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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

PERHAPS it has never been the ambition of Junagad to be known as an enlightened State. We had heard stories of its wonderful administration in the past, but we thought that twenty years after the dawn of the twentieth century, when India has been firmly set on the road to full self-government and a wonderful awakening has come over the people throughout the length and breadth of the land, mediæval despotism was lifting from the regions of Girnar. But no, and it is possible for a *fauzdar* at Viraval, whose proper business is to protect the people from the rowdyism of Arab sailors, to play tyrant against a community, prohibit its meeting and ill-treat so well-known a public worker as Mr. A. V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society. As he went there only to address a meeting, the *fauzdar* need not have concerned himself about him after prohibiting the meeting. It was utter high-handedness on his part to have compelled Mr. Thakkar to go to his office and to have asked him to leave the town. Such high-handedness affects the reputation of the Political Agent even more than that of the State itself. We trust therefore that he will make a full enquiry into the matter and advise the Durbar suitably. We are sure it will not be his policy to encourage stupid despotism in the States with a view to point out the contrast between British Indian and Native State rule.

THE Bengal Legislative Council has refused to follow the example of the Madras and Bombay Councils in the matter of enfranchising women. We are aware that while the *pardah* does not prevail in Madras and Bombay, it does prevail in Bengal. That however does not materially alter the case, for those who will avail themselves of the franchise even in Madras and Bombay will be com-

paratively few. It is not at present so much a question of political necessity as of principle. Shall sex be a disqualification? Shall persons otherwise qualified be denied the vote because they do not happen to be males? There are many ladies in Bengal, both behind the *pardah* and outside it, who are as gifted and cultured as the men or women of any country in the world. Do the Bengal Councillors think it just or advantageous to society that they should be placed under a political disability? Yet they talk of democracy and the abolition of privileges conferred by birth or accident. At the age of seventy-five Sir Surendranath Banerjea has been able to revise his opinion on this subject. Let us hope that his younger colleagues in the Council will be at least as receptive of new ideas and remove this injustice at the earliest opportunity.

IN a beautifully worded letter to Mr. Gandhi published in *Young India*, Mr. C. F. Andrews very strongly objects to 'lighting bonfires of foreign cloth and telling people it is a religious sin to wear it, destroying in the fire the noble handiwork of one's fellowmen and women, one's brothers and sisters abroad, etc.,' Mr. Gandhi explains that he considers it "a sin to touch foreign cloth" because "love of foreign cloth has brought foreign domination, pauperism and what is worse, shame to many a home." He refers to the so-called untouchable weavers of Gujarat whose loss of occupation has driven many of them to a life of shame and to the weavers of the Punjab who enlisted in the army at the time of the war. But it is not foreign cloth alone that has deprived our weavers and spinners of their livelihood; the Indian mills are equally guilty and in recent years to a greater extent than foreign cloth. If it be a sin to wear foreign cloth it is equally a sin to wear Indian mill cloth; and if one ought to be burnt on moral grounds, why, so should the other too.

BUT what really is sin is the burning of foreign cloth, not the wearing of it, when there is so much poverty and nakedness in the country; the burning of *chaddars* in Calcutta when in response to Sir P. C. Ray's appeal the philanthropists of Bombay are sending bales of cloths to cover the stark nakedness of the famine-stricken women in Khulna and other districts of Bengal; when Mr. Gandhi himself reports the poverty of the women of Bihar to be so great that they told Mrs. Gandhi, "Gandhi asks us to bathe every day, but if we are to remain

naked after washing the piece of cloth that covers our nakedness, we can't do so even for the sake of Gandhi." Clothing is as great a necessity as food itself. Would it not be a heinous sin to burn foreign corn when people in a famine area were dying of hunger?

* * *

THE *Times of India* allows a correspondent (in its issue of Sept. 13th) to treat its readers to a stock-breeder's dissertation on the desirability of preserving the "White Race" intact. Taking this desirability for granted, he concludes the reasonableness of the attempt made in Kenya to squeeze out the Indians. We have no wish to consider here whether the "White Race" is worth preserving, whether it can be preserved at all, or whether the substance of human values depends on physical accidents. But taking "White Race" sentiment as presented, will this or any other exponent of it kindly explain to us why the "Purity" of the great, supreme "White Race" is not endangered in Kenya by the presence of several million Negroes, but is endangered by the presence of 17,000 Indians? One drop of the "Colour" poison will forever destroy the snowy virginity of that super-race, we are told. Can it then be, that whilst unions with Negro gentlemen are unknown, all the fair ones of "White Kenya" invariably fall passionately in love, as soon as they see an Indian? Should the whole of the "White Kenya" trouble be due to nothing but the sex jealousy of the white race?

* * *

THE *Karnataka* of Bangalore which as a bi-weekly was doing yeoman's service to the cause of popular progress in Mysore State has metamorphosed itself into a monthly under the name of the *Indian Review of Reviews*. By this change Mysore is deprived of a provincial paper which enjoyed the respect of its outside contemporaries, but the people of Mysore have to blame themselves if its able editor found it necessary to address a wider public. The journal has started at a level of excellence which should assure its permanence. An article "on Mysore and its Ruler" exhorts the latter to initiate constitutional reforms which will make the administration of the State responsible to the wishes of the people. Responsible government is a very natural aspiration in the subjects of Indian States and if there is one state which can give a lead to the others in this matter it is Mysore. We hope the appeal will bear fruit.

* * *

A Calcutta paper says:—

A very interesting experiment was recently completed by a well-known Calcutta landlord. He took a very intelligent student who was non-cooperating with his school, provided him with a *charka* and later on with a loom and instructed him to produce a pair of *dhoties*. This boy was given free board and lodging and pocket money of six rupees a month. The student is stated to have been earnest and conscientious over his task, but six months elapsed before he was able to present

his employer with a pair of *dhoties*. These were then sent to a dealer for valuation and the reply was that they were worth two rupees eight annas each, and this was only because the demand today is far in excess of the supply. The worker in the meanwhile had had his board and lodging free and thirty-six rupees.

* * *

THE Madras Provincial Conference which recently sat at Tanjore under the presidency of Mr. Yakub Hasan passed a resolution regarding the Moplah outbreak and appointed a committee of seven gentlemen "to proceed forthwith to the affected area and co-operate with the Congress and Khilafat workers in that Province, organise relief for the distressed and take necessary steps to secure peace and non-violence." Only two of them however seem to have gone to the area and they have thought fit to publish a report, not indeed on what they did to fulfil the terms of the Conference resolution, but on the question 'whether it was the blunders of the District Magistrate or the Khilafat and Non-co-operation movements that brought about this fanatic Moplah outbreak.'

* * *

THEY have come to the not very unexpected conclusion that 'the rioting was caused by the ill-judged action of the District authorities' and that 'the national (the Khilafat and Non-co-operation) movement could not have contributed even indirectly or remotely to the causes of the present outbreak.' But the value of their conclusions depends entirely upon the care with which their enquiries were conducted and the kind of evidence that was available to them. They themselves say that they spent not more than five days in the martial law area of which two days were spent in Calicut where no disturbance occurred. They mention having visited only two other places, at only one of which had a disturbance occurred, the other being a railway station. They made enquiries, no doubt, of such men as they came across and on them have based their report. They refer to no sworn statements or sifting of evidence. They ask the readers to simply accept their opinion and not bother about forming their own on evidence supplied. One fails to see why more reliance should be placed on this report than on that of numerous newspaper correspondents.

* * *

THE report mentions a number of instances in which the Khilafat and Congress workers did their best to pacify the mob and resist its fury. In some cases they did it at considerable risk to themselves. Their action certainly proves that they were not a party to the rising, but it is not sufficient to warrant the conclusion that "the Khilafat and Non-co-operation movement could not have contributed even indirectly or remotely to the cause" of the outbreak. The report also naively opines that if no restriction had been placed on Khilafat and non-co-operation activities in the Ernad area where the rawest Moplahs live, no outbreak would have occurred.

curred; of course, on the theory that vigorous Khilafat propaganda is a cure for fanaticism. It will be generally admitted, we guess, that there can be two opinions on this matter. Before the Khilafat organisations of Malabar can be entirely absolved from all complicity, we think it imperative that certain published reports should be proved to be baseless, a few of which are mentioned below.

* * *

A press *communiqué* issued by the Government of Madras on the 22nd Aug. last mentions the formation, two or three months previously, of volunteers who wore a uniform and sometimes a sword. At Tirur parties of them began to pray at the place where the bodies were burnt of the Moplahs who were killed in the outbreak of 1894. Were these Khilafat volunteers?

The same *communiqué* says that at Tanalur near Tirur Moplah pickets assaulted Tiyya toddy drawers and broke their pots and an armed crowd prevented the police from making any arrests. Were Khilafat and Congress workers among the pickets and in the armed crowd?

Some forty prisoners were taken by the military and police near Parapanangadi from among the rebels on the 21st Aug. who are reported to have included 'some of most prominent Khilafat leaders in Ernad.' Is it a fact?

Was Ali Musaliar a Khilafat leader or worker?

Kunhikoya Thangal of Malapuram, a leader rebels, who admitted being present at the Pookattur fight and was recently arrested, was found to possess some pairs of Khilafat uniforms.

A. P. I. telegram dated 7th September says that among the convicted was one Achuthan Nayar, Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Tirur, who was accused of having participated actively in the raid at Tirur and who was awarded two years' rigorous imprisonment.

A telegram of the 9th September says that with regard to the looting of the Manjeri treasury it is said that the treasure was carried away some distance by coolies who were escorted by Khilafat volunteers armed with rifles.

The *West Coast Reformer* of 9th Sept. says in an editorial note:—

We learn from an eyewitness of the events and a resident of the place that the intelligence of the rising at Tiroorangadi was received at Tiroor on Saturday evening and a meeting was immediately convened at the Khilafat office and directions to mobilise the Moplahs of the neighbouring parts by 10 a. m. next day were forthwith sent in writing to the mosques of the localities. The result of this concerted action of the Khilafateers was the assembling of a large body of Mussalmans at Tiroor on the morning of the Sunday following. Speeches are said to have been made condemning the British Government for its policy towards Turkey and the mob under exhortations to plant the ensign of Swaraj and of Khalifat is said to have commenced its work of destruction of the Railway and the public offices.

* * *

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

THOSE who are interested in the practical solution of the problem of universal primary education will derive not a little help from the Report on Primary Education presented to the Bengal Government by their special officer, Mr. Evans E. Biss. Before adverting to the report itself, it would be well to draw the attention of the reader to a provision in the Bengal Primary Education Act of 1919, the like of which we believe is not to be found in any other provincial Act of compulsory education. The Bengal Act does not merely give to the local authorities, as the other Acts do, power to make primary education compulsory, but it further requires such authorities to estimate the existing demand for primary education and the ultimate requirements under the system of compulsion; and it provides that if, after considering this estimate, the Government are satisfied that the resources are adequate, they may order that the local bodies shall supply the necessary school accommodation to meet the existing demand. Thus, under the Act in force in Bengal, the adoption of compulsion is permissive for municipalities, but the school supply is obligatory if Government, on a consideration of the available sources of revenue, decide to enforce the obligation upon them. In no other province have Government taken to themselves the power to compel the provision of school accommodation, staff and equipment, as the Bengal Government have done. In this respect the Bengal Act resembles the English Act of 1870; with this difference that the latter did not merely permit Government to force local bodies to supply the existing educational deficiency in selected areas, but it made the obligation universal on all bodies. Another point of contrast may be noted: the English Act compelled the local authorities to erect schools sufficient to accommodate not only children likely to attend school on the voluntary system, as the Bengal Act does, but all children whatever within certain specified limits of age—whether they desired to avail themselves of the education or not. The avowed object of this provision was to persuade—or in a way to force—local authorities to adopt compulsion, as they would naturally do, having had to provide school places for all children resident in their area.

Judged by this standard, the Bengal Act no doubt appears too mild and requires to be strengthened, but it is certainly in advance of the compulsory Acts of other provinces of India, which are hardly operative in practice; and we venture to think that the Minister of Education in Bengal will find in this provision of the Act a very useful lever wherewith to push on the extension of primary education through out the Presidency. The greatest need of the province in the matter of primary education at the present time is its systematic organisation. The predominant type of lower primary school in Bengal is the one staffed by one teacher who has to teach about 30 children at every stage of progress.

at one time. It is privately managed and receives a grant-in-aid from Government. As many as 93.1 per cent. of the total number of schools are of this variety, only 6.9 per cent. being under public management, whether of Government or local bodies. Naturally, arising mostly out of the financial necessities of the pundits, these schools are unevenly distributed and are anything but efficient. Mr. Biss proposes in his report that these private schools should be replaced, by resort to the Bengal Primary Education Act, by a national system of schools established on a well thought-out plan. The Act empowers municipalities to take over the direct management and control of such private adventure schools. The scheme recommended by Mr. Biss is that school areas comprised in circles of half a mile radius should be mapped out and each one of them provided with a central school large enough to give accommodation to all the children in the locality likely to attend school if education be made free. He suggests that, generally speaking, there should be not more than one school in this area until the number of children exceeds 300, and he advocates concentration because a few large schools are more economical and conduce to greater efficiency than a corresponding number of small schools. On this basis Mr. Biss has estimated the total cost of education for 35 of the bigger municipalities, and has formulated two schemes, one in which the whole building programme is to be undertaken at once and financed out of loans, and the other in which this programme is to be spread over a number of years and met out of current revenues. The more expensive scheme demands from these municipalities Rs. 3,34,165 and the less expensive Rs. 2,48,635 as recurring cost (on the basis of Government paying one-half of the total cost in grants-in-aid), to make free primary education available to all children of from 6 to 11 years of age. The residents of these municipalities are already contributing in rates, fees and donations Rs. 3,00,014, or half a lakh more than the lower figure given above. There could therefore be no objection to the scheme on financial grounds, for the towns will spend under it less than what they are doing at present. The scheme may be examined from another point of view. The cost of the scheme will be, at a flat rate per rate-payer, 2 annas 11 pies per month on the more expensive plan and 2 annas on the less expensive plan in Howrah, where the cost will be the highest. But the average annual fee per pupil in a boys' primary school is Rs. 1-11-0 in Bengal which will be remitted under Mr. Biss's scheme. "A well-to-do parent at the present time pays Re. 1 for one child in the primary department of a high school, and a poor man pays 4 annas a month in a *pathshala* so that both these classes stand to make a profit on the scheme even if only one boy attends the school, while the man who has no children, or who is rich enough to keep his boy on in a socially select school with high fees, can of them all best afford

the cess."

But even so will commissioners of the various municipalities agree by a two-thirds majority, as the Act requires, to levy a cess in order to replace the money now collected in the shape of fees, etc.? Perhaps they will; but we shall not be surprised if they do not. We therefore strongly endorse the view of Mr. Biss that "power should be taken by Government to compel the levy of a cess for this purpose when necessary." It is intended to make the same sort of attempt in respect of the remaining 80 out of the 115 municipalities. The cost of education on a similar scale in rural areas averages, it is calculated, Re. 1-4-0 per annum per holding, or between 1 and 2 annas per month at a flat rate. Mr. Biss finds that in union board areas the cultivators are generally willing to promise contributions of one or two annas a month, which would solve the financial problem if Government pays half the recurring cost of the schemes. Government must decide to pay a larger contribution; at present their share of the total expenditure on primary education is no more than 14.9 per cent., while the Government share in Bombay is as much as 66 per cent. The grant is now being increased in Bombay from one half to two-thirds of the expenditure in municipalities, which will raise the proportion still higher. It is not therefore surprising that Mr. Biss suggests that this proportion should be increased in Bengal. It is hoped that by this means it will be possible to place education within the reach of people within a period of ten years. There is no idea as yet of making primary education compulsory; the report only attempts a solution of the preliminary question which must be faced before compulsion can be introduced—the provision of free education for those who desire to take advantage of it. In fact, the Bengal Act requires the fulfilment of this condition before the compulsory clauses are put in force, and the report makes suggestion as to how this condition can be satisfied. Compulsion need not wait long after the provision of schools in the manner indicated in the report.

THE MEANING OF KHILAFAT.

THE Moplah outrages against the Hindus of Malabar and a general absence of their condemnation by Indian Moslems and the numerous Khilafat organisations in the country are bound to set many Indians, particularly Hindus, athinking about the real meaning of the Khilafat. *Young India* of the 8th instant contains an article on the subject by Mr. Gandhi, but unfortunately it does not give the clear explanation one would expect. In fact we have not seen any authoritative interpretation of the term anywhere. Mr. Gandhi admits that for the Khilafatists "religion may sustain itself by temporal power." But what does "sustain" mean? Does it mean "defend" or does it mean "propagate"? We press for a reply. India is entitled to it. We have had enough Khilafat propaganda, we have had enough

Hindu Law regarding the rights of women in property inherited from men and whereas it is necessary to place the status of woman on a satisfactory basis by clearly defining her rights in such property,

It is enacted as follows:—

1. A Hindu widow shall be entitled to claim her husband's share by a partition of the co-parcenary property even though her husband was a member of an undivided family at the time of his death.

2. The interest of a woman in property inherited from her husband or members of his family shall be the same as in property inherited from her father; provided that any alienation of property inherited by her from her husband or members of his family shall not be valid, unless made with the sanction of a principal Court, of original Civil Jurisdiction for purposes of legal necessity or educational or charitable or such other purposes as are approved by such Court, provided also that the heirs to succeed to such property after her death shall be the heirs of her husband.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

It is found by experience that the Hindu Law relating to the rights of women in property inherited from men is in many respects unequal and uncertain and caused hardships in certain cases. This is a short Bill to clearly define the rights and it is hoped that the difficulties and hardships experienced in practice will be removed and a great deal of litigation avoided.

While women are treated more liberally in the Bombay presidency in many respects, they are not entitled to succeed to their husband's share of joint property if the husband died a member of the joint family without having got his share separated. The first clause is intended to place a widow in Bombay on the same footing as a widow in Bengal. The second clause is intended to remove the anomaly in the law as at present administered which makes a distinction between women who have entered the family of their husbands by marriage and those that have gone into another family, by giving the former only a life interest in property belonging to the husband or members of his family, while the latter are given absolute rights in property inherited from their father or members of his family. The addition of the proviso is intended to safeguard the rights of reversioners while securing to women full liberty to alienate, if they wish, the property inherited by them subject to the condition that the alienation must be for a legal necessity or such other purpose as in these modern days will be regarded as conducive to the general well-being of society. There is on the one hand a feeling among the people that while daughters and sisters enjoy larger rights, the rights of widows are unnecessarily limited; on the other hand it is felt that there should be a wholesome check on the powers of alienation which should not be allowed to be exercised capriciously or under influences which might be brought to bear upon helpless and ignorant women. The sanction of

the Court, while being a sufficient guarantee that the widow is acting *bona fide* and is not actuated by evil motives nor is she playing into the hands of designing persons, will save a good deal of litigation that now takes place after the death of the widow and many years after alienation when either evidence of necessity has disappeared or when opportunity is likely to be taken by designing persons to ruin the alienee or reversioner. It is believed a great deal of hardship will be avoided in this way and Courts and litigants will equally be saved loss of time and money, while the scope of the power when wider will meet the new environments and changed conditions of life and society."

R. R. KALE.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, AUGUST 25.

MR. SASTRI'S MOVEMENTS.

MR. SASTRI is now on his way to Geneva, *via* Paris. Sir John Rees, in the House of Commons in a speech on the position of India at the Imperial Conference, expressed his gratification that so distinguished a representative of the ancient Indian culture came from Madras, his old Province. Like most other people who have had the privilege of coming into intimate contact with Mr. Sastri, Sir John has evidently fallen in love with him. This general feeling of esteem and affection will stand him in good stead when he visits the Dominions of Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, as it is in his programme to do at the end of the year. Whether he will undertake his mission to Fiji will depend upon the success or otherwise of the negotiations that are now proceeding for a settlement of the Kenya problem on the basis of the resolution establishing equality of citizenship passed at the Imperial Conference. At present there are indications that all is not smooth sailing. It is difficult for the Colonial Office to get out of the old rut. It never seems to have contemplated a time when Indians should be admitted to equality of citizenship rights and privileges, and finds it a most awkward proposition how to reconcile hard-dying prejudices with the aspirations and ideals of the new Imperial era. It is certain that the settlement of immigration problems affecting the relations between India and the Crown Colonies and Dependencies must depend upon the results of the present exchange of views proceeding between the India and Colonial Offices. Mr. Montagu is trying, I believe, to drive Imperial sense with a hatchet into the intelligence of the Colonial Office pundits. It is a hard job, and one may hope that the hatchet will not turn in his hand.

KENYAN INDIANS.

There has been quite a mass of evidence forthcoming in support of the Indian claims in Kenya. The *Times* recently published a couple of articles by Sir George Buchanan, an eminent engineer, who has just returned from a professional visit to Kenya, in which he roundly condemned the racial

bitterness on the part of the white settlers. A couple of days ago there appeared another interesting article from the pen of Mr. H. R. Wallis, ex-Chief Secretary of the neighbouring Uganda Protectorate. He remarks:—"Racial bitterness has of late become pronounced in Kenya, due mainly to the influx of South African settlers, with their ingrained antipathy to the coloured business competitor. In Uganda this feeling is absent, as it is there recognised that the country owes much to the Indian trader and agriculturist, and any little difficulties between the two races that have arisen from time to time have been settled by mutual toleration. The Colonial Office, however, for reasons best known to themselves, have caused Lord Milner's decisions affecting Kenya to be applied *mutatis mutandis* to Uganda, thereby introducing racial trouble into a country where it did not exist before." Mr. Wallis then commends the recommendations of the Government of India regarding Kenya, and condemns emphatically the Milner policy of universal compulsory racial segregation. The real remedy, in his opinion, is, in so far as difficulties have arisen on the score of sanitation, to establish for Kenya and Uganda alike an expert sanitary service with the object of educating public opinion upon the special sanitary requirements of life in the tropics. Means for this could easily be provided, he thinks, by a reduction of entirely unnecessary military expenditure locally. He concludes an informative and sympathetic article with the remark that "one cannot fail to be impressed by the strange contrast between Lord Milner's assurance that it has been the avowed principle, and it is the definite intention, of the British authorities to meet out even-handed justice between the different races inhabiting the East African territories, and his questionable decisions. The probability is that Lord Milner was overburdened by work outside the scope of his office, and so, perforce, had to leave the East African question to the Colonial office permanent staff and act on their advice. The permanent staff, as usual, were hampered by lack of local experience. And so it is to be presumed these far-reaching decisions were born and promulgated, as doubtless will be many others of a similar nature, until an expert African Council is instituted by the British Government, the need for which has been long apparent." At any rate, whatever excuses may be made on the score of Lord Milner's external pre-occupations, there is none whatever for Mr. Churchill, who has, in a very real sense, the question of the integrity of the British Empire in his hands to solve. It is interesting, too, to note that Sir Harry Johnston, that veteran East African administrator, has entered the lists as the champion of the Indian cause based upon long, varied, and invaluable services to East Africa itself. He speaks with the authority of an experience extending over thirty years, and it will be difficult for the young white settlers, rejoicing in the strength of ignorance to refute his claims on behalf of the Indian

settlers. Indeed, the opponents of the Indians have nothing better to base themselves upon than a vague pledge of recent date and an appeal to racial prejudice in its worst forms.

INDIA'S FISCAL POLICY.

A few days ago Mr. Montagu received a large deputation representing the different sections of the Lancashire cotton trade and explained to it the views of the Government on the question of the Indian import duties on cotton. He quoted his reply to a previous deputation that having regard to the promises of the Government it was absolutely impossible to interfere with the right of the Government of India to consider the interests of India first.

"If, however, he could only persuade Lancashire that India must be approached on this question like Australia or Canada there was, he felt, a prospect of a settlement. He suggested they should make their appeal, not to the Imperial Parliament, which had transferred its powers in the matter to India, but to the Government and Legislature of India, and to the Fiscal Commission which would decide the future tariff. That Commission was not to be appointed by himself, but by the Government of India, and would consist of men selected in India, with the exception of one economic expert from this country, who would give technical advice. It would not be possible for Lancashire to be represented on that Commission, but it would be urged that the Commission should have before it the views of Lancashire or of any other body of people interested before it came to its decision.

He could himself conceive nothing better calculated to ensure for India a full and free welcome into the partnership of the British Dominions than if she were to take her place with all the rest of the Empire as willing givers of an Imperial preference, but it would be fatal to everything that could be achieved in that direction if there was any suggestion that either the Minister of State or Parliament should dictate such a policy to the Indian people."

THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

WHO but Yugoslavia should make itself prominent in the present-day international anti-Communist scare! Its Minister of the Interior has just been shot by a Communist, so we read; at Spalato there was a riot resulting in a number of killed and wounded; and a recent police drive has resulted in the arrest of 2000 persons suspected of "Communism." On the top of all this the Belgrade Parliament has now passed a resolution declaring the mandates of the Communist deputies null and void: and "Communist Deputy" has been defined, not only as a deputy who actually belongs, but as including anyone who at any previous time formally belonged to the Communist Party! This Yugoslav form of Democracy is one which must surely arouse the envy of the other Powers further west. The Will of the People? Why of course, it must prevail—only, always provided that this Will

forcible conversions to Islam. We demand to know whether the latter is by the leaders of the former considered a legitimate and natural part of Khilafat. If it is, then of course that is the end of Hindu-Moslem friendship, and it is as well that we should know it. If the Sultan of Turkey is to be invested with the power of a great army, in order that by his sword he may propagate Islam, then of course it will be useless to expect any but Moslems of that turn of mind to grow enthusiastic about redressing the wrongs inflicted on the Khalifa by the Sevres Treaty.

We believe, however, too much in the political sanity of the bulk of our Moslem fellow countrymen to think for one moment that, when pressed, any but an obscurantist fraction will define Khilafat so as to include the propagation of their faith. So there remains the other theory of the function of Khilafat viz. for the defence of Islam. What however does that mean? Does it mean that the Sultan of Turkey (or whoever the Khalifa may be) is to be given his big army in order that he may protect his religion in his own country say, in Turkey, or outside of it too? If the latter—which seems the natural explanation—it implies that if, say, a Buddhist mob in China attacks a mosque, a Turkish army should be available to restore order and protect the rights of the Moslems attached to that particular mosque. We put it to Mr. Gandhi that if he was a Chinese, he would hotly resent the interference of a foreign power on such a pretext. Would he then not equally resent the arrival of a Turkish army in Ahmedabad, even if sent to protect Moslem interests set at nought by a Hindu mob there? Let us be quite plain about it, that even if Mr. Gandhi cannot or will not resent such an occurrence, every other Hindu would, and we venture to believe most Indian Moslems too.

The simple fact of the matter is that in a modern State there is no room for any theocratic power such as the Khilafat stands for. In a modern State such as India is to-day and will be even more so to-morrow, the right of every citizen to the free exercise of every religion is one of the fundamentals guaranteed by the State—a guarantee the maintenance of which every citizen *qua* citizen is interested in. If there are outrages committed in Malabar to-day, the participants are being apprehended by the forces of the Crown, by a State which is neutral in religion, which does not care two straws about any religion as such, but which cares very much about the mutilation of persons and destruction of property. The Dorset Regiment was not called in because they are Christians, but because they are Crown forces. The abominable treatment meted out by some of these Moplahs to Hindus is not being punished by an army of Hindus who as Hindus rush to the defence of their co-religionists. If every aggrieved Moslem, instead of whistling for a constable, can call in his Khalifa, every Hindu would certainly be entitled to call in a special Hindu Defence Corps, the Christian his crusading Knights and we suppose now-a-days

there would even have to be a flying squadron of Zionist braves, ready at a moment's notice to go to the succour of any victim of an anti-semitic press attack. Really the idea would be farcical, if it were not so grave. Mr. Gandhi and his Moslem friends really must be made to realize that we are no longer living in the middle ages. Feudal barons no longer keep their own armed guards for swagger and protection, but have to go to common law for their rights. Feudalism has gone; theocracy has gone. We believe it still exists to-day in the one solitary case of Tibet: but India emphatically refuses to take that country for its model.

The only possibility remaining is that Khilafat means the power of Turkey to defend Islam in its own borders. If that is all it means, everybody will accept it: only why should it be called Khilafat, seeing that the right to his religion is the civic right of the citizen in every modern country, and not in Turkey alone? If Mr. Gandhi and his friends had called upon Indians to protest against the carving up of another Asiatic Power, Turkey, to provide a holiday for western patrioteers and profiteers against the breaking of solemn pledges; against the over-reaching of western Imperialism gone mad in its endeavour to swallow the whole East—would not every Indian have been able to join him heartily in this protest, even to-day? But if any Indian so joined him yesterday, believing that Khilafat meant nothing more, he certainly can no longer do so to-day. The practical interpretation which some Moplahs to-day have put on Khilafat has made that no longer possible. No Indian can now afford to go on toying with the Khilafat. If it has any meaning, it is one that is incompatible with any modern State; if it has no meaning—well, no need to preserve so misleading a label. In either case, let us be quite clear that India will have no more of it.

Hindu-Moslem friendship cannot be erected on the basis of making Hindus adopt a Moslem religious tenet such as the Khilafat, any more than on that of making Moslems adopt a Hindu religious tenet such as reverence for the cow. Such friendship can only be brought about if Hindus and Moslems meet, not on the religious but on the civic basis of a common citizenship in a common motherland. It may have seemed a politically clever move to exploit a common hatred by harnessing a religious enthusiasm to it: we know now that the latter is as likely to turn against its ally as against its foe. Let us all realise that it has been the greatest blunder ever made by an Indian statesman to readmit religion into politics under the cry of a Khilafat wrong.

CODIFICATION OF HINDU LAW.

SINCE Dr. Gour mooted the question of the Codification of Hindu Law, there has been a good deal of discussion in the press and outside as to the desirability or otherwise of such a measure. Considering the diversity that prevails on various

matters in Hindu Law in the different provinces of India and having regard to the different schools that prevail in the different Presidencies, a uniform system of Hindu Law which will be equally applicable to all the Provinces it will be difficult to evolve. Looking to the attempt made by Dr. Gour in his book on Hindu Law, I find that codification is more likely to be productive of litigation and hair-splitting than serve any useful purpose in simplifying the machinery that already exists. The main argument adduced in favour of codification is that the present Law is defective in some cases and needs improvement, but for that reason the whole of the Hindu Law need not be reduced to a cut and dried mass of sections. What in my opinion can and should be done to remove certain difficulties and anomalies that confront us in the application of the Law is to undertake piecemeal legislation by introducing Bills for the purpose of effecting certain necessary amendments and improvements. The Legislation besides ought to be Provincial, since every Province has its own peculiar difficulties to tide over and defects to remedy. Let us take for instance the case of Hindu widows who labour under certain disabilities and inequalities which need to be remedied. In the Bombay Presidency a widow of a member of a joint Hindu family has no right to claim her husband's share by partition from his co-parceners. If the husband, when alive, has obtained his share by partition the widow would succeed to it, but if he dies without obtaining such partition she cannot get his share. The position of a widow of an undivided family in Bengal is different. There she is placed in a more favourable position in this respect, for she can obtain her husband's share even though her husband died without obtaining a partition of it. Now, the Bombay Law is far advanced in other respects with regard to the rights of women, in that it admits a large number of females to inherit to males, including widows of predeceased males and sisters who have no place as heirs in the other presidencies. It will thus appear that an amendment enabling a widow to succeed to her husband's share even though he died as an undivided member of the family, may be necessary in Bombay, while unnecessary in Bengal. On the other hand an amendment giving widows of other members of the family as also sisters a right to inherit will be necessary in Bengal or Madras, while unnecessary in Bombay. Take another instance, in Bombay a widow of a separated Hindu can adopt without her husband's permission, while she cannot do so and requires permission of her husband in other provinces. An amendment of the Law in this behalf may therefore be necessary in those provinces while none is called for in this province.

One who has constantly to deal with cases that come up before the Law Courts need not be told that the Hindu Law is in the process of evolution, and while in certain matters public opinion may be in favour of an advance in a

particular direction in one province it may not be so in another. Wholesale codification will thus be not only undesirable but impossible. The proper remedy therefore for our legislators is to bring before the Provincial Legislative Councils small Bills which will remove the unnecessary impediments and effect the necessary improvements. That this is the proper and natural procedure to follow will be apparent from a glance at the past history of Hindu Law. The existence of different Smritis is but an indication of the process of evolution. As different customs and usages came into existence, different rules came to be laid down in accordance with the prevailing sentiments of the people by law-givers. In course of time, however, the process of making new laws came to a standstill. But there was a growth of public opinion which necessitated a change in the laws and this was effected by commentators who tried to put their own gloss upon ancient texts of Smritis and bring the laws into conformity with the prevailing sentiments, and this process has gone to such lengths that the commentaries have come to be looked upon as binding laws, even though they are a considerable advance upon the original Smritis, and this is well illustrated by the fact that a work like the Mitakshara or Dayabhag which is but a commentary on the Smriti of Yajnyavalkya is regarded as the authoritative work on Hindu Law and not the Yajnyavalkya Smriti, the texts of which have fallen into the background. In this state of things what ought to be done to give effect to the prevailing sentiments and public opinion on such questions as are referred to above, is, I think, not to go in search of old texts of Smritis but to make new Smritis, that is, new laws by bringing Bills in our Legislative Councils and passing them into laws. Such laws will necessarily be more valuable, reflecting as they will, the sense not of an individual legislator but of a large representative body of legislators.

As a humble beginning towards achieving this end, I propose shortly to bring forward a Bill, after obtaining the sanction of the Government of India, a draft of which is given below with a view to elicit public opinion upon it. It is only tentatively put forward and might be modified in the light of public criticism which is bound to follow regarding the views embodied therein. I recognize that the matter is not free from difficulties as some may like to effect a much greater advance upon women's rights whilst others would have them curtailed. Personally I would give women absolute rights so as to place them on a footing of equality with men. I should, however, like to know what the general consensus of opinion is. For the present I have contented myself with suggesting a modest change which will effect some improvement in the present state of things. The Bill which I wish to bring in to regulate and define the rights of Hindu women in property inherited from men is given below:—

"Whereas it is expedient to remove certain inequalities and uncertainties that exist in the

coincides with the will of the ruling classes! No doubt it is this special brand of "Democracy" which the world fought the great war, to make it safe for!

IN fact, all does not seem to be well with Yugoslavia, where, according to war-time Nationalist doctrinaires, the millennium was to have commenced, as soon as Serbia irredenta was "liberated" and incorporated in King Peter's Kingdom. But Croatia, Bosnia, Dalmatia and the Slovene country, though Serb ethnologically and linguistically, are culturally and economically poles asunder from Serbia proper, which, weighted down with sundry Macedonian and Montenegrin accretions, has still very much of the Middle Age Balkan State about it. Dalmatia, on the other hand, has had for centuries the stimulus of Italian culture, and Croatia the benefit of German efficiency, with the result that all these provinces, once part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, with their distinctly high and advanced level of civilisation, find it irksome, to say the least of it, to be run by a Belgrade Government, when as a matter of fact it is Croatia, etc. who by merits ought to run Belgrade and its backwoodsmen. More and more, as the Peace settlement works itself out, one is driven to realize that Nationalism in itself is altogether barren and solves nothing. Still less is a solution likely, if brute force is employed to suppress inconvenient opinions, for the nonce conveniently branded "Communism."

Is then all this Old Serb tyranny and reaction simply due to the "wildness" and backwardness of Old Serbs? A recent episode in Yugoslavia's Eastern neighbour, Bulgaria, sheds a flood of light on this question. Bulgaria is a peasant country and ruled by the peasant party under their leader Stambulinsky. Nobody could call them "Reds." But if they are not Communists or Bolsheviks, they certainly are not "Whites" either, i. e. they have no use for imperialism, capitalism or repression. They are "Green," as this tendency has been labelled, which to-day is a great factor to be reckoned with throughout all European countries which are predominantly agricultural. Being "Green" and putting the needs of the small peasant proprietor above the interests of what industrial capitalism there may be, the Bulgarian Diet recently decided—in order to meet the "Reparation" bill—on a levy on capital and the outright confiscation of all war profiteers' fortunes. These legislative measures however, no sooner enacted, have been repealed. Why? Because a "Reparations Commission," one of those sinister groups of foreign Dictators who abound nowadays on the Continent of Europe, has insisted on their repeal! And how is this blatant, intolerable interference in the domestic affairs of another country being justified? On the flimsy pretext that such laws might react unfavourably on the Bulgarian rate of exchange! Any stick presumably is good enough to beat the anti-capitalistic dog with: Ah,

yes—"Self-Determination of People" and "To make the world safe for Democracy!"

HOW we used to enthuse about the Self-Determination of People! Did not our hearts burn within us, when we listened to Mr. Wilson's denunciation of bandying about people as if they were cattle? We thought of Alsace-Lorraine at that time, of Bohemia, of Poland. What about to-day, what about Ireland?—The papers were full of Mr. George's offer to Ireland of a Dominion status. Dail Eireann has rejected Mr. George's offer: have they rejected the offer of a Dominion status? Mr. de Valera is quite clear in his denial. His complaint is precisely that what was labelled "Dominion Status" was in reality not Dominion Status at all. This status can only mean one thing: viz., that a Sovereign State elects to forego some of its sovereign rights, in order to benefit by association with equally sovereign partners in what has very infelicitously been called a British Empire. Membership in the British Empire therefore as a Dominion can only be based on the free consent of the people. If Ireland is to become a Dominion, it must do so because it freely consents to it. But free consent cannot be compelled. Mr. de Valera has therefore put his finger on the *punctum saliens* in asking that first of all it is essential that a common basis of negotiations should be adopted, viz. whether it is to be "Government by consent of the Governed" or England's Interests" (or "safety," if you prefer). It is only on the former basis that Irishmen will be found ready to negotiate. If that goes without saying, it should be remembered on the other hand that this principle will amply safeguard "Ulster." The alternative then stands out nakedly as the self-interest of England: the good old argument of Prussianism which we were taught about a good deal in the war propaganda of only a few short years ago.

IF, then, the basis of "Government by consent of the Governed" is the only possible one, it seems obvious that the first thing to do, and the only thing that will really convince Ireland that Mr. George means "business," is to repeal the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland first of all and then to leave it to Dail Eireann to treat on behalf of the people they represent, about terms of admission to the British Empire as a full-grown member. The common loyalty to one King is being much emphasised in certain quarters, both in season and out of it. We protested in these columns (in our issue of July 14th) against an endeavour that was being made to insinuate that the King in his Belfast speech had launched the new policy of peace with Sinn Fein. Since then the *Times* came out with its preposterous fabrication, in the course of which the King was made to say to his Prime Minister: "I cannot have my people killed in this manner." What is of interest is that His Majesty should have hastened, as a rejoinder to such imputation, to send a special message to

Parliament, denying that any such thing ever took place and affirming in so many words that—

"No such conversations as those which are alleged took place, nor were any such remarks as those which are alleged made by his Majesty. His Majesty also desires it to be made quite clear, as the contrary is suggested in the interview, that in his speech to the Parliament of Northern Ireland he followed the invariable constitutional practice relating to speeches from the Throne in Parliament."

ALL this is a complete disclaimer of the personal influence which people, *plus royalistes que le roi*, try to impute to the Sovereign. Most significant of all that the "Faithful Commons" should have received the Royal Message by breaking into much lusty cheering. English psychology on this point is not very easy to follow; but of one thing this incident is another clear proof, how sensitive, outside of the columns of the *Morning Post*, the English people are on any question of royal encroachments across the narrow constitutional bounds set to the Throne. It is Parliament that called a Dutch Prince and German Prince to be an English King; it is Parliament that defined the succession to the Throne. The Stewarts were Kings of England by the grace of God; the Hanoverians by the authority of Parliament. The descendants of the latter are therefore so still: hence the sensitiveness of Parliament on the prerogatives of the Crown. If Parliament is loyal to the King, it is so, historically and logically, because Parliament has enacted it thus. As a constitutional monarch, His Majesty King George is necessarily under the authority of Parliament. And if he is that in England, he evidently would be under the authority of the Canadian Parliament in Canada, of the Commonwealth in Australia, and so right through all "his" Dominions. Then, would he not be under the authority of a recognised Dail Eireann in Ireland? No, the question of personal union, of loyalty to a common King, really does not enter at all into these negotiations, much as the *Morning Post* readers may wish to brand Irish loyalty to Ireland as the rank rebellion of traitors. What Dail Eireann cannot concede and what there is at the bottom of a lot of verbiage about Irish loyalty to a common King, is simply the calmitous demand for Irish loyalty to an English Parliament.

REUTER'S supply of "news" about the Russian famine bewilders, but hardly informs. First of all one gets more than a dark hint that the famine is due to the craziness of the Bolshevik system and that the utter collapse and chaos, with which Russia is immediately threatened, is brought about by the collapse—at last!—of the Bolshevik Government. This "family" of news represents conditions as black in black; in fact nothing can be too black. Succeeding this kind of news we have had another "family," according to which things in Russia are practically normal, explaining the famine as a mere "stunt" of these diabolically clever Bolsheviks who are trying to get money and

food out of gullible foreigners. According to this news Russia is not to be pitied, but to be feared. Parallel to this, is the news of the help given or intended to be given—great enthusiasm to help a stricken people, irrespective of economic or political creeds, such as was voiced by Mr. Lloyd George at the Supreme Council meeting and as is organised by Dr. Nansen. On the other hand there is the stiffness of the French Quai d'Orsay clique, who demand "sanctions" before they will move, and of the American official "philanthropy" organised under Mr. Hoover, who will make sure that there is to be allowed a good deal of "taking," before the U. S. A. will do any "giving;" and as a result, we get a plaintive demand for a "co-ordination" of all these schemes and schemers.

IT is fortunate that an English Trade Union official, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, who spent July in Russia, has just told the *Manchester Guardian* her firsthand experiences in the Volga famine district. The first point she makes is that the Soviet Government as a matter of fact is neither panic-stricken nor paralyzed, and therefore is not "tottering," but is governing as firmly and as systematically as ever. Next she tells us that the whole military machine has been turned into a famine relief machine, being the most efficient and centralized organization ready at hand for such a purpose. (This probably explains reports of certain parties, said to be indignant at the "trickery" of the Soviet who only wish to feed their Red army at the expense of foreign charity!) So the machinery is there ready and as the Soviet does not believe in Alms but in Justice, they have asked for foreign credits to finance the whole of the famine relief, instead of letting private agencies potter away at partial doles. Miss Wilkinson significantly adds, "If Mr. Hoover and others went in for appointing committees from the outside they would have to be pretty careful." Especially, we would add, if they come in response to appeals such as the one to the American Church from the Russian Patriarch, whose mentality is shown in the concluding phrase "Pray the Lord that His holy ire (sic!) against us may be appeased." Remember that America and France are the two remaining countries who still refuse to have anything to do with the "accursed thing," the Soviet Government. Is it really surprising if under such circumstances the latter are suspicious of any help coming from such quarters and will not countenance little French or American *imperia in imperio* capable of counter-revolutionary moves, though set up under the guise of charitable relief?

A COUPLE of months ago the Paris *Humanité* had a cartoon showing a Polish assassin who was being egged on to attack the figure of an exhausted Russia, by a Frenchman who was made to whisper to his hireling, "Go on, now is the time!" One was inclined at the time to dismiss this as far-fetched. Unfortunately it looks to-day as if the-

infamy of wanting to profit by the Russian famine was not the fever-illusion of embittered partisanship. For what else can it mean that Poland to-day of all times is reported to complain about non-fulfilment of treaty obligations on the part of Russia? If ever a good application was wanted of the wolf in the fable complaining about the lamb's aggressiveness, it surely is to be found in the spectacle of Poland picking a new quarrel with Russia when the latter seems paralyzed as never before. We must say, one's gorge rises at this exhibition of the "chivalry" of two nations who always claim to have a monopoly of it, for nobody is so simple as not to discern behind the hands of the Polish Esau the voice of the French Jacob.

SELECTIONS

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

CONDITIONS AT SASWAD.

THE population of this town, according to the last census taken in March of this year is 4585 (2259 men and 2326 women), and the children of school age at 12½ p. c. should; thus be 575. There are at present four primary schools within the municipal limits of Saswad—two municipal and two mission, the total number of pupils in all these schools being 512. This includes a few children below and beyond the school age, as also some in the upper primary classes. The Municipal Boys' School counts in all its classes 363 pupils of whom 57 belong to the three higher classes; while in the lower classes, children below 6 and above 11 do not probably number more than 50. Thus, this school may be said to have on its rolls 256 boys, for whom the municipality would be bound to provide were it to decide to resort to compulsion. As a matter of fact it seems to provide for the education of almost the whole of the male portion of its school age population; and the introduction of compulsion is a mere formality in this case. Even if we calculate on the basis of 15 p. c. so as to err on the safe side, only about 50 boys appear to be waiting to be brought under compulsion. But in places situated as Saswad is at present, compulsion will be able quickly to achieve, in the case of girls, what instruction on a voluntary basis has been unable to do during all these years, the strenuous efforts of the Municipality in the desired direction notwithstanding. The Municipal Girls' school has 68 pupils, two of whom are in the higher primary class and not more than eight are likely to be above 11. Only 58 girls in this school will, therefore, come within the purview of the Compulsion Act.

The U. F. C. Mission maintains two primary schools, one exclusively for girls and the other, though mainly intended for boys, has a sprinkling of pupils of the other sex. Both these schools have together got no more than 81 children studying in them, of whom 41 may be left out of account as being above the age-limit prescribed by the Act. This allowance for over-age children may at first sight appear excessive; but in view of the fact that a large number of children frequenting these schools are drawn from the untouchable classes, who, on account of their not yet having awakened to the value of education in present day life, put their children to school at a comparatively late age, it will not be found to be an over-estimate. Thus, the number of children of school age at present under instruction in the existing schools would appear to be 354 or in round numbers 355.

No housing difficulty need be anticipated in Saswad, even if it were decided to enforce compulsion immediately. For one thing, the Municipality owns a large building, which, with a few alterations, can be made to suit the requirements of a primary school; and for another, house rents are reported to be particularly cheap in Saswad. This report is borne out by the fact that the Municipality is required to spend only

five rupees per month as rent for the building in which its girls' school is located. House accommodation being available to any extent and what is more, at such low rates, it is obvious the municipality need not sink any part of its not very overflowing exchequer in constructing school houses at any rate in the immediate future.

Let us now consider the question of finance, which is the real stumbling block preventing the municipality from going in for compulsion. Even at the risk of a little digression, the fact deserves to be mentioned to the credit of the Saswad municipality that soon after the passing of the Compulsory Education Act, the question was examined in all its bearings, when the adoption of compulsion was made conditional on the Government coming out with a three-fourths grant. To all intents and purposes, the Government's offer of a two-thirds grant accompanied by the permission to adopt the two-shift system grants all that was then asked for and has considerably facilitated Saswad's progress towards compulsion, as the following calculations will show.

The Municipal budget for 1921-22 provides for an expenditure of Rs. 4,875 on education. The amount of Rs. 1,440 will have to be deducted from this figure as representing the total of salaries of the teachers of the three higher classes, leaving Rs. 3,435 for being spent on the lower primary classes. If the municipality decides upon holding these classes twice a day in the same buildings, it could double the number of children under instruction. But provision having been made for the payment to teachers of the recent increments in their salaries for only six months, it may be necessary to increase this amount by, say, Rs. 265 for the purpose, thus bringing the budget figure for primary education of the lower kind to Rs. 3800. If the Municipality adopts the double-shift system which will enable it to increase the present number of children under instruction by 100 p. c. with only 25 p. c. additional expenditure, its gross expenditure on compulsory education would come up to Rs. 4,750, or in round figures, to Rs. 4,800, which will be shared between the Government and the Municipality in the proportion of 2:1. Thus while, the yearly Government grant for primary education will go up from Rs. 1,900 to Rs. 2,400, the municipal expenditure for the same purpose will come down from Rs. 1,900 to Rs. 1,600, even after the introduction of compulsion, both for boys and girls. It will be seen from the above calculations that there will be an actual saving of Rs. 300 a year to the municipality under this head. It may be that the municipal share of the further increases to be given to teachers next year to bring up their salaries to the minima recommended by the Committee appointed last year will probably come up to that figure. In any case it would be safe to assume that the introduction of compulsion will not entail any additional financial burden on the municipality.

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