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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE following extract from one of the *communiqués* issued by the Shiromani Gurudwar Prabandhak Committee (S. G. P. C.) gives a simple yet touching account of the bravery of the Akalis and the brutal methods followed by the Punjab police in respect of the Gurukabagh affair:—

"At 2 p.m. (on the 5th inst.) the Deputy Commissioner ordered the police to charge the Jatha people (numbering one hundred and two), who were doing nothing but walking on singing shabads. The attack lasted for about 15 minutes and with the blows of lathis all the Sikhs were knocked to the ground. Then they were dragged off the road. After 3 minutes about 30 men who regained consciousness stood up and were again on the road. They were belaboured with lathis until they again became senseless. Some minutes later about 5 men got up, but were thrown to the ground with blows. Jathedar Prithipal Singh stood up six times again and again to receive his more than ordinary share of blows that are given to a Jathedar. It was a piteous sight to see that graceful looking brave young man who could have knocked down four of his opponents with one stroke, reduced to a bleeding mass of flesh and bones. The Deputy Commissioner is also said to have used his stick freely on some men. All was finished by 3-15 p.m. and the wounded were brought to Amritsar in Ambulance Corps.

Can it be said that in thus treating the Akalis the police are using the minimum of force, as required by law? And what monstrous inhumanity is it to thus injure hundreds of these brave men who are admirably keeping their vow of non-violence? A much better policy, at any rate one that would not outrage the public conscience so badly, would be to arrest the Jathas and send them to prison. It is extremely foolish of the Punjab Government to be trying to put down the Akalis by police *ruloom*. If the local Government will not recognise

the seriousness of the situation, it is the duty of H. E. the Viceroy to intervene and save his Government from an odium similar to that incurred on account of the Martial Law administration of 1919.

Robbery by
Police.

THIS severe beating by the Police is not confined to the Jathas of the Akalis but extended to spectators who in many cases appear also to have been robbed. A *communiqué* of the S. G. P. C. gives the following details:

Bhai Tarasingh (B. A., LL. B., Head Master, Khalsa High School, Amritsar, had a permit like some others from the Deputy Commissioner, but still) was not only beaten and thrown into a ditch but his pockets were made lighter by 7 or 8 rupees and his spectacles were taken away from him. The ear-rings of another were torn away from the ear and he was left bleeding. L. Gopaldass B. A. proprietor of a firm in Amritsar, was asked to give up his clothes. On his refusal he was beaten with lathis and his coat and waistcoat which contained Rs 16 in cash were taken off his back. Lala Fateh Chand was deprived of his gold buttons weighing two tolas and Rs. 8 in cash. He was also struck with lathis. The Gurdwara Committee have received a well-authenticated list of several other gentlemen who have been robbed of money, rings, watches, clothes or other articles. It is reported that even though Mr. Beaty was informed of these thefts by several gentlemen, he took no notice.

It is not only the S. G. P. C. that bears witness to these robberies. Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahani, a much respected educationist of the Punjab, who was an eye-witness of the atrocities and robberies committed by the police on the 4th, writes in the *Tribune* of the 9th inst. "The on-lookers were chased away, as I have said before, into the field. A horseman would separate an individual from the crowd. Meanwhile, a policeman would come and take away what he could from the person of the harassed man." He urges the Moderates (of whom he is not one) and the members of the Punjab Legislative Council to form a committee of inquiry without any loss of time to investigate

(1) the stories of terrorism and severe beating in the villages surrounding Gura-ka-Bagh and (2) the stories of robberies by policemen in the near presence of the Superintendent of Police and a Magistrate on the afternoon of the 4th instant.

It is certainly an irony, as Prof. Ruchi Ram says, that while Government is engaged in punishing the Akalis for the *theft* of some wood from the Gurukabagh, some of their own servants should be engaged in robbing the public in broad daylight and in the presence of their superiors. The allegations are so serious and specific that the Govern-

ment should appoint an independent committee of enquiry and not content itself with issuing unconvincing communiques. Regarding the ill-treatment of villagers it is said that even women are not spared and the S. G. P. C. gravely warns Government that though the Akalis are disciplined enough to remain non-violent, the villagers cannot be expected to be so when their women are insulted.

* * *

Indian Emigration. AFTER hearing the deputations from Malaya and Ceylon, we understand, the Standing Committee have recommended certain changes in the draft rules which in due course will be submitted to the Legislature for approval. It appears that methods of emigration to Malaya are in advance of those to Ceylon, but even thus there is still a point in the Malayan Labour Code which calls for immediate excision and that is the provision of fines for purely labour offences. We understand it has hitherto been inoperative in practice, but now that imprisonment has been done away with, the danger is that these fines might be turned into methods of introducing a form of debt-slavery by a back door. No Labour Code can be satisfactory which retains any provision for labour offences as such. If a labourer commits a criminal act, he comes under the Penal Code; if he is merely unsatisfactory the employer's remedy is to dismiss him. Apart from this the future will no doubt reveal a number of possible improvements which will be brought to our notice by the Indian agent to be appointed by our Government. A point of considerable importance arising out of the Malayan labour conditions is this: if the rubber industry of Malaya which is probably the largest plantation industry in the world to-day, is not ruined by the system of free labour and the practice of some fairness and humanity, but flourishes on it, it is impossible to imagine that the sugar industry of Fiji or any other industry should not similarly flourish,—a conclusion which takes the wind out of the contentions usually put forward by these employers.

* * *

The British Element in the I. C. S. IT is evident that in the speech which the Prime Minister made in the House of Commons on August 2, he took his cue from Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, who related a doleful story of the "extraordinary rapidity" with which the services are being Indianised. But how utterly wide of the mark the observations of this friend of the services were will be seen from the following quotation from his speech. "Under an arrangement which has been made," he said,

"it is proposed that in the Indian Civil Service there shall be a 48 per cent. Indianisation. That is to say, one half of the Indian Civil Service will be Indian, and only one half British. At the present rate of progress that will be completed within nine years. Within nine years from to-day, there will be 50 per cent. of the whole of the Indian Civil Service Indian, and only 50 per cent. British."

This is of course quite incorrect; what will as a matter of fact happen is that after nine years the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service will be 50 per cent. (really 48 per cent.) Indian and 50 per cent. British—which is an entirely different thing. How extremely slowly the actual composition of the service will be changed by this additional Indian recruitment will be apparent from a passage in the O'Donnell circular:

The proportion of Indians (including officers holding listed posts) is only 12 per cent. and even with the complete cessation of recruitment a period of some 12 years must elapse before the Indian element can rise to 50 per cent. The abandonment of European recruitment will not therefore mean that the country will, in a short time, be dependent entirely on an indigenous agency. For 15 years at least, if not more, the services will still contain a substantial proportion of Europeans, sufficient perhaps to provide the necessary leavening and to ensure the maintenance, during the transition to entirely Indianised services, of real administrative standards.

If even on an immediate cessation of all European recruitment, there should be for the next fifteen years and more a sufficient British element in the services, surely the increased recruitment of Indians now going on, which after nine years will reach the proportion of 50 per cent., need not appear such a terrifying prospect to any sane person, and yet it was on such materials that the Prime Minister built up his case for the maintenance of the present proportion of the British element though he had to recant what he said later on.

* * *

Amendment of the Mines Act. OUR comments in the leading article of last week, based as they were upon an earlier draft of the Mines Act Amendment Bill, require to be qualified in two respects in the light of the modifications since introduced in the bill. Under the terms of the bill, in its final form, it is proposed to interdict the practice of taking children even below six years of age down the mines, so that the bill now prohibits the entry of all children under thirteen years into the mines. This is a distinct improvement, but in the other respect, where our remarks need qualification, the proposed measure suffers a retrogression. We observed in our last issue that the weekly limitation to be imposed by this bill in the hours of employment of mine workers does not affect labourers in coal-mines to any appreciable degree, except that khalasis or pumpmen, who are in the habit of working for as many as 84 hours in a week, will hereafter not be permitted to work for more than 60 hours. But we now find that the clause limiting the hours of work will not be carried into effect even to this limited extent in collieries, for it seems from the notes on the clauses of the bill, that it is intended to exempt pumpmen from the operation of this clause. It may, therefore, be stated, without any reservation, that the restriction in the hours of labour now introduced for the first time in this country, will not, in practice, benefit colliery labour in any way.

* * *

THE PREMIER'S SPEECH AGAIN.

WHEN we commented last on Mr. Lloyd George's speech of August 2nd in the House of Commons, His Excellency the Viceroy had just informed a deputation, that waited on him to express the resentment and apprehension felt throughout India at the terms of this speech, that he had obtained from the Prime Minister an assurance that the words used by him on that occasion had in no way been meant by him in the sense in which his critics had construed them. In other words and put bluntly, Mr. George was made to eat his words, and apparently was made to do so through the pressure brought to bear upon him by Lord Reading.

Since then the Legislature has met and almost the first business before both Houses was the consideration of resolutions on the Prime Minister's speech; resolutions of which notice had been given before the Viceroy had received the deputation in question. As a consequence, Lord Reading in his opening speech of the Legislative Session on Tuesday of last week, referred again to the reply given him and he reiterated, in order to "remove any shadow of doubt which might still linger in the minds of anyone", the statement "which the Prime Minister recently authorised me to make", viz. that the policy of the 1917 Declaration remains unchanged.

But in the face of this unequivocal, official and solemn pronouncement on the part of the Viceroy, the Council of State last Thursday considered (though in the end it did reject) a Resolution, recommending to the same Viceroy "to convey to the Secretary of State for India and through him to the Government of His Imperial Majesty an expression of the keen sense of apprehension and disappointment created in the public mind in India by the pronouncement of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons regarding the present situation and the political future of this country;" and on the day following the Legislative Assembly by 48 votes to 34, recommended to him "to convey the message from this Assembly to His Majesty's Government, that it views with grave concern the pronouncement made by His Majesty's Prime Minister in the House of Commons on August 2nd, 1922 and it considers that the tenour of the whole speech and the sentiments therein are in conflict with the declarations made by His Majesty and His Majesty's responsible Ministers and that it is calculated to shake the faith of this Assembly and of the people of this country in the good intentions of the British nation both in the matter of attaining Swaraj and of the Indianisation of its services."

Now on the face of it, it seems curious that no attempt should have been made to bring either Resolution up to date by a reference to the Viceroy's weighty assurances. More than that, on the face of it, such omission is an obvious discourtesy—to use no stronger expression—to one of India's

best friends, her present Viceroy. In fact one member, Sir Montagu Webb, did use a stronger expression when he pointed out that to say that the speech was "in conflict with the Declaration of 1917", when the Viceroy had just been authorised to say that it was not, was "to give the lie direct" to the Viceroy. One might have expected that both Houses would take the opportunity of placing on record "the keen sense of apprehension and disappointment created in India by the Premier's speech", as "calculated to shake this country's confidence in the sincerity of the previous declarations of policy": but one would naturally also have expected that the Resolutions would not have stopped there but would have gone on to note—however frigidly—the explanations subsequently conveyed by the Prime Minister to the two Houses through the Viceroy, that his words had not been "intended by him as in any way conflicting with the policy of His Majesty's Government in the matter of attaining ultimate Swaraj and of the Indianisation of the services."

Advisedly we use the word "frigidly": for we cannot, nor can anybody else, we think, imagine that the disavowal by the Prime Minister of the obvious sense of his speech will make anybody enthusiastic about Mr. George's sincerity. Notwithstanding Sir William Vincent's homily on the lack of manners which it would betray to emphasize the little political inconsistencies of the Prime Minister and on the ingratitude of members "to bite the hand which had fed them" with the Reforms: the fact remains that Mr. George is Mr. George and that neither inside the British Parliament nor outside of it is any permanence attributed to any assurance of his beyond that of the piecrust of the proverbial promise. Sir Montagu Webb deprecated attaching importance to what he called "Welsh Poetry"; in the Upper House Mr. Khaparde in a most forceful and witty speech compared Mr. George's words and policies to a shield, about the colour of which contending knights were jousting—a shield white on one side and red on the other. He reminded the House, when considering the Premier's fervour on behalf of the I.C.S. of the fact that in the worship of any one deity, the rest of the 33 crores is conveniently blotted out for the time being; and that when Mr. George on that occasion spoke of a "time without end", such a "forever" was a lover's "forever" and had to be discounted accordingly.

When on the other hand other members tried to explain away the obvious meaning of Mr. George's expressions, they were bound to fail and Sir William Vincent was reduced to such sophistry as to say that, though he had spoken of a "steel-frame", it did not follow that the steel would always be Sheffield rather than Jamshedpur steel—a sophistry at once laid bare by Munshi Iswar Saran who reminded the Hon'ble the Home Member that Mr. Lloyd George had explicitly referred to the British Civil Service, when speaking of the "steelframe, without which the whole Indian

fabrics would collapse." Again, there was the word "experiment" which in itself can be made to mean a truism in the sense that every new venture is an experiment, but which Mr. George was taken to use more obviously on that occasion in the sense in which a rider might use it who was experimenting with a new form of bit or bridle.

All this is perfectly obvious : but what is left to one, if a man who uses an objectionable expression, when called to account, assures one explicitly that nothing objectionable was intended? One may well draw one's own conclusions as to that man's sincerity : but what further satisfaction can one get out of him? He has said, he did not mean it : if that is not enough, why should it be counted enough, if only he said it twice, instead of once ; in the British Legislature instead of in that of India? Mr. Agnihotri's original Resolution contemplated a Prime Minister doing public penance in the House of Commons, confessing his sin and by way of satisfaction granting forthwith "full Dominion Self-Government to this country." It is really difficult, to take such demands seriously. For whoever would believe the possibility of such a performance actually taking place in a world of realities? The unfortunate effect of much of the discussions in the two Houses was as a matter of fact to leave the impression that speakers dealt not with realities, but with phrases. A dead horse was being flogged, because, although it was actually dead ("very dead" Mr. Darcy Lindsay said) some members could not bring themselves to believe in its deadness, and somehow thought that there was still a kick left in it.

If therefore we cannot associate ourselves with the resolutions put forward or with much of the manner of support given to them, we can still less rank ourselves with those whose only alternative was a flat negative of these Resolutions. A tremendous display was made of British susceptibilities which on no account must be offended ; as if, however heartily Mr. George was detested by almost every party in England, they all would unite and turn on the outsider who dared to attack their very own Prime Minister. The I.C.S. was lauded and praised by everybody, almost à la Lloyd George ; but fine words butter no parsnips, whether in London or in Simla, as the members of that service must have discovered long ago. The "trusteeship", the "safe-guarding of minorities," "progress or stampede" and all the rest of these somewhat worn arguments were brought out again and again by the official spokesmen of Government. Of other members opposing the Resolutions point-blank, some exhorted India to be a good girl during her probationary period, so as to deserve another promotion in due course of time.

In contrast to the latter attitude the sarcasm of Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas was refreshing : that he, for one, had no ambition to learn the art of Government from Mr. Lloyd George ; and Sir D. P. Sarvadhikary's criticism that he failed to see any harm in asking the I. C. S. to be Indians, civil

and servants. Munshi Iswar Saran made a strong and equally refreshing appeal to have done with all cant phrases and to acknowledge that the British connection must endure not only because India needs England, but because England needs India ; but that such connection must be based on a frank admission of these facts, and not on high sounding phrases.

Colonel Wedgwood in his reply to the Prime Minister quite rightly took exception to "a Government by assurances and threats." But we hold that on our part it does not reveal much conscious to power allow oneself to be thrown off one's balance by the threats, nor commonsense to refuse to accept the assurances for what they are worth.

The threats of Mr. Lloyd George's speech of August 2nd and his subsequent assurances are undoubtedly irreconcilable. India is not a steel-frame structure, but a living organism, as Sirdar Jogendra Singh remarked ; a chrysalis protected by the tough skin of the British element in the services, both civil and military ; and particularly, military. But such skin is not a steel-frame without which collapse is inevitable ; it is an element to be discarded when no longer needed, that is, when the transformation is complete and the butterfly ready to emerge. That transformation is actually taking place and has been taking place for a long time—and not since 1917 only. That transformation is irresistible : a thousand speeches by a Mr. George cannot retard it, and to pay so much attention to such speeches is only to prove—not that our legislators are tribunes of the people, but that they are not quite certain of their own position and power.

The dignified attitude, we repeat, would have been, to deal both with the threats and with the assurances on their respective intrinsic merits : to treat the threats with the contempt they deserve, but not to refuse to accept the assurances, thus treating Lord Reading as a whipping boy. The true dignity of our Legislature surely demanded to refer to the Premier's speech and to refer to it coldly, scathingly, yet correctly : but having thus referred to it, to dismiss it as unworthy of occupying our time and to pass on to the business of the day, which is, not to get some more promises out of Englishmen, but to make India a better place than they found it.

RECENT CASTE DEVELOPMENT IN THE U. S. A.

IN a recent issue we had occasion to refer to the curious phenomenon of the "pure race cult" manifesting itself in such figments of the brain as "The Teuton" or "The Gael" each of as little real existence as "The Economic Man" beloved of the text books, but for all that most potent idols, wherewith to rouse the passions of people eager to vent their resentment with existing conditions on some scapegoat. In these days of nationalistic extremism, that scapegoat of course must be an

"alien": hence anti-semitism on the Continent of Europe and the Kelt complex of Irishmen. But in this connection one should not forget the Anglo-Saxon cult, the most powerful of all, and nowhere perhaps so powerful just now as in the United States of America. In England this mania was probably at its height during the last years of the Victorian Age, where Anglo-Saxondom had indeed become a religion, with Rudyard Kipling as its high priest. In the United States, lagging behind as usual, the same cult seems only just now to be reaching its zenith. This no doubt is in no small measure due to the war, when a common ideology swayed British and Americans; and still more so to after the war events amongst which the settlement of the Irish question and the moral collapse of France must probably rank as chiefest. Anyhow it is undoubtedly true to-day that what an American means by a 100% American is an American who either is of or pretends to pure "Anglo-Saxon" descent. The New England States, which have of course all along aspired to intellectual leadership, to-day seem to have succeeded in hypnotizing the whole of the North American continent into the belief that what is of value in America is necessarily of Anglo-Saxon heritage.

Without wishing in the least to discount the tremendous influence for good which Boston has exerted upon the American nation as a whole, it is pertinent to remember that the old New England ideals were not based on or inspired by Racism, but by Humanism. These ideals were the Rights of Man, not of Anglo-Saxon; they clamoured for democracy, for the abolition of slavery, for equal opportunities for all citizens. These old ideals thought of the American Nation as something, not to be derived from the past, but to be wrought out of the womb of the future; as something altogether new and wonderful, because to its making there would go the contributions, not of one, but of all human races. America was hailed as The Melting Pot, into which were thrown samples of all humanity, there to be refined and purged of all their impurities, there to be rejuvenated and as a Phoenix to rise out of the ashes of their individual national or racial limitations. Utterly opposed to this line of thought was "The South", of "pure" Colonial birth, the old aristocratic families of vast estates, masters of armies of black slaves. They tenaciously held to the myth of their own racial superiority: naturally, since it would otherwise surely have been intolerable to own potential equals as slaves. The White South never excelled by culture or intelligence or enterprise: they were content to cling to superiority claims which were altogether independent of personal worth or effort. Hitherto these claims have never been universally acknowledged: on the contrary, the necessarily democratic mentality of the nation flatly refused to parley with anything so utterly inconsistent with its very nature.

Acute observers have not lacked who for some time have seen an ominous change steal over

this scene: but the latest news from Harvard University cannot but reveal to all and sundry the new and sinister direction in which things are moving in the States. Let us premise that the world famous University at Cambridge in the State of Massachusetts has hitherto always been acclaimed as the supreme stronghold of American Democracy and, even before the Civil War, had mothered most of the famous champions of equal rights for white and black alike. However high feeling of race prejudice or nationalist extremism might run elsewhere, here anyhow, one felt, was a sanctuary for freedom, a refuge for all oppressed, a nursery of humanism. With these antecedents before one's eyes, what can one say to the report that the President of this very Harvard University, Prof. A. L. Lowell, has refused to sign the Memorial to the Senate, urging the passing of the Anti-Lynching Bill which is to come before it this session? Think of this—that this President of all people should refuse to advocate the right of American citizens, who happen to be black, to protection against white mobs who wish to roast their negro victims alive at the stake, whenever their race frenzy prompts them to do so! We hear a lot about the barbarity of the Bolsheviks who for their alleged or real inhumanity are said to be outside the pale of civilized nations: who, one wonders, has ever outside of America raised a voice against the one nation on earth, where a race is given *carte blanche* to torture fellow citizens of another race, and where that licence to the free exercise of bloodlust is being claimed as one of the essentials of the Commonwealth?

President Lowell in his refusal to sign the memorial did not hide himself behind the rights of the State, which the more hypocritical plead are being curtailed by Federal legislation against lynching: he frankly avowed his concurrence with the policy of the South. And as if to emphasize this, the infamous "Jim Crow" policy has now been officially introduced at Harvard by debarring negroes from the freshmen's dormitories. At Harvard! If such things happen in the green tree—what must be the position elsewhere in America? Before going any further, it will be useful to consider a few statistics which we condense in tabular form, as follows:

	1890.	1918.
Students of Higher Learning	1,56,449	3,75,359
Teachers etc.	7,918	36,522
B. A. passed	7,319	28,052
Value of property owned by		
Colleges	\$ 7,58,18,723	48,92,00,884
Percentage of population		
from 19-23 years old in		
College	3.4 %	4.5 %
Negro students at Harvard	2	40

One could have thought that the development shown by this table would be generally hailed as eminently satisfactory. But such is not the case. On the contrary, there has been going up for some time a cry of "overcrowding" at all the better-

known colleges; and this "overcrowding" is leading on their part to discriminations, directly and professedly based on the tacit assumption that the 100 %, Anglo-Saxon élite of America is entitled to education at all the élite colleges, and that the rest can only be admitted, provided the room is not required by their racial superiors. Out of that premiss has come the policy of frowning on all Roman Catholics, who, as mainly represented by such backward (!) races as Irish, Italian, Croats, Poles, &c., have been excluded as much as possible from the Puritan Colleges of New England, with whose "culture" and *esprit de corps* Roman Catholicism is represented as being altogether incompatible. The Negro of course is an easy target for such tactics, since the allegation of his "low culture" and of lack of brains is taken as axiomatic. And by a really wonderful *tour de force*, Jews are nowadays also being discriminated against, not because of their lack of brains, but because of their excess of brains! Thus, of course, amongst all these contradictory reasons of alien culture, no culture and too much culture, there remains nothing but the naked, hideous fact of Caste. The reputedly highest and best education in the United States is reserved to the so-called Anglo-Saxon, not because of his qualities, but because of his race: that is the one clear conclusion which stands out irresistibly. And having landed themselves in this policy, it becomes clear how "highbrow" New England and the reactionary "South" are driven to join hands in an otherwise unnatural and inexplicable alliance.

The fact remains of course that this Anglo-Saxon caste is as much a fiction as any caste fiction. Human beings will mix and have immemorably mixed and there is even less "purity" of stock in a fictitious "Anglo-Saxon" or "Gael" or "Teuton", as there is in our Indian castes. Of course America is so mixed up racially, that every American can find some Englishman amongst his ancestors: that is obviously a very simple arithmetical problem. And if you allow every American who so wishes, to concentrate on that ancestor and to repudiate all the others, be they 99%, you of course can manufacture your "elite" pretty easily. But indications are not wanting, that America as a whole is becoming restless under this new caste development and that, outside the Atlantic and Southern States, Americans are beginning to refuse to repudiate their true ancestry. And this, throughout the Middle West, is German, Scandinavian, Eastern European and everything else, but "Anglo-Saxon." There is sure to be a revolt against the Yankee high-brows pretty soon when the tyranny of the Anglo-Saxon convention is equally sure to be overturned and the old tradition of democratic and humanistic ideals to be reverted to. As English is not a "pure" language, but one of the most mixed of all modern tongues, and as the very distinction and excellence of English is its genius to take up and feed upon alien elements and to make them its own.

so also does it seem unnatural to look for America's future in the outcasting of Negro, Jew, Hungarian, Irish or Asiatic and the manufacture of a ruling caste of "Anglo-Saxons," rather than in that amalgamation and assimilation which will weld them all into one new and great nation of the future.

The spectacle now before the eyes of the world is of great interest to all and not least to India. We know what caste is and we have done with it. Our own backward classes we not only try no longer to keep out of colleges or services, but we deliberately reserve for them a per centual opportunity in both. For we know that caste is a blight and that, if there is anything good and noble in traditions and *esprits de corps* of forward classes, it will turn to ashes, unless an opportunity is given to all others to participate in them. As Dr. M. Ashby Jones told his countrymen in a recent issue of the Atlanta "Constitution": "We ought to learn the lesson that no race nor nation nor individual can inherit greatness. Only the opportunity to become great can be inherited. All that is truly great in life must be achieved."

One would fain believe that this great and wonderful lesson is being learnt to-day in an India, which is no longer satisfied to have inherited greatness, but strives to achieve it. Perhaps America may profit by our own experience; in any case as far as India is concerned, we here cannot but take warning at the recent caste developments in the West, and at the same time courage at the line we have taken—and mean to pursue.

PROTECTION A STEPPING STONE TO INTERVENTION.

THOSE who have studied the writings of imperialistic writers like Sir William Lee-Warner know that Indian States and Indian Princes are wrongly humiliated by these writers. In spite of agreements and treaties between the British Government and Indian States, which recognise the sovereignty of the States, several imperialistic writers have said that they do not possess sovereignty, that they were nominal sovereigns, that the Princes were British subjects and so on. Only recently an able writer has been writing in the *Leader* of Allahabad a series of articles on Indian States, from an imperialistic point of view in which he has humiliated the States to his heart's content. I am one of those who want to save Indian States and their rulers from further humiliation, because I believe that they are, after all, our own brothers. Mr. Natarajan of the *Indian Social Reformer* holds the same view as myself. He advised the critics of Indian States, at the special session of the Kathiawad Political Conference recently held at Bombay, that Indians should not humiliate Indian Princes, because they were after all Indians, and therefore they were their own brothers.

I would certainly support any constitutional measure, which aims at the prevention of humiliation of those States, at the hands of imperialistic writers, but I cannot support a measure which in the guise of protection, aims at intervention in the internal affairs of the States. The Imperial as well as Local Governments appear to be anxious to give protection to the Indian States by way of introducing sections 124 A I. P. C. in the laws of British India. Certainly I am at a loss to understand their anxiety in the matter. If my information is correct, Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior was against asking for such a protection. Some of the progressive States of Kathiawad have, I am told, informed the Government that they did not want this protection, and that they would take care of themselves. Why then are the Government so anxious to give this protection?

There is a belief current in the political circles of Indian States that this intended protection aims at intervention in the internal administration of these States, as in old days. We are told by Kathiawad newspapers that the Kathiawad Political Agency have already received confidential orders from the Government to intervene even in the affairs of first and second class States. Suppose there is no such intention on the part of the Government, will not the gagging of the public voice lead to outside intervention? As the Indian States do not permit the establishment of newspapers in their own territories, and as they do not allow their subjects the right of free speech, the subjects of the States have to seek the help of newspapers in British India. If the Government of India, as announced by H. E. the Viceroy in his latest speech, gags British Indian press, the result will be that the subjects of Indian States, who are not at present seeking imperial intervention, as they did in old days, will have to seek it again and this means further political weakness of the Indian States. H. E. the Viceroy says that the local Governments have been consulted and the question closely examined. May I ask how and in what manner? The subjects of Indian States number seven crores; have they consulted a single soul amongst them? The fact is that the subjects of Indian States were never consulted in the matter, and the opinions which these subjects have expressed of their own accord, have not received any consideration whatsoever at the hands of the Government. Did not the Kathiawad Political Conference, and the Kathiawad Hitavardhak Sabha, two important political bodies of Kathiawad, opine that such a measure would lead to chaos in the States?

We, the subjects of Indian States, who are always kept in the dark as to what takes place between the Indian Princes and the Government, have reason to believe that local Governments and Political Agents who are generally opposed to the non-intervention policy have found out a new device to intervene in the internal affairs of the Indian States, by means of gagging the Press in British India.

People have to ventilate their grievances somewhere; as the States do not allow their subjects to ventilate them in their own territories by way of free speech and writing, they seek help from the British Indian Press; but when that press would be gagged, they will have to go to the Government for redress of their grievances, which means the re-adoption of the intervention policy, which the Right Hon. Mr. Montagu, as Secretary of State for India, had promised to abandon.

H. E. the Viceroy seems to be very eager to stick to the terms of agreements with the Indian States; may I ask him, whether the creation of an Indian States' army is not against the terms of the agreements? When the agreements with the Indian States were made, it was clearly agreed that the British Government would protect these States, and yet why this new scheme of Indian States' army? It is understood that the first and second class States have to maintain forces of 300 and 100 soldiers respectively, which means annual expenditure of three lakhs to each first class State and of one lakh to each second class State. Take, for instance, Porbandar State. It is one of the first class States of Kathiawad. Its annual income was about 6 lakhs in the year 1896 and 17 lakhs in the year 1918-19. This State has, according to popular report, agreed to maintain 300 soldiers at the annual expense of 3 lakhs of rupees. It has got a population of about 90,000 souls, and its annual expenditure on education is about Rs. 50,000. A State which can spend only this much amount education of on the its subjects, is made to spend 3 lakhs of rupees every year to maintain a so-called army! Is this in accordance with the agreements, I ask H. E. the Viceroy in all humility?

The truth is that whenever necessary the Indian Government have used these States for their own purposes, and have never cared either for the Princes or their people. Let H. E. the Viceroy who dwelt so much on the agreements with the States, first remove the wrongs, which the British Government have done to these States, and then let him think of giving protection against criticism from their own subjects. How the British Indian Government have wronged these States will be seen from the following extract taken from the writings of Col. Todd:—

"That our alliances have this tendency cannot be disputed. By their very nature, they transfer the respect of every class of subjects from their immediate sovereign to the paramount authority and its subordinate agents."

Here is another extract from an English officer:—

"Time was when the sovereignty of native rulers of India was ampler and less fettered than it is to-day. The earliest treaties speak of reciprocal friendship and mutual alliance."

Unless these wrongs are removed, all talk of protection is useless.

It seems to me that this intended protection will be a death-blow to the very existence of Indian States, because by public criticism they have chances to improve their administrations and to make political progress; but by gagging the press, there will be constant intervention from the political department in the internal administration of the States, which means lingering political death. It has been rightly said that this new measure of protection is sure to prove a stepping stone to intervention.

MANSUKHLAL R. MEHTA.

THE BIHAR LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL III. THE MUNICIPAL ACT.

THE Municipal Act, passed in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council on August 23, marks a considerable advance on the present state of things. The Bengal Municipal Act of 1884, which hitherto governed municipal institutions in this province, was recognised on all hands to be hopelessly out of date, and the pre-reform Government had taken up the matter but, in deference to the general wishes, left the decision to the Ministers under the reformed Government. The elective element in municipalities is limited by the 1884 Act to two-thirds of the total number, and as a matter of fact only 479 members out of 817 were elected in 1920-21, and 32 out of 58 municipalities had elected non-official chairman. In this province no provision is made in municipal boards for the appointment of special committees for education and other matters, and consequently few men outside of chairmen and vice-chairmen have a hand in municipal administration; nor is it common to have salaried executive officers as in some other provinces, the executive work being performed mostly by chairmen. It is therefore very important in this province as to whether a municipality has an official or a non-official chairman. It is provided in the new Act that four-fifths of the total number of members of a municipality should be elected, a nominated element being retained to secure the representation of depressed classes, expert advisers, and so forth. The franchise is lowered, the ordinary qualification being the payment of Rs. 1-8-0 in respect of any municipal taxes or fees, and the disqualification is removed from women who are matriculates or who have received education of a similar standard in medicine, etc. Such women, being entitled to vote, will also be entitled to become members or commissioners. It is, however, not likely that Hindu women will avail themselves of this concession in any large numbers. The chairmen of all municipalities will be elected by members from among their number; and officials are specifically debarred from holding office as chairmen. The chairmen being the chief executive officers it was felt undesirable that they should also preside at the meetings of the municipal boards. Consequently it is provided that there should be a

separate President, somewhat of the position of a Speaker, also elected, whose duty would be to regulate the proceedings of municipal meetings. An important question affecting the constitution of municipalities arose in the course of the discussions, viz. whether it was necessary to give special representation to Mahomedans either by way separate communal electorates or reservation of a minimum number of seats in general electorates. The Bihar and Orissa Council is not without its section of extreme advocates of Mahomedan claims, and they asked for special representation of their communities. The Government, however, made a statement showing conclusively that as things stand at present, the Mahomedans are not at all under represented. In 23 municipalities the number of Mahomedan commissioners is actually too large in proportion to the Mahomedan population; in the majority of municipal boards, the Mahomedans have adequate representation; and if there are 8 municipalities which have no Mahomedan commissioners it is due to special reasons; either because the percentage of Mahomedans to the total population is too small (e. g. in Puri where the Mahomedan population is only 1.4 per cent of the whole population), or because there were not sufficient candidates forthcoming. If, however, in any particular case, the Mahomedan community is found to have obtained an inadequate representation on any municipal board, it is taken into account, and the deficiency is made good by nominating some representatives of the community. If, however, a number of seats is reserved for them, then they will not be entitled to nomination at all, as for instance in the United Provinces, where the principle of communal representation has been adopted and therefore nomination has been abandoned. The net result therefore of allotting a certain number of members for the Mahomedan community would be that there would be a decrease, instead of an increase in the number of Mahomedan representatives. The Hon'ble Mr. Fakhr-ud-din and Khan Bahadur Khwaja Mahomad Nur agreed that the Mahomedans had till then experienced no difficulty in securing an adequate representation, and at their instance the amendment asking for special representation was withdrawn.

A good deal has been done in the Act to withdraw the external control exercised till now by the officials over the administration of municipal affairs. At present the Commissioner of the Division has the power to require members of municipalities to make what changes he may deem recently necessary in their budget estimates. Under the new Act the municipalities have been given almost complete control over their budget and the cases in which there will be any interference with the budget are confined to those where municipalities are seriously indebted. Such municipalities will be required to submit their budgets for sanction of the Local Government. This amount of control is thought necessary because otherwise provincial

funds given to the municipalities in the form of loans or grants will be endangered. Under the provisions of the Bengal Act the local Government has the power to require the municipalities to employ certain officials, like engineers or health officers, or sanitary inspectors, but in the new Act the provision has been deleted, it being thought undesirable to give power to Government to insist on the creation of certain appointments. And there are many similar points in the Act too minute to be set out here, in which the external control of Government is removed or relaxed.

An important improvement effected by the new Act consists in the provision allowing municipal boards to form committees on finance, public health, public works, education, hospitals, etc. These committees are also empowered to co-opt outsiders if they think fit. Another important provision in the Act is concerning the constitution of a Local Self-Government Board to advise the Government generally on matters affecting municipal administration. But the duties of the Board are not precisely defined; rather it is left to the Board itself, when it is constituted to determine what functions it will discharge. The Board is to be composed of the Minister of Local Self-Government, Secretary in this Department and fifteen members of the Legislative Council to be elected from among their own members. The power of the municipalities to make bylaws has been largely extended with a view to enabling the administration of their affairs to adapt itself to local conditions, while uniformity is secured by the Local Government by retaining the rule-making power in its own hands. The duties which may be undertaken by municipal boards have also been enlarged. On the whole the Act constitutes a great improvement on the existing Act and is a liberal measure, calculated to make municipal administration efficient and amenable to popular control.

WAYFARER.

REVIEW.

JOSEPH GRUNDY ALEXANDER. BY HORACE G. ALEXANDER. Pp. 214. The Swarthmore Press Ltd., 72, Oxford Street, London.

THE subject of this small biography (written by his son) was not endowed with exceptional intellectual capacity, eloquence or a compelling personality. But he had a deep religious faith in God and man which kept his ideals always clear before his mind and enabled him never to fear, falter or despair but to do more good to suffering humanity than many persons more highly gifted were able to do. As his biographer says: "Most men have not this faith to-day. We build projects of reconstruction and leagues of nations; we speak of social revolution and national autonomy; but when the way to the goal proves very long and arduous a strong temptation arises to seek short cuts by violence, fraud or cajolery, or to relapse into weak compromise and non-committal statesmanship." J. G. Alexander was a staunch Quaker. The best part of his life was spent in working, out of the lime-light, through organisations, for international peace, the suppression of the opium trade between India and China, the abolition of slavery in Africa and the promotion of Christian missionary effort. To Indian readers the interest of the book lies chiefly in the portions dealing with the opium trade.

From 1889 onwards Alexander was Secretary of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade

between India and China and edited its monthly organ, *The Friend of China*. The Society had been formed in 1874 and had carried on a vigorous propaganda for some years. But in 1885 the Chinese Government, which till then was pressing for prohibition, agreed to an arrangement by which it got a larger share in the profits of the opium trade than it had anticipated and gave up the claim for prohibition. This slackened public enthusiasm in England for the anti-opium cause and the Society was in a very poor condition when Alexander became its secretary. Things, however, soon improved. In 1891 Parliament accepted a resolution moved by Sir James Pease declaring as "morally indefensible" the system by which Indian opium revenue was raised and in 1893 Mr. Alfred Webb, (President, Indian National Congress 1894) succeeded in getting a Royal Commission appointed though its terms of reference were not exactly as he wanted them to be. After taking some evidence in England, the Commission came to India in the winter of 1893. H. J. Wilson, a member of the Commission, and Alexander arrived a few days in advance, the latter having been sent by the Society to organise the anti-opium evidence. Their experience of Bombay was far from satisfactory. From many quarters where they expected sympathy they heard that the evils of the opium habit had been greatly exaggerated. Among Indians, especially the Parsis, "whom we have chiefly talked with, there is also a strong disposition to take the cue from the officials in this bureaucratic country, where almost every position to which a man of ability and ambition can aspire is at the disposal of the Government, and those who run counter to its views cut themselves off from most of the best positions." Only the missionaries came up to their expectation. The Commission generally was not welcome. The Government and the Anglo-Indian press looked upon it as a thing thrust on them by English agitators who had no business to meddle in the internal affairs of India. Only such witnesses were chosen as supported the views of Government and every obstacle was placed in the way of others who sought to give evidence. From Patna, Alexander wrote: "Here to-day we have had another 'row'. Mr. Wilson insisted, in private discussion, on reading another protest—this time against the proceedings of certain police officials who have been at Gya within the last week and have been five or six times cross-questioning Prem Chand, the Baptist Missionary there, about the visit Mr. Wilson, Mr. Williams and I paid to that town in November. Only this afternoon we hear of a Government witness who has been kept away because he was found so strongly to sympathise with the ryots". Again, "the same sort of thing was done with the Assam witnesses—those who were likely to make admissions against the Government were kept away". The State of Jaipur did worse than the British Government. It put four anti-opium witnesses in prison and Alexander had to get the Secretary to Bombay Government to telegraph to the Political Agent there to obtain their release. Alexander was one of the earliest and most important witnesses in India. He was stung by the attacks of the *Englishman* but was warmly supported by the Brahmo Samaj. From India the Commission went to the Straits Settlements where the Colonial Government behaved even worse than the Indian Government. "Never surely was a Royal Commission more hoodwinked or bamboozled at every turn". Alexander then went to China to influence the Chinese Government and organise Chinese opinion. The report of the Opium

Commission was published in 1895 and was all in Government of India's favour, Mr. Wilson writing a minority report.

This was no doubt a great blow to the anti-opium cause, but the Society did not lose heart or slacken effort. During the General Election of 1906 the Liberal and Radical candidates had promised their support and they soon redeemed their promise by moving the Parliament to put an end to the opium traffic at an early date. John Morley as Secretary of State declared on behalf of Government, that if China wanted seriously and in good faith to restrict the consumption of the drug, the British Government would co-operate with it even at a sacrifice. The biographer says:—

"The resolution was agreed to without dissent and the happy band of pilgrims.—T. J. Alexander among them—who had fought so long to reach the goal now in sight, linked each other's arms and marched down from the lobby to the street singing the doxology".

Soon after this Alexander visited the Straits and China for a second time, carrying to the victims of the vice the glad tidings of England's readiness to co-operate with them, and was everywhere given most enthusiastic receptions by the Chinese. From 1907 the Government of India began to decrease every year one-tenth of its opium export to China and finally stopped it altogether in 1917. Alexander lived to see the happy fruition of his long labours and died in February 1918,—fortunately just before military lawlessness and civil war revived poppy cultivation in China on a larger scale than ever before.

V. V. S.

INDIAN EXPORT TRADE. By Prof. R. M. Joshi, M. A., LL. B., B. Sc., (Ecom), (London.) Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay. Price. Rs. 3-8 0. Prof. Joshi's monograph on "Indian Export Trade" contains a good analysis of the Indian exports during the 15 years between 1900 and 1914. A student wishing to know what were the main articles in the Indian Export Trade before the war, what was the quantity of each produced in India, how much of that was normally available for international export, what was the position of the exported article in the market and so on, will find ample material in Prof. Joshi's monograph. Useful diagrams and tables of figures have been also inserted in the body of the book. What it however lacks is fresh material without which the interest of the reader is neither roused nor sustained. Prof. Joshi could have easily added at least a chapter summarising the trend of the Indian Export and Import trade during and after the war. Prof. Joshi seems to expect the Indian Export Trade soon to return to its pre-war normal level, a faith certainly more robust than circumstances seem to warrant.

The concluding pages of the book indicate that Prof. Joshi is a Free Trader and an Anti-Preferentialist. His warning against preferential export duties is worthy of notice.

C. S. D.

MISCELLANEA.

THIRD CLASS PASSENGERS.

SPEECH BY MR. N. M. JOSHI, M. L. A.

ON September 7, Mr. N. M. Joshi moved in the Legislative Assembly the following resolution relating to the grievances of railway passengers of the third class:—

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that, in order to improve the travelling facilities that exist for the third class railway passengers, the Railway Board be asked to consider and report upon the feasibility of the following among other suggestions being carried out:—

- (a) The number of third class railway carriages attached to each train, as well as the whole stock of such carriages at the disposal of each Railway administration should be substantially increased in order to reduce over-crowding.
- (b) The seating accommodation in the third class carriages should not be longitudinal, but crosswise; the seats should be widened and greater space should be left between two benches facing each other; strong horizontal planked shelves should be provided over the seats, as in the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway carriages; and carriages should be constructed of the corridor type and all carriages should have through communication.
- (c) Latrine accommodation should be made more spacious, pegs provided in them, and tanks above them kept filled with water.
- (d) The third class waiting rooms should be considerably enlarged, improved and provided with a sufficient number of benches and other amenities.
- (e) The present method of issuing tickets should be improved; and town offices for the sale of tickets should be opened in many more towns.
- (f) A special superintendent or conductor in charge of third class passengers only should travel with each train in the third class. He ought to know the language of the province, should look after the seating accommodation of passengers and should have nothing to do with the collection of fares, etc.
- (g) Time and fare tables should be printed in the vernaculars of the districts in booklets and in sheet form, and the latter kind of tables should be posted at prominent places in the premises of the station.
- (h) A restaurant should be provided in each through train for the use of the third class passengers.
- (i) The third class railway passengers should be allowed to go to the platform at least half an hour before the train arrives."

In moving this resolution Mr. Joshi first told the Assembly how third class passengers were completely neglected although they formed 98 per cent. of the total travelling public and brought in 83 per cent. i. e. 29 crores out of the total 35 crores earned last year by the railways from passenger traffic. He then proceeded to say:—

Sir, the grievances from which the third class passenger suffers are innumerable. Overcrowding, extreme overcrowding, is admitted freely even by Government. Mr. Thomas Robertson, the expert brought out from England to enquire into railway matters, wrote in 1901, "The average number of passengers in a train is greater in India than in any other country in the world." One writer on railway matters has estimated that in England the average number of passengers in a train is 50 while in India it is about 250, or five times greater.

Now let us look at the comforts he receives in the train itself. The seats are proverbially narrow on most of the railway lines, I do not say all. Their width is about 12 to 14 inches and the space between the two rows is about 18 inches. Next, let us consider the question of latrines. Sir Frederick Lely, a retired civilian from the Bombay Presidency, has written in his book, that the railway administration in India took 50 years to learn that a third class passenger feels the need of easing himself while he is in a railway train. Is it very creditable either to the railway administration or to the Government? It was left to Lord Curzon to issue orders asking the railway administration to provide latrines within a certain period and for this the third class passenger must be very thankful to him. Although latrines are generally provided now, they are too small. The average area of a latrine is about 6 square feet. Then, at junction stations, latrines of

first and second class carriages are generally cleaned and washed. The third class latrines are rarely washed during the journey. There are no flushes. There is sometimes a water tap; but the tank feeding it is not always filled with water. Then, Sir, I refer to the sleeping accommodation. It is thought that it is only the first or second class passenger that requires sleep at night. He is provided in India with sleeping accommodation without paying a single farthing for it in addition to the ordinary first or second class fare, which is not found to be the case, at least by me, in any other country in the world. Then, Sir, the waiting rooms are too small and dirty. It is said that the habits of the third class passengers are dirty. Yes, you can excuse your negligent conduct by attributing anything to the habits of the poor third class passenger. Then, the arrangements for the issue of tickets are too bad. Tickets are not issued sufficiently early. The passenger naturally comes in a hurry to catch his train. You can imagine the difficulty in which he is placed then. At junction stations the rule is to keep the booking office open for 24 hours. Victoria Terminus in Bombay is a very important station. How big it is you can imagine. But I can assure you from my personal knowledge that even that office is not kept open for 24 hours for third class people. Then, Sir, take the question of the supply of food. The trains contain a restaurant car to provide the needs of the first or second class passenger. From a study of the last Railway Administration report, I gather that in a train the average number of first class passengers is not greater than 2, and of the second class 5 or 6. The total average of the two classes is thus 7 or 8. For these 7 or 8 people an eight wheeled dining car is attached to the train to supply them with food. What is the average, in a train in India, of 3rd class passengers? 250, as I have said before. Why not give them a restaurant car when you can afford to give one to a very small fraction of this number? Then, Sir, take the uncivil treatment at the hands of the railway staff. That is too well known to need any description by me.

Lastly, I refer to the comparatively high fares. In spite of the innumerable discomforts, the 3rd class railway rates are the highest when you take into consideration the space allotted to him, as compared with that given to a higher class passenger. Since 1916 the total increase in first class fares has been 48 per cent.; while in the case of third class it has been 70 per cent.

Sir, I now make some suggestions to the Government regarding the remedies which I propose. In the first place, the total number of 3rd class vehicles on all railways must be increased. Information on this point was given to me in reply to a question, which will be found on page 2062 of the Legislative Assembly Debates. In 1905 the number of passengers carried was over 248 millions and the number of coaches was 22,143. Thus each vehicle carried on an average 11,163 passengers per annum. In 1915-16, the number of passengers carried rose to over 464 millions, for which the total supply of vehicles should have been nearly 40,000, whereas in fact it was 31,200 only, or a shortage of 8,800. During the decade that I have taken for comparison, namely, 1905 to 1915-16, there was war for one year only and very little effect it had produced in that year. Then, why this deficit of 8,800 in the coaching vehicles? Let us see what happened during this decade for the supply of wagons for goods traffic. As regards this traffic, the total tonnage hauled in 1905 was close upon 55 millions; the number of wagons was 121,135, an average of 435 tons hauled per wagon per annum. In 1915-16 the total tonnage rose to 82½ millions, which at the average of 454 tons per wagon gives a requirement of 181,700 wagons against the actual supply of 191,800. This clearly shows that the railways were overstocked in 1915-16 i. e. practically before the war, to the extent of 16,400 wagons, while the railways were short of coaching vehicles to the extent of 8,800. Am I not right then in saying that the cries of the merchants and the trader are heard and attended to more easily and effectively than the cries of the 3rd class passenger?

I do not wish to dig into the past, but to look into the future. In order to make good this deficiency, what do Gov-

ernment propose to do? They propose to provide 4,500 coaching vehicles in the next 5 years. That is their programme. Sir, I want the members of this House to remember one other figure, namely, the figure of the normal growth in the number of the travelling public. During the two decades ending 1915-16 the growth was 203 % or over 10 % per annum. For a normal increase of passenger traffic, which is 10 per cent, annually no less than 3000 vehicles are required, or for the next 5 years a total of 15,000. But Government instead of providing the 15,000 needed for this purpose, and to meet the pre-war shortage of 8,800 or a total requirement of 23,800, are providing a total of only 4,500. Even if you fully provide for the normal growth of traffic you cannot check the present overcrowding. What is then the provision made for relieving the overcrowding? Government are not even providing for the full demand of the 3rd class passengers for the normal increase. They require annually nearly 4,800 new coaching vehicles, while Government are providing annually only 900, or less than one-fifth. With this very limited provision the overcrowding will not only be not reduced, but will seriously increase.

I want, Sir, Government to attach more 3rd class coaches to each train. On the G. I. P. Railway the average number of 1st class passengers in a train is 4, while the average number of carriages reduced to four-wheeled vehicles attached to each train is 2, that is one carriage for every 2 first class passengers. What is the accommodation for 3rd class passengers? There are on an average 8 carriages for 224 passengers on that railway. This shows that the proportion of space given to the 3rd and 1st class passenger is 1 to 14. Let us see what the proportion of fares is. That proportion does not exceed 1 to 6. Thus while the space allotted to a first class passenger is 14 times greater, the fare charged to him is only six times as much. Besides this space question, I need not mention additional conveniences the 1st class passenger gets. He gets fans, cushions and many other amenities. But what is the effect of the earnings from the 1st class passenger traffic on the balance-sheet of the railway? For years together the first class traffic has never paid its way. The Railways are having losses year after year on the first class traffic. There may be a solitary half year when 1st class traffic has shown a little profit, but the average annual loss made on 1st class traffic during the decade ending 1919-20 has been 8¼ lakhs, while in the case of the 3rd class traffic Government made every year in that decade an average profit of over one crore of rupees. Thus the loss which the 1st class passenger inflicts upon the railway administration is, to a great extent, made good by the higher rates charged to the 3rd class passenger. I do not know whether the 1st class passenger would like to live upon this charity from the poor 3rd class passenger. If I am wrong, I am open to correction.

Sir, I do not want to spend more time over the question of seats, beyond stating that the seats should be widened, so that a man may be comfortably seated and that the space between two rows of seats should also be widened to allow free movement from one end of the carriage to the other. Another point which I wish to emphasize is that without much loss of time every railway must be made to provide some sort of sleeping accommodation for 3rd class passengers, as we find on the B. B. & C. I. and O and R. Railways. If Government is making profit out of 3rd class passengers, why not provide them with some amenities such as sleeping bunks, which are their due?

Sir, It may be asked whence we are to find the money for all these improvements. In the first place, the 3rd class passenger has been paying a handsome profit of one crore of rupees annually. Then, I may also make the same suggestion which my late lamented friend Sir Vithaldas Thackersey made that the money we spend on the payment of annuities amounting to about five crores this year must not be debited to the revenue account but to the capital account. If we do that, naturally the annual available profit on railways will be larger by five crores. . . .

His Excellency the Viceroy exhorted us in his opening speech this session to go to the people, move amongst them and educate the electorate; but I may tell the Government that if the non-co-operator has any very enthusiastic missionary on his side, it is the ill-treated third class railway passenger. If you will not remove these grievances, other methods to nullify the activities of the non-co-operator, I am afraid, will not succeed.

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