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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE public meeting held in Bombay last Saturday to concert measures of non-official famine relief was very influentially attended, and a good beginning was made at it in collecting subscriptions. The opening speech of Lord Willingdon, which is his last public utterance in this Presidency, was as usual marked by a genuine sympathy with the sufferings of the poor and an earnest desire to mitigate them. We are afraid, however, he missed a good opportunity of making a detailed statement of the extent of the measures which Government are taking, for while there is room and evermore room for non-official charity in such wide-spread distress, it cannot be denied that, however widely diffused and closely organised the unofficial agency may be, it can touch but a fringe of the problem and the main relief must come from Government. Let the people know what exactly Government is doing in organising such relief and in preventing the growth and intensity of distress. Too easy official assurances that all is for the best under the best of all possible Governments will not allay public anxiety, however plentiful such assurances may be. We hope Government will take all the necessary precautions while there is yet time and take the public into the fullest confidence in the matter. The extent of unofficial relief will also depend in no small measure upon this factor in the situation.

THE resolution on India's right to self-determination, the adoption of which the Bombay National Union urged on all public bodies in the country, has been passed at several meetings, but

at none in the National Union's sense. The spacious term 'self-determination' has been variously circumscribed in meaning at these meetings to suit the views of those who took part in them, and in some it was interpreted as India's right to be represented by elected delegates at the Peace Conference. This, however, is far too restricted an application of President Wilson's formula; as understood by the National Union, it involves as a necessary implication the scrapping of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. Mrs. Besant spoke in Calcutta on the same subject; but perhaps in order to save the question from being discussed into a wrong position, she took the line that self-determination would be applied to India if Government accepted the Congress-League scheme and gave effect to it. While it is true that there is more self-determination in this scheme than in the other, it may yet be argued, on the reasoning of the National Union, that being formulated in what Mr. Asquith calls the Lilliputian days of the pre-self-determination era, the Congress-League scheme also has now become a back number equally with the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. And the position of the National Union in the one case is, logically, as impregnable as the other.

* * *

AT the public meeting held in Madras on Sunday last Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Aiyar, who moved the resolution asking for an application of the principle of self-determination to India, expressly disclaimed the idea that supersession of the official scheme was required by Indians. He remarked: "It is not that we want that the schemes which are now before the British Parliament and people should be thrown overboard, so that we might have a fresh scheme of government put into force hereafter... It is the viewpoint that has to be changed more than the practical schemes of government now under consideration. It may be that this viewpoint will mean a great deal in the actual working of the scheme and in the effectuation of its results." What the people of this country desire is that there should be a change in the spirit and general outlook of the Britishers and that the doctrine of trusteeship should be completely and finally overthrown.

* * *

THE senate of the University of Bombay has done an act of bare justice to itself in instituting a degree in teaching. One is inclined to consider

it a case of sheer lapse. Otherwise it is inconceivable how a progressive University such as we believe Bombay University to be, should have failed to provide for the needs of the teaching profession by having a degree or at least a diploma in practising when even younger universities have taken steps in the matter. Better late than never. And we hope it would not be long before we have a large number of B. T.s in Bombay who would not make the teacher's post merely a stepping stone to something else, but would stick on to their first choice and would try to exalt the position of this noble calling.

* * *

BY recommending the abolition of nomination wholesale in the tahsil boards and its reduction to almost a vanishing point in the composition of district boards, the committee of U. P. Council has wisely gone much further than the principles laid down in the despatch of 16th May last with regard to the introduction of substantial elective majority in local bodies. Communal representation has been conceded only in the case of Mahomedans; but the system of co-opted aldermen has been unhappily rejected, as nullifying the provisions made for the due representation of minorities. Recommendations have been made to widen the franchise, which is solely to rest on property qualifications and with which the right to candidature is to be co-extensive. Statistics reveal the desirability of lowering the qualifications of voters still further, because even in accordance with the suggestion of the committee the franchise will be extended to only 11½ lacs of voters out of a total population of 470 lacs in U. P. It is, however, highly gratifying that the committee contemplates the removal of the sex disqualification. Full powers should by all means be conferred on local bodies to increase their revenues by taxation, but more attention should be confined to developing and tapping new sources of income than to touching those which are already overburdened with heavy taxes.

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THE constitution of a central body for the whole province to co-ordinate the experience of local bodies and provide improved control and guidance to them, has not found favour with the U. P. committee, which has suggested in its place the establishment of divisional councils, for five or six districts each, elected indirectly by the members of the district boards and endowed with the powers of concurrent taxation, appointment and control over the superior staff and supervision and sanction of the budgets of the district boards. The Hon. Mr. Chintamani suggested that the president of a divisional council should be the responsible executive head, in receipt of salary and elected for a fixed period. The proposal was rejected this time, but deserves to be re-considered in times to come as the electors are trained in the proper exercise of their civic responsibility. Even accept-

ing the proposal for the establishment of the divisional councils, there remains still the necessity of a standing committee of the legislative council to advise the minister in the matter as recommended in the reform scheme.

* * *

ANOTHER instance of the vagaries of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government with which the public is sufficiently familiar, is the order excluding the representative of the *Tribune* from the Council meetings for having published an incorrect statement of His Honour's speech. It is surprising that the order should have been passed without affording an opportunity to that paper 'of knowing what was required of it,' in addition to the regret it had already expressed. As a lengthy and convincing statement explaining the circumstances of the case has been submitted by the Editor, we trust His Honour will realise the unwisdom of his action and withdraw the order immediately.

* * *

ANOTHER striking illustration of the fact that the so-called Nationalists in Maharashtra are champions of extreme social reaction is afforded by the violent opposition which they are offering to the principle which lies behind the Hon. Mr. Patel's bill. Mr. Tilak's vernacular paper has been delivering virulent and envenomed onslaughts against this measure and its supporter. The bill is represented as opposed to the genius of the Hindu religion and the public are called upon to protest against it in no uncertain terms. In its recent issue, the paper has pressed into its service an ingenious argument, which shows the entire spirit of its criticism. According to it, the inter-marriages between Brahmanas and others, "right down to the *chāṇḍālas*," which the bill seeks to validate, will, deal not only a death-blow to the caste system, but also necessarily annul the restrictions of *gotra* and *pravara*, laid down by the *Shastras*. A provision like the one introduced into the Special Marriage Act, forbidding marriage within a certain degree of consanguinity, will not satisfy this opponent. For, such a prohibition may perhaps be said to answer in the case of castes among whom *gotra* and *pravara* survive, but what of those far larger castes, *viz.*, the lower three, among whom these distinctions have ceased to exist? If Brahmanas, for instance, are allowed to marry into such castes, are they not likely to marry where they should not, within the forbidden degree of consanguinity? Therefore, no inter-caste marriages should at all be allowed!

* * *

THERE may be no justification in reason for these wide-reaching restrictions, this paper agrees, and impatient reformers and worshippers of license may even rejoice at their disappearance along with the obliteration of caste distinctions; but to the pious Hindus, among whom the editor no doubt numbers himself, these

regulations, whether reasonable or otherwise, are the last word. Their part is to obey, not to question. In this way does Mr. Tilak's paper argue. It has to push this reasoning only a step further to show that no marriages should at all take place among non-Brahmanas, even though they may be confined to members of the same caste. For *gotra* and *prava* distinctions having died out among them, any marriage in these castes may be between persons who once belonged to the same *gotra*; and in order to avoid this dire contingency which we are assured is attended with "terrible consequences," all marriages must be stopped among castes who have lost *gotra*! This paper maintains that about a thousand people at the most who advocate this reform can be said to be in its favour; all the rest, numbering millions, must be presumed to favour the *status quo*. The application of the principle of 'self-determination' therefore, demands that the bill should be defeated. One wonders why the same argument should not be made applicable to home rule and all except the agitators be not assumed to be opposed to its grant.

* * *

WE do not rest the case for inter-caste marriages on the scripture texts and, therefore, are not concerned to produce any; but it may be mentioned that Pandit Mahadeva Sastri, a recognised authority on this subject, has argued that such marriages are sanctioned by the Shastras. He says that "the necessary differences in temperament and culture—the differences in *gotra*—are better secured when the parties to marriage belong by birth to different castes, or different nations or different races, and are brought up under different systems of physical, intellectual and spiritual culture." There are many who think that some essential reforms, as regards the monogamous character of marriage, the age of the parties, etc. must be incorporated into such a measure, and that the bill suffers from serious drawbacks since it takes no note of them. On such go-ahead reformers, the paper in question pours the utmost ridicule and obloquy.

* * *

THE Bombay Presidency Association, which is now controlled practically by the left wing of the nationalist party, adheres closely, in its statement of evidence submitted to the Government of Bombay, to the resolutions of the special Congress. It demands for instance that full provincial autonomy be guaranteed by statute within six years and full national autonomy within fifteen; it asks for the abolition of the grand committees and the council of state, and so forth. Still it has introduced certain variations, which on account of the very resemblance in the principal recommendations, acquire a certain prominence. The Association does not demand, as does the Congress, that the responsibility of ministers should come into force from the very commencement of the first reformed councils. It falls in with the proposal

in the joint report on this question. Nor does it deem it necessary, after the fashion of the Congress, to declare, while accepting the dual form of government, that in its opinion the people are ripe for the introduction of full provincial autonomy. It no doubt asks for such autonomy for the Bombay presidency, but urges this reform from a different standpoint. The experiment of partial responsible government, which has never yet been tried before anywhere in the world, is attended with a risk of failure, and on that account a wider experiment of full responsible government in all the departments should simultaneously be conducted in some provinces. Bombay's claim is advanced solely on this ground. It is also a source of satisfaction that the Association does not protest, as it should if it were to follow the resolution passed by the special Congress, against the appointment of the reform committees and demand that Parliament should determine the franchise and the allocation of functions without the interposition of such committees.

* * *

WE regret to find, however, that the Bombay Presidency Association adopts the mistaken view of the Congress on the subject of provincial finance. The Congress allowed a certain fixed sum for allotment for the reserved subjects and placed all the balance of the provincial funds under the control of the legislature. This was no doubt done from fear that the reserved subjects would appropriate an undue amount, and that the transferred subjects would be starved. The Presidency Association, however, omits this safeguard provided for in the Congress resolution, whatever its utility may be, and retains just that portion of the resolution which it should have taken care to delete. "Proposals for fresh taxation,"—such is its recommendation, and it has been taken from the Congress,— "should be presented to the legislative council by the Government as a whole." The object of such a proposal could only be to save the ministers the popular odium which the proposal in the official scheme may bring on them, viz., that taxation bills must be approved of by the ministers before they can be introduced into the legislative council. Does the Presidency Association think, then, that the country will benefit by this requirement being dispensed with? We shall thereby be only renouncing an advantage which we possess under the scheme, for when the ministers' approval is necessary, as it is provided for in the scheme, they will be enabled by withholding their consent to put pressure upon the executive councillors and to get the supply for reserved subjects reduced within reasonable limits, should it happen to be excessive. The practical result therefore, of the partial adoption of the Congress resolution by the Association will thus be the exact reverse of what was intended by the Congress.

* * *

INDIAN REFORMS IN ENGLAND.

FOR the first time in British politics Indian reform figures prominently on the programmes of contending parties at the General Election. Both the Coalition and the Liberal Parties have made it a principal plank in their platform and have declared their intention to strive to give a liberal application to the declaration of last year which they accept whole-heartedly. The Labour Party is even more sympathetic towards India's aspirations, and its weight and influence will be evergrowing. While these symptoms will undoubtedly hearten Indian reformers, the path of constitutional reform cannot yet be said to be perfectly smooth, if we are to judge of English conditions from Mr. Montagu's speech at Cambridge and the debate in the House of Lords, a report of which is just to hand by the last mail. The discussion in England has yet to be confined to the principles of the reform scheme, the terms of the declaration, its binding character and so forth; it cannot yet get down to details and specific provisions in the scheme. A good number of estimable people are yet to be convinced that an oriental country with its age-long traditions of autocracy can be inured by any means to the western ideal of popular government. Viscount Midleton and the Marquesses of Lansdowne and Salisbury raised, in the debate in the Lords' House, the elemental question of the inherent incapacity of eastern peoples adapting themselves successfully to forms of government, which westerners alone could apparently appreciate and work out. Egypt and Turkey, Persia and China were freely mentioned as patent examples of the futility of imposing western democratic institutions on Asiatic countries. No one among the peers attempted an answer to such an argument, which indeed is an affront even to the moderate intelligence of the upper house; and the reply which Mr. Charles Roberts gave in another place will certainly not satisfy the objecting lords. The success of representative institutions in Japan and the Philippines proves, he says, that "given a certain level of civilisation, difference of race seems to count little in the matter. It is a question of a people's learning the practical art of self-government," and not a question "of racial capacity." And the declaration of August, 1917, has for its base this fact that no people are unfitted by their racial characteristics to govern themselves on the democratic model.

But the noble lords are not concerned to accept this declaration either. Lord Lansdowne could with an effort reconcile himself to the first two portions of it, "the gradual development of self-governing institutions" and "the progressive realisation of responsible government," but he must set his face against the operative part of the declaration, *viz.*, that, "substantial steps should be taken in this direction as soon as possible." That meant that eventually India would be placed on a footing of perfect equality with self-governing Dominions, which seemed to the Marquess an ut-

terly unrealisable dream. And he roundly declared that last year's pronouncement committed nobody. In this opinion he was supported by other distinguished peers, and it was no very difficult task for Lords Islington and Curzon to show that Government were definitely pledged to it. It was not a casual announcement carelessly drafted by a junior clerk in the India office and foisted upon Government. Lord Curzon told the house that it "was the result of prolonged correspondence with the Government of India, of close and repeated examination at home, and of an amount of labour which must have rarely been expended upon a public announcement." It had therefore "an intended weight" which none could dispute. Lord Selborne indeed declared that it committed not only the Government, but the Parliament and the nation, there being not a word of dissent either from the spirit or from the phraseology of that declaration, and that is the fact. The only question that could be admitted at this stage was the particular method of carrying out the declaration, and none of the intransigents who poured a volume of destructive criticism on the scheme had anything to offer by way of constructive suggestions. The one alternative, if it could be so called, was the ridiculously paltry plan of Lord Sydenham and his Indo-British Association to put small areas in each province exclusively under Indian officials. The replacement of European by Indian agency is not the same as popularisation of government and cannot be said to redeem the British Government's pledge in any degree. It is not the execution but the direction of policy at which Indians aim; and on this vital question Lord Sydenham's scheme has nothing to say. Even if representative government were to be established under it, the movement towards it could not be, as pointed out by Mr. Charles Roberts, in successive stages but *per saltum*.

It speaks volumes for the strength of conservatism in England that the discussion on Indian reform cannot yet advance beyond generalities and first principles. The dilatory course proposed by Lord Midleton, *viz.*, that of submitting the scheme to a joint committee of both houses before Government adopted it, was denounced by Lords Bryce, Crewe, Donoughmore, Islington and Curzon and ultimately ruled out by a bare majority. But the depths of ignorance and prejudice prevailing in England about India, which the discussion in the House of Lords served to bring to the surface, almost make a detailed discussion of the scheme impracticable. Mr. Montagu spoke at Cambridge, in accents of earnestness, of the immediate need of carrying out in a bold and generous manner the announcement of the last year and drew a picture of the destiny which awaits India in the near future. He answered the criticism made in India that the scheme was not only inadequate but reactionary. Most of the criticism on this head is unwarranted and unjust, and instead of strengthening the una-

nimous demand for extending and improving the scheme, only serves to discredit it. The friends of India have plenty to do in meeting the vigorous propaganda set up by the Sydenham group, and in pressing the reasoned criticisms advanced in this country on the British Government so that they may receive the attention they merit. In the meanwhile, while insisting firmly on considerable expansions in consonance with the Parliamentary declaration, let us refrain from doing anything which will only strengthen the hands of our enemies. Unmeasured condemnation of the scheme can only have that result, though, it must be admitted, the public mood in India now shows considerable change. It remains to be seen how the fortunes of the General Election will affect the question of Indian reform.

POETRY.

TO A MOTHER.

I, who knew never my mother,
 Know, mother, a mother in thee,
 Learning the grace and the sweetness
 That motherhood lavisheth free :

The man is for ever foredestined
 To strive and to faint on the trail :
 But the mother wins daily her triumph—
 Attainment that never can fail.

The things that are real and eternal
 Man fruitlessly labours to prove ;
 But a mother's whole life is religion—
 Is the voice of the God that is Love.

Philosophies wither and perish,
 Creeds flourish, then wane and depart ;
 But world-wide endures to all ages
 The Faith of a true mother's heart.

Faith the reward of her labour,
 Faith for the years that shall come,
 Faith that through tears and sore sorrow
 Burns clear to illumine her home :

Courage that never by langour,
 By anguish or death shall be tamed,
 Hope that shall live till the highest
 And holiest triumph be gained :

Rest and fresh strength for the weary,
 Protection from evil and harm,
 Peace for the sad and the fretful,
 Patience and confident calm :—

These and far more to her children
 A mother's sweet service shall mean :
 These and far more, oh my mother,
 In thee and thy home have I seen.

Therefore I thank thee and honour,
 Therefore to God give I praise,
 Who taught me to see and to worship
 Himself in a mother's sweet face.

J. H.

THE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION'S REPORT.

II

THE first chapter of the report is devoted to a "rough sketch" of rural India, past and present. It is a mere sketch, as the commissioners acknowledge and is, as they say with great regard for truth, really rough. So many of the statements contained in this sketch are based on the economic history of India written by Englishmen of a particular school that very little attention is paid to the works of Indian writers on economics or even to the works of Englishmen not belonging to that particular school. The Hon'ble Panditji has, by quoting from various authorities, proved that the hypothesis underlying the "sketch" is not a correct one. I referred specially to this portion of Mr. Malaviya's note when I said in the first article that he had rendered a distinct service to the country by putting forward his views in a separate note. I will quote a few sentences from both, side by side, to make my meaning clear. The commissioners say: "The East India Company was primarily a trading corporation, whose role was to exchange as far as possible the manufactured goods of England for the products of India." Although the word used is "products" and not the phrase "raw products," the impression likely to be created on the mind of the general reader by the use of the word "manufactured" with reference to English goods is that the Indian products were meant to be raw ones. The Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya seems to have read the same meaning in this statement, for he quotes from Lecky, T. S. Cotton, and R. C. Dutt to prove that the East India Company was formed "not to exchange as far as possible the manufactured goods of England for the products of India," for there were few English manufactures then to be exported, but to carry manufactures and commodities of India to Europe." The quotation from Lecky shows that "great quantities of cheap and graceful calicoes, muslins, and chintzes were imported into England" in the beginning of the 17th century. Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt says that "In the first four years of the nineteenth century, in spite of all restrictive and protective duties, six to fifteen thousand bales of cotton piece-goods were annually shipped from Calcutta to Great Britain. . . . After 1820 the manufacture and export of cotton piece-goods declined speedily never to rise again." Similarly, while the commissioners ignore the effects of the British Tariff policy adopted to foster British piece-goods and other industries, the Panditji has focussed in a small compass the opinions of various historians, English and Indian, to prove that the protective policy was forced on the Government of the period by the manufacturers to impose and ruin the then existing Indian industries. Some of those quotations from well-known authors will be read with interest now when the future economic policy of the Empire is likely to be settled at the Peace Conference. After referring to the heavy (70 to 80 p. c.)

import duties levied by England and their effects on Indian imports, H. H. Wilson says " Had India been independent she would have retaliated, would have imposed protective duties upon British goods, and would have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger " The non-existence of Indian shipping has a very deterrent effect on the growth of Indian trade and commerce and indirectly on the development of Indian industries. The decay in the ship-building industry has led many to think that it is not possible to start such an industry in this country and that we are incapable by heredity of reviving that industry successfully. The following passages, quoted by Panditji in his note, will, let us hope, not only remove the mistaken notion about the supposed incapacity of the Indians in this line, but will give encouragement to such Indian industrialists as are inclined to start and work ship-building and shipping industries. " A hundred years ago " says Mr. Digby " ship-building was in so excellent a condition in India that ships could be (and were) built which sailed to the Thames in company with British-built ships and under the convoy of British frigates." Mr. Taylor says " The arrival in the port of London of Indian produce in *Indian-built* ships created a sensation among the monopolists, which could not have exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared in the Thames. The ship-builders of the port of London took the lead in raising the cry of alarm; they declared that their business was on the point of ruin, and that the families of all the shipwrights in England were certain to be reduced to starvation." (The italics are mine.) A great deal of water had flowed under the bridge since then, and even before the war which has now happily ended changed the angle of vision of nations and their leaders. English and Indian leaders of thought and also of commerce had seen the necessity of developing Indian industries to the fullest extent and making the country self-contained. The Swadeshi movement, which began rather in a crude form about half a century back in this presidency frizzled out, except in regard to the cotton mill industry, as it was not backed by capital enterprise or technical knowledge. It was in a semi-moribund condition until the politico-industrial wave of Boycott-Swadeshism passed over from Bengal all over the country. In course of time the political side of the movement disappeared, and the educated public began to think over the various problems connected with the industrial development of the country. The Industrial Conference owes its genesis to this phase of public life. From almost the very beginning, the Industrial Conference asked for higher technical and commercial education, subsidies from the Government, and later on full fiscal freedom. Government did not pay great heed to their demand in the beginning, but later on their attitude towards the industrial develop-

ment became more and more sympathetic, and this culminated into their acceptance of the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council which resulted in the appointment of an Industries Commission. Sir William Clarke, in accepting the resolution, expressed his view that " the building up of industries when the capital and centralised management should be in the hands of Indians was the special object which we all have in view. " He made his meaning quite clear that he deprecated the taking of any steps if it might " merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries." It is quite clear from the above that in the establishment of new industries preference will be given to Indians and Indian capital. By this phrase, I do not mean mere Rupee capital as opposed to sterling capital, but capital subscribed mainly in India by Indians. There can be no question about the capacity of Indians to organise and establish large industries such as Iron and Steel Works, Hydro-Electric Works or build and manage feeder railways, or introduce improved methods in the manufacture of cotton goods, when we had on the Commission Industrialists who have actually been successful in starting these industries. Even where for lack of experience our men may take some more time to formulate schemes and work them up than English capitalists with previous experience in these lines, it is ultimately in the interests of the country that Indians should be given the foremost and fullest opportunities of undertaking this class of work; otherwise we shall have, as Sir William Clarke said, to face foreign competition within the country instead of from without.

That political and territorial re-adjustment will not be the only question that will come up for settlement at the Peace Conference, and that industrial and commercial readjustment will also be taken in hand, can be seen by the prominent place given to the question of Imperial Preference and freedom from taxation to imports of food and raw materials by the Prime minister in the programme of the Coalition Ministry. If this inference is a correct one, we must be allowed to put our case before the War Cabinet and before the Peace Conference for full freedom to develop our industries. I am sorry to harp again on the matter referred to in my first article, but the importance of the subject demands the repetition of the suggestion made therein that the Government of India should lose no time in sending at least one industrial and business man to sit in the War Cabinet to safeguard the interests of future industrialism of this country. The telegram sent by the Indian Merchants, Chamber and Bureau, a body that represents various commercial interests in Bombay, shows that there is a general feeling amongst the commercial community that it must be represented at the War Cabinet.

Speaking on the effects of exports on rural life, the commissioners casually make a mention of the "cheap railway and steamer transport," but they do not specially refer to the effects of the introduction of railways on the industries of the country. The Hon'ble Panditji in his note quotes fully from Lord Dalhousie's minute to show that he had, as Sir W. Hunter puts it, "from the outset a vigilant eye to the *mercantile aspects of his railway routes.*" (The italics mine.) The mercantile aspects presumably mean the interests of the then trading British community to increase the imports into the country of foreign manufactured goods—to dump these, if one may use a modern phrase—and to provide greater facilities for the export of raw produce of the interior. This policy indirectly helped in ruining the smaller industries of the country. One cannot help agreeing with the Panditji when he says: "I do regret that it was not then also the policy of Government to promote Indian industries, for then India would have prospered as well as England. It is particularly to be regretted that when they decided to develop a vast system of railways in India, they did not also decide to develop the iron and steel industry."

L. S.

INDIA'S WAR FINANCE AND PEACE TIME PROBLEMS.

III.

INDIA'S SERVICES TO THE EMPIRE.

WHATEVER hopes might have been entertained at one time about an early cessation of hostilities, were well nigh dissipated by the beginning of 1916, and though one constantly heard experts as well as non-experts, taking of a decisive spring offensive, a crushing enemy defeat and the imminent exhaustion of Germany, people were not wanting who said that the end was distant and that we must prepare for a prolonged struggle. India had by that time, recovered from the immediate dislocating effects the war had produced upon her trade, currency, banking and exchange, but had still to deal with certain difficult questions forced upon her by the continuance of the struggle with regard to the economic and financial position. The ship of financial administration was no longer assailed by strong gales threatening to upset her, every moment, but her course still lay through perplexities which required a good deal of skill and strength to negotiate. Monsoon conditions were not satisfactory, foreign trade was hampered by scarcity and dearness of freight, restrictions were imposed on exports and imports, expenditure had to be reduced, and on the whole, the financial outlook was far from cheerful. In the words of Sir William Meyer, though in some respects we had less to fear from the element of surprise than in the previous year, we had settled down to a further realization of the test of endurance imposed upon us by a prolongation of the war.

The revised estimates, as compared with the budget, showed an increase of about £ 2 million in revenue, owing mainly to larger net receipts from state railways, and there was an increase of expenditure of some 1½ million chiefly on the army. The provinces were expected to spend half a million less than anticipated and the

combined effect of this was to reduce aggregate deficit from £4 million to £ 2¾ million. The ways and means position too had undergone a change. The railway programme had to be cut down from £8 million to £4.9 million and the sterling borrowings were reduced from £ 6.5 million to £ 3.1 million. Taking the revised estimates for 1915-16 with a slight addition of necessary expenditure and the existing scale of taxation as the basis of the budget for 1916-17, the Finance Member was faced with an imperial deficit of £ 2½ million and together with a provincial deficit of £½ million an aggregate deficit of about £ 3 million. Was the deficit to be met by renewing the loan taken from the Gold Standard Reserve—other borrowing was difficult if not impossible, and £ 3 million out of the £ 7 million taken from that Reserve had been returned—or was additional taxation to be imposed? Curtailment of expenditure was not thought possible, and the provincial Governments were not even getting from their balances with the supreme Government what they would have usefully spent upon education and sanitation. A big war loan might possibly have been floated in India and the success of the future war loans could have been anticipated. But borrowing as an alternative to additional taxation was not justified. The burden of the increased public debt—and it would be unproductive debt—would have fallen upon the mass of the people and the process of the amelioration of their unsatisfactory condition would have been hampered. Under the existing system of taxation, public burdens were not quite equitably distributed, and it cannot be said that the wealthy made their proper contribution to national expenditure. Borrowing might perhaps, have been popular, and the richer classes would have welcomed it in preference to taxation that would fall upon them. It could not, however, have been a wise and from the point of view of the mass of the population, a just policy.

Government took a correct view of the situation and decided that the time had come when the imposition of additional taxation was necessary. So long as it was believed that the war would not continue into a third year and entail a steadily increasing expenditure, they contented themselves with temporary and exceptional measures for meeting their requirements and refrained from raising more revenue by altering taxation arrangements. The position was, however, altogether changed in 1916 and the conditions which 'no additional taxation' policy had been determined upon during the previous years, had vanished. Deficiency in revenue was, more or less, of an abiding character, and there was no reasonable prospect of an immediate improvement. The stress of war expenditure appeared certain to grow, the field for borrowing was limited, and the demands upon the treasuries threatened to be insistent and expansive. It was not a time for patchwork and make shifts, and hesitation to devise means to raise more money by taxation would have proved shortsighted and perhaps disastrous. Government applied themselves boldly to the task and proposed to raise an additional £ 3.6 million as against an estimated imperial deficit of £ 2.6 million—thus securing a comfortable surplus of one million. The additional revenue was obtained as follows:—

- (1) £ 2,150,000 from customs and consequential changes in the excise duties on liquors.
- (2) £ 600,000 by an enhancement of the duty on salt.
- (3) £ 900,000 by an increase under income tax

The general import tariff of India which had, since 1894, been upon the basis of a rate of 5 per

cent. *ad valorem* was raised to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. the duty on sugar being raised to 10 per cent. Certain articles were continued on the free list, and others were subjected to an import duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Taxation on liquors was likewise enhanced in different degrees, and tobacco, cigars and cigarettes came in for enhancement. An export duty on jute and tea completed the changes in the tariff. The Finance Member had to tread on very delicate ground when he came to the taxation of cotton goods which he did not propose to touch. It was a long standing grievance of the Indian people that the low duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent levied on imports of cotton cloth, accompanied by a corresponding excise duty on cloth produced in Indian mills, was unjust to India and was dictated by the selfish interests of Manchester which were too strong for His Majesty's Government. The utter helplessness of the Government of India in safe-guarding and promoting the interests of this country when they come in conflict with the profits of British manufacturers was never more glaringly demonstrated than when the Finance Member stated that strong representations in favour of a material increase in cotton import duties without any enhancement of the excise, made to His Majesty's Government, had proved unavailing, and that what could not be cured, had to be endured. The attitude of the British Cabinet was sorely disappointing, and its plea, that controversial issues could not be raised when the Empire was in the midst of a terrible war, was absolutely unconvincing. It should have borne in mind that apart from considerations of justice to India, the requirements of the war situation made it necessary that the Indian Government should be enabled to raise revenue by all measures which they thought suitable to discharge their responsibilities thrown upon them.

The proposal to raise the tax on salt from Re. 1 to Re. $1\frac{1}{4}$ per maund, was open to serious objection. The enhancement of the duty was based up on the idea that the salt tax had always been regarded as a reserve to be resorted to when the country was involved in war or other financial calamities. The Finance Member could not make out a case in favour of the proposed enhancement of duty. All his resources were not so exhausted that he should have come forward with an impost which was certain to hit hard the poorer classes who had their sufferings to face on the score of high prices. The tax was probably intended to placate the few wealthy people who would be subjected to an enhanced tax on incomes and others who would grumble at the additional though comparatively small demand made upon their purses. It was not necessary to bring the war home to the poor masses by taxing a necessary of life, and there were other and better ways of raising the additional £ 600,000 which the enhanced salt duty was expected to yield. The enhancement of the rates of the income tax and the introduction of the principal of graduation were, on the other hand, perfectly sound propositions and met with general approval in the country. This burden fell upon people who were well able to bear it, and the richer classes could not shirk the responsibility which devolved upon their shoulders.

A more serious, and we may say, fundamental objection to the taxation proposals, remains to be noticed. The imperial deficit which the Finance Member had to cover, amounted to £2.6 million and the proposed arrangements were calculated to yield £3.6 million, leaving a clear surplus of £1 million. Was it necessary for Sir William when he was hard put to it to devise suitable means of raising more revenue and had even to tax the

salt of the poor, to budget for a large surplus? Overestimation of expenditure and underestimation of revenue had, in past years, yielded large surpluses which had been devoted to capital expenditure. This meant that more money was taken out of the pockets of the people than was necessary to maintain, and financial equilibrium and taxation stood at a higher level. It may be observed in fairness to the Finance Member that the economic and financial position of the country was abnormal and that he had to provide for resources sufficient to meet heavier calls that might be made upon him at any time. But we cannot help drawing pointed attention to the comparative neglect to which the cause of educational and social reform was consigned, while every provision was being made for growing military and civil expenditure. The obvious pre-occupations of the war were not a sufficient excuse for marking time in the matter of expansion of education, improvement of sanitation and the promotion of industries. People would have cheerfully borne heavier financial burdens, if schemes for the promotion of national well-being had been prudently taken in hand and had exacted that sacrifice. We would have liked to see Government impose additional taxation in the very first year of the war in order not to be compelled to abate the pace of progress and in order that they might be able even to hasten it. It should have been anticipated that the termination of the war would bring new problems to the fore, and that there would be financial difficulties to encounter on the inauguration of peace as in the midst of the conflict. The imagination, the forethought and the impulse which we here postulate, were sadly lacking and a hand-to-mouth policy was the result.

The programme of rupee borrowing carried out in August 1915, was a complete success, the loan having been over-subscribed by more than two crores. The important departure initiated at the same time in the direction of trying to attract the small investor to Government loans by opening the Post Office section as a supplement to the main loan, yielded satisfactory results, as much as Rs. 50 lakhs having been secured through the Post Office. For the year, 1916-17 it was proposed to raise, outside the Post Office section, £ 4 million by a fresh loan, and in view of the fall which had taken place in the market price of $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 percent. Government paper, to attach to it conversion privileges. The capital programme for the year shrank to small dimensions. The allotment for railways amounted only to £ 3 million. It was almost impossible to raise more funds, and railway material was dear and hard to obtain.

It is necessary to emphasise that the services India has rendered to the Empire were not confined to supply of soldiers for fighting the battle of liberty and right. The services have been varied, direct and indirect,—but all substantial. In the first place, she despatched a large part of her well-seasoned army to France to stem what appeared in the opening stages of the war like an irresistible onrush of the enemy upon Paris. And this she was able to do because she had been, for many years paying heavily for the army which was maintained as much for the benefit of India as that of the Empire as a whole. She then offered to bear the peace charges of her forces sent out to the different fronts as if they continued to stay at home. The financial contribution of India calculated on this basis, was estimated to amount to about £11 million from the commencement of the war up to the 31st March 1916, and was provi-

sionally taken at a further £ 8 million for 1916-17. This does not take into account a considerable outlay in India which would not have fallen upon us but for the war. India also undertook to supply materials of all sorts, and the total value of her various supplies was calculated to come to about £ 48 million by the end of 1916-17. Certain people did not fail to represent these invaluable services of India as a profitable bargain and did not stop to reflect what inconvenience, embarrassment and hardship the sacrifice cost to the Government as well as the people. Same idea of India's services in this direction may be conveyed by adverting to the adjustment which had to be constantly effected in our exchange and currency machinery to meet the strain imposed upon it.

The heavy disbursements made by the Government of India on behalf of His Majesty's Government had the effect of depleting our cash balances and inflating those of the Secretary of State who received payment in London. They served to transfer to England funds which ordinarily would have been drawn by the Secretary of State by means of Council drafts. The total recoverable disbursements in 1915-16 amounted to more than £ 20 million, nearly £ 3 million out of which was due to the purchase of wheat the Indian Government undertook with a view to reducing the alarmingly high prices ruling in the country and also to supplying the needs of Great Britain where the wheat position had become acute. The demand on the Indian treasury balances was so heavy that it could not be met, and yet the Secretary of State's drawings were upon an unexpectedly large scale. It was estimated that those drawings would amount to £ 16½ million. Of this, £ 3·7 million was met from treasury balances as against £ 7·1 millions anticipated in the budget, and £ 7·5 millions through the Gold Standard Reserve. The remaining drawings, *viz.* £ 5·3 million was taken against the Paper Currency Reserve. Ordinarily the amount thus drawn would have to be earmarked in London in gold; but to help the London money market by refraining from taking this course, Government took power by an ordinance to enable the Secretary of State to invest in short time securities sums which normally would have to be held in gold. Act V of 1915 had raised the limit of the invested portion of the Paper Currency Reserve from 14 to 20 crores of rupees, of which some crores could be in sterling securities. By an ordinance issued in January, 1916, while the total investments were retained at the limit of 20 crores, 10 crores out of the amount was allowed to be invested in sterling securities in England. The Paper Currency Act was further amended to give this ordinance the force of law in March, 1916. The earlier Act had already empowered Government, if it wanted to make additional investments in this country, to create government paper *ad hoc* and to place it in the Reserve, thus placing additional resources at its disposal, to be used for the assistance of trade or for its own requirements. The one consideration uppermost in the mind of the Government in effecting the above adjustments was the duty of India to render all possible assistance to the Empire in the prosecution of the war, and its sense of duty was fully shared by the people. In whatever form service and co-operation were demanded, they were promptly given.

V. G. KALE.

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM OF JAPAN.

NEXT to the British Empire, to us Orientals, Japan and its institutions possess a peculiarly

absorbing interest. Though the parliamentary history of Japan does not cover a space of more than thirty years, and the elections held during that period are comparatively few, no one who desires to be well posted on a subject of such engrossing importance as the question of franchise now is, can afford to omit to study the development of the electoral system in Japan. This article deals with that subject, and it is our earnest hope that it will be of some help in enabling us to guard against the evils of representation such as those indicated here.

In 1889, a few days after the constitution came into existence, the Election Law was for the first time promulgated. One thing that stands out prominently in this law is the adoption of the system of small electoral districts, combined with the principle of single-member constituencies. Excepting a few large districts, which, owing to the difficulty of further division, had two seats granted to them, all the other administrative districts, be they cities or prefectures, were divided into electoral districts returning a single member. These were 257 in all. The members were 300 in number, and they were elected for a term of 4 years.

Under this law, payment of 15 yen (about 30 shillings) as direct national taxes constituted a voter's qualification. In addition to this, residence for more than one year in the administrative district where he voted was also required. The qualifications for a candidate, were the same except that he must be thirty years of age, which in the case of a voter was fixed at twenty-five. In order to keep the interests of religion apart from those of the State, ministers of religion were disqualified from becoming candidates.

To realise the necessity for a change in this law, it is essential to know the defects of the system. Even a cursory examination of this law will show to any casual observer that the framers of the Election Law grafted the western system on the constitution of Japan without taking into account the effects of the electorates on the actual working of the constitution. Proper consideration was not given to the question as to how the qualifications fixed would affect the different classes of people. Electoral districts were mechanically marked out on the basis of population without taking due notice of local conditions. Anomalies of representation such as those we noticed last week with reference to the United Kingdom, were glaringly seen. Districts consisting of about 4300 voters returned one member, while those possessing only 53 voters also enjoyed the same privilege. Owing to this disproportionate distribution of voters, it so happened that at some elections a minority returned a majority of the members. There were times when a political party commanding a majority of votes secured no adequate representation at all. The high property qualifications imposed certain serious disabilities on some sections of the community. Men of ability in poor circumstances were prevented from becoming candidates. As national taxes were mostly land taxes, the agrarian class always predominated. Very few municipalities enjoyed the privilege of special representation. Hence interests other than those of the rural population often went without representation. Moreover, the system of small electoral districts gave ample scope for the free play of sectional spirit. Local magnates generally ruled the elections. In the case of constituencies returning two members, the *scrutin de liste* (under which each elector votes for as many members as the entire constituency has to elect) enabled 'utterly inefficient members

to be returned simply because their names were found on the voting paper.' The last defect to be noted is public voting. It is needless to expatiate on the evils of this system. Students of English Constitution know full well the circumstances that led to the passing of the Ballot Act of 1884. In fact, the experience in Japan, as Uyehara puts it, showed her "that open voting, by considerably disturbing the natural settlement of those conflicting forces, which struggle together in the voter's mind, such as the voice of the canvasser, the sentiment of duty, the dignified look of magnates, the speechless approval or disapproval on the part of the supervising officers, and the fear of the candidate to whom a promise has been made, did not afford the best opportunity for a voter to exercise his privilege." It also encouraged corrupt practices.

Such were the defects of the Election Law, which some earnest popular representatives made efforts to reform in 1895 by lowering the property qualification to 5 *yen* in the case of land taxes and to 3 *yen* in the case of income-tax. They also provided for reducing the ages of members and voters to 25 and 20 years respectively. Owing to the stubborn opposition of the Government, the measure was defeated. Some years later, a bill based in the main on the principles mentioned above but more elaborate in structure was introduced by Ito's Cabinet. The system of large electoral districts, combined with that of the single non-transferable vote, was incorporated. Provisions for the increase of members and the representation of municipalities with a population well over 500,000 were also included. The bill also sought to remove the qualifications of members. The effects of the passing of this bill would have been far-reaching. Owing to some other extraneous circumstances, however, it was dropped. The efforts of Yamagata's Cabinet, though at first unsuccessful, in the end, were crowned with success. The new law as it was passed in 1900 recognised the system of large electoral districts, combined with the principle of single secret non-transferable vote. It did away with the property qualification of members, but reduced it to ten *yens* in the case of electors. There is a provision in the Law of Election which, while admitting naturalised Japanese subjects as voters, prevents them, unless exempted, from standing as candidates. Municipalities having a population over 30,000 were created into independent electoral districts. Restrictions regarding age and residence were maintained. At present, the members of the House of Representatives number 381, the proportion of the members to the population being one to 136,522. These are returned by 47 rural districts, each returning from 4 to 12 members, and 61 urban districts possessing 1 to 2 seats. Before the passing of this law in 1898, the number of voters was 500,000. In 1908, it was 1,700,000. The population of Japan in those years was 42,000,000 and 49,588,804 respectively.

Something requires to be said on the Upper House: Its present strength is 373, composed of the members of the imperial family of full age; princes and marquises of the age of 25 and above; one-fifth of the counts, viscounts, and barons of the age of 25 and above, elected by their respective orders; persons above the age 30, nominated by the Emperor in recognition of their meritorious services to the State; and the representatives of highest tax-payers, elected, one for each prefecture, by their own class. The term of office of the elected members is seven years.

R. S. R.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

LONDON, OCTOBER 26.

VITUPERATION MUST CEASE.

THE names of the members of the two committees that have proceeded to India have already been published. When I despatched my last letter, for various reasons I was unable to deal with this and other cognate matters in time to catch the mail. With perhaps one exception, the Indian names are those of well-known and representative men, moreover of men whose names are familiar and carry weight in this country. It is true that four of them felt compelled to abstain from attending the session of the special Congress held in Bombay at the end of August. But it would be futile and indeed injurious to the cause of India's progress to deny that their selection is due to the fact that they embody the spirit, tradition and discipline of the Congress movement in a high degree and that their services have always been and are still placed at the disposal of the country freely and fully. I repeat that it is earnestly to be hoped that nothing will be done to paralyse their efforts by impugning their motives or their patriotism. To speak glibly, as some vituperative and irresponsible critics have done, of those who, for good reasons, happen to differ from them in the political sphere as 'playing into the hands of the enemy' is cruel, useless and absurd. Such statements carry no weight in representative quarters here and merely tend to alienate sympathy, which it is of the utmost importance to conserve and develop. It cannot too strongly be urged that the utmost possible unity and good-will on your side are the *sine qua non* of effecting such improvements in the reform proposals as are deemed even in so-called Moderate circles in India to be vitally necessary, if the reforms are to have that measure of success that we all hope for. With all the desire of people in this country to be generous to India and to recognise not merely her splendid services during the war but also the extent and rapidity of her political progress, it is absolutely necessary for Indians to remember that in the first place people here are woefully ignorant of Indian conditions and with few exceptions are incapable of criticising the proposals that have been put forward. I can speak with some degree of personal knowledge on this point, for it has been my privilege to address audiences of many descriptions in different parts of the country during the last nine months. Everywhere I have found appreciation and good-will; but everywhere also I have found an astounding ignorance of practically everything relating to India. People in England who have any personal knowledge of Indian affairs are almost entirely confined to returned military men, officials, merchants and missionaries. With few exceptions these are drawn from classes in this country having vested interests in India and here too, and it is only natural to suppose that most of them help to create an atmosphere unfavourable to the reception of the Indian claims for wide political responsibility. Indeed the longer the period since these retired Anglo-Indians returned here, the more strenuous is their opposition to reform. Now, if there is anything for which the British people are noted, it is the confidence that they place in the man on the spot. In some ways, of course, this is excellent. In others, however, it may well be disastrous. The men who have been on the spot in India are now on the spot here. The men who

are on the spot in India are still there. You may draw your own conclusions as to the nature of the result. I mention these things in order to indicate as clearly as possible that India is not going to have an unimpeded march to victory here. It is quite true that the progressive forces are on her side. But divisions in India based upon an ignorance of the innate conservatism of the British people in regard to all matters of constitutional reform even as affecting themselves would only have the effect of impeding the efforts to secure the co-operation of those progressive forces.

THE THREATENED ALLIANCE OF EXTREMISTS.

There is no doubt at all that the reactionary elements here are gradually crystallising around the activities of the Indo-British Association. Individual members of this Association may not carry an enormous amount of weight, but as a whole the Association, backed by considerable funds and pushing forward an energetic propaganda in circles that are favourable to receive it or that are on the border-line of caution and reserve, is a very dangerous nucleus of reaction. Its chairman, Lord Sydenham, in the House of Lords, is creating an atmosphere of suspicion and unrest. It is natural of course, that so far as possible a reactionary movement should commence its operations in a Chamber constituted as is the Upper House. If a resolution could be passed there, particularly in the teeth of the Government, it might be used as a powerful lever in attempting to create a division in public opinion in the House of Commons of such a character as to arouse hesitation in the country at large. These were the tactics adopted by Lord Sydenham and his colleagues under the tutelage of Sir John Hewett last Wednesday and Thursday. Lord Lansdowne wanted to throw the declaration of August 20, 1917, to the winds, and Lord Midleton was hardly less intransigent. Lord Salisbury, who leads a little band of ultra-Tory peers, frankly stated that he did not accept that declaration of policy. He and the peers of his way of thinking merely say boldly what men like Lord Sydenham, Lord Macdonell, Lord Harris and a few others, who pretend to accept the declaration, but merely proceed to undermine it, really mean. Lord Curzon, in a useful speech, had no difficulty in realising that in the House of Lords at any rate opinion had hardened in a hostile sense in regard to the Montagu-Chelmsford reform proposals since the discussion on August 6 last, and Lord Midleton's motion that the report should be handed over to the tender mercies of a Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, pending the receipt of the recommendations of the two Committees now in India and the introduction of the Government Bill thereafter was lost by a small minority in a thin House. Even had it been passed, the Government, of course, would not have been bound by the resolution; but, as I have said, it would have made the Government's position more difficult, because it would have paved the way for the introduction of a similar resolution in the House of Commons, by some such "friend of India" as Mr. Joynson-Hicks. Lord Islington and Lord Curzon and Lord Donoughmore (in a wholly admirable speech) emphasised that such a resolution, if adopted, would undoubtedly be regarded in India as a wanton attempt to postpone and ruin the prospects of the reforms, and that any such Select Committee to be established at this date in the absence of representative Indians, who were prevented from coming here during these months of stress and strain, would be regarded by the Indian public as sharp

practice and thereby create an atmosphere of distrust and alarm in India. The lesson is obvious. Vested interests, whether typical or special, even to-day are strongly entrenched here and will put up a 'No Surrender' fight for as long as possible. On one pretext or another, they will attempt to improve the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme out of existence and would destroy the chances of any other scheme of reform. In my opinion, nothing more disastrous could possibly happen than an alliance between the extremists in both countries and this, of course, quite apart from the dangers arising from the association of organs like the *Times* and the *Telegraph* with leaders of the anti-Brahmin movement in India. The utmost statesmanship and watchfulness are required to meet the difficulties and dangers, with which the road of responsible government in India is strewn.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ENFRANCHISEMENT OF INDIAN WOMEN.

SIR,—All progressives are agreed that in the coming reforms women should enjoy the same privileges as men. A resolution to this effect was adopted at the special session of the Congress, but the passing of a resolution of such a far-reaching character, without a dissent (except that of Pandit Malaviya) and indeed without any discussion, gives room for suspicion that the resolution was allowed to pass because woman suffrage has not yet become a living issue in Indian politics. Knowing as we do, the vast amount of reaction and obscurantism that exist even among our advanced leaders, one cannot but think that the forces of opposition are not yet astir only because the question is believed still to be in the academical stages. It is too good to suppose that the opponents of Mr. Patel's bill will capitulate without showing any fight on this other reform, which equally creates a revolution in the traditional conceptions of the Hindus. But I intend this communication for the reformers and request them to give earnest consideration to it.

What exactly is meant when we say that equal scope should be given to women with men in the constitutional reforms? It of course means that the right of vote and membership should be conferred on them on equal terms in the reformed councils. So far of course is clear. But the question is, is it necessary for women to possess the educational and property qualifications in their own independent right to be eligible for the vote? Or will the property of the husband be held also to qualify the wife? Great Britain has enfranchised her women by the latter method. For the Representation of the People Act of this year provides that the qualifications for a vote in the case of women are the attainment of thirty years of age and being a local government elector or the wife of one. This provision is modelled on Norwegian suffrage. Now which of these modes of enfranchising women do our progressives contemplate when they advocate woman franchise? If the latter, the electoral roll will be very greatly enlarged by this single change, in fact doubled or perhaps more than doubled, as among some castes polygamous marriages are current. If, however, independent and individual qualifications are required of women, I am afraid the electoral roll will receive but an insignificant addition, few women holding property in their own right. It will even then be a great gain inasmuch as the principle that there should be no sex bar will have been recognised; but it must be admitted, that the tangible and immediate advantage which women will derive from such a measure will be very slight. On the other hand, the other measure is surrounded with difficulties. We contemplate a very wide franchise both in the urban and rural areas. Literacy perhaps will not be insisted on. A farmer, paying a requisite amount of land revenue to Government, though illiterate, may be supposed to have sufficient worldly knowledge and interest in his State affairs because of his lands, but his wife will be in a far worse case from the point of her equipment, and the general level of the voting capacity will be lowered immensely. There may also be greater room for undue influences on the voters. Will it be in the interest of the country to adopt this method? It is agreed on all hands that every voter should be allowed to be a candidate, and that women, enjoying the vote, should have the membership of councils open to them.—Yours etc.

K. G. L.

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