

# Servant of India

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Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. VII, No. 48.]

POONA—THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1925.

 { INDIA SUBSN. Rs. 6.  
 FOREIGN 10 s.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ...	565
ARTICLES :—	
The Congress ...	567
Matters Malayan ...	568
America in the Philippines. By J. B. Sen	570
Implications of Brotherhood—III. By Dr. H. C. E. Zaoharias	571
MISCELLANEA :—	
The National Liberal Federation—Presidential Address ...	373

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Liberal Federation had a quite successful session at Lucknow, though it is a pity that ill health prevented some of the prominent leaders from attending it. Mr. A. P. Sen as Chairman of the Reception Committee and Dr. R. P. Paranjpye as President, each contributed a notable address, dealing with various questions of importance. Both of them began by paying respectful tribute to the memory of Mr. Montagu, whose name was not even mentioned in the Congress. There was no doubt some difference in tone and emphasis between their addresses but essentially there was agreement. Dr. Paranjpye, for instance, was characteristically outspoken in his criticism of non-co-operation and Swarajist policy, and saw little hope of the Liberals joining the Congress so long as non-co-operation or obstruction pure and simple dominated the Congress. He had no faith in make-believe or paper unity. Mr. Sen said the same thing in a milder tone when he said, "It is, however, frankly recognised that unless we are agreed on the vital question of the Congress creed and of the Congress franchise and a few other matters of principle, it is not practicable to merge all parties into one. What is possible at the present moment is unity of demand from different organisations." That unfortunately is the case. It has been rendered decidedly so by the Congress formally adopting the spinning franchise. The Liberals, unlike Congressmen, however, devoted considerable time in the subjects committee for the examination of the question of their rejoining the Congress. If they are unable to do so, it is certainly not due to want of earnestness or to difficulties created by themselves. It is due to Congress keeping its door shut and even bolting it. And they are giving the matter still further consideration.

WITH his experience as Minister and additional knowledge gained as member of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, special force attaches to Dr. Paranjpye's plea for the immediate appointment of a Royal Commission for putting an end to diarchy and carrying the country to a further stage of constitutional development. He has indicated the principal points of what should be the united demand of India before such a commission. The new Government of India Act, he points out, "should be of a comprehensive and permanent nature, not requiring amendment from time to time in any essential particulars and making in itself provision for autonomous advance." The present hand to mouth constitution must be given up, for as he says, "India should be free to achieve her own progress unhampered by perpetual agitation for changes in its constitution which tends to cloud all other issues." What he has said regarding the Army, that recruitment to commissioned ranks should be 25% to start with and rise by 3% every year so that at the end of 25 years all recruits shall be Indians, that the territorial force should be improved in quality and increased in numbers, and that in the composition of non-regular forces there should be no racial distinctions, will undoubtedly meet with the country's approval. And we believe that very soon his idea of giving compulsory military training to all University students medically fit for it will also be accepted by all the Universities. His contribution to the solution of the communal question is specially valuable, and we have much pleasure in drawing the reader's attention to the passages extracted on another page from his address. The backward communities will doubtless realise what a warm friend they have in Dr. Paranjpye. There is much force in his plea for the compulsory registration of conversions, which certainly affects the civil status of a person, and it is bound to remove all those occasions of fanatical excitement which are now created by the evangelistic activities of one religion or other.

WE are glad that Dr. Paranjpye has devoted some space in his address to the question of Indian States. He recognises that this question cannot any longer be neglected as it has been done all these years on account of its difficulty, but that it has got to be faced and a solution found. The problems relating to Indian States and claiming our attention are of two kinds: these concerned with the improvement of the

The Problem of Indian States.

political status of the subjects of Indian States, and those dealing with all-India matters such as customs, defence &c, which affect Indian States as much as they affect British India. So far as the former are concerned our sympathies are naturally with the people of the States, whose political aspirations are roused by the advancement of British Indian subjects towards self-government. Dr. Paranjpye is clear that the States should move in the direction of constitutional advance *pari passu* with British India. This will no doubt mean curtailment of the autocratic powers at present enjoyed by the Chiefs, but we do not believe there is a single high-minded Chief who does not wish that his subjects should enjoy at least the same political status as their brethren do in the neighbouring British provinces under an alien rule. Our Chiefs should be content to occupy the honoured position of constitutional Sovereigns which much mightier potentates in Europe are content to be. A way will also have to be found of associating the representatives of Indian States with the Indian Legislature and giving them a voice in the settlement of questions which affect them as much as others. The subject has not been sufficiently discussed for ideas to crystallise, but Dr. Paranjpye thinks a federation of British provinces and States would have to be formed. Here we may note in passing that the only reference to Indian States which occurs in Mr. Gandhi's address is far from satisfactory. He would give "full guarantee of status to the Indian Chiefs without any hindrance from the Central Government, subject to the right of asylum to subjects of these States who, not being offenders against the Penal Code, may seek it in self-governing India." If this were done the position of our brethren in Indian States would be much worse than that of Indians abroad, for while the latter are promised help from Swaraj, the former are not!

Indian States  
Conference.

AMONG the numerous conferences that were held at Belgaum, we are glad to note, there was one relating to Indian States, though it did not by any means receive the attention that was its due. Mr. N. C. Kelkar who presided over it regretted the general indifference of the Congress towards matters concerning the States and criticised the passage in Mr. Gandhi's address (quoted above) as one-sided. He rightly pointed out that while sympathy and guidance may be looked for from the popular leaders of British India, the people of the States should put forth greater effort and be more ready to make sacrifices for their political advance in their respective States. He advised them to convene their conferences in their own States and not in British India, but confine their discussions to domestic matters so as to avoid complications with the suzerain power and other States. The conference adopted two resolutions, one of which appealed to the Princes to establish in their territories representative institutions with a view to inaugurate responsible government, and the other appealed to the Congress and other political bodies in British India to extend their sympathy and

give a proper lead to the people of the States in their efforts to gain political freedom.

Boer Justice.

THE terrible case of a little African girl-servant, beaten and left by her Boer master to die in a black hole with rats gnawing off her fingers—a case for which South African law has "punished" the perpetrator by six months' imprisonment—has been very strongly taken up by the Bishops of Pretoria and Johannesburg; and the (Anglican) Synod of Pretoria at its last session uttered a weighty protest against the habitual miscarriage of justice in cases where African and White interests are in conflict. The two Bishops mentioned have since, together with Protestant representatives (including, one is happy to note, two ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church) called in deputation on General Hertzog, who, the (London) *Church Times* correspondent of October 22nd reports, "received them most disappointingly." The important *Ous Vaderland* (the Nationalist paper of Pretoria) indeed has called for the deportation of Fr. Rand, the courageous English missionary, whose *expose* of the monstrous affair formed the start for the present agitation! And these Boer Nationalists are the people who dare to ask at this very moment for the transfer of such Protectorates as Swaziland, Bechuanaland &c., from the Imperial Colonial Office to their own tender mercies!

Female Labour in  
India.

IN a recent article the *Englishman* of Calcutta, supporting Mr. W. C. Currie's remark that in India there is over-legislation in labour matters, says that as East is East and West is West, the Western labour legislations are inapplicable in India. Concerning Mr. Joshi's Maternity Benefit Bill the paper observes that women labourers in tea gardens have been enjoying for several years the privileges contemplated in the Bill. This if true is certainly praiseworthy. But there is no reason to offer opposition to the Bill on this ground. For the Bill when it is enacted will do no more than standardize and make universal a benefit now rendered in a perfunctory manner. It will certainly transform what has so far been voluntary benevolence into compulsory duty, but this can not possibly be put forth as a serious objection, especially when such benevolence is claimed to be common among the planters. As to the employment of women in mines, it is to be remembered, as Mr. Simpson, the Chief Inspector of Mines in India, points out in his annual report for 1924, that nowhere in the world except in India are women employed in underground work in mines. It is bad enough that they are so employed, it is far worse to refuse them organized help in the most critical crises of their life, involving themselves and their children. Cessation from work for six weeks before and after childbirth is the major aim of maternity benefit legislation. This is necessary and not a 'holiday' benefit. That the mothers are well looked after during this period is the other aim of such legislation. The difficulty in ensuring the latter aim does not render the former unnecessary. The question whether the husbands can afford to maintain their wives during confinement is irrelevant. Nothing will prevent the women from working during the period provided for in the Bill, and thus endangering their own lives and their children's, so effectively as giving them a maternity benefit. It is not enough to say that the employers are doing their best. It is necessary to define and enforce it; and the Bill attempts to do no more.

## THE CONGRESS.

THE Belgaum session of the Congress has been described by its votaries as a momentous one. A perusal of the proceedings, however, does not show that to be the case in any sense. The claim does not seem to be different from that made for every session of institutions which meet annually, intended primarily to comfort those who put themselves to great trouble and expense in order to attend any particular session. What importance the Belgaum Congress possessed was derived by its being presided over by Mr. Gandhi and by its ratifying the pact which Mr. Gandhi had entered into with Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Das. These facts, however, do not invest the session with any special degree of importance. Mr. Gandhi's position in the Congress is even now unrivalled, though decidedly weaker than what it was three years ago. If he did not preside over an earlier session, it was only because he did not choose to do so; whoever else was President he was the dominant personality—the official 'director' when non-co-operation was in vogue. Therefore the fact of his presiding over a particular session is not of any great importance. Nor was there any real doubt about the ratification of the pact. Though small sections among no-changers and Swarajists rebelled against it, sufficient loyalty there was known to be among the mass of members to their respective leaders. It might have been a momentous session if it had been a united Congress, including not only no-changers and Swarajists who were in it last year but also Liberals and all others who are working for the attainment of self-government by India; or even if it had paved the way for their coming in. It has done nothing of the kind. On the other hand, it has definitely shut the door against them by adopting the fantastic spinning franchise, by refusing to go back on non-co-operation in spite of its having failed thoroughly and by appointing constitution-wrecking Swarajists as the sole agents of the Congress in the legislatures. Mrs. Besant, with some of her devoted followers, and a few progressive Non-Brahmans of Madras did no doubt join this session. But Mrs. Besant has made position quite clear. She has joined the Congress only with a view to get its support for the bill which the National Convention has just drawn up for being presented to Parliament in the name of India. She approves neither the policy of no-changers nor of Swarajists, much less the present combination of both. While we thoroughly appreciate her spirit of adventure and optimism, we are not hopeful of her finding the Congress atmosphere congenial. The first thing she did on going to Belgaum was to protest against the spinning franchise as shutting the Congress door against other parties in the country which are working for Swaraj, and to hope that it would somehow be modified in the coming year. Mr. Gandhi's reply was courteous but non-committal, and for our part we do not believe that Messrs. Nehru and Das would agree to the unsettling of the pact within the next twelve months. Nor do we expect, after this

Congress, much to result from the committee appointed by the unity conference at Bombay. Even if that committee should recommend the going back to the rational ways of the pre-non-co-operation days, we do not see either in the no-changers or the Swarajists any preparedness to go in that direction. Meanwhile one cannot help noticing the fact that the draft bill prepared by the National Convention was not so much as mentioned in the discussions of the subjects committee, let alone the open Congress. Progressive Non-Brahmans like Mr. C. R. Reddi, who are neither non-co-operators in any sense nor obstructionists and have now joined the Congress, are not likely to find the Congress more congenial than Mrs. Besant, but their connection with it is only nominal and not calculated to influence much either themselves or the real Congressmen. These additions therefore are of little consequence.

Unity of a wider kind being thus neither achieved nor promoted, one may consider to what extent unity within the Congress has been secured. The pact has been ratified. That is to say, the no-changers and the Swarajists have agreed to work their own programmes from within the Congress. They will not openly denounce each other, they will not try to oust each other from the Congress executive or from Congress membership, as they did some time ago. Thus a kind of negative unity may be admitted to have been promoted. But is it worth much? From the speeches of Mr. Gandhi and of the leaders of the Swarajists it is clear that the no-changers have as little faith in Councils as the Swarajists have in the potency of the spinning wheel. On account of his association with the orthodox non-co-operating no-changer, the Swarajist has to pretend that he is only carrying on non-co-operation in the Councils. He has to be a wrecker and deprive the country not only of the benefit it could derive from his accepting office but also of the good that others might do if he only allowed it: he has thus to be a conscience-stricken dog-in-the-manger. Again, looking upon spinning as an absurd waste of time, he has either to do it with disgust or with equal disgust purchase a certain quantity of yarn from the market and solemnly send it on to Congress headquarters as an offering that will bring Swaraj near by some mystic power. Similarly the conscientious no-changer experiences difficulty in fathering responsibility for the actions of the Swarajist in the Councils and outside. Far better would it be for the moral well-being of the Congress that it attempted no compromise in principles or actions based on them.

Mr. Gandhi's address had the usual qualities associated with all his utterances—brevity, directness and lucidity. But otherwise there was nothing particularly remarkable about it. The major part of it was devoted to the spinning wheel. He had "no better or other message for the nation" It is not a new message from him. He delivered it four years ago. During these years the Congress has done its best to carry it to every house and popularise it. Though now spinning has been made the Congress franchise, it is not likely to attain greater vogue

than it did in the hay-day of non-co-operation, if so much. His faith in it however is undiminished in spite of the experience of these four years. He said, "I should be a useless guide for the Congress if my views about the spinning wheel are not acceptable to you. Indeed, you would be justified in regarding me, as some friends do, as a hindrance to national progress, if you consider me to be wrong in my exposition underlying the spinning wheel." Though for the coming year the Congress has retained his leadership, the conviction about his being wrong in the exposition of the spinning wheel is bound to come home more and more to Congressmen. His claim that every one of the boycotts, in spite of their admitted failures, 'had undoubtedly the effect of diminishing the prestige of the particular institution boycotted,' is unintelligible to us in the light of his own statements made a little later that non-co-operating lawyers are regretting having given up practice even temporarily and that 'Government schools and colleges can hardly cope with the demand for admission.' The loss of prestige is clearly elsewhere than with these institutions. Similarly unintelligible is the claim that 'non-violent non-co-operation as a means of attaining political freedom has come to stay and that even its partial success has brought us nearer Swaraj.' He exhorted the Congress to invite the Liberals and others to rejoin it and to make it easy for them to come in, but his insistence on the spinning franchise and other items of the pact did not certainly make their re-entry easier. He called the Lancashire trade 'immoral,' because in his opinion 'it was raised and sustained on the ruin of millions of India's peasants.' The effect of Indian mills on India's peasants is not different and to call the Indian mill industry immoral would be fantastic in the extreme. Speaking of his faith at the end of his address, he says, "I must fight unto death the unholy attempt to impose British methods and British institutions on India." Does he mean that under Swaraj there should be no parliamentary institutions or a continuance of the present methods of administration? In his suggestions to the committee appointed by the conference at Bombay, however, he is not guided by this peculiar faith of his and speaks of a franchise—though characteristically he would make it manual labour—competitive examinations, the Privy Council and other courts—all British methods and British institutions. He has also made it clear that the Swaraj for which the Congress should strive is to be Swaraj within the Empire, though he "would not hesitate to sever all connection, if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault." That is also the position of other political parties in the country, but we are really glad that Mr. Gandhi has given the idea a certain amount of prominence by giving it a place in his address.

Of the resolutions, that to which the greatest attention was given was the one which ratified the pact. The most important problem before the country now is the adjustment of communal differences. Towards that end the contribution of the Belgaum

session was less notable than that of the Cocanada session, the reason being that it forms one of the important subjects for the consideration of the committee appointed by the unity conference. To Indians overseas the Congress gave again cold comfort, asking them to wait till India attained Swaraj, when all their grievances would be set right, though how it is going to be done is not clear. Then there was a resolution condemning opium revenue. In his presidential address Mr. Gandhi expressed the idea that revenue from intoxicants should be sacrificed even at the expense of education, if necessary. If the Swarajists were free and willing to accept responsibility for administration, this resolution would have acquired great importance. There were no other resolutions of general interest. Since non-co-operation is only suspended and not abandoned, the Congress is still boycotting resolutions which in the nature of things have to be addressed to Government. There fore for the consideration of questions of administrative and national importance such as recruitment to the Army and the civil services, further constitutional advance &c., one has to turn to other gatherings like the Liberal Federation.

#### MATTERS MALAYAN.

DURING the last week of November there was held in Kuala Lumpur the budget session of the Federal Council of the Federated Malay States, an annual event of growing importance. The subjects treated were of a very varied nature, but by no means all of only local interest, and first of all we would mention the question of opium.

*Opium.* In this connection one of the Chinese members of Council, Mr. Choo Kiapeng, advised caution in respect of the revenue estimated from opium, since "they could not expect that to be a permanent source of revenue. They had pledged themselves to reduce and eventually to abolish the use of opium in all British Colonies and, on behalf of his community, he unhesitatingly thanked the Government for what had been done for them here." The High Commissioner in his opening speech had referred to a remarkable opium-cure experiment carried on in the District Hospital, Kuala Lumpur. The matter seems to us of sufficient interest for us to quote in full the report of the doctor in charge:

"Up to September 28th, 980 Chinese have been admitted of these 755 have completed the cure and remained in hospital 21 days. Six were discharged for bad conduct. Two died, one from pneumonia and one from Haemorrhage from a perforating gastric ulcer. Two hundred and seventeen absconded and of these 105 left the hospital within seven days and abandoned the treatment. 56 left between eight and fourteen days and 56 between 15 and 20 days. The latter 112 cases went through the atropine treatment and left because they could not afford to stay longer, or were afraid of losing their employment. Most of these had lost the craving for opium. I am of opinion that a large majority of those, who remain in hospital for the complete twenty-one days, are actually cured of the opium habit. Those who have not the necessary strength of mind or capacity for physical endurance, abscond from hospital.

(2) The Chinese are a shrewd sensible people and there is no doubt but that, if a majority of these undergoing the

treatment were not cured, the number of those applying for admission would rapidly decrease. As it is, rush for tickets is so great that over 100 Chinese come to the issuing office every day in the hope of getting one of the few vacancies in the wards. There is an average of about ten vacancies daily and the Secretary of the Anti-opium Society and his clerks have to make those present draw for tickets, otherwise they would be mobbed.

(3) It is common for a man who has been through the treatment to bring several of his friends to apply for admission. He would not be likely to do this unless he himself had been enabled to give up the habit.

(4) We are getting very few decrepits among the admissions and the class of patients tends to improve. It is conceivable that a vagrant might undergo the discomfort of the treatment in order to be well fed for three weeks, but this does not apply to the rikisha pullers, healthy coolies, clerks and small shop-keepers, who daily compete for vacancies. The fact that an increasing number of hospital attendants, who provide substitutes to carry on their work, are being admitted is a strong argument in favour of the success of the treatment.

(5) Well educated Chinese, many of whom speak English, have been admitted and freely discuss their feelings, craving, etc, with me; one cannot fail to be impressed by the pluck and resolution of the great majority of the patients. It is not reasonable to compare Europeans with Chinese when discussing possible cures of the opium habit.

It would be impossible to control half a dozen Europeans who were secretly taking morphine, let alone expect to cure them by the method now employed to break the Chinese of the opium habit; whereas the 150 or so Chinese at the District Hospital behave themselves as well as ordinary individuals and make a very genuine effort to co-operate in their cure.

I know of one instance of a Chinese Towkay with whom I was on terms of intimate friendship, who was a heavy opium smoker, but who could leave it off at will for any length of time. He was inconvenienced for a few days, but soon lost all craving for it.

(6) As it is only four months since the present experiment was undertaken, it is not possible to say whether the cures are permanent or not, but there is no doubt but that several hundred Chinese have at any rate temporarily given up the habit of opium smoking."

This report is illuminating in more ways than one, but it certainly ought to dissipate the idea of some propagandists who find the only explanation for the cultivation of opium smoking in the Eastern Colonies in an inherent wickedness of the British Government, who refuse to sacrifice revenue. Apparently the F. M. S. Government at all events is not so short-sighted. Why then do they not prohibit opium smoking out of hand, it may be asked. The answer may perhaps best be found in a little news item reported as nothing out of the ordinary, which we pull from the same issue of our contemporary (the *Times of Malaya* of December 1st), according to which Singapore revenue officers had seized, concealed in a rowing boat in Singapore harbour, \$21,000 worth of illicit opium. As long as China produces 90 p. c. of all the opium grown in the world and is incapable of controlling its export, Chinese living in the countries round about China obviously will be able to get all the opium they want, if they do want it: and seeing how perpetual the flow of people from China to Malaya and back again is, it goes without saying that as long as the Chinese in China want to smoke opium, there will not be lacking Chinese in Malaya who want to smoke it too.

*Indian Labour.* The same Chinese member had asked the following question and elicited the following reply:

Has the attention of the Government been drawn to communications made to the local Press by the Rev. Mr. C. F. Andrews on the subject of the conditions of Indian labour in this country, and what action does the Government propose to take in regard to these communications?

Written reply: Mr. Andrews, in his communication to the Press, intimated that he would prepare a final report in which he hoped to be able to make some corrections. The Government considers it desirable to await that final report before taking any regard to the matters referred to in it.

In one of his speeches the same member suggested the formation of an Indian advisory Committee; and in another he

pointed out that there was an excess of labour now owing to the further cuts in the percentage of standard production allowances of rubber, and Indian labourers had not enough work to do and many of them were being sent away. He gave an instance within his own knowledge where they had no work for 80 Tamil labourers but orders had been given to keep them going for another three months in the hope of more work being available. But that may not be possible in every case and yet it would be a great mistake, and unfair to the Tamil labour force, to allow them to go away from the country, especially at this time when their country had been devastated by floods. He thought that the Restriction allowance would be up again, probably in February, and they might be able to absorb more labour than, but, meanwhile, every effort should be made to keep the labour forces in the country. As for Chinese coolies, they had a way of adapting themselves, but the Tamil labourers were unable to turn to other work and, necessarily, fell back upon the Government. He hoped that the Government would adopt a policy that would enable this labour to be usefully employed here.

In his reply the Chief Secretary referred to a letter he had received from the Controllor of Labour to the effect that:

Owing to the increase of the rate of restriction, there was a certain amount of unemployment, or under employment, among Tamil labourers on rubber estates. The controller had also pointed out that recent distress in South India had the effect of sending over to this country a certain number of people who were in distressed circumstances. The Controller has asked, in connection with the budget for next year, that the Government should consider the advisability of providing for works which would offer employment to Indian labourers. The matter had been referred to the Director of Public Works who pointed out that it was only on roads and upon earthworks or drainage works that Tamil labourers could properly be employed. Unfortunately, the estimates, which were now being considered, provided for very little in the way of road construction and less still, he was sorry to say, for irrigation and drainage works. It was possible, however, that something might be done.

*Public Health.* Once more, the Federated Malay States may look back on a very creditable year's record in the matter of public health. The various Mosquito Destruction Boards throughout the country by means of oiling and permanent drainage have continued to eliminate more and more of the anopheline breeding places. "The education of the public," said the High Commissioner, "especially of the village Malays, by means of lantern lectures and demonstrations, has also had a considerable effect in reducing the incidence of malaria."



Again, as regards syphilis, one is told that public venereal disease clinics have been successfully continued, illustrated lectures delivered and treatment by injections freely given at all Government hospitals and dispensaries. In connection with the campaign against ankylostomiasis lectures and demonstrations have been given in the villages and arrangements made to undertake the necessary treatment of the disease. Beri-beri, the dietetic disease due to the use of polished rice, is countered by propaganda in the vernacular press and by distinctive sign-boards placed outside the shops where this rice is sold. A Pasteur Institute against rabies was opened at Kuala Lumpur last April. Infant Welfare activity continues. In Kuala Lumpur one lady doctor devotes the whole of her time and in Ipoh another one part of her time to this work; the former having paid 2510 visits to the houses of patients and diffused there useful information on sanitation and diet in general. Altogether, the duties placed on the Public Health Department and the ingenuity and energy with which they are being discharged constitute a really splendid example which any country which cares for its inhabitants can and ought to imitate, and is certainly one which ought to make our Indian authorities blush. On the other hand, to judge from a libel suit instituted by the Principal Medical Officer on account of a newspaper article, the manner in which a cholera outbreak amongst Indian immigrants at the Port Swettenham quarantine camp was dealt with and which attracted some notice in India (*vide Swarajya* of October 16th), appears to have been open to grave questions. The case was decided in favour of the P. M. O., who was awarded \$1000 damages; but an appeal has been lodged. We therefore reserve our comments *pendente lite*.

*Rubber.* The policy of restricting the output (begun during Mr. Churchill's reign at the Colonial Office) of course continues. A "Rubber Propagandist" (they do run to curious titles for their officials, do the F.M.S.—witness "The Townplanner," another title of recent introduction) has recently been appointed, but the idea of sending special Commissioners to China and India for introducing mass consumption of rubber in these countries has apparently been given up as none too promising a scheme. On the other hand the Federal Council has just agreed in principle to the creation of a Rubber Research Institute for Malaya, the suggestion being that a cess of about Rs. 2-12-0 per ton of rubber exported should be levied for the purpose. All this no doubt is quite commendable: but what one is so very doubtful about is the economic soundness of the whole restriction policy and whether increasing use of rubber is feasible, unless the cost of the raw material comes down very considerably—the very thing that restriction is intended to prevent. The current price of rubber is 60 cents per lb. but it so happens that in the paper already quoted we came across the following item:

We have to-day been shown a sheet of what is very often referred to contemptuously as "native rubber."

The specimen we have seen can safely be classed as "prime, ribbed, smoked sheet." We are told that this is being produced at less than fifteen cents a pound.

Why then artificially keep the price at sixty cents? Obviously, to keep the great plantations going. The fact is, as we have said before, that the day of the plantation system for rubber seems to be doomed and that the future belongs to small holding. But then £100 million of English money has been invested in Malayan plantations: a somewhat formidable interest for any little Colonial Government to run up against!

### AMERICA IN THE PHILIPPINES.

WHATEVER truth there may be in the statement that Great Britain built for herself an Empire in a fit of absent-mindedness, it is certainly true that America acquired the possession of the Philippine Islands in an unpremeditated fashion. We shall recount the story briefly.

For a long time America had looked with disapproval and disgust on the Spanish misrule of her neighbouring island, the Island of Cuba. The Cubans had agitated for years for a civilized form of government without result. From cooing constitutionalism to open rebellion they had made every effort to make their demand effective. During the closing years of the 19th century Spain was ruling Cuba with an iron hand, suppressing public opinion and establishing 'the peace of the wilderness and the grave.' This evoked strong feelings of indignation in the United States. When the government at Madrid by some sort of eleventh hour presentiment was planning to grant Cuba a mild measure of reform in the government, an event happened which gave the last blow to the Spanish colonial empire and finally ruined her position as a sea-power. The American battleship *Maine* was destroyed with her crew while visiting the harbour of Havana. This immediately led to the Spanish-American war. America entered the war for the declared purpose of liberating Cuba from the Spanish yoke and not to exercise sovereign jurisdiction or control over Cuba. During the hostilities General Dewey was ordered to attack the Spanish fleet in the eastern waters. The Spanish fleet suffered defeat at Santiago and Manila Bay. The American army landed in the Philippines. Placed between the double fire of the invading American army and local insurrection under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo, the Spanish government in the Philippines fell an easy victim. By the Paris treaty (December 1898) Spain agreed (1) to relinquish her claim over and title to Cuba, (2) to cede Porto Rico and some other islands in the West Indies and (3) to cede the Philippine Islands for a consideration of \$20,000,000.

In December 1901 happened a notable event in human history. "The flag of the Stars and Stripes which had been planted in Cuban soil at the expense of American treasure and American blood was voluntarily hauled down to give way to the flag of a new born nation. The government of the Island was transferred to the duly elected representative of

the people of Cuba and the occupation of Cuba by the United States was declared to be ended." The event had its repercussions in the American rule in the Philippines.

II

The total land area of the Philippines is 115,026 sq. miles with a population of 11,000,000. The whole population with the exception of 70,000 aboriginals, belongs to one racial group, the Malay. The people can be divided into three classes, the Christians, the Muhammadans or Moros and the pagans. Of these the Christians number about nine and a half millions. There are as many as 43 distinct ethnological groups speaking 87 recognized languages and dialects.

When the Philippine Islands came to the possession of the United States by the treaty of Paris, Aguinaldo the leader of the insurrection against the Spanish rule, who had helped the U. S. A. army to bring about the fall of the Spanish Government in the Philippines, finding that the United States did not mean to leave the Philippines to the charge of the Filipinos, rose in revolt against the United States. After prolonged hostilities Aguinaldo was captured and imprisoned. When America took possession of the Philippines the country had been under Spanish rule for nearly three centuries. Spain was more anxious,

'To pack and label men for God

And save them by the barrel-load'

than to govern well. The result was utter misrule and tyranny of the friars. Acute economic distress, a diverse population with a very large proportion of illiterates among them, wide-spread and intense political unrest, these were what America inherited from Spain in the Philippines. The despotic rule of Spain had also destroyed all forms of self-government.

It was thus that America found her India, a foothold in the East, a market to sell and distribute her goods in the East. The fortuitous acquisition of the Philippines was not without its critics in America. It was condemned as the beginning of an imperialistic career, as a policy utterly contrary to American spirit and tradition, and as a violation of democratic morality in as much it was an attempt to rule a people without its consent. The Treaty accepting the sovereignty of the Philippines from Spain was however ultimately passed by the American legislature. The eventual disposition of the Islands was left undecided in the Treaty. The ratification of the Treaty left no doubt in the mind of the Filipinos as to the intentions, immediate if not final, of the United States regarding the Philippines. The Spanish-American war was not to mean liberation to the Filipinos as to the Cubans, but only a change of masters. The revolt of the Filipinos against the United States under the leadership of Aguinaldo lasted till March 1901. The Filipinos after a total loss, direct and indirect, of 600,000 lives submitted to the sovereignty of the United States. For two years after the ratification of the Treaty (February 6, 1898 to March 1901) the Filipinos were ruled under a military government. It must however be said to

the credit of President McKinley and of American Governmental institutions, that real military power was allowed be continued in the Philippines only as long as civil government was impracticable. With the passing of the Spooner Amendment in 1901, the military government terminated and President McKinley was vested with civil and judicial power to govern the Philippines until the establishment of a permanent form of government. By the Organic Act of the Philippine Islands (1902) a permanent government was established. The Act provided for the establishment of an elective lower house, the Philippine Assembly. It was the first important concession ever given by the American people to the Filipinos. The Philippine Commission, the upper house, is an appointive body in which the Filipinos have been gradually given a majority.

J. B. SEN.

( To be continued )

THE IMPLICATIONS OF BROTHERHOOD  
IN THE RACIAL SPHERE.

ADDRESS BY DR. H. C. E. ZACHARIAS TO THE  
*Bombay International Fellowship,*  
delivered at Juhu, Dec. 6th.

III

It would therefore seem that the only theory which is reasonable in itself and patient of all the facts is the one which concludes that each individual mind must be created by God *ex nihilo* and infused into a body at the latter's conception. Admitting that all minds are not created absolutely alike, we yet maintain that all are created in a like manner through the fact that they immediately arise from a specific act of Divine Will and that the nature of them all is identical.

This nature Scholasticism has I believe satisfactorily established to consist of an active intellect ( the faculty of abstracting the universal from the particular and of progressing from terms to propositions, and from first principles to conclusions ) and of a passive intellect ( which is mere potentiality, the fundamental capacity to understand ). This passive intellect is a *tabula rasa*, a virgin slate, the eventual writing upon which is the joint result of a stimulus reaching the mind through the senses and of the abstractive faculty acting upon the *phantasma* produced by that stimulus. Scholasticism therefore distinguishes between man's capacity of knowing (passive intellect), his act of understanding ( active intellect ) and his possession of knowledge (intellect in habit). And in this analysis of man's mind Scholasticism finds itself in complete accord with all the most recent researches of psychology. The old *dictum* that nothing is in the intellect, which has not got there through the senses is endorsed entirely by all modern science, which has swept aside all former notions of "innate ideas." This Natural Science indeed has often gone so far as to doubt the existence of the learner and—at least in Victorian times—suggested that all there is to the mind is the knowledge learnt. This so-called Associationist theory

however cannot explain why the Ego is more than the sum total of things he has learnt or what it is that turns isolated events into a series. Like a string which turns a heap of pearls into a necklace, the mind provides the quickening link which alone accounts for facts becoming knowledge. The mind then, as we know it, makes itself under the influence of the environment into which it is put ; and for this making of itself the body into which it is infused provides the only available instrument.

This fact that the body is the instrument of the mind both explains the importance and the unimportance of the body, as contrasted with the mind. For though it is true that even a Paderewski cannot play without a piano, it is equally true that a Paderewski can get out of a mediocre one what the mediocre player could not get out of the superlatively best piano. A man born without legs, obviously is precluded from running races : but there is on record a great painter who, born without arms, painted with the help of his feet. There are limits which the mind obviously cannot transcend, but it is not often realized, how widely these limits are set. Modern physiology has familiarized us with the fact that function fashions structure and that structure only negatively affects function, and is full of instances of the extraordinary power of accommodation and compensation, inherent in all living matter. Again dietetics and the science of the endocrine glands have shown us, how plastic the body is, and how much it is subject to control by the mind. Goitre and imbecility are discovered to be due to the absence of minute quantities of iodine in our food ; tallness and pigmentation due to the still smaller quantities of "hormones" secreted by the pituitary and adrenal glands respectively. The old-fashioned division of human races into long-skulled and round-skulled loses its point, when it is observed that immigrants into the United States within one generation develop skull typical of the Red Indian. Anthropology of course has for a long time agreed that humanity forms physically a single species and that a "pure race" is a matter of imagination, not of fact. On the other hand apparently fundamental differences—such as in the shape and size of blood corpuscles, differences so marked, as to make transfusion of blood impossible—occur in individuals belonging to what seems to be a single race.

Hardly a day passes nowadays without medical science removing what at one time was thought an irremovable, because inherited, handicap of the individual. Now that tuberculosis and alcoholism have been definitely removed from the category of congenital defects, there remains practically only syphilis in it—transmissible from mother to child through their blood which during the ante-natal period forms a single system of circulation. Not of course, as if body did not inherit from body : life itself and sense is so handed on from parent to progeny and many of the more individual characteristics of a body likewise. The point though to remember is that even as regards the body, inheritance plays a very much smaller part than seemed likely, before

closer study of the child's mind and body revealed the surprising extent to which that inherited body can be consciously moulded, especially during those most important periods of the child's life—its first months and years. Heredity then, which at one time was called in to explain everything, is now seen to be a factor of distinctly secondary importance, even as regards the body ; and experiments such as Hudson's with newly hatched wild ducklings ( which showed no fear of man when first picked up by him, but which were terror-stricken five minutes later, during which interval he had allowed the agitated mother to be with the little ones) prove that even much of the impulses and instincts of the sensory life are not inherited but acquired. Now if such is the case in regard to the physical and non-rational parts of man ; and since it is *a priori* impossible, as we have already seen, for reason to arise out of non-reason : in what respect then is man subject to heredity at all ?

To answer this, let us bear in mind, that though the Ego is created like a *tabula rasa*, like an undeveloped sensitive photographic film : it is born into an environment, over which it has at first no control whatsoever and even to the end of his days only a very limited control indeed. The shutter being opened, picture upon picture is impressed upon the slowly revolving spool of films, without the owner of the spool being for a long time (a year?) able even to operate its own shutter. Even afterwards the human mind for many long years more is only able to react automatically upon all the stimuli that come crowding in upon it out of the environment in which it finds itself : and it is not until man reaches puberty that the first movement of conscious criticism can be observed in adolescent man. And if this critical faculty of "thinking for oneself," instead of merely thinking the thoughts current in one's environment, is acquired late, it is moreover one, the exercise of which is naturally not fostered by the individual's environment, and it therefore in only too many cases remains for ever rudimentary. The term "Heredity" therefore in this sense can only be used loosely : an *inherited* tradition or mentality meaning the tradition and mentality of the environment into which an individual is born. And incidentally I may perhaps here allude to the current fallacy that an old tradition is more certainly inherited than a young one : as if the English democratic tradition was bound to mould all English minds, because it has existed since the times of *Magna Charta*, whilst the Indian mind could not naturally be expected to think democratically, since that tradition was of recent growth. To which one must reply that to a man 30 years of age the tradition that alone directly matters is the tradition, not of 300 years nor of 3000 years ago, but of the 30 years of his life : not one year more nor less. But certain pseudo-scientific people are still taking it for granted that mental concepts can be handed on—neatly tied to the chromosome of a germ cell, presumably—conveniently forgetting, how variable tradition is and how suddenly it usually is varied : as



witness the Indian mentality of this and of a previous generation; of pre-war and post-war Germany; of the old Ottoman Empire and the present Turkish Republic. There is a regular school of unscientific writers using scientific terms, bamboozling the lay mind with pretentious talk of 'psychoplasm' and such like, as if the metaphors coined by them were biologically observed facts and not the mere words invented by them to convey a theory of Racialism, evidence for which natural science never yet has discovered and, in the very nature of the case, never can discover.

## IV.

Though I have now come to the end of my disquisition, I have certainly not exhausted the subject: on the contrary, you may perhaps think that I have made singularly few direct references to race. But my object this morning was not and could not be, to bury you under an avalanche of scientific details. On the contrary, my aim has rather been to indicate the lines, on which alone a coherent, rational interpretation of these details is possible.

Rapidly showing that and why mind must be incorporeal; and if incorporeal, why subsistent by itself; and if so subsisting, why created by God and when: we saw that the human mind becomes a body which it influences, but cannot make; but makes itself, as it goes along, at first automatically, eventually, deliberately.

We saw too, that not only is there no evidence conflicting with these conclusions, but that these conclusions alone provide a satisfactory explanation of all the facts available: the interrelation of individual and society, of body and soul, of man and God. Finally, and as it were incidentally, we have discovered that the term 'brotherhood' as applied to mankind is true in two ways: as regards the body in a general sense, because we are all interrelated forming one species and sharing in the same ancestry; as regards the mind, in the most literal sense, because, God has created it in the case of every one of us, directly, immediately, at the time of our conception, and since therefore we have a common Father, we are in the strictest term of the word, brothers. I do not think that I can sufficiently stress the importance of this conclusion and my conviction, that unless "Brotherhood" can base itself on such unambiguous basis, mere poetical flights of fancy will ultimately avail nothing—notwithstanding the facility with which man is apt to divide his mind into a number of separate, thought-proof bulkheads—against the only logical consequence of either Materialism or Idealism, viz. that men, so far from being brothers, are in truth essentially unequal and therefore deserve to be unequally treated.

Only the equality of relation to God of all human minds provides a rational basis for democracy in politics; only the mind's subsistence *per se* (i. e. the immortality of the soul) can justify us in economics to rate the welfare of such immortal souls higher than the perishable products of industry and commerce; only the originally pure potentiality of the human mind and its inherent power to transcend

inherited body and environment are able to guarantee to all races, to all castes, to all civilizations the right of equal opportunities. It is good, to feel right in these matters: it is infinitely better to think right.

And if to think, then to act. Let it not be said, that I have led you about the heights of pure thought and that, however meritorious such exercise may be, it is singularly removed from the ordinary walks of life where each of us finds himself. If you really think aright on such questions, you will have in the end to make an effort to act aright too; not on the heights only, but here and now.

As a concrete instance of such right action let me in conclusion, if I may, put before you a proposal which has been a favourite of mine for long—namely, that Indians—and why not you?—take the lead in calling together a Second "Universal Races Congress", of which the first was held in London in 1911: with the avowed purpose as an outcome of it of forming an international association for the abolition of all racial bars throughout the world. It is high time I believe, that racialism was fought, not by each wronged race separately, but by all people of whatever race who are persuaded that racial bars are not only an unnatural and therefore unjust holding back of this race or that, but an injury inflicted upon humanity as a whole, all of whose members must suffer loss, unless every human mind is given the fullest opportunity of making that contribution to our common stock and to the richness of the world in general, which its creator, God, your Father and mine, intended for it. And if this proposal is right and worthy of being turned from potentiality into act, will not you of this *Bombay International Fellowship* take the lead in this matter, proving that you at least are in earnest about THE IMPLICATIONS OF BROTHERHOOD

## MISCELLANEA.

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION.  
COMMUNAL PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTION.

*Presiding our the Seventh session of the Liberal Federation Dr. R. P. Paranjpye delivered a striking address in which he dealt with many matters of urgent importance. He made a specially valuable contribution towards the solution of the vexed question of communal relations. The portion of the address relating to that subject is extracted below:*

Perhaps the most important and difficult question in Indian politics is that of communal relations. All others may some time or other receive their solution but this will remain a standing problem unless every Indian makes a conscious effort to solve it. The atmosphere is so fissiparous that divisions occur even when union is intended. The religious spirit which is supposed to make for peace and contentment and to lead people to think of something higher than mere material and trivial concerns has itself in India led to the greatest disturbances. Religious and communal feuds meet us at every step. Hindus and Mahomedans, Christians and Sikhs, Parsis and Buddhists and Jews all think in their own separate circles. Among these larger groups there are also divisions innumerable. Among Hindus are Brahmans and Non-Brahmans and Depressed Classes; among Non-Brahmans in Bombay there are various castes. Everybody naturally thinks of his own small separate group—the smaller the better in his opinion—and he generally thinks of his country last of all. When in an impa-

tient mood, one wishes sometimes for a dreadful upheaval like the French or Russian revolution when the very name of religion will be forbidden and God abolished once for all. But I am afraid even this would not be effective, for the abolishers of God will soon themselves turn into Gods. The only way to get over these differences is the slow method of gradual education into a common national spirit. In the beginning even what we call education does not seem to produce much effect, for very often the leaders of bitter communal movements are well educated. But one must not yield to this mood of despair and do what one can to solve this problem.

#### THE LUCKNOW PACT.

Nine years ago the first organised attempt was made in this very city to arrive at a solution of the Hindu-Moslem question so far as politics was concerned. After a great deal of heated debate a solution was arrived at, which goes by the name of Lucknow Pact. Each side considered that it had yielded a great deal, in fact more than it gained. The Montagu-Chelmsford report accepted this pact as a settled fact and the arrangements under the Government of India Act were in accordance with it. In six of the Indian Provinces the Mahomedans got a substantially larger proportion of seats in the Councils than was justified by their numbers while in two provinces they got a smaller representation. In these latter provinces the Mahomedan population was in a majority and according to the Pact they were reduced to an equality or a minority by a very small margin. These provinces have therefore raised the cry that Mahomedans should get a majority. In the other provinces it is then contended that the Moslems should get only their share according to population. These contentions appear to me almost sickening, for it is a very small matter indeed who has a representative more or less. I should accept almost any solution provided it is permanent. I wish to arrive at a state of things when these distinctions will be forgotten, at least in the political and public field, and religion will remain only an individual's private concern.

#### THE IDEAL SOLUTION

The ideal solution would, of course, be one when there are no separate electorates and the best men get elected to the Councils. The fundamental principle of representation is that the elective bodies should form a mirror of the whole country, so that the feeling of the people can be correctly gauged. After such a body has been secured, the majority should rule, but in such a way that all reasonable claims of minorities will be scrupulously regarded. The method of proportional representation would make Councils almost accurately representative of the whole population, and if voters choose to vote according to their communal prejudices, they will secure representation. But the method will enable the large central mass of all communities which is not bitterly extremist to have its say. At present with separate electorates, the tendency is for the extremist of each side to get elected while the moderate men have no chance. After getting so elected, the members consider that their only duty is to their special electors, and they therefore look to narrow sectional interests rather than to larger National interests. This tendency is, perhaps naturally, more evident in the representatives of minorities and special electorates. I do hope therefore that our leaders will examine the merits of this system and not discard it as too technical or complicated. It has been tried in countries where similar religious and racial antagonisms were rampant and has given full satisfaction. Of course, the system will not make allowance for the so-called political importance or special claims. But I would appeal to all communities not to insist upon these anywhere as such claims are anti-national and hinder national progress. They are characteristic of people who are always looking backward rather than forward. It is possible by a small modification to give even larger representation to the smaller communities by a reservation of seats; but the main thing is to have a wish to come to a settlement. That wish once postulated, the rest of the problem will appear quite easy of solution.

Of course, we cannot go back upon the agreed solution of

the Lucknow Pact without the consent of both the co-ordinating parties. But one thing we may always try i. e., not to allow this virus of communalism to spread any further. These separatist demands are getting more and more numerous. It is claimed that similar separate representations should be given in all local bodies. If the principle is thus followed to its logical conclusion, then India will never become a nation; it will be a collection of many nations not separated into various provinces, but everywhere mixed together, though always remaining separate in their minutest parts.

#### COMMON ELECTORATES AND SPECIAL CLAIMS.

The same remarks apply to other claims of a similar character. The Non-Brahmans in Madras and the Deccan form the vast majority of the population and even a large majority of the electorate. If they wish therefore to be represented by their own men, they can do so on the present common electorates. This has been actually seen in the last two elections. The reservation of seats has not generally been needed as they have secured far more seats than the minimum reserved to them. The only case for a separate and favourable consideration is that of the depressed classes which are so lowly and undeveloped, that on any practicable franchise, the number of voters from among them is bound to be very small, and it would therefore be difficult for them to secure representation even in large constituencies. For them I would give some special seats to be voted for by those elected from these classes who are on the general register, though, with a view to keeping their interests in common with other communities, I would also allow them to vote in the general elections. This special concession I would give only for a definite period until they come up to the general level. The same principle may even be utilised in the case of Muhammadans or Sikhs if it is sought to give them representation in excess of their numerical strength. To give an illustration, suppose in a Province there are 10 per cent Muhammadans and 90 per cent others, and that, in a Council of 150, it is desired to give them 30 seats and also 10 seats to the depressed classes. I should then elect 110 members by means of common electorates on a system of proportional representation; of these 11 would be expected to be Muhammadans if the Muhammadan voters so wish. Those of the electors on the general list, who are Muhammadans, will then be asked afterwards to elect 19 members from among themselves, and those from the depressed classes 10 from among themselves. It may of course happen that in the common election more than 11 Muhammadans may be returned and perhaps some depressed class men also. But I would not object to this in the least. The main point is that at least some Muhammadan candidates will try to learn the needs of their Hindu brethren, and the Hindus will have to look to the interests of the Muhammadans and the depressed classes. The knowledge of each other that will be obtained by this process will tend to foster a common national spirit which when fully developed will render these provisional arrangements quite unnecessary.

#### COMMUNITIES AND PUBLIC SERVICES.

The principle of adequate representation of all classes of the people in the public services is accepted by everybody, and the Government also have made rules for this purpose. At present, however, the various communities look to favouritism in order to get appointments. I am entirely against patronage of this kind being enjoyed by any Government and I wish to see all recruitment to public services made when possible by open competition and at any rate by an independent body. In order to see, however, that the backward communities do not suffer on account of unrestricted competition I would reserve a certain minimum percentage to be competed for by the candidates from those communities *inter se*. This minimum I would gradually reduce as the communities rise to a position of equality with the advanced communities. For each class of appointment, a suitable minimum qualification will of course be considered indispensable. To give a numerical illustration, suppose in a Province it is necessary to protect the Muhammadans and Non-Brahmans in the recruitment for a class of posts. Of every ten posts to

be filled by an open competitive examination, four may be filled up according to the list in order of merit irrespective of community or race; of those that are lower, three Muhammadans will be taken in order, and three non-Brabmanas in the same way, provided that these have obtained a certain minimum percentage of marks which is considered as the indispensable qualification for that class of posts. This special consideration will not be required for many years, and the number of posts to be filled by absolute competition will be gradually increased and the others gradually diminished. The pace of this process will naturally be determined by seeing how many candidates from the specially favored classes are able to hold their own and get selected in the unrestricted competition. On every occasion when new recruits are selected, the Public Services Commission, or any other selection authority in special cases, should always publish list of candidates together with reasons for any deviation from the principle of open or restricted competition, if required, in any special case, so that the public may be satisfied about the fairness of the appointments. The main object is to hasten the day when special concessions will be done away with altogether and all people in the country are advanced to the same pitch.

In Councils to a certain extent and in the Public Services the first object is to get the best men, and the communal consideration is comparatively subordinate, though not negligible in the present state of our country. As one who wishes to bring all communities to a common level and thus do away with communal distinctions, I am prepared to grant special educational facilities to the fullest extent to backward communities. Special encouragement would be given by means of scholarships or other special devices; admission to educational institutions in which demand is greater than the supply must be made easier for them by reserving a certain number of places for them, if need be.

#### COW SLAUGHTER

These three points, viz., representation in public bodies and public services and entrance into educational institutions, mainly concern the educated classes of the various communities and cause bad blood among them. A proper solution of them will solve more than half the communal problem. For the higher classes, if reasonably satisfied, will use their influence with their backward brethren and do away with the other points of friction which often arise and cause violent disturbances. The three points which lead to these outbreaks are cow slaughter, processions and music, and conversion propaganda. On the question of cow slaughter and music I practically agree with the resolutions passed at the Unity Conference at Delhi. The Hindus should not object to the slaughter of cows if it is done in a manner not needlessly offending their susceptibilities i. e., not in public or in a place accessible to the public and not accompanied by a public procession of cows doomed to slaughter. To this the Muhammadans should have no objection. More the Hindus cannot demand, as cows are slaughtered every day for the use of all non-Hindu communities. Whether the Muhammadans will of their own free will go further and reduce or abolish cow slaughter of their own motion must be left to themselves. They will only do so if the general relations between the communities become permanently friendly and evince a wish to oblige each other and not stand merely on legal rights.

#### MUSIC AND PROCESSIONS.

On the question of processions and music before mosques I think a definite permanent settlement can easily be reached as it is more a question of deliberately offending the other party rather than of religion. It is not a prescription of Hindu religion that music must be played all through the procession; neither, I suppose, is it ordained by the *Quran* that a Muhammadan should object to it during prayers. Generally I would discourage religious processions through the streets of a town as they inevitably lead to trouble. In any case at stated hours of the day and for definite intervals loud music should be stopped within a hundred yards of a mosque when the faithful are having their prayers. These times and intervals should be once for all recorded and no new right of this

nature should be allowed to be created. Within a hundred yards soft music only should be allowed. Whether the Hindus should go further to please the Muhammadans would again depend on their mutual friendliness, and law cannot go any further. I would only say that in every place there should be a Standing Committee consisting of equal numbers of leading Hindus and Muslims presided over by an influential neutral resident of the place to decide these questions of a semi-religious kind. The members of these Committees may be elected by the people themselves and the representatives of the place on the Councils should be ex-officio members.

#### CONVERSIONS AND THE LAW.

As regards conversion propaganda I think that no community should object to any of its members changing his faith and joining any other religion. If there are religious injunctions to the contrary, they should go, as have several other such injunctions, as not consistent with the spirit of modern civilisation. But I should have some new legislation to see that this conversion is deliberate and not fraudulent or forced. I have always held that there should be a complete record of all happenings in the civil condition of every subject of the State which touch the State or become afterwards subjects of dispute. Births and deaths are at present registered more or less thoroughly; I would add to it immediately the compulsory registration of marriages, adoptions and conversions; for all these affect the civil status of a person and are not merely in the nature of private contracts. I shall leave marriage and adoption registration for the present; but I think that a law requiring the compulsory registration of every conversion from one major religion to another will bring the light of publicity to bear upon it and tend to reduce the danger attendant upon it. In that law the following conditions should be inserted: (1) All conversions should be registered in a definite manner. (2) No conversion of a minor should be allowed unless both his parents if living, or the father if the only parent living or the mother together with the legal guardian of the minor, consent to the conversion of the minor in writing. (3) If the minor is an orphan no conversion should be allowed until he attains majority. (4) The registration should take place before a Magistrate in the presence of two respectable witnesses from each community, and the Magistrate should openly question him in their presence whether the conversion is voluntary and *bona fide* before registering it, no discussion of the matter by the witnesses being however allowed. (5) If any conversion is found to have taken place clandestinely without registration, it should be made a cognizable offence and punishable by a fine in ordinary cases and by imprisonment in case of forcible or fraudulent conversions, the persons who brought it about and the priests or other persons who officiated on the occasion being held responsible. (6) If either the husband or wife gets converted, the wife or the husband should have the option of getting the marriage cancelled, the wife getting back all the property she had before marriage, and in the case of a Hindu wife, she should get a suitable maintenance from her converted husband through the Government according to the position and status of the family in society. (7) No public procession or demonstration should be allowed in celebration of any conversion. I have given my ideas on this subject in some detail, as I feel that with rising communal patriotism, the light of publicity and strict legal procedure will serve to reduce the dangers necessarily attendant upon such conversion. I heartily recommend the suggestions made above to our legislators, so that a private Bill may be drafted and submitted for consideration by the public and the Legislature.

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