iyer, a Pleader at Cochin, attended the marriage. Mr. Rishiram of the Arya Samaj, Calicut, and Mr. E. Subbukrishnaiya, Secretary, Bachammal Widows' Home, Bangalore, came specially to attend the marriage. The Punjab Vidhya Vivah Sabaik Sabha, whom Mr. Subbukrishnaiya represented, sent a present through him to the bride and bridegroom. In the evening there was a tea-party which was attended by a number of Mr. Iyer's friends, on which occasion Mr. Subbukrishnaiya spoke a few words on the beginnings and the subsequent progress of the widow remarriage movement in the Southern Presidency, under the able leadership of the late Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu Garu. He also spoke about the splendid work done by the Vidhya Vivah Sabaik Sabha of Lahore under the patronage of Sir Ganga Ram. May God bless the newly married couple and may such marriages take place in Malabar under the leadership of Mr. Ramaswamy Iyer, who may be said to be a pioneer in the cause of widow remarriage among the Brahmins in the South.

BOMBAY WIDOW MARRIAGE BUREAU.

A Widow Marriage Bureau Society was formed in Bombay on 24th June 1928 for pushing vigorously the cause of Widow Marriage among higher Hindu castes. Dr. Prabhakar K. Pange who has been appointed General Secretary and Treasurer, explained the reason of forming this new Society, while he was working alone for the last two years. His report and books show five remarriages arranged by him in 1922, two Deccanis and three Gujaratis. Pandharinath Atmaram Babre, Zemindar of Chinchni, was appointed Vice-President, Mr. J. L. Bhandare, Secretary for Marathi Section, Mr. Keshavlal Ohotalal Secretary for Gujarati Section and Mr. Aurit Rao, Secretary for Canarase Section. Ten members were enlisted to co-operate with the activities of the Society, one of whose motives is also to co-operate with the Vidhya Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore.

STUDENTS' ANTI-DOWRY ASSOCIATION.

The above association consisting of students from the various educational institutions in Calcutta has been formed with its office at 3, Chutampara Lane (Bowbazar) with a view to organising an Anti-dowry campaign in Bengal. Already a large number of young men including some distinguished graduates of the Calcutta University have enrolled themselves members of the association. Students and guardians who are interested in the above movement and are earnestly willing to make it a success are requested to communicate with the Secretary—The Servant, Calcutta.

"MISSIONARY MENACE."

(The Christian Patriot.)

The daily Press in Madras has been much agitated by the taking away of a Hindu girl from the custody of her guardians at the dead of night, it is alleged, and the subsequent despatch to Palamcottah. The whole series of proceedings, before and after the disappearance of the girl have been styled "Missionary Menace," and once again we are called upon to consider the ethics and common sense of such a state of things. No statement has been forthcoming, unfortunately, from those responsible for the series of acts, (the C. E. Z. M.) and judgment has practically gone against them by default. The mere fact of the girl being of age, has not sufficed to clear the character of the actors in the drama of the cloud suspicion that has across them. The good name of Christianity and mutual trust and confidence between parents of Hindu girls and boys equally alike demand that a more straightforward and less irritating course should be adopted in such circumstances. From the paper and conversations with Hindus it is evident that it is not to Christianity that objection is made as to the secret methods adopted and the utter betrayal of confidence reposed in Christian tuteurs who are invited to Hindu houses. To one such single case of success in proselytism a hundred hearts are lost for ever to Jesus; and we are obliged to ask ourselves whether in the long run it is good even for the convert in question. For the demon of disillusionment waits at the door, perhaps a few months after the conversion. The utter lack of any knowledge of the psychology of the Indian woman displayed in such a case is amazing, and many a tragedy could be averted by a little common sense, and above all Christian love and understanding of the complexities and difficulties that beset the path of the convert. Would the young convert be satisfied when he or she comes to know how they have been kept in the dark concerning their future?

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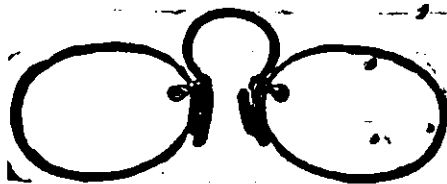
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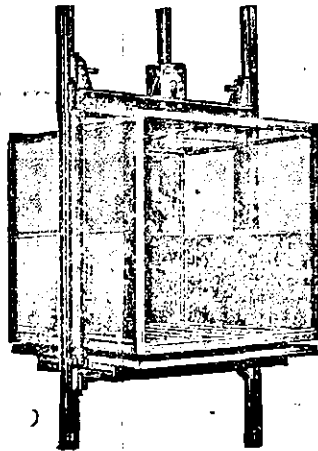
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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0. (Foreign) One Pound Sterling.

Vol. XXXIII. BOMBAY—SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1923. 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 Nabha Mystery: We print two letters to-day from the correspondents to whose communications we referred in the issue of the 4th instant. We think it as well to repeat that our criticisms at this stage relate only to the manner in which the abdication has come about and not to its merits. We strongly feel that the ruler of a historic Indian State, of ancient lineage, should not have been dealt with in the summary fashion in which the Maharaja seems to have been, judging from the published information. It is difficult to resist a comparison between the Government attitude in this case and in that of Police Superintendent Carter in what is known as the Dr. Kapadia case in Bombay. In the latter case, Superintendent Carter arrested a respectable medical practitioner of this city, Dr. Kapadia, on grounds which were condemned by the Chief Presidency Magistrate as flimsy. The Superintendent was clearly guilty of over-zeal in taking Dr. Kapadia into custody for a serious offence. In an officer entrusted with such large powers over the personal liberty and consequently on the reputation and character of a subject, over-zeal is as bad a defect as corruption. His is pre-eminently a position in which evil can be wrought by want of thought as much as by want of heart. Superintendent Carter's misuse of his authority might have been actuated by the best of motives, but it is not only character but also judgment that is expected of a responsible officer in his position. His lack of judgment alone should have moved Government to place him in a position where he could constantly have the judgment of a superior for his guidance. Instead of taking any action in this direction, Government through their spokesman in the Legislative Council, opposed a resolution demanding that they should mark their opinion of his failure, and when the resolution was carried against them, they ignored it completely. The Maharaja of Nabha, on the other hand, is charged by the Government of India with responsibility for the wrongful prosecution of certain Patiala subjects by the Police of the State, and the only proof adduced is that His Highness in one case refused to postpone the trial

of such a case, though he was requested to do so! The Maharaja's abdication might have been voluntary in the literal sense, but that does not necessarily signify a confession of guilty knowledge on the part of the Maharaja. It is well-known that completely innocent people sometimes abscond when they are threatened with prosecution for crimes which they did not commit, and that, sometimes, they even plead guilty to avoid the ordeal of a public trial. These are the class of men who fall ready victims to the blackmailer. A sensitive man in the Maharaja's great position might well have felt that he would rather abdicate than be exposed to a public inquisition, though he might at the same time have been conscious of having done no wrong, especially if he suspected, rightly or wrongly, that the Government of India were against him. The public are bound, with the scanty information vouchsafed to them, to hold that the Maharaja's offence has not been established. The Government of India, if they do not wish judgment to go against them by default, should publish Mr. Justice Stuart's report and, if need be, institute further enquiry by a Commission including two Maharajas of equal standing with His Highness of Nabha.

Towards Congress Unity: Mr. C. R. Das has issued an appeal in view of the forthcoming Special Congress at Delhi, which should materially assist the efforts of those who are working to bring about unity in the Congress. Mr. Das declares that Councils, khaddar and other matters are but means to an end and that undue importance should not be attached to any of them so as to imperil the solidarity of the national movement. This is the sanest view of the questions agitating Congress parties. Let those who think that they can do good through the Councils enter them; let those who believe in khaddar assiduously practise themselves and promote among others the practice of the *charkha*; let others work to remove the stigma of untouchability from the depressed classes; let yet others who have special facilities for the task devote themselves to promoting intercommunal unity, total abstention from liquor and drugs, national education and other nation-building activities; and let all combine to maintain the National Congress as the emblem and organ of national unity. The complex problem of our national future cannot be solved by any single activity. It must be approached from many sides by workers, specially qualified by their temperament, training and opportunities in each of them. A nation is an organism whose existence depends upon the harmonious working of numerous connected functions. Mr. Das's manifesto clearly brings out this fact, and we regard it as a timely and valuable contribution to the immediate and most important objective of unity in the National Congress. When that unity is—not attained—but appreciably approximated to, the bureaucracy will automatically, and without any effort on our part, be put in its proper place, as the servant and not the master of the public. For the power of the

bureaucracy is an illusion entirely created by the absence of unity among the people, like the optical illusions arising from a disturbance in the co-ordination of our two eyes.

The Congress and the Nation: While Mr. Das's appeal is a powerful help to unity in the Congress, it still falls short of the requirements of the national character of the Congress. He rightly insists that the policy of the Congress should be inclusive, not exclusive, but he almost immediately violates it by solemnly excommunicating those whom he calls title-hunters and office-seekers. But who are these title-hunters and office-seekers? They are as much a part of the nation as Mr. Das or Mr. Rajagopalacharya, and, if the truth were known, many of them are as anxious for the well-being of the national movement as the bulk of those who are labelled and ticketed as Congressmen. Moreover, the vast majority of persons who bear titles cannot be rightly described as title-hunters. They were not asked whether they would or would not have the titles which were literally thrust upon them. You may say that they ought to have refused to accept the titles. "But why should we take the trouble?" some of them have said: "We never wanted them, and we do not care for them. Why make a fuss about it, get into the papers as a "patriot" according to pattern, and run the risk of being dubbed by some popular tag of esteem, which we desire just as little as the official title?" We have not been able to dismiss this line of reasoning as being altogether untenable. If Mr. Das studies recent Honours lists, he will find that they tend to be coterminous with his second class, namely, office-holders. The vast majority of office-holders among Indians are in the subordinate Government services not by choice but by necessity. If Mr. Das or the Congress will find some equally, or even less, remunerative jobs for them, many of them, to our knowledge, will be but too glad to resign their official posts where they are far from being happy. As a matter of fact, several persons who had thrown up their jobs at the call of non-co-operation, find themselves hopelessly stranded in life, and we personally find it most embarrassing to interview almost daily young men who want employment but cannot get it. We have had most painful experiences, among others, of young men clad in khaddar alleging with evident truth that they were starving, and refusing positively to leave unless some opening or at least temporary help were found for them. *To-morrow*, the organ of the Gujarat Vidyapith, may challenge our statements as much as it likes, but we state facts, and some of these scenes have taken place in the presence of friends, who will testify to them. If we take care of To-day, To-morrow may take care of itself. As for the few Indians, holding high offices, they are not in the least likely to seek admission into the Congress, and no special precautions need be taken to keep them out. The main thing to bear in mind, however, is that these title-hunters and office-holders are as much part of the nation as Mahatma Gandhi and Deshabandhu Das, and the one strayed sheep demands the attention of the shepherd more than the ninety-nine safely lodged in the fold.

A Sinister Portent: While Mr. Das's appeal for unity is a bright ray of light in a gloomy situation, Mr. Rajendra Prasad, one of the most eminent and high-souled leaders on the other side, has, in the course of a letter to a Bihar vernacular paper, made remarks which we cannot but regard as a sinister portent. Mr. Rajendra, who is or was the General Secretary of the Congress,—Congress Cabinets nowadays are as short-lived as Balkan or South American Governments—actually suggests that

Delhi has been preferred by the Working Committee for the Special Congress, because of its being predominantly in favour of Mr. Das's programme, and he further suggests that those who have adopted that programme have done so because it is less attended with hardships than the orthodox non-co-operation programme. For these reasons, he declares that those who think with him should stand out for their views, whatever conclusions the Delhi Special Congress may adopt. From a tactical point of view, such remarks are a mistake because they are likely to impress those who read them as an acknowledgment beforehand of defeat. But the most astonishing thing about them is the profound distrust which they imply of the motives and methods of Mr. Rajendra's fellow-leaders of the National Congress. It is clear that he has no more opinion of their *bona fides* and sense of fairness, than Mr. Das has of those of "title-hunters and office-seekers". It has been evident for some time past that there has been some demoralisation among the Big Ten or Twenty of the Congress, but we hardly expected Mr. Rajendra Prasad to have been so badly infected by it. There is more immediate need to save the Congress from being wrecked than to wreck the Councils which task has been already more effectively achieved by Lord Reading than it could ever have been by Mr. Das at the head of a triumphant majority in the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils.

American Missionaries and the Bhagat Singh Judgment:—We print to-day a manifesto issued by representative American Missionaries in India, calling the attention of their countrymen to the effects of the judgment of the Supreme Court in the famous Bhagat Singh case, declaring Indians to be ineligible for admission to American citizenship. We learn from a communication from the Hindustan American Association that an Indian in America has been refused a licence for marrying an American woman on the ground that, according to the decision of the Supreme Court, he was ineligible for American citizenship and, therefore, to marry one who was an American citizen. We do not know what other consequences may be deduced by official ingenuity from the judgment which seems to make life in America intolerable to an Indian.

London University Examinations: A Bombay Government Press note states that, with reference to the decision of the Senate of the University of London announcing that in and after 1924 all final (Pass and Honours) Examinations of the University, both for Internal and External students, hitherto held in October and November of each year, shall be held in the summer of each year, the dates on which these examinations shall commence each year will be as follows:—Matriculation Examination, 2nd June; B. A. (Pass and Honours) 16th June; B. Sc. (Pass and Honours), 16th June; B. Sc. (Economics), 16th June; L.L. B., 7th July. The new edition of the University Regulations, which will probably be ready for issue in September or October next, will contain full information regarding the dates prescribed for the several examinations.

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

DOMBAY, AUGUST 18, 1923.

THE HINDU MAHASABHA.

The All-India Hindu Mahasabha was started some years ago after the model of the Moslem League. But it got no support from Hindu political leaders who, indeed, looked askance at it, and has, so far, been a more or less lifeless institution. The attacks by Moplas and Mahomedan roughs on Hindus in Malabar and at Malan, and especially the forcible conversions of Hindus by the Moplas, have created great uneasiness among Hindus all over India and have led Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other Hindu leaders to think of making the Sabha a vigorous and living organization to bring about greater solidarity among Hindus in the several provinces. The re-conversion or re-admission to Hinduism of the Malkana Rajputs who have been for some centuries occupying an intermediate position between it and Islam, may also be traced to the same causes. The Arya Samaj has joined hands with the Sanatanist Hindus in Upper India in this work. These movements have naturally created some alarm among Mahomedans. But it will be seen on reflection that a movement for greater Hindu solidarity is the inevitable reaction of a similar movement among other Indian communities. Whether we like it or not, such a movement was bound to come, and no argument based upon political expediency can prevent or postpone it. There is genuine alarm among Hindus at the steady diminution in their number at every Census, owing to conversions to Christianity and Islam. The Hindu policy of not admitting or readmitting converts cannot obviously be maintained when other religions are carrying on a vigorous propagandism. The readmission of repentant converts was a standing resolution at the National Social Conference for many years. The forced conversions in Malabar have given a fresh and strong impetus to this reform. The more thoughtful Christian missionaries welcome this reconversion movement as being calculated to relieve them of converts who have but imperfectly assimilated the teachings of Christ Jesus. But the general feeling among Mahomedans seems to be one of suspicion and resentment. For our own part, we have no faith in religious proselytism. The universal religion for which mankind has been seeking, will come not as a result of proselytisation, but by the interaction of the ideals and principles of all great religions which are each a reflection of an aspect of the Truth. But we do not see how a religion which itself admits converts, can object to other religions doing the same. We referred some time back to a thoughtful article in the *Indian Messenger* of Calcutta, in which it was truly pointed out that intercommunal unity in India is incompatible with aggressive religious propagandism on the part of any of them. We would

welcome the acceptance by all communities of the excellent suggestion made by Mr. Bhurgri, if we remember, that organized proselytism should be abandoned. The Hindu Mahasabha at Benares may adopt a resolution expressing itself in this sense and inviting a similar declaration on the part of the other communities.

The most important questions for the Mahasabha to consider are those relating to the internal structure and organization of Hindu religion and society. These originally were based upon the village and the caste. So long as the village system remained intact, the caste system also was safe. But with the breaking-up of the village system, and from other causes, the caste system has lost all its useful incidents and now survives only as a sort of matrimonial selection bureau. In Northern India, the steam-roller of Mahomedan domination levelled down all the Hindu castes, and as the Brahmin was the topmost stratum, he suffered most in the process. The absence in Upper India of the non-Brahmin problem, as we know it in Madras and Maharashtra, is due to this cause, and not to any superior insight or statesmanship on the part of the Hindus. The non-Brahmins in Upper India have their due share of the loaves and fishes of office and it is the Brahmins who are a backward class. The non-Brahmin problem in the Deccan and Southern India is to a certain extent an unemployment problem. But this phase of it will soon disappear as non-Brahmins are appointed to more offices. The larger question of their status as Hindus will still remain, and that can be solved only on the lines recently suggested by Mr. M. R. Jayakar. If we should have a sacerdotal class at all, admission to it should be open to all persons, irrespective of birth, who come up to a high standard of religious culture and personal character. It should be regarded as more meritorious to have a pure and learned Pariah purohit to officiate at marriages and funerals than to have an illiterate, avaricious, gluttonous Brahmin who makes a sordid trade of his high calling. The Baroda State has taken the right step in opening a Purohit class or school to which men, and, we hope, women, of all castes are admitted, and the Hindu Mahasabha will do well to have similar institutions opened all over the country. The Hindu Sabha should take up the question of admission of Antyajnas to temples. Their exclusion from places of worship is a legitimate grievance and the Sabha will establish a weighty claim to respect if it emphatically declares against it. We trust that the Mahasabha will also make an emphatic pronouncement condemning the institution of *devadasis* and the dedication of women to temples in Southern India. Another important question relating to Hindu temples, on which the Sabha should take immediate action, is the offering of animal sacrifices at some of them, the most notorious being the temple at Kalighat in Calcutta. Animal sacrifices were abolished and the doctrine of *ahimsa* was proclaimed as the central doctrine of Hinduism many centuries ago, and the continuance of them in Hindu temples is a gross anomaly. While on this subject, we would respectfully suggest

that the Mahasabha should express its sympathy with the movement to place the worship at the Buddha Gaya Temple in Buddhist hands, the management being entrusted to a Committee of Hindus and Buddhists. The reform of temple-priests should immediately be taken in hand. The molestations and extortions to which a visitor to the famous Kashi-Visvanath temple at Benares, is subjected, are enough to wean him away from any desire to visit similar shrines of Hinduism. Hinduism is degraded by the existence of these harpies in the guise of priests who take every opportunity to fleece the pious pilgrim. The same observations apply to the purohitas at the several ghats on the Ganges. Another important work which the Hindu Sabha should undertake is the regulation of the institution of Sadhus. This institution, if properly controlled, can be a valuable agency of spiritual and social service. As it is at present, it is largely a begging fraternity in the garb of religion.

There are some matters of social import in regard to which the Mahasabha should make a decisive pronouncement. Foremost of them, we would place the assertion of the monogamous ideal as the ideal of the Hindu system. The reasons for which a second wife was allowed to be taken, have been completely ignored and even English-educated men have married second wives, while their first wives were living, on flimsy pretexts. If a man has no son by his first marriage, he can adopt one under the Hindu law. It is, therefore, high time that the indignity to the first wife of having a second one foisted upon her, is altogether prevented. The Mahasabha should also declare itself against child marriages. The minimum age of marriage for girls should be fixed at 16, and no young man should be married until after he has finished his education and is in a position to support his wife. The Mahasabha should accord its approval and sanction to the remarriage of childless Hindu widows, as also to intermarriages among all Hindu castes. It should emphasise the ancient ban on intoxicating drinks and drugs. These are some of the directions in which the Mahasabha should take action in order to carry out its aim of reconstructing Hindu society on a healthy and progressive basis. We shall await with interest the result of the Benares Session of the Mahasabha.

The Night Side of Bombay : This is an unusually well written book by an Indian writer, Mr. O. U. Krishnan, describing from personal observation some of the sights and scenes which form the sinister obverse to the glittering surface of Bombay life. Mr. Krishnan writes with insight and sympathy of the men and women derelicts who float to their destruction on the tide of our city life. His pen-pictures impress the reader by their clear-cut outlines. In the last chapter on Arab Lane, he lifts a little the dark, deep veil that enshrouds the horrid body-and-soul slavery of the Bombay brothel. It is literally true of Bombay that one half of it does not know how the other half lives. Mr. Krishnan's book gives us a self-revealing glimpse into the shady side of the life of this city. It is well printed by the Tatva Vivechaka Press, is refreshingly free from defects of proof-reading, and is priced one rupee.

THE BUDDHA AS REFORMER. *

You will not expect a learned address from me on the teachings of Bhagwan Buddha such as Prof. Bhagwat and Mr. Nariman are competent to give. I propose to devote my few observations this evening to the consideration of the Sakyanuni as a practical reformer of the conditions of life in his time. Mr. K. J. Saunders in his excellent monograph on Gotama Buddha, recently published in the Heritage of India series, observes: "Gotama was not a social reformer except in the secondary sense which is true of all religions and moral teachers; he is said, in fact, to have warned some of his monks to avoid the example of certain heretics who were acting also as doctors. Their task was to administer a moral tonic: let them see to it." You will recall in this context the beautiful episode of Kisagotami whose baby boy was stung to death by a serpent. The villagers tell her that the sage on the hill alone can do anything for her child, and she goes to Bhagwan Buddha. He does not tell her that He cannot call the child to life—that would have been too much of a shock to the poor, bereaved lady, who had fixed her last hope upon Him. But He puts her in the way of learning for herself that death is the common lot of all, and that knowledge brings her enlightenment. The English poet would not accept this knowledge as enlightenment. "That loss is common does not make Mine own less bitter rather more", says Tennyson. But the Hindu mind is cast in a different mould. If by "social reformer" is meant one who puts forward a programme, forms an association, collects funds, prints tracts, delivers lectures and employs agents to carry on a propaganda, the Sakyanuni was not perhaps a social reformer. In my opinion, however, it is the person who does all this, that is "the social reformer" in the secondary sense. He is a very necessary person in the social economy, but his utility entirely depends upon the "social reformer" in the primary sense, that is, the man who diagnoses the social diseases correctly and prescribes the true specific for them. The former kind of "social reformer" is to the latter kind, what the compounder who prepares and distributes medicines is to the doctor who examines the patient and writes out the prescription. The modern notion favours institutional methods, that is to say, whenever there is an evil to be remedied, it gets together a number of people and starts an organisation to combat it. In the case of the more serious evils, the State is expected to take up the work. Social philosophers like Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill objected to State legislation in social matters on the ground that it weakened individual responsibility. But they did not object to voluntary organizations. The tendency in all social organizations for machine methods to eliminate altogether the human touch, has called forth a protest from Madame Montessori, to take one instance, who in her work on Education inveighs strongly against orphanages as utterly useless for the

* Address delivered by Mr. K. Natarajan at the Annual Meeting of the Buddha Society of Bombay on Sunday the 12th inst.

urpose for which they are intended. Great Teachers like Christ and Buddha were not against organization as such, but they attached most importance to the human factor. Organization was strictly subservient to the human heart in all their methods. On that account, it is wrong to deny the title of social reformers to the great luminaries from whom all subsequent reformers have lit their little lamps.

Gautama Buddha differed in nothing more from the Hindu philosophers of His time than in the intensely practical spirit in which He conceived His mission as a Teacher. Having tried all the traditional methods and failed to attain peace of mind, He discovered a method of His own and at once set about to proclaim it to all mankind. He was sure that by following His methods, every one can attain the peace of mind which He himself had attained. He did not overlook the need of organization. In fact, He was perhaps the first great organizer in history. He formed His organization, but took care that every one who formed it had qualified for the mission of human regeneration by a strict course of study and discipline. If He prohibited His disciples from curing diseases or working miracles, it was because their doing so would have distracted public attention from His central doctrine of self-reliance as the sole method of salvation. That the teachings of the Buddha did not prohibit the cure of disease, is seen by the fact that the Buddhist Emperor, Asoka, built hospitals for men and even animals throughout his dominions. The central idea of Buddha's teaching is that all evil is of moral and mental origin and that the remedy for it has to be sought in a renovation of the mind and heart. I read the other day that an Italian doctor had demonstrated that the germs of disease are born of evil passions and unwholesome states of mind which poison the blood and furnish the suitable soil for them. However that may be, mind-cures which were once laughed at, are now accepted not only as possible but actual facts. Bhagwan Buddha was a reformer, religious, social and even political, but His method was that of appeal to the human mind and heart. Frontal attacks are now recognised as ineffective in dealing with personal bad habits and social evils. "The expansive power of a new affection" is the most potent agent in ousting an old unhealthy one. (If you want to get rid of a dirty thought, the best way to do it is to hold steadfastly before your mind a pure idea. If you want to cure a drunkard of his craving, you open attractive temperance hostels in the neighbourhood. We need must love the highest when we see it, as George Eliot wrote, and it is but the necessary corollary to it that people to whom the opportunity of higher pleasures is denied, must perforce sink to the lower ones. The Buddha systematically acted upon these very modern and very ancient maxims during his life-time. Take his way of dealing with the courtesan, Ambapali. Jesus Christ, in a similar situation, rebuked the men who accused the woman taken in adultery, and bade her go and sin no more. We feel as surely as if we

had known her subsequent life personally, that the woman turned over a new leaf after that meeting with the Master. The Buddha receives Ambapali just as courteously as the Licchavi who immediately after called upon Him. He makes no reference whatever to her mode of life, and for the moment makes her forget all about it. He accepts her invitation to meals with the same gracious courtesy as He would that of a King or Emperor. Yet He knew everything about her, and He knew also that the right mode of weaning her from the life was not to preach at her but merely make her cast it out of her mind and soul completely. And when we read that at the end of the meal, He accepted Ambapali's gift of the house for his order, we feel certain that He felt sure that Ambapali had renounced her way of life for evermore. The same master-touch is seen in the treatment of the returned Prodigal son in Buddha's parable. In Christ's parable the father is so excessive in his demonstrations of joy as to make his dutiful elder son justly jealous of the treatment accorded to the wastrel. But Buddha is ever careful of moral values. The father in His parable does not betray his feelings, but with true regard for his son's permanent well-being, he gradually prepares him for the final reunion. The moral is drawn, "Little by little must the minds of men be trained for higher truths."

That was Buddha's method of social reform. Nothing was farther removed from what is popularly known as non-co-operation nowadays among us. He did not refuse to treat with any person or institution however erring in their ways. He probed to the root, found the evil principle, and put a good principle in its place, confident that the good must ever overcome evil. In the words of the other great Master, the Buddha taught "Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth will make you free." This method is one which requires time and patience, but it is a method which gives lasting results and what is more, it is entirely free from untoward reaction. There is a vast store of helpful example in the life and teachings of Bhagwan Buddha which is of infinite use to us in solving our problems. It is my earnest prayer that this Society may send forth in course of time men and women deeply imbued with the spirit of the Master to serve our country, the more sanctified to us because it was also His, and to serve humanity.

HINDU SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

(BY MR. E. GOVINDAN.)

Who is a gardener? Not one certainly who owns a garden but one who goes forth daily with a spade and a pickaxe to a bare plot, works on it steadily for some time with enthusiasm, removes the weeds and the tares, then tills the ground for sowing generous and wholesome seeds, and watches it and waters it day and night, till his labour is crowned and the plot looks like one mass of waving flowers. Then he is indeed happy, and his friends too who stood by him in the toil with sweat on their brows, are happy, for happiness is truly catching.

The whole Hindu society can be likened to a garden. In the same breath, it might be said that our gardeners, Messrs. Ranade and Chandavarkar, worked on it for decades and decades together and yet there are not flowers in abundance. Such is the nature of weedy growth of the society.

It is a matter of history that Messrs. Ranade and Chandavarkar toiled long in their self-chosen sphere of work against adverse winds. Like Dr. Johnson who laboured singly in the compilation of his dictionary, they had to work not for seven years but throughout their life "without one act of assistance, one word of encouragement, or one smile of favour". All honour to these heroes! They were men of vision. Oh, what a vision! They felt strongly that the unorganised Hindu society would prove to be a great obstacle in the path of political progress if it were not broken and rendered fit to receive the seed of nationalism and hence they worked unceasingly with all their heart and with all their soul with a view to implant Swaraj firm in the Indian soil. That was their life mission.

Those two dominating personalities are no more and the responsibility of further carrying out measures of social reconstruction is with us who are left behind.

To-day, there are stalwarts like Messrs. Jayakar, and Kandaswami, in Bombay and Madras respectively, besides other active supporters of the cause throughout the country. Already they are face to face with the social evil, *Varadakshina*. In spite of the fact that it is a thing of recent origin, its sway over the society is increasing in an alarming manner. For it is slowly but surely entrenching itself behind the ramparts of blind orthodoxy. It should, therefore, engage the serious attention of social workers in India immediately to prevent society from going into pieces. Though it is difficult to anticipate the measures to be adopted by social reformers to eradicate this evil, yet it can be affirmed with truth that the season for it is becoming more and more unfavourable. I will just refer to three factors at work justifying the remark.

The first is the spirit of the times which we live in. Our attitude to woman is undergoing a thorough change. Our attitude in the past is well summed up by Swami Vivekananda when he says: "It is very difficult to understand why in this country there is so much difference between men and women whereas *Vedanta* declares that one conscious self is present in all beings. You always criticise the women but say what have you done for their uplift? By writing *Smritis* and binding them by hard rules, the men have turned the women into producing machines. If you do not raise the women who are the living embodiment of the Divine Mother, don't think you have any other way to rise." That the present condition of our society hardly fits in with the description of Swamiji, cannot be denied. Thanks to the disinterested services of social workers in the past, the cause of women's education is growing in importance. That public opinion has assumed a healthy

complexion and that the narrow prejudices against education of women have worn down much, can be ascertained very well from Prof. D. K. Karve's Women's University in Poona. With the spread of education among them, women are gradually entering the medical profession in large numbers. Already there is a sprinkling of women in the legal profession also. In the Punjab owing to the magnificent donation of Sir Ganga Ram, the cause of widow remarriage is making steady progress in the country. Active steps are now being taken by the Punjab Vidhya Vivah Sahaik Sabha, Lahore, to make it as popular as possible. Thus it will be seen that one barrier after another is being pulled down and will *Varadakshina*, which is an insult to our womanhood, stand against the spirit of the times as it is built on sand? With the first flush of the dawn of liberty and freedom to our women it is to be hoped that *Varadakshina* will die a natural death.

There is another factor to be reckoned with. That is the non-Brahmin movement in the South. Judging by its results, it can be said to be a movement meant to break down Brahmin monopoly in the administrative and public walks of life. It has succeeded to a certain extent in pulling down this citadel and any one with a knowledge of Brahmins here and their ways will realise what a blow it would be to the future Brahmin graduates of the Madras University. It has been hitherto the practice with avaricious fathers in the community to buy their sons-in-law for all their worth in the fond hope, which used to materialise to a great extent, that they would make their pile and live in bungalows, because they held the monopoly in their hands. In spite of the much-boasted Brahminical wisdom, it is a pity that their idea of marriage, as seen from the above facts, is based on interest rather than love. Any socialist in the country welcomes the movement to the extent it has clipped the wings of this monopoly during these three years and dealt a blow at the prestige of *Varnashrama Dharma*.

Lastly, I may refer to the steps that are being taken by well-intentioned Principals of Colleges down here. I was told some time back that the Principal of a mofussil college asked, nay, advised his students in the public class not to demand or receive *Varadakshina*. I hope to be pardoned for introducing another similar instance. I was in Wesley College, Madras, in 1916. The Rev. J. E. Neill was and is, I think, the Principal of the institution. Being an Irishman, he has a piquant sense of humour. One day, in an afternoon class, he drew a graduated scale of *Varadakshina*, criticised it in strong terms and asked every one of us in the class to take a vow not to touch that blood-money in life. It sunk deep into our minds. Mr. Neill is a great sympathiser of Indian aspirations. He was then a regular reader of the *Reformer* and, I think, he still is.

The immediate task before our reformers is to weed out the spurious growth of *Varadakshina* from our society. But Mr. G. A. Sundaram in his article, "An Unworkable Remedy" in the *Reformer* of the 14th instant writes thus: "It is also a fact that public

opinion is not equally strong against the practice of exacting stiff bridegroom prices. Notwithstanding the pessimism of the writer of the article I am discussing (Mr. B. R. Bose's article on "Bridegrooms' price") it is not impossible to create a healthy public opinion about this social evil (*Varadakshina*)." The fact is that a healthy public opinion is already in the formation stage and in all their activities towards eradicating this evil, our reformers should bear this in mind.

HINDU-MAHOMEDAN UNITY.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

I am very glad to read your note on "The Hindu-Mahomedan Unity." You rightly observe therein that the unity between the two communities can only be achieved "by creating and fostering a sympathetic study of the ideals of Islam by Hindus and of Hinduism by our Mahomedan countrymen, especially of the student class," and further add that the Students' Brotherhood in Bombay and other similar institutions elsewhere should make it a special feature of their activities to institute lectures and courses of study with this end in view. May I take the liberty of informing you that our Young Theists' Union has been humbly trying to further this object in its own way?

Yours sincerely,
G. Y. CHITNIS,
Hon. Secretary.
Young Theists' Union.

*Among the objects of the Young Theists' Union is one to afford opportunities for earnest minded young men and women for studying the principal Scriptures of different religions in this country and abroad." Membership is open to all those who declare themselves Theists and pay an annual subscription of Rs. 2 in advance.

THE NABHA ABDICATION.—I.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

I have read your note "The Nabha Abdication" published in the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 4th instant. I hasten to give my address as follows:—

Lala Partap Chand
O/o.

Lala Fateh Chand, 80, Nisbet Road, Lahore.

I hope you will now publish the letter. I have nothing to do with any party or individual that may be carrying on propaganda either against or for the late Maharaja of Nabha. My letter was written merely with the object of placing the truth of the case before the public.

My study of your paper has given me an impression that you do not take sides in a controversy and state both sides of a case fairly.

Lahore,
6-8-1928.

Yours faithfully,
PARTAP CHAND.

[That Lala Partap Chand is staying with Lala Fateh Chand does not help us to appreciate the value of the former's letter. Our correspondent writes of the policy and the intentions of the Government of India, with an assurance that is justifiable only in one authorised to speak on behalf of that Government. What precisely is his competence for doing so? For the rest, so far as we are concerned, the two points on which we criticised the Nabha decision are first, that one or two Maharajas of equal status with Nabha should have been associated with Mr. Justice Stuart in the enquiry, and, secondly, that the reasons given in the Government of India communique are palpably inadequate to justify the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha. On these two points, we shall be glad to publish a communication from some responsible person, but we cannot publish allegations and inferences which do not meet our criticism.—Ed. I. S. R.]

II.

I have read on page 1 of your issue of the 4th instant your note entitled "The Nabha Abdication." My address is given at the top of this letter. I am a native of Nabha but reside in Lahore where I am employed. The resolutions were sent to me by Lala Shamjidas, the chairman of the meeting, with a request that I might get them copied and sent to a number of papers. I had them typed at a type shop in Anarkali Street.

Bharat Sewak Hotel,
Changar Mohalls, Lahore.

Yours truly,
SANT SINGH

6-8-28.

GOVERNMENT'S SOLICITUDE FOR THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

Mr. Karkare's inference in the second para of his letter in your last issue, is not correct. I wonder how he drew it from my letter. It is absurd to say that "Government are prompted to issue the present order to make a saving of Rs. 1000/-". I did not say so at all. What I meant to say by giving the example of the reduction of the Depressed Class Mission's grant, was that a Government which shows so much solicitude for these classes, would not have set aside the G. R. of Lord Sydenham so light-heartedly and would have at least spared such a philanthropic body as the Depressed Class Mission Society from the operation of its ruthless retrenchment policy. But since it did not do so even when the education of these classes was concerned, how can that Government take credit for this notification as an act in the interests of these classes? The Education Department wanted to kill two birds with one stone and hence its motive was not purely disinterested.

Yours faithfully,
G. B. Trivedi.

THE REV. MR. N. V. TILAK'S NATIONALISM.

HIS CHANGE OF RELIGION DID NOT MEAN A
CHANGE OF NATIONALITY.

I.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

SIR,

In the article on 'The Future of Christian Missions in India' by the Rev. J. F. Edwards in the *Reformer* of July 28th, I came across the following reference to Mr. Tilak, the well-known Marathi poet. 'His continual protest in all his writings was against the misconception that his change of religion had meant a change of nationality.'

I cite an *Abhanga* of his, of which the following is a free translation, to show that this statement cannot be supported and that Mr. Tilak was never considered a foreigner by his countrymen because of his conversion to Christianity.

"Blessed is the womb of my mother which brings forth great rishis, saints and sages."

No one takes into account my being a Christian, nobody is angry with me.

I pay visits, I salute, I embrace with love, yet none says he is polluted.

They honour my Teacher with love and say He is our relation also. This is my daily experience; let none say I exaggerate.

Das (Tilak) says my mother is generous-hearted; and her children are like her."

—189 Abhanganjali.

From the *Abhanga* we can see that Mr. Tilak himself did not feel so; and it is clear from the high place we readily accord him in our literature that his countrymen were not willing to let the change in religion come between them and their cherished poet.

As regards the protest of which the Rev. Mr. Edwards speaks, Mr. Tilak used to protest against hypocrisy in religion as well as hypocrisy in other matters. But nowhere is he so vehement as in the following *Abhanga*:

'India is not a toy that can be handled by children; India is not a theatre solely for the glory of the clown.

Here were born warriors in the cause of religion before whom the world trembled.

Here were born Munis, Yogis whose lustre envelops us still. Kings of devotees whose life itself was devotion, and whose home was the whole world, were born here and lived in the heart of every one. What purpose can be served by holding before such an India a dance of hypocrisy with its attending evils? What you have gained you will lose in the end and mortification will be your reward. 'Das says 'Here every act of yours must breathe the living presence of Lord Christ'.—168, Abhanganjali.

Bombay Road, Thana,
3rd August, 1923.

Yours etc.,
K. P. TASKAR.

II.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

I write this to state that my translation of 189 Abhanganjali (Tilak) given in my letter of the 3rd August be preferred to that given at the end of Rev. J. C. Winslow's article in the *Reformer* of the 11th August, for the following reasons:—

(1) The *Abhanga* in Marathi is a simple statement of facts, and is not addressed to the Motherland.

(2) The Marathi verbs used for 'meet', 'greet' and 'embrace' are in the first person singular and not in the third person plural.

(3) The verb for 'pollute' is used in the first person singular and not in the second person. The sentence 'I am polluted' is in the direct form of speech and is object to the verb 'saith'.

(4) In the last two sentences—in translating which freely or otherwise the Rev. Mr. Winslow is thoroughly wrong—there is no nominative of address; and they do not consist of only one assertion but of two, one with regard to the Motherland and the other with regard to her children, the word 'pariwar' in Marathi being used to mean 'household' 'family' or 'children.'

Please excuse me for troubling you on a minor issue. But I think it is necessary to see that an *Abhanga* which is a loving tribute of Mr. Tilak to his former co-religionists, is well translated.

Thana,
3th August 1923.

Yours etc.
K. P. TASKAR.

JESUS CHRIST ON PROSELYTISM.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Will you kindly allow me to answer in your paper some of the statements made by Mr. C. F. Andrews in your issue of Aug. 4th regarding the case of conversion to Christianity which has recently taken place in Madras in connection with

our Mission (C. E. Z. M.). We have not, up to now, answered any of the articles appearing in *Swarajya* and other papers simply because we did not wish to enter into a controversy about such a matter; as, however, our silence seems to be regarded as a proof that we feel guilty in the matter, I am writing this letter and hope you will print it.

Of course, it is easy enough for Mr. Andrews and others to cut out of the words of Christ anything which they dislike or which they think will bring them into disrepute among those who do not profess to follow Christ. We read in the Gospels there were those in Our Lord's own band of disciples who said: "This is an hard saying, who can hear it?" and walked no more with Him. Christ's plain command "Follow me" and "Come, take up the cross and follow me" together with His words, "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me", are as binding on His followers and as difficult to obey now as when spoken.

We know that we have been sent to tell others of the claims of Christ, and to seek to lead those with whom we come in touch, to a saving knowledge of Him; we are not sent merely to teach the Bible as literature or to speak of Christ as a great teacher among other great teachers. We never go to any Hindu house under false pretences. We always state plainly that whatever other subject we teach, it must be accompanied by a Bible lesson; when this is agreed to we go to that house regularly; if it is not agreed to we do not undertake teaching in that house. As regards the schools, the parents know perfectly well that a Bible lesson is given every day. It is difficult to see how the charge of deceit and under-hand dealing can be proved.

We do not believe that membership in any particular sect will save any one, but a true belief in Christ and confession of Him before others is what He demands, as is plain in the Gospels.

Finally, there was no "hurrying away a young girl into concealment from her own parents, in order to get her baptised" as Mr. Andrews writes; her relations were told where she was and have seen her. The words in your leading article which run thus: "the abduction of a young Hindu woman from her home by a Missionary lady", are entirely untrue.

O. E. Z. M., Madras,
August 8, 1923.

Yours etc.
MARY E. BARKER.

[As the young lady has, according to the last report, returned to her home, it is obviously undesirable to pursue this controversy further.—Ed. *I. S. R.*]

MR. AGARKAR AND RATIONALISM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

In the course of an editorial note in your issue of the 4th instant you state,— "Mr. S. G. Warty...says that Mr. Tilak justified his opposition to social reform on the ground that the late Mr. Agarkar manifested a tendency to rationalism. Mr. Tilak, himself was, we think, very little addicted to dogmatic religion and the quality of reverence was not the most conspicuous feature of his life. However that may be, all leaders of social reform in Maharashtra except Mr. Agarkar were also leaders of religious reform and were men known for their devotion, piety, and purity. Mr. Tilak's opposition to social reform was not limited to Mr. Agarkar's type of it," etc. It is not my intention to join issues with Mr. Warty who is, however, quite wrong in diagnosing the causes of Mr. Tilak's opposition to social reform. Mr. Tilak opposed all social reform though he himself was a rationalist as is abundantly clear from his voluminous work

on the Goeta. Those who knew him well described him as an atheist. You are right in saying that Mr. Agarkar's uniqueness among the Marathi social reformers was his rationalism. But I cannot persuade myself to believe that you mean that he was not a man of piety and purity. Nor can you mean that rationalists in general are not persons of piety and purity. But a construction like that can be put on your words and it will be extremely unjust to Agarkar who was a man of spotless character in private and in public. At any rate the term 'purity' cannot be reserved for theists alone. As to devotion and piety, a good deal will depend upon the meaning one attaches to them. If devotion means prayers and similar practices of theists in general, no rationalist can possess it. If piety means to speak reverently of these practices, no rationalist can claim that virtue either at its full value. But as to purity, there are hundreds and thousands of rationalists who are as pure in their thoughts and acts as any theist. You will also notice that every social reformer, though he may be a theist, is charged with impiety by the more orthodox. Therefore, there is little point in saying that rationalists are not pious. With regard to Mr. Agarkar, one of the most orthodox writers in Marathi wrote of him in 1915 when the Agarkar Day was first celebrated in Bombay,— "We do not like atheism and Agarkar was an atheist. But we know that all through his life he was a great saint whose heart was devoted to humanity and whose life was pure and exemplary." Mr. Tilak was a great man and those who had to differ from him on many questions freely admitted it. It is a pity that some of his admirers do not realize that his greatness could be established without belittling his great contemporaries.

French Bridge,
Bombay No. 7.

Yours etc.
M. D. ALTEKAR.

[We never intended to say that rationalists are not noted for their purity. As a fact, the great rationalists from Buddha to J. S. Mill, have been remarkable for their purity, and of course, the late Mr. Agarkar was a man of the highest personal character. We are glad that Mr. Altekar has called our attention to the possibility of our words being misunderstood, and we trust that this explanation will remove all such possibility.—Ed. I. S. R.]

INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The following memorandum, signed by representative American missionaries in India, has been sent to the American Press, with copies to the officials concerned:—

The undersigned, citizens of the United States resident in India, desire to place before the American people the following:

America has hitherto been held in high esteem in India because of her idealism and brotherliness. But the recent Supreme Court decision that Indians are ineligible to become citizens of the United States has had a decided tendency to diminish this esteem. In fact it has caused deep resentment in the mind of India.

We do not presume to question the interpretation of the Statute by the Supreme Court in this matter, nevertheless we cannot let this opportunity go by without registering our regret that such a ruling was possible.

It will help to widen the gulf between East and West and will give added impetus to the rising tide of resentment and bitterness against White exclusiveness. We deeply regret that our country has any part in augmenting this rising tide. By goodwill and friendliness and just dealing between man and man the better moral forces of the world may yet

avert a clash and make a more friendly world. We sincerely hope that our country will have a vital part in doing this.

We are given to understand that, as a result of this decision, the Alien Land Act may be enforced and that the land now owned and leased by Indians in America may be taken from them. We are not acquainted with the terms on which this may be done, but whether on liberal or harsh terms, we urge that this Act be not brought into operation, so that the injury of deprivation be not added to the injury of disenfranchisement.

In support of this we would draw attention to the fact that, with the exception of a few of the Native States, Americans may and do hold land in India in large quantities. But the same privilege may be denied Indians in America on the ground that they are aliens. The Golden Rule would demand that the same privilege be extended to Indians in America as is extended to us in India.

In the interest of goodwill and friendliness and fairness we trust that technicalities will not be taken advantage of to deprive Indians of land taken in good faith before this ruling was given.

(Bishop) F. B. Fisher, Calcutta, C. A. R. Janvier, Allahabad, E. D. Lucas, Lahore, Louis R. Scudder, Vellore, J. J. Banninga, Madura, R. A. Hume, Ahmednagar, B. T. Badley, Calcutta, W. L. Ferguson, Madras, D. H. Manley, Calcutta, E. Stanley Jones, Sitapur, E. C. Worman, Calcutta, S. G. Griswold, Lahore.

BUDDHA SOCIETY.

Mr. S. H. Jhabvala, the Hon. Secretary of the above Society writes:—The Annual General Meeting of the Buddha Society of Bombay was held on Sunday the 12th August at Nair Building with Dr. A. L. Nair, the President of the Society, in the chair. After the opening address of the President, it was resolved that Mr. G. K. Nariman be deputed as a representative of the Society to attend the Sanskrit Sammelan to be shortly held at Benares. Thereafter, Mr. Jhabvala, the Hon. Secretary of the Society, submitted the report of the working of the Society for the last year in the course of which it was stated that the Society had opened a Buddhist library, arranged public meetings and conducted a fortnightly class to propagate the teachings and comprehension of the doctrines of Bhagwan Buddha. The Society had also passed resolutions in connection with the Buddha Gaya temple and deputed two of its members to Gaya in that connection and on the death of the late Prof. Rhys Davids. A social function was arranged to entertain Dr. Sylvain Levi, the celebrated French Orientalist. The Society is thankful to Dr. Nair and others who helped in its successful conduct. Mr. Natarajan and the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas moved for the adoption of the report which was unanimously passed. Thereafter a new Managing Committee was appointed with Dr. A. L. Nair as President, Messrs. V. P. Vaidya, Bar-at-Law, and K. Natarajan, B. A., as Vice-Presidents, the Hon. Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas Mehta, Messrs. M. R. Jayakar, Bar-at-Law, Narotam Morarjee Goculdas, G. K. Nariman, Mavjee G. Seth, Rao Bahadur A. K. Pai, Messrs. B. N. Motiwala, M. B. Kolaskar, Bar-at-Law, K. Keluskar, Naraingram, Padhya, J. E. Saklatvala and S. S. Mehta as Members, Prof. N. K. Bhagvat as Hon. Treasurer and Mr. S. H. Jhabvala as Hon. Secretary.

Mr. Natarajan then delivered an address which is printed in another column. Dr. Nair terminated the proceedings with his closing speech.

Light refreshments served terminated the meeting.

VITAL ISSUE IN KENYA.

The following is the fourth and last of the *series* of articles on the above subject contributed by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the *Voice of India*.

When the European settlers brought forward their accusation against the Indian settler as an exploiter of the African native, they never realised what a double-edged weapon they were using, and that it was likely to turn back in their own hands and cut themselves. For the terrible fact is, that for the last twenty years the European settler himself has been exploiting the native African to such a degree and on so wide a scale, that a dangerous rising of the most serious character is imminent and it is not likely, unless things are radically altered, that the evil can be kept back much longer. It is well-known that, quite recently, there have been ominous signs of almost universal revolt. Only a few years ago a Kekuya native could have had no real influence with the men of the Kavirordo tribe, because of tribal differences, but I have been told by an official that every European was startled to find that Harry Thuku, who, if I am not mistaken, belonged to the Kikuya or a kindred tribe, was finding enthusiastic gatherings of many thousands of Kavirordo tribesmen to welcome him, before he was arrested and deported without trial.

The reason for this extraordinary resentment against the European, which has spread far and wide in Kenya Colony, has been (i) the unjust taxation, and (ii) compulsory registration, and (iii) compulsory labour, to which the African has been subjected. Only a short time ago, the provisions for forced labour had gone so far, that Government officials were being used to collect labourers, through using their influence upon the native chiefs, who were obliged to send men, against their will and consent, to work on the plantations for the Europeans. This was done, not for public work such as road-making, etc., but for private landlords and concessionaire companies, which had obtained large tracts of land, originally belonging to the natives, and were eager to get it cultivated.

To show the vast extent to which this confiscation of land has gone, and its miserable results, the Government figures show that very nearly 12,000 square miles of fertile country have been alienated from the natives by the Government and turned into crown lands, without any compensation being given. Of this large tract of country, practically the whole is now owned by Europeans. The Indians have only a few plots in the lower elevations. They possess roughly about 30 square miles in the whole Colony. The 12,000 square miles, which the Europeans possess, are owned and managed, according to the Census, by 1805 male "farmers and settlers," who are of European birth and extraction. It will easily be understood how this tiny group of European settlers, with more than 5,000,000 acres of land to cultivate, must have continually present before them the temptation to exploit the natives for labour purposes.

The conditions of immorality, to which this forceful labour exploitation has led, have been described by a writer in the *International Review of Missions*, who has written under the name of Fulani bin Fulani. He is known to have been a medical officer of wide experience in the service of the Kenya Government. He writes as follows:—

"There is no surer sign of social disintegration than for the marriage tie to become unstable among the mass of the people. In the mixture of men of different tribes in European employment, in British East Africa, the customary

union is by the month. The African men and women arrange such unions by themselves, the women receiving clothing, food and money (part of which is often sent to her family) and serving her master at bed and board. These unions may last indefinitely for months and years. They do not exist, among temporary labourers. These need their money for the tax. For them, there exists an immense class of prostitutes—a totally new feature in African native life. But most of the men who have taken more or less permanently to wage-earning under Europeans, have women of their own. Their industrial life being precarious, their liabilities to their women are correspondingly restricted. They have no wives as they have no homes. They get their wages at the end of the month. They change their masters at the end of the month—to travel perhaps to other masters. And so they marry by the month. Their unions have no sanction in the native law, nor in our own. As is inevitable, children are rare in such unions, discords are common. But such unions are not felt to be disgraceful as by many prostitution is felt to be. The system fits the life.

"The State may some day awaken to the fact that it is manufacturing disease faster than any available means of prevention can overtake it."

This is a doctor's report after more than sixteen years in the country engaged in medical work. This immorality which has thus corrupted the very fountain-head of African native life, has been brought about chiefly by the system of wholesale recruiting for the large European estates, which must, whatever happens, take their full toll of native labour.

The worst stage of all the limited liability companies run by paid managers, whose own interests in the country are for the most to make money quickly and then retire home to England—has not yet been reached to any very great extent in East Africa. But every day more and more the smaller landholder is being swallowed up; and the fact that there are to-day only 1805 settlers or farmers on the whole of the Highlands area of nearly 12,000 square miles, shows clearly on what scale the country is already being run.

It is impossible to go on with the long tale of grievance and wrongs under which the African native has grown restless up to the verge of rebellion. There is the hateful pass system called 'Registration Act' under which every adult male African has to carry about with him, wherever he goes, a receptacle in which is placed a certificate containing his thumb-mark, his name and age, his village, the number of times he has worked for his European master, the number of times he has deserted, etc. There were two thousand prosecutions under this Act, in the first year of its existence. The administration of it cost the Government £20,000 a year, which, by a cruel irony, had to be paid for out of native taxation. The African hates this pass system, but he is powerless. In a hundred other ways, his life has been controlled, not for his own benefit, but for the benefit of the huge estates.

A writer commenting on all this recently has said:— "Why do not the natives rebel? The answer is, because they cannot. They cannot even protest. Their only spokesmen are the so-called chiefs, paid by Government sums, five, ten and twenty times the labourer's wage so that they shall say and do what the Government tells them. The only movement of protest was crushed by the massacre of twenty innocent men and women, and by the deportation of a leader, Harry Thuku, who though by all accounts neither very wise nor very worthy] has never yet been charged with offence. Let the reader mark well that these people have no constitutional means whatever of liberation. History, one

supposes, will repeat, on yet another page, the hideous story of growing anger and hatred, sudden and pitifully futile rebellions followed by ever larger massacres and ever heavier chains of oppression. All this, in a country never conquered..." The deputations from Kenya, which represent the European settlers, claim that they alone can be trusted to protect the interests of the natives, which would be menaced by Indian immigration or a franchise extended to Indians. But the facts give strong support to the Indian argument, that until the Africans can protect themselves neither Indian nor European settlers can be entrusted with them. *This is the responsibility of the British Government at home.*

A century ago, Parliament in Westminster destroyed the old African slavery. Parliament alone can destroy this new slavery. To repeal the "Registration Act" would be easy. But it would merely pruned extravagant growth from a tree that chokes the soil and poisons the air. *The whole system must be uprooted.*

The system referred to above is the domination of the settlers, by legislative means, over the lives and properties of the Africans. One of the most vital issues in Kenya at the present time is to take away the power, out of the hands of those who are settlers in the country and engaged in this very work of exploitation.

I have not spoken at length about Indian exploitation, because the most serious and widespread in its results to-day is that of the European. The Indian, furthermore, has no legislative power. Not a single Indian has the franchise. Wherever, therefore, the Indian exploits the native (as he does in trade and money-lending etc.) it is not through using the powers of Government to obtain his ends.

In these articles which have been chiefly written on a voyage through a sea lashed by the monsoon winds, I have had to use the material I have had in hand, rather than try to engage in original thinking. I hope, however, that this series of articles may have told my readers something that was new about the vital issues in Kenya.

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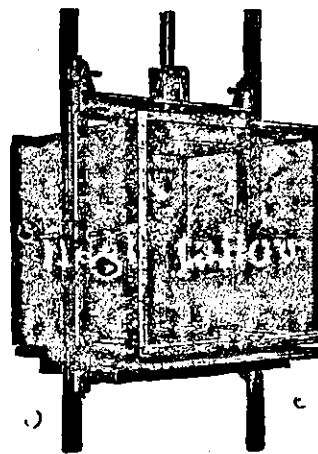
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES.

The Kenya Affront: The perusal of the full text of the official statement conveying the Kenya decision, which Viscount Peel expected would modify Indian opposition, has had the opposite effect. The Government of India have issued a statement about it of which it need only be said that it is quite in keeping with Sir Narasimha Sarma's other deliverances on the subject. Public demonstrations had been postponed pending the arrival of the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry and other Indian delegates from London. They arrived yesterday and the whole of next week has been mapped out for demonstrations all over the country. The Congress has called a *hartal* on Monday next. All the leading Indian commercial bodies have joined the requisition. Indians in East Africa will also call a complete *hartal* on the same day in Kenya. In Bombay, there will be several public meetings at which speakers will address without distinction of political parties. Public feeling has been growing in strength and volume, and there is a general desire that some step more concrete than passing resolutions should be adopted in order to bring home to the British Government the enormity of their decision, as well as to vindicate our national self-respect.

The End of the Nagpur Flag Affair:—There has been general relief at the end of what has been known as the Flag Satyagraha at Nagpur. The Government have not extended the order prohibiting the carrying of the Flag in procession through the Civil Station, and the Satyagrahis, after a final grand march conducted under Police escort, have ceased to court arrests by attempting to contravene it. This result could have been attained several weeks ago but for the blind worship of prestige which stood in the way of cancelling an order that should never have been passed. The resolutions passed by the Legislative Council demanding the withdrawal of the order, were no doubt of much help to Government in overcoming the stupidity of the Die-Hard Imperialists in the British Parliament. Mr. Vithalbai Patel's good offices in negotiating with the members of the Legislative Council and of the Government, including His Excellency the Governor, were, if not seconded, at least acquiesced

in by Mr. Vallabhai Patel with a statesmanly disregard of the technicalities of Non-co-operation. The imprisoned *Satyagrahis* are expected to be released shortly. The episode has a moral for both Government and Non-co-operators, and if that is clearly understood, the price need not be considered too great to pay.

The Lesson of Nabha: We are glad to think that the lesson of the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha is making itself felt in the minds of Indian Chiefs. So long as they choose to enjoy the illusory sweets of autocratic power, so long they must be prepared to pay the price of political subservience which may, in extreme cases, amount to voluntary abdication. Their political safety as well as independence lies in their associating with themselves the representatives of the people in the administration. Does anybody imagine that the voluntary abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha would have been so casually come about, if there was a Representative Assembly to which the Maharaja could have turned for advice and support in his hour of need? Would the persecutions of Patiala men have gone without protest? The Assembly would have checked the wrongful use of judicial processes in time, and would have stood solid behind the Maharaja against the machinations of his detractors. We earnestly trust that the more important States which still choose to carry on as autocracies, will lose no time in admitting their subjects to a substantial share in the administration. It is only in that way can they ensure the safety and dignity of their *gadis* as well as the prosperity and contentment of their people.

The Shuddhi Movement: We publish to-day an outspoken 'open letter' addressed to the leaders of the Shuddhi movement, which has for its object the reclamation of the depressed classes and converts to other religions to the Hindu fold, from an enlightened Mahomedan correspondent who signs himself "Cunctatus." We publish the letter prominently although we think that "Cunctatus" has not followed the history of the Shuddhi movement which was originally started to remove the disabilities of the depressed and untouchable castes and to raise them in the social scale. We regard the present apparent divergence of the course of Hindu-Mahomedan relations as the necessary preliminary to a closer approximation of them than ever before, in the course of time. Thought moves, it has been truly said, in a spiral curve and not in a straight line. The peculiarity of the spiral is that, while it seems to move away from the central line, it is all the time steadily approaching it. The only relation between two communities which should cause real apprehension is that of mutual indifference. "Cunctatus" and other Mahomedan publicists are doing a distinct service to the cause of a better understanding between Mahomedans and Hindus, by taking an interest in the movements of Hindu reform and by pointing out to Hindus what seems to them to be the more urgent defects needing reform. It is the part of true friendship to point out with a view to amendment each other's serious faults and

blemishes, and we welcome such contributions from Muslim correspondents who are genuinely and sincerely anxious to promote cordial relations between the several Indian communities. For our own part, we do not see why the reconversion of some persons who seem to have occupied an undefined position between Hinduism and Mahomedanism, should involve a blow, near or remote, to the country. If Mahomedan divines neglect their duty to bring popular Mahomedanism to the high level of the Koranic principles, they should not be surprised if there is an occasional drift of the lower strata of their faith towards the faith from which they were originally drawn. The majority of converts to other faiths bring with them a huge subconscious heritage which, unless sedulously counteracted by active educational work for several generations, tends to assert itself whenever occasion offers. Despite the brotherhood inculcated by the Koran, caste has a firm foothold in Indian Islam. Even untouchability is not unknown to it. Indian Islam has several of the defects of Hinduism. Why not try to improve it instead of finding fault with the Hindus? Why delay?

International History: We have much pleasure in publishing to-day the communication from Mr. F. G. Gould, of the Moral Educational Society, London, relating to the idea of an international history projected at the Moral Educational Congress held at Geneva last year. We have been urging from time to time the need of a synthetic history of India, and we welcome the project of a synthetic history of the nations. Mr. H. G. Wells in his "Outline History of the World" has made a good beginning, but his book is not sufficiently well informed regarding the movements of Asiatic culture and civilizations. "The International mind," as Professor Butler observes, "is nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and co-operating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world." It is no doubt difficult to develop this international mind if we fix our minds exclusively on contemporary conditions, but it is not difficult to do it if we take a long enough view of history. A mountain range seen at close quarters appears as a number of distinct hills and peaks, and its continuity is recognized only when it is seen at a proper distance. In the same way, what appears to contemporary observers as antagonisms and conflicts between nations and creeds and parties, is lost in the synthetic perspective of History. A politician can never be the historian of his own period. It is equally difficult for a person with the historical sense to be an ardent politician except by a great effort and from a constraining sense of duty.

Social Reform and Social Reformers: The letter which we print to-day from Mr. T. S. Gopalakrishna is typical of an attitude of mind which, when it prevails largely in a community, operates as the greatest obstacle to progress. We are glad to be told that there have been other remarriages of Brahmin child widows in Cochin before the recent one which has been described by some correspondents as the first remarriage in that State. But Mr. Gopalakrishna's diatribe against organisations for popularising the reform, is altogether misplaced. Those who do not wish to have the help of these organizations are not obliged to resort to them. If a large number of persons are able to do without them, it would be the best proof that the reform has been accepted by the community to which they belong. The whole aim of the social reformer is to get incorporated the reforms which he advocates in the body

of beliefs and practices which constitute the conservative and stable foundation of every society. He does not want his name to go down to posterity as the promoter of so many scores and hundreds of remarriages of widows, as our correspondent seems to think. From our own personal correspondence, however, we can tell Mr. Gopalakrishna that many persons, who are anxious to get their young widowed daughters remarried, are unable to carry out their desire without the help of some sort of organisation. One correspondent, in fact, suggested that the protection of a movement like the non-co-operation movement should be extended to middle class Hindus, of whom he said there are thousands, who would be very glad to effect marriage reforms in their families but for the fear of the persecution of their neighbours and caste-men. There is no more merit intrinsically in the remarriage of a widow than in that of a widower. The importance of the former as a measure of social reform arises solely out of its arbitrary prohibition by a society which freely allows the latter. We know of people who profess great regard for social reform but to whom social reformers are an anathema. But there can be no social reform without social reformers though nobody knows more than the latter that the best success that can attend their efforts is for them to be forgotten and for their reforms to cease to be regarded as innovations.

Constitutional Reforms in Cochin:— The Cochin Government has issued a supplement to its *Gazette* of the 11th instant containing the full text of the Cochin Legislative Council Regulation as passed by H. H. the Maharaja on 9th instant. The talk of the inauguration of a Legislative Council for Cochin has been in the air for the last five years and it is something that it has at last seen the light of day. The Regulation will come into force at once. We had made brief references to Cochin Constitutional Reforms in the *Reformer* of 23rd December 1922 when the draft rules were published in the Cochin Government Gazette and also in our review of the Administration Report in the *Reformer* of the 3rd February, and we do not think it necessary to offer any detailed criticism of the Regulation. The Legislative Council will consist of not less than thirty and not more than sixty members of whom not less than two-thirds will be elected and the rest nominated. The Dewan, the executive head of the administration, will be the President of the Council and he is vested with all possible autocratic powers to completely ignore the decisions of the Council. How the Cochin Durbar has carefully copied the autocratic provisions of the Government of India Act like the power of certification, with the abuses of which we are now quite familiar, will be seen from the following samples:—

(1) Where in the Council any Bill has been introduced or is proposed to be introduced or any amendment to a Bill is moved or proposed to be moved, our Dewan may certify that the Bill, or any clause of it or the amendment affects the safety or tranquility of Cochin or any part thereof, and may direct that no proceedings or no further proceedings shall be taken by the Council in relation to the Bill, clause or amendment, and effect shall be given to such direction.

(2) Where the Council refuses leave to introduce or fails to pass in a form recommended by our Government any Bill, our Dewan may certify that the passage of the Bill in that form is essential for the safety, tranquility or interests of Cochin and submit the same for our assent, and on the signification of our assent such Bill shall become law.

The annual Budget of the State will be placed before the Council which may "deal with it," but its decision can be flouted by the Dewan. From a glance at the Regulation it is not difficult to see that it falls short of even the Government of India Act, and we shall not be surprised if, with its innumerable restrictions and reservations, the Cochinites consider these "reforms" to be "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing."

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

BOMBAY, AUGUST 25, 1923.

THE ALL-INDIA HINDU MAHASABHA.

The All-India Hindu Mahasabha which commenced its sittings at Benares on Sunday last, is the first striking expression of the Hindu reaction to the accumulating signs of which we have been calling attention from time to time. We use the word "reaction" in its scientific sense and not as meaning a retrograde movement. Since the Mahomedan conquest, Hinduism had been without an all-India organ to adjust, correct and co-ordinate the changes necessitated by the pressure of changes in its environment. To this, to begin with, is due the cleavage between the Hindu orthodoxy of northern and of southern India. The line of cleavage was softened somewhat by the existence of Hindu holy places like Prayag, Benares and Gaya in the north and Rameshwaram, Srirangam, and Tirupati in the south of India. But there has been no considered adjustment of the Northern and Southern ideals of orthodoxy. There again, the absence of a co-ordinating organ is responsible for the unbridged gap that there is between philosophical and popular Hinduism. The various medieval *bhakti* movements in several parts of the country have, for the same reason, remained unassimilated units in the body of Hinduism. Then there are the modern movements of religions and social reform beginning with Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar down to our own days. All these have to be co-ordinated and correlated in the general body of Hinduism in which they lie loosely together like pebbles on the river bed. That is one great part of the task which awaits the Mahasabha. But it is not all.

Hinduism is not a kingdom but an empire. It is not one religion but every religion which answers to certain general characteristics. The first and most essential characteristic is that it must have either sprung from, or have become firmly rooted in, the soil of India. Jainism and Sikhism are Indian and, therefore, Hindu in both senses. Buddhism is Indian and Hindu only in the first sense, but the inclusion of Burma in the Indian Empire—resuming, as the late Sir William Hunter finely put it, the eastward march of Indian influence after a break of a thousand years—has made it Indian in the second sense also. Zoroastrianism has, for over a thousand years made its home in India and the Parsi wherever he goes is as readily recognised as an Indian as the Hindu, Sikh or Jain. This as well as the fact that the Vedic and Gathic fathers were natural as well as spiritual kinemen, has rightly prompted the organisers of the Mahasabha to extend their invitation to Parsi scholars. Whenever Indian Christianity organises itself as a national church, with its centre of gravity in India, it will demand and will be welcomed into the commonwealth of religions called Hinduism.

So also will be the case with Indian Mahomedanism on the same condition. It was an eminent Mahomedan thinker who suggested some years ago in these columns that all Indians, irrespective of their religion, should be styled Hindus. Hinduism is careless about creeds. Bhagvan Buddha is one of its recognised *avatars* or incarnations, though He deliberately abstained from any teaching in respect of God and the soul. The Bhagavat Gita extols as the supreme of perfect men the materialistic philosopher, Kapila, who found in Nature the all-sufficient cause of the Universe. But, though Hinduism has many creeds, it has only one patriotism and it is very jealous about it. Hinduism, indeed, is in its larger aspect a religious patriotism rather than a religion.

It is the mission of the Mahasabha to awaken Hinduism to the claims of patriotism in the modern and secular sense of the term. The Mahasabha has made a good beginning by inviting Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs and Parsis to join it in its Benares Session. The distinguished Parsi Orientalist, who is the special correspondent of the *Voice of India* at the Mahasabha, has supplied the best and most sympathetic account of the proceedings published in Bombay. With his fine historical perspective, he points out the significance of the participation of delegates of these several religions in the Mahasabha, in his message giving his impressions of the first day's meeting. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who presided, delivered a great speech setting forth the several aspects of the work before the Mahasabha. "His master stroke," runs the message "was reserved for the treatment of the untouchables. For the first time in history, a respected orthodox Brahmin made a piteously touching appeal on behalf of crores of untouchables. The President of the Hindu Mahasabha, speaking from the hallowed banks of the Ganges, has awakened a chord on behalf of the depressed classes which will reverberate throughout Hindu India and will inspire and encourage Hindus overseas in their struggle against social and colour tyranny." A later message says that Panditjee's attempt to include a resolution regarding the removal of untouchability in the agenda of the Sanatana Dharma Sabha—a different body—was opposed by the orthodox Pandits and the resolution was eventually dropped. We deeply regret this result, though we are not surprised at it. It only shows what great need there is for carrying on an intensive propaganda among orthodox Hindus to convince them of the absolute necessity of removing this degrading ban from their fellow-Hindus. The first blow has been struck by the President of the Mahasabha in his address. And we should not cease hammering away at the subject till the evil is effaced from our midst. The great thing is that in the Mahasabha Hindu orthodoxy has been brought to reason about a matter which it had hitherto held to be an axiom of its social conduct. Discussion is the great solvent of every blind belief and now that orthodoxy has been brought to discuss this and other evils, the result is a foregone conclusion.

HISTORY TEACHING IN INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS.

In compliance with a resolution passed on 1st August, 1922, by the Geneva Congress on the motion of Professor Orestano, the International Executive Council (called in this circular the "Council") and the International Moral Education Bureau at The Hague (called in this circular the "Bureau") issue the following letter :—

1. We invite historians and educationalists to join the Committee named in the resolution, on condition that no member shall be pledged to undertake any specific task merely by reason of his adhesion. It is expected that some members will voluntarily accept certain responsibilities, and the Council and Bureau will carry the scheme through as their joint undertaking, gratefully availing themselves of whatever aid individual members can afford from time to time. If, therefore, a supporter of the *Vœu* can give an opinion only at critical moments, his or her assistance will still be cordially welcomed.

The Council has (June, 1923) approved the following names (which will be added to) for the International Committee on History Teaching :—

Belgium : M. Decroly, M. Sluys.

China : His Excellency the Chinese Minister (M. Wang Kingky) at Brussels.

Czecho-Slovakia : Prof. V. Novotny, Prof. Susta, Prof. R. Urbanek.

France : Prof. A. Aulard, Prof. A. Kleinclaus, Prof. Ch. Seignobos.

Germany : Dr. Paul Honigsheim, Dr. Siegfried Kaweran, Herr K. Strecker.

Great Britain : Prof. A. J. Grant, Mr. G. P. Gooch, Mr. F. S. Marvin.

Holland : Prof. Kohnstamm (representing the International Bureau of Moral Education at The Hague).

Hungary : Dr. Angyal, Dr. E. de Fiváczy, Dr. F. Kemény, Dr. A. de Pauler.

India : Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, Mr. D. N. Bannerjee, Prof. S. A. Khan, Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, the Hon. Sir D. P. Sarvadhikary.

Italy : Prof. F. Orestano, Prof. Erminio Trojlo, Prof. Adolfo Venturi.

Norway : M. Jens Hæreid, M. Otto Grenness, M. Sigurd Host.

Poland : Prof. O. Halecki (Sec. of the League of Nations Committee for Intellectual Co-operation).

It may be added that Prof. Gilbert Murray, Vice-Chairman of the L. N. Com. for Int. Co-op., is in complete sympathy with the aim of the *Vœu*.

Switzerland : Prof. Pierre Bovet, M. Golay.

2. We propose that the following be regarded as the Plan contemplated in the *Vœu*, and members and sympathizers are asked to make it known by announcements in journals, references in lectures, and any other means :—

(1) The development of civilization should be the governing idea of history-teaching.

(2) History manuals, tables, etc., should treat, as the chief elements of evolution :—

(a) Nature-study and human and economic geography.

(b) Political and legal institutions, their extension by imitation; constitutional politics; influence of usage in practical working. Unitary and federal government. Economic factors in policy.

(c) Religion and ecclesiastical institutions. Growth of toleration. Relations of Church and State.

(d) Industry and commerce; the useful arts and crafts; travels involving socially useful exploration.

(e) Fine arts—poetry and general imaginative literature, including myths and legends; music and drama; architecture; painting; sculpture; gardening; decoration; textiles.

(f) Natural science, from its prehistoric origins onwards.

(g) Social environment; manners, usages, domestic life and its instruments (the matters collectively known as *Realien* to modern archæologists). This should be rather an accompaniment to all historical instruction than a separate subject.

These elements should be shown as, in varying measures and modes, operating in all countries and times, and so testifying to the fundamental unity of human psychology.

The manifest defects of human nature (*e.g.*, greed, malice, ignorance), from which arise obnoxious institutions and customs, should be recognized as the evil obstacles that civilization aims at eliminating. Among these institutions may be reckoned the useless or obsolescent laws and customs which have, from time to time, become established, such as legal slavery, and codes for cruel or vindictive punishment of actions due to intellectual and moral deficiency, or to inadvertence. Thus we should endeavour to realize, and to inculcate, that true civilization is advanced, not mainly by repressive violence, but by tolerance, patience, endurance, courage, sympathy, knowledge, adaptability, understanding, and goodwill in the furtherance of the higher common interest of mankind.

Writers and teachers should systematically inculcate respect for all who serve humanity, through motives of self-preservation and self-sacrifice, even though the ideals may appear mistaken. The heroic qualities expressed in war should be valued, while wars of aggression and ambition should be condemned. These heroic qualities should be re-directed (as William James indicated in his essay on "The Moral Equivalent of War") towards nature-conquest and the fight with social evils.

3. Each member of the Committee is requested to report, so far as his opportunities and leisure allow :—

(1) Work which he has done, or is attempting, in the direction of the *Vœu*.

(2) Work done or attempted by others, whether in complete works or parts of works in—

(a) The more academic field.

(b) The field of collegiate education.

(c) The field of the people's schools and general literature.

(3) Possible helps towards the creation of a World book for Youth, of which the object would be to

present to each of the chief communities of the world sympathetic descriptions of the culture and social achievements of the others.

(4) Any experiments made by professors and teachers (whether authors of history manuals or not) in actual school or college work on the general basis of the *Vœu*.

4. Members might assist the *Vœu* by compiling, or persuading others to compile, bibliographies of the better class of history books and apparatus in vogue in their own country.

It should be added that no laborious research is expected from any one individual or group. If, in each of the countries associated with the Congress, an adequate number of collaborators is secured, it is certain that the Congress of 1926 will gratefully accept the results, and feel encouraged to carry on to yet other stages the vital mission thus initiated.

The French National Committee has rightly expressed the view that any Plan issued by the International Committee on History Teaching is not to be rigidly accepted in all its details. The spirit of the *Vœu* is more important than any Plan.

The following quotation from President Nicholas Murray Butler's "The International Mind, an Argument for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes" (1912) will be of interest: "The international mind is nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and co-operating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world."

SPECIAL NOTES.—Professor Orestano commends the proposal that a volume on the "History of Civilization" should be prepared under the auspices of the Congress, indicating original contributions by various nationalities, under the heads of Philosophy, Science, Invention, and Fine Arts.

Dr. Siegfried Kawerau, author of "Synoptische Geschichtstabellen für die Zeit von Etwa 1500—1920" (Franz Schneider Verlag, Berlin), urges the importance of applying this tabular method to the entire story of mankind, beginning with the prehistoric times.

Dr. Kawerau also proposes the preparation of a work in which the collaborators will each describe, clearly and concisely, the history of their own people. For these projects funds on a considerable scale would be required.

It may here be noted that in the autumn of 1924 the "Bund Entschiedener Schulreformer" will hold a conference in Berlin, with a three-days' programme on "Geschichtsphilosophische Grundlagen und Probleme" and "Geschichtsunterricht." Dr. Kawerau urges that our Congress National Committees should organize similar conferences in their various countries, with History as the central topic.

In accordance with the "*Vœu de Genève*," the Council hands the general direction of the History scheme to the Bureau, the Secretary of which is

Madame E. Hoogkamer-Maykejs (Carpentierstraat, 149, The Hague, Holland).

Suggestions for the efficient realization of the scheme may be sent, at any time, to the Bureau at the Hague, or to the Council in London.

Proposals of names of additional members of the History Committee should be sent to the Council in London.

It is evident that the success of the enterprise will largely depend upon adequate funds; and our supporters in all countries are earnestly requested to encourage generous donors to send contributions.

FREDERICK J. GOULD,

Hon. Sec. Int. Ex. Council

('Armored,' Woodfield Avenue, Ealing, London, W.5.)

NOTE.—The two Congress volumes, in French, can now be had for 11½ Swiss francs from DELACHAUX ET NISSELE, Editeurs, Neuchâtel, Switzerland.

Members of the Congress, and members of any of the National Committees, may have copies of the "Summary" of the Geneva Congress, which will be published in August, 1923. Apply to the Hon. Sec. Int. Ex. Council.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE SHUDDHI LEADERS.

Revered Sirs,

It fills one with wonder and despair to see that you, the noble patriots and lieutenants of a prophet like Mahatma Gandhi, whose whole spiritual power was practically concentrated on reconciling the Hindus and Mussulmans, are exerting yourselves with might and main to subvert the very foundation of India's salvation. What has come over your patriotic souls? Is it that the stormy current of your zeal and enthusiasm that tried unsuccessfully to break down political barriers, has met with a formidable dam and has thus been deflected into less difficult channels; and like the "Compensatory Heretics" of the psychologists you have thought it pleasant to spend your fury on domestic troubles, heedless of the ultimate blow to the fate of the Motherland? I ask you what does it matter if a few of the Hindus have become Mahomedans in the time of Aurangzeb or even further back? Will it alarmingly decimate the Hindu population? Will the Mussulmans ever catch you up in numbers? Even if they did, what then? Are you at heart afraid of Mussalman? Do you hate them, mistrust them and wish to outstrip them? Then bid Goodbye to all dreams of Swaraj and Freedom. Let the English be here to keep us in order. We deserve no better fate. God is just.

Or are there other causes as are imputed by sordid-minded people—that you to save your skin or for self-aggrandisement are playing into the hands of those whose interest it is to keep us divided? I refuse to think you could sink so low!

But, you turn round and say: "We must protect our Hindu brethren. We must also make our religion a proselytising affair like Islam and Christianity." By all means, Sirs, do so! None will be happier than the present writer.

However, I will show you a gigantic omission in your programme, a big breach in your citadel.

Why do you not redeem the depressed classes? The emancipation of the whole of India depends on their emancipation. So long as about sixty millions of human beings are denied elementary rights of free coming and going, eating and drinking in this world, so long as the colossal insult to the God in man is continued, there is also poetic justice in ourselves being enthralled. Can you not hear the silent, plaintive cries of their agonised souls, rising to the clouds and crying from the sky for salvation? Are your ears deafened by long hearing? Why do you not face the facts? I write in no spirit of recrimination or resentment but out of pity and sorrow, with a view to give a constructive turn to your energy and enthusiasm. Lay your hands on your hearts and say: "Do you like the Christian Missionaries to convert the depressed masses so that one day a "triple tangle" might arise in the politics of India never to be solved? Why would you not do your duty to these people? If you don't want to do it, if you can't do it, then for God's sake, give permission to the Mussalmans to convert them and give them freedom. Is it not better that they should become Mussalmans rather than Christians, slaves to foreign influences, bound in gratitude to foreign liberators, to fight in resentment against their fellow countrymen, Hindus and Mussalmans alike, and betray them when the crucial moment comes as is bound to come?"

I beg to summarise my proposals:

1. Either grant them fullest rights of Hindu civic life by the removal of untouchability and all other social barriers.

2. Or give full-hearted permission to Mussalmans to convert them to Islam, under a frank and trustful agreement between the two sister communities of India.

3. In any case, please refrain from sowing the seeds of religious fanaticism and internecine strife and thus undoing the work of Mahatma Gandhi after such stupendous sacrifice. Do not for God's sake put the clock back.

Yours in good faith
"CUNOTATUS"

CASTE AND THE FUTURE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS I.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

SIR,

I thank you for your generous invitation to "write an article for publication in the *Reformer*" (on the subject of Caste) and for your brotherly suggestion that this delicate and vital theme shall be treated by your correspondent, as you say, "in whatever way you think fit." Your address on the Future of Christian Missions, delivered at the Bombay Missionary Conference on July 9th and published in the *Reformer* of July 14th, bears so directly on the problem, and is withal so outspoken in its criticism of vital Christianity, that I feel you have extended to me not only personal liberty, but public freedom as well, to accede to your request by sending to the *Reformer* some of the thoughts that your address has caused to burn within me.

If your address had not dealt with matters infinitely more vital, one would be minded to ask how it was possible

that you overlooked this patent fact of history, namely, that the brutality and materialism of the West come down from those far-off days when Briton, Teuton, and Slav hunted each other through the fastnesses of northern Europe, that the soul-less civilization of the Roman Empire did nothing to soften its cross barbarity, even by the spread of a wise jurisprudence, but rather crystallized that hardness into social and national traditions, and that the one softening influence in the West, during all these centuries, has been the gentle grace of the Man of Asia whose name was called Jesus. I had thought that you would discern instantly the tragedy of a stalwart race—for the West at least can claim that honour—thrown back again and again into their ancestral bog, without having to remark, in your address, that "the Christian missionary has rather to apologise for Western civilization." Not apologise, my friend, but weep for it with shame and bitterness. Why should Tagore exclaim petulantly against the West, in his essay on Nationalism, "I leave you there, at the wreck of your own soul, contemplating your protuberant prosperity?" Why should Sir R. B. Srinivasan or any high-minded Indian leave us there? Why should he not rather rejoice that, slowly, very slowly, that Man of Asia is reaching the heart and conquering the brutality of the West? The rape of the Sabines was the theme of poets' songs, but the rape of the Belgians was the call to liberation—even though the answering of the call stirred up old-time passions which some of us believed that Man had subdued unto Himself. All this, however, is by the way.

Sir, the burning within me is this: You are telling new India, hopeful, forward looking, and filled with the high daring that ought to create a strong and self-reliant nation, that it is perfectly possible to put new wine into old wine-skins, whereas the voice of history, East and West, is all against you. Whoso would emancipate his brethren from bondage must separate himself from their bonds. The price of leadership is loneliness. Opportunism in statesmanship and eclecticism in religion have produced no prophets, Abraham, Moses, Gautama, Mahomet, the great *avatars* of Indian story, and, superlatively Jesus—these and a hundred leaders of modern times all compel us to realise that, for some inexplicable human reason, the inertia of the human mind refuses testimony until through self-abandonment the right to testimony has been earned.

In your address at the Bombay Missionary Conference you remarked that "the idea of religious proselytism is repugnant to the Indian mind." By "proselytism" I understand you to mean the voluntary changing of one's outward religious affiliations as the result of a change or enlargement in one's inner religious convictions. I do not understand you to mean—or certainly I myself do not mean—the going about of "proselytisers" whose purpose is to draw away disaffected or weak adherents of a religious faith and add them to the number of one's own religious community; that thing has been done in the name of every great religion, and is done today by a certain type of religious propagandist, but high-minded men of every faith unite in condemning it. But, as to the voluntary change of one's outward affiliations under a sense of spiritual conviction, that, Sir, is repugnant not only to the Indian mind but to the human mind itself, in every age and in every land. It is this very human fact that has made social and religious progress so difficult throughout the world. No one hesitates to discard a pair of worn out shoes, nor to lay aside, even reverently, a friendly old watch that has served its day; but in matters of social and religious custom,

though some of these have become hurtful and even noxious, all change is heresy and proselytism is considered the deadly sin. From the days of the beginning the prophets have been stoned and their disciples have been stoned. And, seeing this, gentle souls have ever sought to graft the new order upon the old, have tried to pour the new wine into the old wine-skins. Alas, how often have wine and wine-skins been lost together because men have dreaded the crucifixion of proselytism! For proselytism, that is to say, separation from a worn out tradition and the pouring of one's life into a new and living dispensation of the truth, this has always been and will of necessity continue to be the tragic accompaniment of humanity's social and religious emancipation. It is the price of freedom, and the price will never be less.

You suggest that proselytism might well be replaced by evangelism. But what is evangelism? Whether it be the evangelism of kindly service, or of liberating thought, at bottom what is it? Is it not the passionate calling out to men to leave their "low-vaulted past"? And the evangel of Jesus Christ, can it be any other in India than it is in China and Korea and England and America, than it was in Jerusalem and Judaea and Antioch and Achaia in days of old? Evangelism and proselytism are like the two wings of a bird, one is never found without the other—that is, in birds that can fly. Though baptism from this hour were refused by every recognized Christian body in India, and your suggestion, Sir, of "evangelisation only" were literally carried into effect, yet men who had received the evangel of Jesus, received it in their heart of hearts, would demand baptism from each other. They could do no other, and "absolve them to themselves."

And this consideration brings me to a brief glance at Hinduism and Christianity, and to the strange paradox of Caste.

Lucknow.

HARVEY REEVES CALKINS.

THE FUTURE OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Recently we have had some very thought-provoking statements on this subject from Mr. K. Natarajan and the Rev. J. F. Edwards. These definitely and emphatically give expression to what a good number of Indian and foreign Christians in India are thinking.

After reading Mr. Natarajan's address, I thought and expressed to him that many Christians will resent the using of the term "proselytisation" to denote the work of the Christian Church. But alas, so immediately grows out a glaring case of anxiety to proselytise by the Madras C. E. Z. M. which has roused the indignation of *Swarajya* and which is rightly styled as the "Missionary Menace."

The *Christian Patriot* states that they have not forwarded a statement, but I hope men of understanding, guiding the destiny of Christianity in India, will step in, and clear the insinuation and ward off the menace to the future of the Indian Church.

The educated Indian Christians are rightly coming to see that this separate community life is not desirable nor according to the teaching of Jesus. One of the strong factors that created this community life was this short-sighted foreign missionary fanaticism as that of the C. E. Z. M.

If this goes on like this how can the Indian Christians exercise the influence they are called to exercise as the 'salt of

the earth', and how can they fulfil their God-given ministry to India's body politic? How much stronger would become the faith of that young lady and what nobler example she will be setting if she were encouraged to live even a hard life amidst her people?

None can think of the future of Christianity in India without thinking of the foreign Missionary. We have to think of his past work and the future. He has done two things pre-eminently: (1) he has brought India face to face with Jesus. (2) he has failed miserably to rightly guide and firmly plant the response he has had.

I humbly believe that the goal of the foreign Missionary is to work himself out of work and not to go on eternally holding the place he holds to-day in the Indian Church. Certainly the future Indian Church of my dreams will welcome every foreign Christian who feels that he has some gifts that will only find their fullest expression in serving the Indian Church.

Therefore, I heartily recommend a sudden withdrawal of all foreign Missionaries and money. I believe that Christianity has come to stay in India and a nucleus is already formed and that, left to itself, it will have a better growth. St. Paul believed in this.

This perpetual standing on the support of crutches is not for the health of the Indian Church. If the Missions withdraw there will be a collapse, but out of it will grow a church purified, strong and one that will never collapse.

These are only imperfect expressions of the thoughts that agitate my mind provoked now by this "Missionary menace."

Santiniketan

Yours etc.,

Aug. 8, 1923.

J. W. A. KADIRGAWAR.

"A MISIMPRESSION REMOVED." I.

The EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Mr. Narasimham's reference to the Y. M. C. A. in his letter which appeared in your issue of the 11th instant, under the cation 'A Misimpression Removed' needs a little clarification.

The Y. M. C. A. have not defined the term 'Christian'; no, not even in Mr. Narasimham's case. Under the rules of that Association an active member with voting powers ought to be a man who is 'in full communion with any Protestant Christian Church.' When Mr. Narasimham applied to be enrolled as a member, the Association obtained authoritative information that he was in full communion with the Society of Friends and enrolled him as an active member with voting powers. Mr. Narasimham is not correct when he says that the Association 'declared' him to be a Christian. He had already, very solemnly, declared himself to be a Christian, before another Society of Christians. All that the Y. M. C. A. authorities did was, that they obtained a confirmation of his own description of himself.

Mr. Narasimham now claims to be a Hindu Christian. Verily 'what is there in a name?' as he puts it!! A Hindu Christian of the type of our friend may consider himself to be at liberty to describe his 'Light Within' indifferently as 'Shri Krishna within' or 'Christ Within.' But a Christian whose faith is unadulterated will never, never equivocate in this matter. His 'Light within' is 'Christ within' and none else. For it is an article of his faith that 'there is none other name (save that of Jesus Christ of Nazareth) under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved' Acts IV. 12. 'Where-

fore God also hath highly exalted him and given him a name which is above every name.' Phelepeans II. 9.

B. N. ATHAYLE.

Mazagon, 20th August 1923.

II

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

With reference to the letter of Mr. G. L. Narasimham published in your issue of the 11th instant, I hope you will kindly publish this one from me.

Mr. Narasimham, by the very fact of his having joined the Society of Friends, a purely Christian Institution, made himself a Christian. Regarding his statement that Y. M. C. A. declared him to be a Christian, I beg to state that he applied for an active membership in the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. M. C. A. then made enquiries at the Headquarters of the Society of Friends and found that he was a member of that body, and they therefore accepted him as an active member. So far, therefore, as the Y. M. C. A. were concerned, he had fulfilled the conditions entitling him to be an active member of that Institution, as none but those who accepted Christ could become members of the Society of Friends.

I am also told that he had to make a similar declaration to the members of the Indian Christian Association when doubts were raised as to his *bona fides* as a Christian, I mean a member of a Christian Church.

Before joining the Society of Friends, I am sure Mr. Narasimham had to confess his faith in Christ. The members of the Indian Christian Association, therefore, took him to be a Christian. Mr. Narasimham knew that the members so took him. Why then did he not deny that he was a Christian? Why did he allow the members to continue to think that he was a Christian? He then joined the Committee of the Y. M. C. A. in which he knew very well only Christians could join. Why did he accept the membership on that Committee? In one place in his letter, Mr. Narasimham says, "after all what is there in a name?" If he thinks so, why is he afraid to be called an Indian Christian? By his leaving the Society of Friends, his position, to Christians is clear: That he was once a Hindu, then he became a Christian, and now he has gone back to Hinduism.

Y. M. C. A.
Reynolds Road, Byculla.
Bombay, 14th August.

Yours truly,
A. I. Rahim.

III

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*,

Sir,

My friend Mr. G. L. Narasimham of Bombay has written to me asking me to read his letter in your issue of the 11th instant. I feel that this letter hardly does justice to the writer or to the Society of Friends, with which he has been connected for the last eight years or so. The use of the word "Hindu" is at present in dispute. The Census Commissioner for the United Provinces complains that 47,000 individuals were enumerated as "Hindus" in the last census, who should have been recorded as "Indian Christians."

Mr. Narasimham informs me that he does not retract from the confession he made regarding his faith in Christ, but at the same time calls himself a Hindu and belongs to the National Church of India, which is still in the making. The Society of Friends is not a National organisation. Its

membership is open to all races, as it holds that the Lord Jesus Christ lived, died and rose again for all mankind. The Society of Friends has always insisted on the identity of the historical Jesus Christ with the Logos "made flesh" and "the Light that lighteth every man", and unites with the Church Catholic in this belief. I feel sure Mr. Narasimham in his brief statement had no intention to misrepresent the Society of Friends, but I am assured that the actual words might produce an erroneous impression.

Friends Settlement,
96, Beadon Street,
Calcutta.

Yours faithfully
JOSEPH TAYLOR.

THE FIRST BRAHMIN WIDOW REMARRIAGE AT COCHIN.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

India has been described as a land where the women do not laugh, where the birds do not sing, and where the flowers have no fragrance. For the first time in the history of my native land, Cochin, which is a protected native State in South India, a Brahmin widow remarriage has just taken place, the bridegroom hailing from Trichinopoly. While social reform, widow remarriages, re-conversion of Hindu converts to Christianity back into their original folk etc take place in all other parts of India, Cochin and Travancore are untouched. "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?" queried Nathaniel of old. Of all the places in India it is well known from Dan to Beersheba that Travancore and Cochin are the most caste-ridden. The priests in almost all the temples are Numbhoodies who are much more orthodox than the Smarthas and the Vaisnavas and the fear of ostracism from the temples and the community make the Brahmins to stick up to their old quixotic notions. The most foolish system of getting girls under 14 or 16 years old married to mere boys is itself a most inhuman and cruel custom which, despite the rapid progress of education, still survives. The social law which says that a widower can marry any number of times while a widow, a mere innocent child who was married in her infancy, cannot remarry when her husband "kicks the bucket," is most monstrous and ridiculous. Hindu society will welcome within its fold the most degraded debaucher or proclaimed drunkard, but not a girl-widow who got remarried! O Moses! At the first remarriage of a widow in Cochin, no priest would officiate and after all one good Samaritan turned up, but the guests who had been invited for the marriage feast began to make excuses: one had bought a land and he must go and see it, the other had bought five yoke of oxen and he must go to examine them, the third was enjoying his honeymoon and could not respond to the invitation and ultimately only half a dozen turned up. Cochin has hundreds of highly cultured Brahmins who have imbibed western ideals and social customs, and are platform orators who could quote from Homer downwards. But they deplorably lack in moral courage and would not move with the times. Parents are entirely to be blamed for keeping up the retrograde custom of choosing boy-husbands for their little girls, and rendering the latter to ruin themselves when their husbands die. In the *Oottupuras* (Government feeding houses for Brahmins in Travancore and Cochin) there are hundreds of Brahmin widows who live most shameful lives. Is it not much better if they were re-married, and helped to lead pure and good lives? Now since one Brahmin has come forward and broken the ice, I fully trust that all the parents who have

child-widows at home will get them married to proper husbands. Man's inhumanity to man makes countless millions mourn.

YOURS ETC.

Vepery, Madras.

K. R. GOPALA AYYAR.

II

THE EDITOR, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

With reference to a Marriage described by a correspondent as "the first Brahmin Widow Remarriage that has ever taken place in the West Coast of Madras Presidency", may I be permitted to make the following correction and invite the special attention of your correspondent?

Early last year, a well-known citizen and a leading lawyer, in the person of Mr. T. G. Anantharama Ayyar, Trichur, (Cochin) celebrated the widow remarriage of his daughter in the presence of his numerous friends at Nilgiris for the sake of convenience. But as this was not performed under the auspices of the existing Widow Remarriage Institutions, owing to the unassuming character of the parents of the girl, it was not so widely known as it should have been. But, again, on account of a stigma attached to remarriages celebrated by Widow Marriage "Ku Klux Klans" many respectable persons dare not give wide publicity and consequently they become out of notice. If your correspondent will make due enquiries at Trichur, he would soon find that the widow marriage he has reported would, far from being the first of its kind be the last of it?

In conclusion, I say without fear or favour, that numerous educated persons are in favour of widow remarriages but would decline to have it if it were arranged by Widow Marriage Vendors. And for this only the Widow Marriage Propagators have to thank themselves.

Nevatia Bldg., Hughes Rd.,

Bombay, 6. 8. 28.

Yours truly,

T. S. GOPALKRISHNA.

POSITION OF MUSLIM WOMEN.

The *Indian Social Reformer* is publishing an interesting series of articles by a Mohammedan who seeks to show that the seclusion of women and the neglect of female education are not essential to Islam. He asserts (what is probably true) that they originated in the unwholesome social conditions prevailing in Arabia at the time of the founding of the religion, and that the Prophet never meant them to have the sanctity of religious law. In spite of the writer's admission that he does not hope to convince any of his co-religionists, it does seem that the better type of Muslim in this generation is seeking to make such distinctions between what is vital and essential and what is superficial. Several times in recent months we have been able to point with pleasure to signs that the women of the Muslim world are beginning to come into their own. Conservatives are shaking their heads over the shamelessness of Kemal Pasha's new French educated wife, in receiving men in her own parlour and serving tea to political gatherings. The activities of Mme. Zaghoul and other Egyptian ladies are misunderstood and misconstrued. There is strong Muslim opposition to female suffrage in India. But, after all, the opposition and criticism seem no worse than European and American women had to encounter, in their efforts to secure full political rights. In reality, the progress of the Mohammedan woman now depends almost alone on her ability, and that upon her education. Ample opportunities will open before her, as she becomes ready to take advantage of them.—*The Indian Witness*, Lucknow.

THE REV. N. V. TILAK'S NATIONALISM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In reply to Mr. K. P. Taskar in your issue of August 18 regarding the late Rev. N. V. Tilak's repeated protest against the misconception that a change of religion meant a change of nationality, I may say that I asked an Indian Christian gentleman who is intimate with the files of the *Dnyanodaya* during the years of Mr. Tilak's editorship if he could kindly supply me with references. His prompt reply contains no less than half a dozen references in one year (1915) alone. One of the six is an eloquent appeal Mr. Tilak addressed to the Literary Conference of Maharashtra in 1915 to do all that lay in its power to destroy the pernicious notion underlying that idea. His appeal created quite a stir and was responded to nobly by several papers. If Mr. Taskar will call on me I will be glad to show him these references and to have a talk with him about our late poet. There is nothing inconsistent between these references and the *abhang* from Mr. Tilak quoted by Mr. Taskar, as Mr. Tilak only began to publish those *abhangs* some two years before his death and by that time his patriotism was recognized by all. But even in his very last year a vitriolic article in a paper which shall remain unnamed attacked him as a 'black sheep'; to-day that very journal gives him a high place among Maratha *bhaktas* and poets. That Indian Christians receive such a hearty welcome to-day from their fellow-Indian nationalists is due in large measure to the noble patriotism of Narayan Vaman Tilak.

Gordon Hall House,

New Nagpada, Byculla.

August 20, 1928.

Yours, etc.

J. F. EDWARDS.

MR. AGARKAR AND RATIONALISM.

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer.*

Sir,

In a communication published in your issue of 18th August Mr. Altekar says that I am "quite wrong in diagnosing the causes of Mr. Tilak's opposition to social reform." Mere assertion is no argument. However, it is after all a matter of opinion. Mr. Tilak's personality and attitude were such that they were capable of different interpretations. Mr. Tilak seemed to be too irregular a verb to allow of easy conjugation. Mine was an attempt to understand the apparently inconsistent attitudes displayed from time to time and to find out if possible an underlying principle that might explain them, and I claim to have approached the question in a spirit of sympathetic but impartial criticism, entirely uninfluenced by the personal prejudices and the spirit of extreme partisanship, either of his blind followers or his blind opponents.

To any unbiassed reader of my article, it would be plain that in "establishing the greatness" of Mr. Tilak, I have not in the least "belittled his contemporaries." No-body will be more pleased than myself to have it pointed out to me where I have belittled Mr. Agarkar. The fact is, I yield to none in my respect for Mr. Agarkar, and he even deserves our admiration the more, because in his struggle for righteousness he was fighting against great odds with no encouragement to sustain his efforts except the satisfaction that comes from the performance of a great duty to humanity. He was not destined to play a part in the larger life of the country. The great soul passed away too early to attain high distinction. His greatness is no less genuine on that account.

Bombay

21st August 1928.

Yours faithfully,

S. G. WARTY.

THE KENYA DECISION.

The following letter was addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy by the President of the British Indian Colonial Merchants' Association, Bombay:—

May it please Your Excellency,

At an extraordinary General meeting of the Members of the "British Indian Colonial Merchants' Association" held on the third instant, it was resolved that I should communicate to Your Excellency the following views, feelings and suggestions of the Members of my Association regarding the decision of His Majesty's Government in connection with the status of Indians in the Kenya Colony. I think it would be useful to mention at the outset for the information of Your Excellency that Members of my Association have business relations with all Colonies and Dominions of the Empire and many of them can fairly claim to be pioneers of commerce in the various parts where they are interested including the Kenya Colony.

2. I beg in the first place to convey to Your Excellency the unanimous feeling of severe disappointment and profound resentment of the members of my Association at the decision of His Majesty's Government which constitutes the death blow to expectations of justice and fairplay in this matter, which the Resolution passed by the Imperial Conference in 1921 and the assurance of Your Excellency's Government has aroused. Indians now feel that in their struggle for their rights within the Empire they are unaided. Their faith in British Justice to safeguard their rightful claims within the Empire has been rudely shattered. While they cannot reconcile themselves to the un-natural and unjust position which the decision of His Majesty's Government has placed them by an unwarranted sacrifice of their status in relations with the whites within the Empire, they realise too painfully their utter helplessness at this juncture. But utter helplessness happens at times to be precursor of strength, and God willing, India is determined to vindicate her honour and her rights within the Empire in the not distant future. My only regret is that in this fight they cannot at present count on the help of His Majesty's Government.

3. I am aware of the grave words that I have addressed to Your Excellency. But the gravity of the situation leaves me no option. It is impossible for me to convey to Your Excellency in adequate terms the extent to which I consider the decision of His Majesty's Government, unfortunate, not only for India, but in the interests of the Empire. It is so much to be regretted that statesmanship in England should be at such a low ebb as not to have realised the disastrous effects, which this decision is bound to have on the relations of India with the Empire.

4. I would beg to assure Your Excellency that in the statements which I have expressed nothing has been further from my thoughts than any disrespect either to His Majesty the King Emperor or to you his Vice-regent.

I beg to remain,

Your Excellency's obedient, humble servant,

(Sd.) PURSHOTTAMDAS THAKORDAS.

Chairman.

CHOLERA IN IRAQ.

A Punjab Government Press Communique says that a serious outbreak of Cholera has occurred at Basra and Abadan. Persons who intend to visit Iraq are advised to defer their departure till the outbreak has ceased.

CHRISTIANITY AND COLOUR PREJUDICE.

MR. ANDREWS' REMARKABLE SERMON.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, preaching in the Danish Mission Church, Broadway, Madras, on Christianity and Colour Prejudice on 8th July to a large audience, took as his text the words of Christ:

"One is your Father in heaven, all ye are brethren."

UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD

He stated that Jesus of Nazareth, who uttered those words was born in Asia. His life was one long sacrifice to destroy racialism and build up a universal brotherhood. It was because He would not accept the Pharisees' narrow racial creed that they plotted against Him and put Him to death by crucifixion. St. Paul was at one time a Pharisee, racial, narrow and exclusive, but when he became a Christian, he threw all this away. He employed in his writings a very strong phrase when he described this. He wrote: "I counted all this racial pride as dung, that I might win Christ." It was St. Paul who declared in Christ's name the universal truth:—"In Christ there cannot be either Jew or Greek, Barbarian, Scythian, bound or free, but all are one man, in Christ Jesus." There cannot be racialism, he said. It is impossible, if a man is a Christian. St. Paul died for this universal faith, just as Christ did. Thousands, many hundreds of thousands, died for it. The African slave was on the same level with the proud Roman, the exclusive Jew, and the cultured Greek. At Christian worship, each gave to the other the kiss of peace. In Christ they were, as St. Paul said, one Man. No one could be a Christian at that time, on any other terms.

RACIAL SEGREGATION

But now in modern times, a truly hideous portent has appeared. There are now in the West black churches and white churches. No African enters a white church, and *vice versa*. In South Africa, the Grandwet has ruled that "there shall be no equality between black and white in Church and State". In Natal, this practice is also common. In the United States of America, in Texas and other places, racial segregation is strictly practised.

Furthermore, in Africa, the same segregation is practised against the Asiatic. When I preached in Durban, in 1913, Mr. Gandhi came to hear me preach. He was turned out of the church, because he was an Asiatic. If Christ had gone to that church, He also would have been turned out, because He was an Asiatic. In Capetown, where race prejudice is not so bad, I tried to get Mr. Gandhi's second son Manilal, into a church. This church actually subscribed for Indian Christian Missions, and I thought there could be no colour bar here. But I could only get permission for him to sit in the last seat next to the door. If Christ had come to that church, he would have had to take that last seat next to the door. I went to a Cathedral Church, at Maritzburg, in Natal, and told all the Indian Christians of the place, who numbered about two hundred, to come to church with me. They said: "We cannot go there. The European Christians will not allow us." I found that there was one single seat at the way back of the Cathedral next to the door, which might have held eight or ten. I was told that they were allowed to sit there on sufferance. All the rest of the cathedral, which was nearly empty, was kept for the white race. If Christ had come to that Cathedral, he could have only sat in that one seat next to the door. I had been warned by Mr. Gokhale, before I went out to South Africa, that what I saw would be a great shock to my Christianity. It was.

I can go on giving instances of this in Africa. What words can I use strong enough to condemn it? Let me say one thing. This is not Christianity. Christ did not die for this. St. Paul and a hundred thousand others did not suffer martyrdom in Christ's name for this. These people to-day, who are thus racially arrogant, would have crucified Christ and made St. Paul a martyr over again. But they would never have accepted such a levelling religion as Christ and Paul preached and practised. They would never allow that "In Christ there is no color bar at all, but all are one Man in Christ Jesus".

CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA

Here, in India, caste has been condemned, and rightly condemned, for its racial arrogance. I have said in the pulpit the strongest things that could be said against 'Untouchability'. But it is not realised that here is a new caste system springing up in the West, a thousand times more terrible in its ultimate effects upon humanity than the caste system of old. Is it not clear that there is now to-day a caste system of 'White Australia,' 'White Canada,' 'White South Africa', which is arrogating to itself vast areas of the Earth's surface, and is saying that not a single man of Asia shall reside there?

THE KENYA QUESTION

I have just come back from London, where I have been engaged, week after week, on what is called the Kenya question. But I can state this concisely, that there is only one question at all involved,—the question of the color bar.

To prove this is as simple as possible. In 1919, when the franchise was first established in Kenya Colony, a liberal-minded European of Mombasa got up in the Legislative Council and proposed that, at least, the franchise door might be opened for that tiny number of Indians in Kenya Colony, who had taken University degrees. But the meeting rejected the proposal, and the franchise door was shut, and only Europeans of European blood were allowed to come on the franchise list. And at that very time, it was plainly told that it was impossible to put those of another race upon the white man's franchise list. That was what happened in 1919, and we have been fighting against that racial bar ever since. To-day, in London, we are fighting that same fight, to try and get the color bar removed.

THE GREAT STRUGGLE.

And the terrible thing to me is this. It is so unbelievable and incredible that it would be difficult for you to understand it when I tell you that these very persons who have put up that color bar to shut out Asiatics from the franchise and who wish to exclude them from that territory altogether, profess to be Christians. They have also publicly stated in the public press all over the world that they are the champions of Christianity in East Africa, and that they wish to keep Christian civilisation in East Africa free from the contamination of alien religions. Those very people who are denying Christ every day, who are denying the New Testament from one end to the other, are declaring that they wish to keep East Africa for Christianity and that they are the champions of Christianity. It is against this that I have felt with all my heart, soul and strength. With all the power that is in me, I must fight to the end.

For, Christ, my Master, bids me fight, Christ who died on the Cross for the brotherhood of men. Christ whose whole life was one of breaking down all barriers between race and race and sect and sect. He bids me take up His Cross and follow Him. I call upon you who have the spirit of Christ, Christ who was born in Asia, Christ who learnt the universal love of humanity in this continent of Asia, Christ who preached the Universal love of all mankind in this continent of Asia, I call upon you in His Name never to give up this struggle to break down this racial barrier between man and man.

PROHIBITION IN BHOPAL.

The Editor of the *Temperance Clip Sheet* has received the following letter from the Secretary in the Political Department, Government of Bhopal.

Dear Sir,

Please refer to your letter dated the 17th March 1923.

I am directed by Her Highness the Nawab Begum of Bhopal to convey to your Board Her Highness' many thanks for their kind appreciation of her policy in prohibiting liquor manufacture and sale in the State. It may interest you to know that the measure has already met with remarkable success. Great as the loss of income is from this source, Her Highness feels amply compensated for it by the visibly improved moral and material condition of her dear subjects.

Yours faithfully,

W. HAIDER ABRASI.

Secretary in the Political Department,
Government of Bhopal

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WHEN "THE PRINCE OF GLORY" DIED.

Mr. Gandhi remarked once that his favourite hymn was the one by Isaac Watts beginning, "When I survey the wondrous Cross". Every line is full of meaning, for India,—for the world.

1. When I survey the wondrous Cross
On which the Prince of glory died,
My richest gain I count but loss,
And pour contempt on all my pride.
2. Forbid it, Lord, that I should boast,
Save in the death of Christ, my God;
All the vain things that charm me most,
I sacrifice them to his blood.
3. See, from his head, his hands, his feet,
Sorrow and love flow mingled down!
Did e'er such love and sorrow meet,
Or thorns compose so rich a crown?
4. Were the whole realm of nature mine,
That were a present far too small;
Love so amazing, so divine,
Demands my soul, my life, my all.

If India will yield Christ her *all*, He will reveal to her in her and through her a new glory for the human race.

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14-1-24

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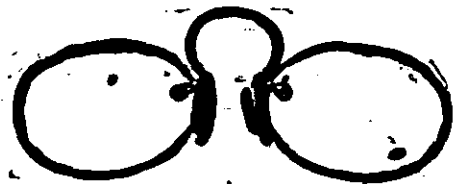
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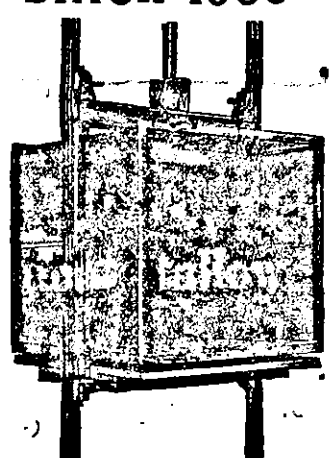
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