

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Asiatic Enquiry Commission's report, to judge from the summary cabled to the *Times of India*, is an extremely disappointing document. The right to own land in the Transvaal, which the Indian community exercised without challenge till 1919, seems to be left in doubt, the law of 1885 not being repealed and no mention being made of the indirect methods of ownership which were in use till recently. The Commission has, on the contrary, recommended an extension of this law to some parts of Natal. Again, the Gold Law of 1908 which, with the Townships Act of the same year, has the effect of prohibiting Indians from occupying any proclaimed ground, is to be retained, and it is not clear that Government will not be allowed to make illegitimate use of this law to prohibit Indians from trading in mining areas. The law relating to the issue of licences is to be codified, but on what lines it will be framed we are not told.

THE Commission has also recommended a system of voluntary segregation for Asiatics. The municipalities are to have the right to lay out residential areas for Asiatics and presumably to require the latter to reside in those parts. If so, we cannot understand why this is to be called voluntary segregation. The same holds good of business quarters to which existing licence-holders are to be "attracted" but to which those who will acquire licences in future are, it must be likewise presumed, to be compulsorily restricted. If we remember that the municipalities are for the most part composed of trade rivals of Indians, we can easily see how this racial segregation will work in practice. But the principle itself must be strongly condemned.

The application of the segregation policy to the Coast belt in Natal which the Commission recommends is open to the most serious objection and will no doubt be sternly resisted. Sir B. Robertson says in this connexion that "it would be advantageous to attract the Indian population as far as possible to the Coast belt, provided that their existing right to acquire, own and occupy land elsewhere was in no way diminished." But it is precisely such an abridgment of the existing right that the Commission suggests. "It must be repeated," says Sir Benjamin, "that any restriction on their existing right to acquire, own and occupy land anywhere in the province would not only be resisted as such, but in the case of the ex-indentured Indians and their descendants would be regarded as a breach of the conditions of their recruitment."

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RESPECTING the Duke of Connaught's appeal, the *Challenge* whose broad sympathies cannot be questioned says: "We know how bitterly the outrage has been resented by our Indian friends: we know how hard it is for them to trust our sincerity or to discriminate between those who still attempt to justify the O'Dwyer policy and those who feel the shame of it not less keenly than themselves. But we beg them to believe that the Duke spoke for England when he begged them to forget the past and to enter in a partnership with us into this beginning of *Swaraj*. Deeply as we respect the personality and the saintliness of Mr. Gandhi, we cannot but feel that this campaign can only lead to disaster and the destruction of fellowship; he has declared that his policy should cease when Britain gave proof of her regret and asked India for pardon. The word has now been spoken: it comes from the heart: we pray that it may not have been spoken in vain." The *Nation* has written in the same strain.

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IN spite of the fact that their political organisation in its last session definitely committed the Sikh community to a policy of non-co-operation, the aggrieved Sikhs in the Nankana Sahab affair seem to be in no mood to follow the advice pressed upon them by Mr. Gandhi that "the purest way of seeking justice against the murderers is not to seek it." Evidently he regards this affair as more fiendish and barbarous in its brutality than the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. What has however puzzled the Sikhs is that while Mr. Gandhi holds himself free to agitate for proper justice being done in regard to the less horrible, he would allow

the offenders concerned in the more dreadful Nana-kana Saheb butchery to go completely unpunished. Nor do they believe that the nationality of the perpetrators is any justification for following a course of action different from that adopted by Mr. Gandhi in regard to the Punjab. What the Reform party of the Sikhs aims at is nothing more than justice. The idea of taking revenge which, Mr. Gandhi apprehends, will take away "the glory of the martyrdom of the dear ones" is earnestly disclaimed by them.

* * *

ON the motion of Rao Bahadur T. Rangachariar the Legislative Assembly has recently recommended the appointment of responsible passenger superintendents at junction stations and also travelling passenger superintendents for important passenger trains whose sole duty should be to look after the comforts and convenience of passengers, especially third class. Col. Waghorn in accepting the resolution on behalf of Government said that it was one of the first duties of all station staffs, whether station master, ticket collector or porter, to attend to the berthing and comfort of passengers. On many railways retired Indian officials, he said, had been appointed as passenger superintendents and if they were given better training he thought the necessary improvement would take place. Training will no doubt make the superintendents more efficient, but unless there is a change in the spirit of railway administration no real improvement will take place. Third class passengers are as much victimised by Indian railway officials as by others. They should be made to realise that unless they show the same solicitude for the comfort and convenience of third class passengers as for that of the higher class passengers, serious notice would be taken of their conduct. A change is primarily wanted in the attitude of the highest authorities.

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THE introduction of parliamentary institutions, in howsoever defective a form, in Native States is to be welcomed more as a sign of recognition on the part of their rulers of the need of giving their subjects some voice in the management of affairs of the States than as so many attempts in constitution-making. The Maharaja Rana of Jhalawar has announced his intention to establish in his State what he terms a Parliament in embryo which is to consist of an upper and a lower house. Only the lower house is to contain an elected element to the extent of half of its membership, while the upper one is presumably to be composed of the State aristocracy owning their places to the ruler's nomination. It would have been more in consonance with constitutional precedents if in the lower house the popular element had been assured of a decisive majority. We can well believe that the arrangement actually proposed has not been prompted by any desire to preserve the preponderance of the State authorities, but by the absence of the necessary educated element in Jhalawar, which, such as it is, has been absorbed in the different depart-

ments of the State. It is to be hoped that this admittedly transitional arrangement will be replaced by a more satisfactory one in the near future. The functions and powers of these bodies which are not clearly defined in the announcement ought to cover a wide field, if the experiment is to prove a success. It is a matter for satisfaction that the Maharana does not recognise any distinctions based on caste or creed; and even the sex distinction is to be absent from the franchise of the Legislative Assembly.

* * *

A MOTION was carried in the Legislative Assembly for omitting the provision of Rs. 25,000 for charges in connection with the visit of an American lecturer to India. His mission on his return was to be to counteract the misrepresentations of the Ghadr party about the state of India with the help of such knowledge of Indian conditions as he may be able to obtain during his few weeks' stay in this country. Apart from the considerations mentioned by several members in the Assembly in resisting the provision in the budget, it is permissible to doubt if the method hit upon by Government is the best one to secure the end in view; for the very fact that his expenses were to be found for him by the Indian Government would itself furnish a handle to the Indian revolutionaries in that country to mislead the people there as to his motives in undertaking it. Besides, how could they expect their American visitor, whatever his intellectual calibre, to acquire during his necessarily brief sojourn here a decent knowledge of Indian conditions which some civilians find themselves unable to do even after being fairly long in the country and that too in more or less close touch with the people? Had the experiment been tried, it would have been a failure leading to a waste of the hard-earned money of the Indian taxpayer.

* * *

THE March number of the *Modern Review* fully maintains the usual level of excellence of that journal. It contains very fine reproductions of some mural paintings in the Bombay School of Art. Mr. Nalinananda Chatterji's article on the cattle problem of India is particularly weighty, supported as it is by a wealth of comparative statistics. He points out that while in India pasture land is encroached upon to meet the growth of population, in other countries intensive cultivation is resorted to; that fodder crops form only 1 per cent. in India and feed 22 cattle per acre, while in the U.S.A. they form 3.5 per cent. and each head of cattle is served by 1.16 acres. The daily yield of milk per cow in India is only 2 lbs., while in England and Denmark it is 20 lbs. and in the U.S.A. 10.2 lbs. He also lays emphasis on the wasteful slaughter of the best milch cattle that is taking place in all the important cities of India as the combined result of the *gowli's* callousness and the cost of maintaining an animal.

* * *

THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEM.

IN view of the publication in South Africa of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission's Report on the 7th inst., the Government of India have issued to the press the statement which Sir Benjamin Robertson made to the Commission as their own representative. We cannot understand why this statement should have been withheld so long from publication. But now that it is made known, it ought to satisfy the public that, in all essential respects, Government have completely fallen in with the view of the people on this momentous question. It is a comforting reflexion that, amidst the great divergence of opinion which exists between the Government and the people of India on internal matters, there is at least one subject on which there is and has been complete unanimity, viz. the position of Indians in South Africa and East Africa. Those who peruse Sir Benjamin's memorandum will be convinced that the Government have pressed the Indian view of the question upon the Commission with the utmost emphasis, and it is only to be hoped that this forceful and yet reasoned statement of the case will commend itself to the Commission and will eventually result in placing the Indians resident in South Africa on a proper basis which a self-respecting people can accept without demur.

The Commission was asked in particular to recommend suitable amendments in the existing law relating to trading licences and the ownership of land. In regard to the latter, Sir B. Robertson had no difficulty in urging that the restrictions which are now in force in the Transvaal on the ownership of land by the Asiatics ought to be abrogated at a stroke. Law 3 of 1885 prohibits the ownership of fixed property by Asiatics. The Republican Government, although they thus forbade direct ownership, permitted indirect ownership, and indeed themselves suggested a method of circumventing the law to Indians in 1888. The other indirect method of acquiring and owning fixed property which the Indians adopted was the formation of limited liability companies, in whose name the property was held. It was in 1909 that the first company was formed with this object, and judicial decisions were obtained later establishing the legality of this method. Since the Gandhi-Smuts agreement was entered into with a view to secure the Indians in all the rights which they enjoyed at the time, this right of land-ownership by indirect means must be held to belong to them, but now that an attempt is made to deprive Indians of even this right of indirect ownership, it is necessary for us to press for and obtain a repeal of the restrictive law of 1885, so that they could directly acquire land hereafter. Sir Benjamin has urged this view. On the other question respecting the issue of trading licences, he took the line that if it was not possible, as was the view of the Solomon Commission, to deprive the municipalities of the control of licences, the discretion in this matter must be subjected to certain definite limitations, so that no authority could refuse a licence arbitrarily or on

the ground of the applicant's nationality. Indeed, it would be necessary to lay down the grounds on which alone a licence might be refused, and, as a further safeguard, to require the licensing authority to give the reasons for refusal and to provide for an appeal to an independent and impartial tribunal.

Much controversy has raged as to whether Indians disregarded the undertakings into which they entered and broke both the spirit and the letter of the various laws on the statute book. Sir B. Robertson investigates this charge with great minuteness and proves to the satisfaction of all impartial readers that it is absolutely without foundation. On the contrary, the Union Government have on several occasions acted contrary to the expressed intentions of the law and to the assurances and promises made by them in unequivocal language. The bearing of the Gandhi-Smuts compact, for instance, on the issue of new licences for trade is examined at great length, and it has been conclusively shown that it is the Union Government impelled by the agitation of the whites that are guilty of violating the compact and not the Indians. Again the various grounds on which a repressive policy is advocated are patiently reviewed and their inability to sustain the conclusion strikingly demonstrated. The bugbear of an inundation of the white population by the Indian community is often brought into requisition, but the truth of the matter is that, with a view to securing fair treatment for Indians already settled in the colony, the Government of India and the Indian community have agreed to an arrangement whereby the further immigration of Indians had been practically stopped. After a laborious research into statistics, Sir B. Robertson has arrived at the conclusion that in the Transvaal and the Cape, the total number of Asiatics "is insignificant in itself; it has remained stationary or has tended to decrease in the past; and there is no reason to expect any considerable increase in the future." In Natal, where the number is the largest, the drift back to India is the strongest, and since 1915 "there has been a net decrease of about 1,000." The Indian's competition with the white man has nothing unhealthy about it. He never comes into competition with the owner of a better class European shop. There has been very little increase in the number of dealers' licences held by Indians, and no increase in the velocity of Asiatic trade in the country stores. The fear often expressed as to the Indian driving the European out of trade is thus mostly imaginary, and, if the Indian helped to reduce the middleman's profits, such reduction, as Sir Benjamin says, "is advantageous to the consumer and to the community as a whole." In agriculture, "the Indian cultivator and the European farmer are complementary to each other and not in competition." The latter has nothing to fear from the former; what often happens is that, as European witnesses have stated, "the Indian reclaims waste land, and when it is developed he is not infrequently pushed out by the European." In this way all the allegations made

by the European propagandists are sifted one after another, and their hollowness shown.

Essentially, the problem investigated by the Asiatic Commission is a social one, and Sir Benjamin Robertson has therefore recommended other measures than the removal of existing restrictions on the Indian's right to trade and the right to own landed property. The most important among these is the provision of educational facilities. "Primary education should be compulsory for Indian boys as it is for white children." "The wages of Indian employees should be improved." The whole problem in South Africa is to raise the Asiatic's standard of living; if his standard is raised, he will not be able to undercut his European competitor; the best way therefore to prevent this is to increase the Indian's wage. It is also recommended that the administration of the Asiatic policy of the Union Government should be entrusted to a responsible official in whom the Indian community has confidence. It is a matter of profound satisfaction that the Government of India have on this particular matter thoroughly identified themselves with the people of India and have voiced their feelings.

THE ESHER COMMITTEE'S REPORT—IV.* SEPOY'S PAY.

Section III of Part V deals with the British troops and makes recommendations with regard to improvements in troopships, barrack accommodation, married quarters, regimental institutes, &c., Sections IV and V make similar recommendations with regard to Indian officers and sepoy.

In dealing with the question of the sepoy's pay, the Committee makes the following observations:—

"The pay of a sepoy, on enlistment, is Rs. 11 a month and has been at that rate since 1911. In addition to this sum he gets at present Rs. 4 a month as war bonus, making a total of Rs. 15 a month. We understand that when serving overseas or on the frontier, he draws in addition field *balta* of Rs. 5 a month, making a total of Rs. 20. Before the war he got rations on service only, he now receives them always."

The value of rations at present prices adds another sum of Rs. 14 to the total cost to the State (= Rs. 34)." If to this sum is added the cost of the free issue of clothing, railway and other concessions, the monthly pay of the sepoy in cash and kind is nearer 40 than Rs. 30 a month. The Committee, however, considers that this amount is insufficient, and that further increase of pay is necessary. The reasons for and against the increase of pay are thus summarised.

They note that "the times are changing rapidly in India as elsewhere, and at such a juncture it is well to have a contented army".

(a) That with the addition of Rs. 4 a month, which we recommend should form a permanent addition to pay, the sepoy will receive in cash just double the nett pay which he drew up to 1911 and that this is sufficient.

(b) That it would be unwise to grant a permanent increase of pay in order to meet a possibly transient increase in the cost of living.

* Previous articles in this series appeared in the issues of Feb. 10, 17 and 24.

(c) That in any case the serving sepoy is not much affected by a rise in prices since he is fed and to a large extent clothed by the State.

(d) That recruitment since the war has not shown signs of falling off, in spite of the abnormal numbers recruited during the war.

It must also be remembered that the terms still offered hold out no promise that the war-bonus will be made permanent. Those who are now enlisting do so therefore for Rs. 11 a month, plus a temporary addition of Rs. 4 a month paid six-monthly in arrears.

(e) That an increase to the pay of the sepoy would inevitably result in an increase to the pay of other employees of Government, such as police and forest subordinates and the like, thus imposing a further heavy burden on Indian revenues."

The committee proceed:

"We admit the force of these arguments, but in order to present a complete picture we think it desirable, even at the risk of repetition, to recapitulate briefly the main considerations which tell in favour of an increase of pay.

(a) That the Indian army expects a substantial increase, and that it will be impolitic to disappoint this expectation, especially at a time like the present, when political agitators aim at undermining the army's loyalty.

(b) That the general rise in the cost of living renders the present scale of pay insufficient to enable the sepoy to support a wife and family or other dependants.

(c) That the industrial and agricultural development of India offers other and more lucrative employment to youths of the martial classes, and that this competition will adversely affect recruitment for the army unless better terms are offered.

After the most careful consideration, we have found that it is necessary, in order to secure the contentment of the army, to improve the terms of service of Indian and other ranks and our specific recommendations will be found in Appendix I, item 6 (not printed)."

It is to be observed that, throughout these considerations, the Committee appear distinctly to be labouring under the spell of that particular mentality to which we have drawn the reader's attention before. The same catchwords of tampering with the loyalty of the Indian army, the same dread of the agitator, which to that particular mentality is a synonym for rebel, the same show of paternal solicitude for the interests of the so-called martial races, in order to make them a kind of Pretorean guard for the bureaucracy, the same desire to instil lessons of loyalty in the sons of the sepoy, and to keep the sepoy in a glass case segregated from infection from the outside world, are prominently noticeable in the above considerations. This obsession has prevented the Committee from taking an impartial view of the evidence. They evidently do not believe that there is such a thing as supply and demand. It is easier to play *Ma-Bap* when it can be done at other people's expense.

These dialectics are not only O'Dwyerian but Machiavellian. They place the Indian legislator on the horns of a dilemma, either to meekly submit to these unreasonable proposals and betray the interests of the tax-payer or to oppose them and make himself appear to disregard the interests of the army and thereby put himself in a position of antagonism to the so-called martial races of Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

It is superfluous to point out that the army recruit is a mere yokel from the village, ignorant of art or craft of any kind. Forty rupees a month is not a bad remuneration for unskilled labour. Moreover, it is to be remembered that, from an economic point of view an army man is a waster, in that, instead of being of any productive value to the community, he becomes a drone and a consumer and as such he is so much less labour in the village market. In this connection we must put aside all notions of honour and glory which is another name for that blatant swagger which in barbaric ages and barbaric communities is associated with the profession of arms. India in her hoary antiquity has long passed that stage of social evolution. She has come to recognise that the profession of killing and maiming our fellow-beings is relic of the savage instincts of the race of by-gone ages. She has therefore relegated that trade to a class of social wastrels, the so-called martial races, as she has done the trades of butchers, scavengers and shoe makers. When people talk of the martial classes, they speak as if they were talking of a different order of beings. Martial races, we are told, are a special product of the land of the five rivers. By some peculiar irony of fate we also find that the dwellers of that favoured clime are endowed with more than their share of the sycophancy, toadyism, intrigue, backsliding and hypocrisy which we find rampant in a certain class of people all the world over. Lest I be understood to malign my countrymen by these remarks, I hasten to explain that, living in the circumstances in which they live, Indians cannot help being what they are. We have lived for centuries and we are living still under foreign domination. All places of emoluments and power are in alien hands. In the very nature of things our interests and the interests of the dominant race cannot be identical. Those of us who choose to seek power and place have perforce to do so by alliance with foreign interests. Foreign interests and foreign power have made patriotism, which is another name for love of one's country and regard for its interests, a taboo and a crime. The various repressive laws have so sealed our tongues and tied our hands that one dare not give expression to one's genuine feelings. And thus it has come to pass that every Indian, high or low, has armed himself with that weapon of the weak, a mask of hypocrisy, to hide from public gaze the innermost yearnings of the heart. The poor Punjab has had more than her share of repression, and it may be confessed with shame that the repression has killed its soul. That divine flame of patriotism which flickers in every human breast is there extinguished. Its so-called martial spirit is a mere mockery. It is a euphemism for the Punjabi's mercenary character. Otherwise what nation but a nation of cowards would have submitted to the unheard-of humiliations and abject indignities which were heaped upon them in the dark days of 1919?

In all these considerations the Committee have strenuously laboured the point that a soldier should

be provided with the same comforts and accommodation as a civilian, and that the Indian soldier has travelled in foreign countries, and consequently his notions of life and standard of living have undergone a great change. This doctrine is fallacious. It is based on the analogy of the armies of the great war. The late war was an exceptional episode in the history of the world. In that war the demand for recruits was so great that every attraction had to be held forth to induce men to enlist, and every comfort and even luxury had to be provided to prevent the enormous wastage of life. There is no analogy between the armies of the great war and the Indian army in peace time. The armies of the great war were composed of civilian soldiers who would have completely broken down if they had not been provided with those creature comforts to the enjoyment of which they were accustomed, while in the case of the Indian army we have to deal with professional and mercenary men who as a condition of the service bargain for a soldier's life. Besides a half starving yokel, who cannot earn a pice in civil life and does not know the comfort of a full belly and who has not put his foot beyond the village dung-heap is not to be compared with the citizen soldier of the great war. The profession of a soldier has associated with it a certain modicum of roughing, if not actual discomforts of life. That is a part of the soldier's training, the idea being that if soldiers are too much pampered and coddled they are liable to break down when exposed to the strain and rigour of field operations.

PAY OF BRITISH OFFICERS AND OTHER RANKS.

In the case of British officers and other ranks, in addition to the higher rates of pay and pensions which they enjoy in this country, the Committee recommend that they should be provided with the same high standard of comfort and luxury which is provided by the British Government. In making these demands the Committee take the British army for their pattern, forgetting however that in doing so they are comparing the poorest country with the richest country in the world. We may remind the Committee of Mr. Lloyd George's memorable remark that "we must be willing to content ourselves with the second best when the best is too costly." The country simply cannot pay. The military budget before the year 1911 used to be 20 per cent. of the total revenue of the Government of India, and it will be admitted that that is a large enough sum to pay for life insurance of the country. Then the budget began to gradually go up, and now the figure stands at about 50 per cent. and when the Committee's recommendations are carried into effect, as they will be in spite of what we say, the military expenditure will be nearer 70 than 60 per cent. of the total revenue of the country, and that too in the piping times of peace. Army estimates include two kinds of expenditure—the normal expenditure which is necessary to maintain the army of pre-war strength and the abnormal or extraordinary expenditure

which is over and above the normal caused by the exigencies of the war. The years 1914-20 have witnessed a large addition to the Indian army. A number of 2nd and 3rd line regiments have been raised, new units which did not exist before have been formed and added to the strength of the army, such as the labour corps, porter corps, syce corps, sweeper corps, mechanical transport corps, &c. The strength of all units has been raised, the number of British officers having been two to three times increased. The overseas services have required the establishment of depots for each unit for the purpose of enlisting, training and equipping men to feed the expeditionary forces. The strength of these depots exceeds in most cases that of the parent battalion. The recruiting parties travel up and down the country at Government expense, they receive bonus for every recruit they bring in and the recruits are paid bonus on enlistment. Further the expeditionary forces involve the expenditure on inland and overseas transport, the purchase or manufacture of stores and equipment, the entertainment of a large personnel, and, lastly, the grant of field allowance to all ranks and pensions and gratuities in case of invaliding and death. The extraordinary expenditure is therefore partly of a temporary and partly of a permanent character. It would be interesting to know as to what proportion of this extraordinary expenditure of temporary and permanent character is borne by the Home Government and how much by India. The war was not of India's seeking, and this expenditure would not have been incurred had it not been for the war. The Indian legislators should, therefore, insist that the whole of this expenditure should fall upon the British exchequer, especially as the Home Government have repeatedly declared themselves responsible for all expenses incurred by the expeditionary forces sent out from India.

It is easy for the Committee to make recommendations involving an increased burden to the tax-payer, but they have not indicated the source from which the money is to come. They have not a word to say about reducing the strength of the army.

Externally we are living in an era of peace, all likely foreign foes having been laid into the dust. Internally we are told that we are thoroughly trusted and are allowed to participate in the administration of the country. If that is really the case then the need of keeping ourselves armed to the teeth is not very apparent.

It is a well-known fact that a British soldier costs the country for his upkeep four times more than a sepoy. The British garrison is quartered in the country to keep a watch on the sepoy and to prevent him from breaking into another mutiny. Now the sepoy is either loyal or he is not. If he is loyal, as he has proved himself on many trying occasions, then he should be thoroughly trusted and the guard of British bayonets should be removed from over his head. If the British garrison is withdrawn or even reduced to half its strength, the

army estimate will be able to pay for the upkeep of the rest of the army in the best condition of efficiency possible. The Government of India have given of late a further proof of their utter trust in the people of India. They have organized all the Europeans, Anglo-Indians and other riffraffs of the "Black and Tan" type in the country into an auxiliary force of all arms. This force is to defend European lives and property against the riotous mobs of incendiaries and murderers. The auxiliary force includes in its ranks all the admirers of the hero of Jallianwala fame and the defenders of the sanguinary policy of the ex-satrap of the Punjab. With such a formidable and blood-thirsty force at hand, the British garrison can surely be safely reduced, and the Government of India may sleep in peace.

In this connection the Committee darkly hint that there is dissatisfaction in the ranks of British officers.

"It is impossible to ignore the signs of the times, or to shut our eyes to the fact that, whereas the Indian army formerly attracted the pick of the Sandhurst cadets, their is a reluctance at present on the part of cadets and their parents to elect for that army. This reluctance is particularly noticeable in the case of those families which have a long and honourable connection with the Indian army."

The Committee attribute this deplorable state of affairs to a subdued impression among the officers that their interests are disregarded by the Government, that there is an unnecessary amount of reticence with regard to the future policy of the army. "Recent changes and reforms no doubt proved another unsettling factor in the minds of British officers." We have also been told in the public press by an Anglo-Indian officer of the Sydenham persuasion that the British youths are reluctant to join the army, as they apprehend that in time to come they may have to serve in regiments under the command of Indians who are being granted King's commissions in the army. All this may or may not be true. But there are certain undeniable changes in the army life which have a material bearing on the question which we are considering.

During the last few years, the press both in this country and in England has made the public familiar with the cases of military officers who have been found guilty of fraud and corruption. It is imaginable that more cases remain undetected than those which have seen the light of the day. Such a thing was unheard of in old days. There was an unwritten code of honour like the chivalry of Middle ages which no gentleman wearing the King's uniform dared to break. One heard occasionally of lapses of conjugal obligation, but the hand of a soldier was never known to be soiled, nor his honour tarnished. Another thing noticeable in the officer of to-day is the marked change in his manners. The dignified courtesy, urbanity and openhanded generosity of the old school has given place to insolent swagger, churlishness and snobbery. The officer of the old army belonged to aristocratic families who chose the profession of arms for a

career of honour and glory which it offered, not for earning a livelihood but to find occupation for his leisure. The army of to-day is democratized, in which the "duke's son" is giving place to the "butcher's son and baker's son." The demand for a living wage and higher emoluments which we notice to-day is the indication of that spirit of commercialism which has crept into the army. The observation of these changes in the army life of to-day leads one to deplore that the race of military caste is becoming extinct and those of them who have survived the great war, shun the army service of to-day as they used to shun the trade and business at one time. It will thus be seen that it is not the new era which has frightened the old military families from sending their sons to the Indian army. This is only a cheap gibe flung at random at the Indian Reforms. Nor is it the dread of Englishmen having to serve in the regiments commanded by Indians of the future armies of India. The Indian officers are carefully selected from the stock of the Indian aristocracy who can boast of much bluer blood in their veins than the scions of brewers and grocers who form the military aristocracy of the army of to-day.

AN ARMY OFFICER.

(To be continued.)

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, FEBRUARY 24.

LAW OF DIVORCE.

YESTERDAY, Sir Henry Duke, the president of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Judicature; reserved judgment in a matter of the highest importance to several classes of persons residing in India or connected therewith. A divorce was pronounced between certain parties of British birth and domicile by the Chief Court of the Punjab. The successful petitioner has now petitioned for a similar decree in the Divorce Court here, dissolving the marriage previously subsisting between the parties. The Attorney-General contended that Parliament could not have intended to confer on the Indian Courts jurisdiction to dissolve the marriage of persons who were domiciled in this country, even if, at the time, they were resident in India. On the other hand, it was argued, on behalf of the Secretary of State for India, that if the test of domicile were to succeed, it would be fatal to the exercise of divorce jurisdiction in India, and it would result in the invalidation, outside India, of the decrees of divorce pronounced by the Indian Courts ever since the Indian Divorce Act, 1869.

THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

The Supreme Council is now in session in London, and is considering the Sevres Treaty, in the light of the new situation in Greece, and of the activities of the Angora Government. The latter after having declared that it would not recognise the Constantinople Government and would not send a delegation to London, has been persuaded by Count Sforza, the Italian Foreign Minister, to renounce its opposition, and has agreed to be represented here. The Supreme Council, indeed, made it clear from the commencement that it would not recognise two separate Turkish delegations, and that they would have to present a united case be-

fore the Council. In fact, both delegations are sensibly staying at the same hotel, and yesterday presented the ground-plan of their criticisms of the Treaty before the Council. Both sections of the joint delegation laid down three principles:—

(1) That all countries inhabited by Turks, excluding those inhabited by Arab minorities, should remain part of Turkey, and that within those areas the Turkish nation should exercise full sovereign rights.

(2) That the Turks were willing to concede to minorities the same rights as are provided for in the minority clauses of other treaties, subject to Turks being given similar rights in other countries where they are in the minority.

(3) That the Turks were prepared to concede freedom of navigation to all nations through the Straits, provided that the sovereignty of Turkey was unaffected.

It is stated with authority that Mr. Lloyd George, who presided at yesterday's meeting of the Council that heard the Turkish delegates, said that as a statement of principles this was quite clear, but the Conference required detailed information as to the changes demanded in the Treaty. The delegates then urged that the objections were to the following provisions:—(1) those relating to Thrace; (2) those relating to Smyrna; (3) those relating to the neutral zone round the Straits, (4) the military clauses, and (5) the economic and financial control. The delegates asked for a postponement until tomorrow, but this was refused, a delay of 24 hours being, however, agreed to. It is understood that the Turkish delegates have prepared a statement, divided into three parts, dealing with the following subjects:—territorial arrangements, Thrace, Smyrna and the Straits; political tutelage; and economic control. In all probability, certain changes in the Treaty of a minor character will be agreed to. Whether these will satisfy the intransigent elements in Turkey is another matter upon which it would not be safe to prophesy.

THE MILNER REPORT.

The Milner Report on Egypt has at last been published, and its recommendations are generally welcomed in the press—save, of course, the reactionary journals of an ultra-Imperialist character. Unfortunately, Mr. Churchill, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, is regarded by the Egyptians as being one of the members of the Cabinet who are opposed to the Milner recommendations, and as intent upon incorporating Egypt into the British Empire. Some remarks of Mr. Churchill's, in a recent speech have been so construed, and a torrent of protests has rained upon the Government and press here during the last few days. The matter has been further complicated by the forthcoming visit to Egypt of Mr. Churchill to whose new department Middle Eastern affairs and mandated territories are being transferred, in order to discuss with Sir Percy Cox, Sir Herbert Samuel and other Middle Eastern experts, the policy to be devised, and this is regarded in Egypt as merely camouflage for an attempt on Mr. Churchill's part to overbear his colleagues in the Cabinet on the Egyptian question, though it has been officially denied that his visit has anything whatever to do with Egyptian affairs. Possibly the visit to Cairo will do Mr. Churchill a lot of good, for it will enable him to study the problem on the spot, in conjunction with those who understand the situation and are open to its atmosphere more than he. It is earnestly to be hoped that the discussions with the Egyptian Ministers will soon take place and that as the *Times* strongly recommends, the Report of

the Milner Commission will be adopted speedily by the Government, before Egyptian sentiment is hopelessly outraged, as Irish sentiment has been, and, it is to be feared, Indian sentiment has been, too.

THE CHOICE OF MINISTERS.

The constitutional position of India is gradually clearing. An attack has been brewing upon Mr. Montagu and Sir Edward Maclagan ever since the appointment of Lala Harkishen Lal was announced. The former is and will always be the *bête noire* of the reactionaries here, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer is always ready to provide them with a stick to beat him with. And Sir Michael is of the temper that cannot forgive a successor who, in every act of his administration, seems resolute upon reversing the policy of his predecessor. Hence these tears. Lala Harkishen Lal is a "rebel" convicted and sentenced. His appeal to the Privy Council has been hopeless (nothing is said of the fact that the Privy Council has expressly declared that it is not a Court of Criminal Appeal and cannot therefore deal with such an appeal on the merits). He has been pardoned as an act of clemency, and has now been elected to the Punjab Legislative Council. Then comes along the Governor, who, under the colour of powers vested in him by the Government of India Act, 1919, has had the temerity to select this "rebel" to be one of His Majesty's Ministers in the Province of the Punjab, to the disgust and horror of His Majesty's loyal subjects, British and Indian, in that Province. That is the burden of the charge against Mr. Montagu and Sir Edward Maclagan. But the Speaker has intervened, and has refused to allow the action of the Governor, in selecting as one of his Ministers an elected member of the Council enjoying the confidence of a majority of its members, to be called in question in the House of Commons. To the extent that power has been deliberately transferred by Parliament to the Councils, a sort of Home Rule has already been granted, and Parliament may not intervene to control or criticise. In other words, the principle of Dominion Home Rule, and all its constitutional consequences, has been recognised by the Speaker and by Parliament, within the limits of the transferred subjects, and the powers exercisable in regard thereto by the Governor, and the jurisdiction of Parliament, *pro canto*, has been ousted. No wonder the *Morning Post* group of members of Parliament have collapsed in a state of indignant amazement, for have not all their prophecies come true? And now, it would seem, they are reduced to helpless silence. It would seem, for the moment, that the decision of the Speaker has advanced the constitutional status of India in one moment more than the whole non-co-operation movement is calculated to do during its whole period.

JAPAN AND AMERICA.

A curious statement is being circulated about Yap, the small island that is the bone of contention between Japan and the United States, and which is a cable nerve-centre. Japan claims the island as having been conceded to her at the Peace Conference. This America denies, and insists upon the island being evacuated by Japan and held at the disposal of the Communications Conference that is now in session at Washington. Indeed, the United States has sent a formal despatch of protest to the Council of the League of Nations against the issue of a mandate to Japan for the island. Meanwhile, it is alleged that Japan would yield to the objection of the United States, with regard to Yap, on condition that Great Britain allows equal rights for Japanese nationals in the Southern Pacific islands formerly belonging to Germany and now under the

mandate of Australia and New Zealand. This cannot be quite accurate, in any case, as the "C" category of mandates has not yet been issued by the Council of the League. Whilst on this subject, I learn from the Indians Overseas Association that it has received an answer from the India Office in reply to its inquiry as to the extent to which Indian rights in the "C" category mandated areas have been safeguarded. It is as follows:—The Secretary of State for India in Council has for some time past had under consideration the possible effect of the grant of "C" Mandates to certain Dominions on Indians, who might desire to emigrate to the territories concerned, in view of the wording of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, under which the immigration laws of the Mandatories may be extended to these territories; as regards the possibility of other restrictive legislation, Mr. Montagu understands that there are at present few, if any, Indian residents in the territories in question. He has, however, taken such action as appears to be possible in causing certain of the Dominion Governments to be addressed in regard to this question. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will press for publication of the replies to Mr. Montagu's representations, and I would urge that a question be put at an early date in the Imperial Legislature.

With reference to the protest of the East India section of the London Chamber of Commerce against the action of certain commercial associations in India in instructing their members to refuse drafts and goods on account of the fall in the rupee exchange, I learn that a memorial to the Secretary of State for India has been extensively signed by those interested, which submits:—(a) that the legality of trade or any other associations in advising dealers to repudiate their just obligations be considered by the law officers of the Government with a view to action; (b) that the Government, to relieve congestion at the ports, afford temporary accommodation to the exchange banks for the storage of goods not taken delivery of by the consignees; and (c) that the Government, by proclamation in the principal bazars, warn dealers of the discredit to Indian import trade and other evil consequences that will follow their misguided action. The London Chamber has urged Chambers of Commerce in India to induce the associations in question to rescind without delay the resolutions in question.

THE BOMBAY COUNCIL.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, MARCH 14.

THE BUDGET DISCUSSION.

THE Bombay Legislative Council reassembled for its second sessions (the first sessions, which was very brief, transacted purely formal business except a general discussion on the budget), on the 1st of March and devoted twelve days to the discussion of and voting on the motions for omission or reduction of demands for grants in the budget for the ensuing year. The general discussion on the financial statement had made it abundantly clear that the House regarded the financial position of the presidency as extremely disheartening, and was not in a mood to acquiesce in everything that the Government asked for. The Council was conscious of the powers of control over provincial finance newly conferred upon it by the Reform Act and also of its responsibilities in the matter of enabling the executive to carry on the work of administration. There was a universal cry for retrenchment in every direction, and it was generally apprehended that the pruning-knife would be applied to the various items of new expenditure in a rather irresponsible and reckless fashion. On the whole, however, the members of the

Council fully justified the confidence reposed in them by the people and discharged their responsibilities in a spirit of sanity, prudence and devotion to duty.

The general discussion on the budget which preceded the actual voting on demands for grants had showed that the House was reluctant to set its seal of approval on it mainly for three reasons. First of all this year the budget was not subjected to the scrutiny at the hands of a finance committee of the Council for the appointment of which the Government rightly pleaded, that there was hardly any time. The second reason was that the Government ought to have left the question of revision of salaries and establishments for the new Council to deal with instead of forcing its hands to approve of the proposals made by themselves and thus confronting them with a *fait accompli*. Thirdly the next year's budget being a deficit budget, the Council was naturally inclined to cut down several items for which lump provisions were made without adequate explanations for their necessity and before the schemes for their utilization were closely examined. The debate on motions for deletion or curtailment of demands mainly centred round those items which related to the revision of salaries or increase of establishments. The Council objected to certain grants on principle and succeeded in impressing upon the Government the necessity of undertaking retrenchment all round at an early date. The attitude of the House towards the budget provisions relating to transferred departments was, as could very easily be seen by shrewd observers, different from that in the case of the reserved departments. The Council displayed admirable confidence in the ministers, but was not in a mood to listen quietly to the appeals of the executive councillors, and inflicted more than one defeat upon them. The Government was also obliged to withdraw a number of items in view of the strong popular opposition to them in the Council. The result of the scrutiny was that the total demand of Rs. 16,42,34,000 was reduced by about Rs. 13½ lacs.

THE RESERVED DEPARTMENTS.

Among the reserved departments Land Revenue, General Administration, Administration of Justice and the Police came in for severe criticism at the hands of the councillors. Some motions on these demands were stoutly fought out and in the case of many others Government were obliged to give the assurance that the money would be spent in accordance with the wishes of the Council. The demand for the grant of Rs. 125, 48,000 for Land Revenue was reduced to the extent of only one lakh of rupees by the omission of item No. 14 relating to the grant of house rent allowances to Mamlatdars and Mukhtarkars at the rate of Rs. 25 per mensem. It was contended on behalf of Government that the Mamlatdars experienced great difficulties in securing proper house accommodation in taluka towns and it was undesirable to continue the present system by which such an important class of officers had to make private arrangements for renting their houses with persons with whom they have to come in official relations. Mr. H. D. Desai who moved the proposal for deletion of this item very forcibly pointed out to the council that the salaries of these officers had only been recently revised and it was not reasonable to give them an allowance of Rs. 25 per month, when they actually lived in houses the rent of which did not go up to that amount. The Mamlatdars had received only recently an increase of about 48 p. c. in their salaries. The Council, therefore, did not err on the side of severity in rejecting this grant of additional house rent allowance to them.

LIVING WAGE FOR TALATIS.

The discussion on the demand for Land Revenue was much enlivened by the debate on Mr. Desai's motion for omission of the item of recurring grant of Rs. 4,00,000 provided for a further revision of the pay of Talatis. The Finance Member pointed out that the last revision of the pay of Talatis was made in September last which raised their maximum salaries varying from Rs. 25 to Rs. 33 p.m. The present further revision was being undertaken on a reasonable representation by Talatis that their maximum salary be increased to Rs. 40 p. m. Many of these village officers had recently struck work, and hence Government seemed to be very sympathetic to their

demands after some bitter experience. Else how could this change of front be explained? Till only a fortnight ago, the Government of Bombay were unable to appreciate the reasonableness of the demands of the Talatis, while during the discussion in the Council member after member on the Government benches rose up and pleaded for granting a living wage to the Talati, who was the backbone of the village government. The supporters of this motion were, however, not standing on firm ground when they said that the revision of the Talatis' pay was unnecessary in view of the perquisites which they usually got and the corruption which they always practised. Refusing them a living wage was certainly no remedy to remove these evils and to increase their efficiency. The temptations for corruption were bound to prevail so long as the ordinary peasant remained steeped in ignorance and the Talati came from a class not much educated. The Council however deserves the congratulations of the public upon having rejected the motion and thus given relief to a deserving class of subordinate public servants.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Still more adverse criticism was showered upon the demand of grant for General Administration. The expenditure on this head which, according to the budget estimates for 1920-21 was Rs. 26,36,000 had risen to the enormous figure of Rs. 63,13,000 in the budget for the ensuing year. Some of this increase is justifiable, such as the salaries of ministers, the president, and the deputy president, and increased allowances to the members of the Legislative Council; but there are several other items which bear testimony to the squandering tendencies of the bureaucracy. The newly constituted Home Department was the first important item which was opposed by the Council, but the motion for the deletion of this grant was withdrawn when the Home Secretary explained to the Council that in future very important and new responsibilities would devolve upon the Home Department, such as, the settlement of industrial disputes, and compilation of reliable data with regard to wages and prices.

SALARIES OF MINISTERS.

Bae Bahadur R. R. Kale's motion for the reduction of the salaries of ministers was the occasion of a very interesting debate in which the ministers themselves adopted an attitude of perfect neutrality. The mover's main contention was that differentiation between the salaries of ministers and those of the members of the Executive Council did not effect the status of the former in comparison with that of the latter. In his opinion, the real issue before the House was whether they were prepared to carry on the administration by a cheaper agency. The Council, however, was swayed away by shabby arguments like the one advanced by R. B. G. K. Saha when he said that the masses were not as intelligent as the honourable members and the fact that one man was paid less than another was enough to lower the ministers in the estimation of the people.

The demand for the grant of a lump provision of Rs. 44,000 for an officer on special duty in connection with introduction of a uniform system of office procedure was also strongly opposed by the Council indicating thereby that it wanted a measure of retrenchment all round to be carried out in consultation with a committee specially appointed for the purpose. The proposal for granting Rs. 20 lacs for the purchase and construction of houses for Government officers especially in Bombay, Karachi and Poona failed to find support from the Council and the item was reduced to 7½ lacs. The Government ought not to have put forward such a proposal especially in a year of financial stringency like the present one. They are always prepared to postpone works of public utility like the expansion of education, roads, and sanitation on the ground of finance, but are never inclined to forego their conveniences even for a short time. The discussion on this item was interesting. Nobody can deny that better housing accommodation would increase the efficiency of the officers. But is it not also true in the case of the subordinate staff, for whose better housing the Government have so far made quite inadequate provision? These houses would of course

built out of loans, but why should adequate rent be not charged for them? It was urged on behalf of Government that the Civil Service Regulations restricted the demand for rent to 10 p. c. of the officer's pay. The regulations should be altered to suit new conditions.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

In the demand for grant of Rs. 79,56,000 for the administration of justice, several items about creation of new posts were strongly criticised. Rao Bahadur R. B. Kale's motion or the omission of the demand of a recurring grant of Rs. 20,000 for the creation of appointments of four resident magistrates gave rise to an interesting discussion. The mover contended that the creation of these posts was unnecessary and that if this work was entrusted to sub-judges, who had not got enough work to do, the Government would have an opportunity of seeing how the separation of the judicial from the executive function would work in practice. The motion was ultimately defeated, but it extracted an assurance from the Hon. Sir Chimanlal Setalwad that he and his colleagues would give anxious consideration to the question. The motion for deletion of a demand of Rs. 40,000 for addition to the cadre of sub-judges for leave and deputation reserve was carried by the casting vote of the president. This demand was made in accordance with the recommendations of the Public Services Commission. The Commission, however, did not recommend special reserves for leave and deputation of officers in case of qualifying posts. Till very recently the posts of subordinate judges were partly filled by promotion from the lower ranks and there was much force in Rao Bahadur Chitale's contention that temporary vacancies of this nature could be filled by the Registrars of district courts whose duties are, more or less of a clerical character.

The demand of Rs. 1,69,00,000, for the Police Department give rise to heated controversy. The Council did not object to raising the pay of the police so as to make it a living wage, but expressed its dissatisfaction with their present inefficiency. The Council also refused a grant to increase the establishment in the C. I. D. The Government showed great accommodating spirit in withdrawing some items in the demands for other reserved departments and thus gave proof of their readiness to administer them in deference to the wishes of the people's representatives.

THE EXCISE POLICY.

In regard to the transferred subjects some unimportant items which were not of an urgent character, were withdrawn or reduced by the ministers, and the grants were voted almost unanimously. In moving the demand for the excise department the Honourable Mr. C. V. Mehta explained the policy of direct action which the Government of Bombay had decided to pursue in future in this matter. He said that the supply of liquor would not be allowed to exceed that of the latest year which would be taken as maximum. Supplies would also be made at as short intervals as possible viz. weekly or fortnightly, according to the sales of the previous year. In this way the number of people accustomed to drink a certain quantity would not be increased. This system, he hoped, would result in reduction of consumption and a time might come when people would ask for its total extinction.

THE EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION.

The expenditure on education has increased to the extent of Rs. 1,82,69,000. While introducing the demand for this grant the Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye pointed out that 60 p. c. of the expenditure went to primary, 15 p. c. to secondary, and 6½ p. c. to college and professional education. Provision was made for the primary education of about a quarter of the total population of school-going age in the presidency and Government spent Rs. 15 per pupil for this purpose. As regards the pay of primary teachers all reasonable demands have been satisfactorily met with. Mr. Paranjpye also informed the Council that a scheme of awarding substantial scholarships to the students of backward classes was under consideration. The medical and the public health departments are also in charge of the education minister. The expenditure on these two heads was Rs. 41,00,000, and Rs. 13,17,000 respectively according to the revised estimates for 1920-21. The next year's bud-

get makes provision of Rs. 57,30,000 for the Medical and of Rs. 26,63,000 for the Public Health department. The demand for the Bombay Development Scheme came up for discussion on the very last day allotted for this purpose and all the remaining demands for grant had to be put to vote and were carried.

SELECTION.

STATEMENT ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MISSIONARY EDUCATIONAL WORK.

THERE are circumstances at the present time which seem to call for a statement concerning the conceptions which missionaries entertain about educational work and their reasons for engaging in it. The following statement has been prepared by the Educational Board of the Bombay Representative Council of Missions and it is issued on its responsibility only. That Board has not had an opportunity to consult officially the directing or governing bodies of the missions either in India or in Great Britain and America, and consequently none of those bodies are officially committed to this statement. However, the Educational Board has reason to believe that the opinions expressed in the following statement would be endorsed by a large number of the Missionaries and Missions working in Western India.

RETROSPECT.

2. It is common knowledge that at different periods in the last hundred years Christian Missionaries have been pioneers in higher education, in the education of girls, in industrial education and in the education of the dwellers in villages. Many of the educational institutions in India owe their existence to Missionary Societies: and in these institutions missionaries have liberally spent time and labour. Since 1854 it has been the settled policy of Government to regard these efforts of missionaries, and similar efforts of other private persons and societies, as valuable contributions towards the solution of the stupendous problem of Indian education and to avail itself freely and gratefully of their assistance. In accordance with this policy Government has given aid impartially to all institutions which maintain a satisfactory standard in general education, without any reference to, or interference with, the religious education given in those institutions.

NEW CONDITIONS.

3. The elected representatives of the people under the new system of Government may see fit to depart from this policy. Though missionary societies have devoted many of their best workers and large sums of money to education under the belief that Government is committed to this policy, we desire to make it known that we do not question the right of the elected representatives of the people to alter the conditions under which grants-in-aid are given. As, however, these conditions might be altered in such a way as to make it very difficult for missionaries to continue their educational work, it is important that it should be clearly understood why they engage in educational work at all.

EDUCATION MUST BE RELIGIOUS.

4. Missionaries believe that, though the branches of study commonly called secular are necessary to the emancipation of the people and to the amelioration of their lot, yet education is incomplete which is not addressed to the whole man, and must fail of its purpose unless it touches the heart and purifies the conscience. Missionaries are thus firm believers in religious education: that is to say, education conducted by religious persons for the purpose of implanting religious principle in the souls of the peoples, as the one ruling principle of all life and of all knowledge. This being the general ideal, neither our own convictions, nor our estimate of the significance of Christianity for the world, permits us to give any religious education but one founded on the Christian religion.

5. Thus, if missionaries engage in education at all, it is to offer to all who will receive it full Christian religious education. For such education, there has been, and, we believe

will continue to be, a demand in this country. On the one hand, it is essential to the growing community of Indian Christians that they should have such an education available for their children. On the other hand, many non-Christians have in the past been, and many in the present are, desirous that their children also should receive such an education.

In regard to those mission schools and colleges which educate only these two classes of pupils, Christians and such non-Christians as desire a Christian religious education, no question of conscience can arise either for pupils or for teachers or for Government. Grants-in-aid can and will be rightly received and gladly paid, unless indeed Government decides to set up a universal system of secular education. But we cannot believe that a Government of Indians will ever set up such a system; and it is plain that no Government in this country can accept the responsibility for the religious education of the people. Consequently, we anticipate the continuance of the present system, under which voluntary religious agencies of all creeds provide schools and colleges and Government recognizes their contribution to the national educational system by paying to them grants-in-aid in respect of the secular education which they give.

THE CRUX OF THE SITUATION.

6. The difficulties which have lately been exercising men's minds, have nothing to do with the existence of missionary schools and colleges whose pupils are either Christians or such non-Christians as desire the Christian education offered to them. The crux of the situation lies in the emergence of a third class of pupils, viz. non-Christian pupils who in various degrees do not desire to receive a full Christian education and yet desire admission to missionary schools and colleges. Here it is claimed that a question of conscience arises for the parents and pupils; and we must add, another question of conscience arises for the staffs.

CONSCIENCE.

7. We have always taught that consciences should be respected; and in this matter we both desire to respect the consciences of others and claim that our own should be respected.

8. In regard to the consciences of the pupils our position is that we do not wish anyone to come to our schools and colleges whose conscience will be injured by any instruction which he or she will be given there. It is not for such pupils that we maintain our educational work. We would rather say that they should go to other institutions. If the numbers of students who find themselves to-day involved in such conscientious difficulties should prove to be large, we should regret it, but we should still maintain the position which has just been stated; we do not wish to admit them to our schools and colleges.

9. In regard to the consciences of educational missionaries, we have a clear position which we want to be understood. The giving of a Christian education is the aim to which such missionaries have dedicated their lives. They must be really free to give it if they are to fulfil their vocation. Whether any particular legislative enactment would interfere with this freedom, it will rest with individual missions and missionaries to decide, and until the terms of such enactments are before us, it is impossible to forecast what their decision would be. But this can be said. If any conditions attached to grants-in-aid were such as to prevent educational missionaries from giving a full Christian education with a clear conscience, they would renounce the grants for institutions affected by the conditions. Again, if the general result of the proposed conditions were that the education to be given by missionaries would be secular or neutral instead of religious, they could not consent to give such education, for that is not their business. They may and do differ in regard to the importance which they attach to particular educational methods. But they would not be true to the object with which they themselves give their lives and their supporters their money, if they spent those lives and that money on any education which is not Christian in motive, in principle and in atmosphere.

SINGLE SCHOOL AREAS.

10. Though educational missionaries are unwilling to

convert whole schools or colleges into secular or neutral institutions, they have been and are willing to give special treatment to small minorities in certain cases. So long ago as 1917 the National Missionary Council, at its meeting in Coonoor, considered the case of Single School Areas and agreed to make the following recommendation. Where local conditions warrant it, relief should be looked for in the provision of alternative schools for or by those who do not desire the education given in a mission school. But if a mission school is the only school in an area where either the total number of pupils is too small to warrant the existence of two schools, or the total number of conscientious objectors to Christian teaching too small to make up a school by themselves, the authorities of the Mission school should exempt from the Scripture period the children of such parents as express in writing their wish to have their children so exempted. We concur in this recommendation. We agree that in the cases contemplated by the National Council exemptions should be given and we believe that where the numerical proportion of the exemptions would be small, the giving of exemptions would not destroy the balance and emphasis of the curriculum, nor obscure the ideal of the education offered in our schools.

Again, there are missions whose educational work is mainly devoted to the education of Christians. Some of these are willing to admit to schools, where the majority of pupils are Christian, a certain proportion of non-Christian pupils without demanding their attendance at the Scripture classes.

RECAPITULATION.

11. To sum up, all educational missionaries agree in believing that they have a definite service to offer to India, a definite contribution to make to her educational system. We offer an education based on religion and permeated with the religious spirit. Our contribution is the practical exemplification of this ideal of education. For us, as Christians, religious education can only be Christian education. On those who do not want such education, we have neither the power nor the wish to press it. But neither should they press us to give secular education, which is as alien to the genius of their own people as it is inconsistent with our own convictions.

Signed on behalf of the Educational Board of the Bombay Representative Council of Missions.

EDWIN JAMES BOMBAY—*Chairman.*

JOHN MACLEAN—*Secretary.*

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