

# THE Servant of India

Editor : V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

VOL. I., No. 43.]

POONA—THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1918.

[ ANNUAL SUBSN. : RS. 4

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	497
ARTICLE :—	
Lord Willingdon ... ..	499
SPECIAL ARTICLES :—	
A Tribute. By Hy. S. L. Polak ... ..	500
The Industries Commission's Report.—III. By L. S.	500
India's War Finance and Peace Time Problems.—	
IV. By Prof. V. G. Kale ... ..	502
A LETTER FROM LONDON ... ..	504
LETTERS FROM THE PROVINCES:—	
Madras ... ..	505
CORRESPONDENCE :—	
Mr. Patel's Bill. By R. D. Karva, M. A. ... ..	507

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Bombay Government has offered to the Corporation to shoulder one-half of the burden of the additional expenditure that may be incurred in carrying out its scheme for introducing free and compulsory education within ten years. According to the agreement entered into with Government, the Corporation had undertaken the liability to defray the whole of the expenditure on primary education, Government agreeing to pay one-third of the additional cost if it imposed compulsory education on the Corporation. Now the latter body has of its own motion launched on a scheme which will develop after ten years into a programme of free and compulsory education, and though the Government was under no statutory obligation to contribute towards its cost, the Corporation asked Government to share one-third of the cost of financing its new scheme on the ground that it would be too heavy a charge upon its resources. The Government has now agreed to bear one-half of the enhanced expenditure, and its share of the burden at the end of ten years, when the scheme will be completely worked out, is estimated at nine lakhs every year. This is no doubt a very generous grant, which the Corporation accepted with deep gratitude at its meeting held last Friday. It may well excite the envy of mofussil municipalities and may even be regarded by them as made at their expense, unless they are also helped in their efforts to expand primary education in an equally liberal manner.

THE decision of the Bombay Government to transfer the functions now discharged by the Bombay City Improvement Trust to the Corpora-

tion will be generally regarded as a great step forward in the development of local self-government in the Bombay Presidency. The improvement of the slums and the construction of sanitary buildings for the poor were the main objects for which the Trust was created nearly twenty years ago, but all this time the complaint is made that the Trust has gone the wrong way about its business and has failed to realise the expectations formed of it. It is also claimed that the financial position of the Corporation has improved sufficiently to be able to undertake the duties, for the performance of which a separate body was constituted as being beyond its means. Again, the Corporation being ultimately liable by statute to meet the financial obligations of the Trust, it is only in consonance with the principles of local self-government that the Corporation should be in a position to control the body. The non-popular constitution of the Trust has also given deep affront to the leaders of what can justly claim to be one of the best administered municipalities in the world, and it was only to be expected after the elevation of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola to the executive council, who fought the hardest on behalf of the Corporation, that the much desired transfer of the powers and duties of the Improvement Trust should take place. That step has now been decided on, and it is one of the last acts of Lord Willingdon for which citizens of Bombay will feel sincerely grateful.

WE heartily congratulate the Government of Bombay on the progressive educational policy they have adopted. The latest instance is the appointment of a committee on which, we are glad to note, the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye is to serve, for the purpose of suggesting ways to remove congestion in existing colleges. The reference to the committee includes the question of improving accommodation in the old colleges, the starting of new colleges by the Government, and, we presume, substantially helping private effort. This step is the best indication of the change in the angle of vision in educational matters. The introduction of English in first grade primary schools, the promise to establish additional High Schools, the sympathetic consideration of the question of providing education for a larger number of students in colleges and the recent announcement about revising and increasing the scale of grants allowable to aided colleges—all these lead to one conclusion

namely, that Government have ceased to consider education of any kind as monopoly of the rich. We believe we shall not be wrong if we give the greater part of the credit for the inauguration of this new policy to Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, the new Member in charge of education, and we hope that before he lays down office at the end of his period he will have placed higher education in Bombay on a sounder and more popular foundation.

A DETAILED statement of the various measures of human relief and cattle relief, adopted by the Bombay Government to mitigate widespread distress and scarcity in the famine-stricken districts of the Presidency, has been made in their press-note of the 5th inst. The Controller of Famine Fodder, a special officer recently appointed, has been authorised to make arrangements for the supply up to 8 crores of pounds at the maximum rate of 20 rupees per thousand. The grass supplies are being issued to the cultivators at special depots at the concessionary rate of Rs. 15 per 1000 lbs., Government bearing the cost of the difference between the selling price and the purchase rate, which has hitherto ranged from Rs. 18 to Rs. 28 per 1000 lbs, plus freight. Facilities are afforded to the people for gathering fodder in the forests and admitting a larger number of cattle for grazing in them. In the matter of supply of food grains, says the press note, "standard prices are being fixed by the Food Commissioner for rice in Burma and for wheat in the Punjab. Retail prices are to be regulated in the first place by the issue of licenses, and secondly by the issue of priority certificates." The Director of Civil Supplies has already arranged for a conveyance of 97,000 tons of rice to Bombay, of which 40,000 tons have already arrived. Municipalities and local bodies and even charitable philanthropists must hasten to avail of the Government assistance and encouragement in the establishment of cheap grain shops. They are making a total provision of Rs. 50 lakhs for the distribution of loans to cultivating classes for the current financial year and are budgeting for a further sum of Rs. 60 lakhs for the next year. Grants have been made for the distribution of gratuitous relief to the decrepits and dependents, and a proposal to engage temporarily the services of over a hundred medical men for duty in the districts has been sanctioned.

THE news has been published that Mrs. Besant's cable to England telling her friends of her willingness to stand as a candidate in the General Election was held up till after the last day of nomination. The cable was despatched on November 18th and had not reached its destination till the 25th, but from the reply received to Mrs. Besant's next cable of December 1st, it would also appear that the first cable was not allowed to go through till the second had reached England. If this is the case, the inference is irresistible that

the first cable was not allowed to leave or was intercepted on the way. The Viceroy has set an inquiry on foot, and if the facts revealed are as they are apprehended to be, we cannot but characterise this action as mean beyond words. We only hope that Mrs. Besant's cablegram was "subjected to ordinary delays due to pressure of traffic" as the Private Secretary to the Viceroy suspects. This is only possible if the answer received by Mrs. Besant that her willingness to accept candidature was known too late was an answer to her first instead of the second cable.

THE *Kesari*, Mr. Tilak's paper, continues to attack the principle of Mr. Patel's Hindu Marriage Validation Bill. To it all inter-caste unions, *anuloma* as well as *pratiloma*, appear objectionable and to revive even the former kind of marriages which, though sanctioned by *Śāstras*, have now fallen into desuetude, is, in the view of this paper, to invite disaster on the Hindu religion and civilisation. That the Bill is only an enabling measure, and does not restrict the liberties of the orthodox Hindus in any manner is, in the opinion of the *Kesari*, not a feature that can redeem the obnoxious character of the bill. Only such gullible persons as Mr. Jinnah, it says, can defend the bill on the ground that it is permissive and that the Hindu society retains under it the right to outcaste a man who marries out of his caste. The *Kesari* much fears that, as a consequence of the agitation that will ensue among the reformers soon after the passage of the bill, the Hindu society will be deprived of its right to eject him from the caste and a demand may even be put forward that the offspring of mixed marriages should be entitled to ancestral property! Another Patel will surely arise in the near future to bring forward such a bill. This of course even the too generous *Kesari* cannot allow, for it will completely undermine the whole fabric of the Hindu religion! This jealous custodian of the ancient religion therefore lays down its irreducible minimum in this matter; it is this that the off-spring of inter-caste marriages shall be thrown out of the pale of the existing castes and shall forfeit all rights of inheritance. This is the only way known to the *Kesari* of showing its devotion to Hinduism.

"FOR the first time perhaps" says the *Hita-vada*, "in the history of the C. P. Council, a resolution was carried against Government by the non-official members of Council voting together in spite of Government opposition. The systematic manner in which the claims of the Indian officers of the P. W. D. were set aside and men with comparatively inferior professional qualifications were promoted to higher grades over the heads of their seniors had created a situation in this province, which well-nigh amounted to a scandal. The Hon'ble R. B. Kelkar's resolution for the creation of board to inquire into the cases of aggrieved officers was carried.

### LORD WILLINGDON.

HIS EXCELLENCY LORD WILLINGDON lays down the reins of his office and leaves for England to return after a brief holiday there as Governor of Madras. The five and half years of his Governorship of Bombay, following upon the quinquennium of Lord Sydenham's administration, were marked by a reversal of the policy of the latter satrap and by steady, if slow, progress all along the line. The pace of progress was inevitably slow, on account of the severe handicap put on all activities by the war, but making sufficient allowance for that fact, it will be generally recognised that advance has been made in all departments. But more than all, the relations between the head of the administration and the leaders of public opinion were the most cordial, it being known that the popular aspirations for political advancement were regarded by the former with the utmost sympathy. We have had occasionally to complain about some measures of the Bombay Government during the last few years, but it can hardly be doubted that Lord Willingdon has been the most successful Governor of Bombay since the time of Lord Reay. Coming as he did from the ranks of the Liberal party in England, he has not allowed his Liberal opinions to desert him on passing through the Suez Canal, as has too often been the case with several other Liberal Englishmen. It is an open secret that he has been the most consistent advocate of a large instalment of political reforms in India, and it is whispered that he was personally ready to hand over the whole provincial administration to a responsible Legislative Council and work under such an arrangement. Whatever that may be, his instincts have been always on the side of democracy, and as an illustration we may refer to his recent trenchant minute on the advantages of the State management of railways as against company management.

Lord Willingdon came to Bombay in difficult circumstances. Lord Sydenham had put a considerable strain on the relations between the Government and the people. His almost insufferable ways and his inordinate conceit had alienated the leaders of the people. His interference in the affairs of the University and in educational matters generally had almost led to an *impasse*. Lord Willingdon changed all that and recently the relations of the Government and the University have been amicable in the extreme. The Matriculation and School Final question has been solved. Some remnants of Lord Sydenham's autocratic *regime* still remain, but we hope they will soon disappear. In the educational sphere Lord Willingdon's administration will always be remembered for the passing of an act of compulsory education. It is well-known that this measure owed its existence as much to Lord Willingdon's personal interest in it as to the keen general demand made for it throughout the Presidency. Bombay has thus been enabled to lead the way to other provinces, and the Punjab and Bihar and Orissa, we are glad, have

followed suit. Again, it will be remembered that the Bombay Government has whole-heartedly accepted the recommendation of its committee to the effect that the proportion of Indians and Europeans in the recruitment for the Indian educational service should be 3:1—a proportion far more liberal than that of any other provincial Government.

It has always to be borne in mind that the head of the Government, however good he may be, is not all-powerful. It takes some time for his influence to filter down through the bureaucratic machine, which is always reactionary. If one is keen on having an easy time of it, he has simply to say *ditto* to all that the machine puts before him; but if one wants to be liberal, a comprehensive study has to be made of all the facts to support one's liberal views. The presence of an Indian member of the Council is generally an advantage on the popular side, but all the same a running fight is to be maintained all the time. In judging of the work of a Governor, one has therefore got to see whether on the whole the policy during his *regime* has been progressive or reactionary. For one reactionary measure which he may not have been able to prevent, he may have nipped in the bud a dozen reactionary proposals and the credit of this must really be given to him. Judging by this standard we confidently say that Lord Willingdon's administration has been progressive.

Lord Willingdon has always been unsparing of himself in the discharge of his duties. His travels have ranged over every nook and corner of the Presidency and have been marked by a readiness to see things for himself. His exertions in the cause of all charitable and public movements are well-known and he has fully entered into all activities connected with war work. He has suffered a heavy personal bereavement in the war, but he has not allowed it to affect his work. In the Legislative Council he has generally used his influence to smooth matters, though occasionally he spoke on Government side more strongly than he need have done. He is an excellent speaker and can always put his case effectively. Only on one occasion did he make what many consider an actual *faux pas*, and that was at the time of the Bombay War Conference when he spoke his mind about some of the Home Rule League leaders, which had better have been unsaid. But against this have to be set the numerous instances in which he really adopted a progressive line of policy and poured oil on troubled waters. On a general review of his Governorship—during which he was in all his social activities heartily seconded by Her Excellency Lady Willingdon—it will be regarded as most unfortunate that he leaves this Presidency just at the moment when he would have helped materially in its further progress, though it is some consolation to feel that his ripe experience and hearty sympathy with Indian aspirations will help a sister Presidency to get out of the difficult road into which it appears to have generally fallen during the last few years.

## A TRIBUTE.

SO both Sorabjee and Cachalia have passed away. One no longer speaks of them as Mr., for they are great and their names are an inspiration to all who recognise the majesty of human effort and the potentialities of Indian patriotism. The Passive Resistance struggle in South Africa without those two names would be as if the pith were extracted from it. Two more modest humble workers never lived. They did not labour for reward or fame. They did not count the sacrifice. It was sufficient that they heard their country's call. In the truest sense of the term, they were religious men, and endeavouring to serve their country in an inhospitable land, they rose to the height of their manhood as much as any other Indians have done. They raised the honour and prestige of India pre-eminently. Their sense of duty was simple but overpowering, and they did it in the face of opposition and discouragement where lesser men would have failed. Let us salute their memory. Let us build upon the foundations they so truly laid. Let us unite to add to the dignity and honour, for which India's children should always labour on her behalf. So shall we be carrying on the task by the light of their lives and works.

HY. S. L. POLAK.

## THE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION'S REPORT.

## III.

CHAPTERS two and three of the Report are devoted to a description of industrial centres and districts and of raw materials for industries. Except that there is some overlapping in these chapters of certain matters, this part of the work deserves commendation. Within the scope at their disposal, the Commissioners have given a fair and connected synopsis of a general industrial survey of the existing centres of industries and raw materials in this country. This survey necessarily has to be of a general character, as it would have been difficult to give details within this space. The Commissioners lay stress on the system of management by agency firms in vogue in this country, as opposed to the system of managing directors in England and other countries. As the Commissioners point out, this system owes its origin to the constant need of finding working and other capital for concerns managed by these firms, and to the ability of the latter in finding this capital. "We are much impressed," says the Report, "by the strong evidence of the high financial prestige possessed by the better class agency firms, and of the readiness of the investing public to follow their lead, a position only reached, we recognise, by a policy extending over many years of efficient management, cautious finance and wasteful interests of client enterprises." The Commissioners merely record the criticism against this system, that it leads to a lack of enterprise and a disinclination to follow up lines of natural development, but they

do not give their opinion on the subject. As the system is also strongly criticized on the ground that under it sons of the existing members enter the firm without their capacity or honesty being tested, and that as a result some concerns have suffered heavily, it would have been better if the Commissioners had gone more deeply into the matter and given a definite opinion on it, as the future of industrialism in this country is to some extent dependent on the continuance or abolition of this system. Theoretically, it is open to the same objection as all systems where power or control is transferred on account of heredity only, and unless some provision is made in agency agreements to give the shareholders a voice when such transfers take place, there is a probability of some of the failures of the past being repeated. If the Commissioners had, after examining the question thoroughly, come to the conclusion that the system needs to be amended and had said so in plain words, their decision would have been of great use at the time of establishing new concerns.

A great deal of space is devoted to the two most important industries in this country, jute manufacture in Bengal and cotton manufacture in the Bombay Presidency. The Commissioners note the fact, which is universally known, that "Bengali or Indian capitalists have taken very little part, otherwise than as mere investors, in the starting, and none at all in the management, of jute mills." Not only has the Bengali practically no hand in starting or managing the jute industry, but he is as the Commissioners say, "yielding ground to the more enterprising Marwari trader from Rajputana." This is attributed to the inability of the Bengali trader to pass on from the state of trader to that of manufacturer. However valid this ground may be, the other reason given later on seems to be the real cause of the jute industry being entirely in European hands. It is that "British capital and expert skill have been freely poured into Calcutta jute industry owing to the advantages of its location, while for 40 years past the industry in the United Kingdom has stood still, in point at least of the quantity of jute consumed." The Bengali is very often twitted, not only by the non-Indian but also by his brethren of the other presidencies, for his supposed incapacity to start and manage industrial concerns. It seems from the Commissioners' remark quoted above that he has not got a fair opportunity of utilizing his talents and capital in this direction. Moreover, as the late Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt once told me that Lancashire does not criticize Devonshire for sticking to agriculture and not taking to industries; for the same reason Bombay should not deride the Bengali for investing his spare capital in land and agriculture and for not taking to industries. These constant remarks set up the back of the Bengali, and as a result an Association was started to send out Bengali youths to foreign countries to study industries. The reports of this Association show that Bengal has recently

done more in this line of activity than other Presidencies, and all credit is due to the leaders of the movement for directing the Bengali intellect in this channel. That this movement has borne some fruit can be seen from the Commissioners' remarks: "That a noteworthy feature of Calcutta industrial life . . . . is the number of small organised industries recently taken up by Indians such as tanning, pottery, and pencilmaking." While giving even details of the cotton manufacturing industry of Bombay, reference is made to the Tata Hydro-Electric Works, though perhaps on account of the modesty of one of the members of the Commission—Sir Dorab Tata—the actual name of these works is not mentioned. A special paragraph is devoted to the share taken by Indians in the trade and industrial development of industries, and naturally a comparison is made between Calcutta and Bombay. The Report says: "The most noteworthy difference between the two cities is the large share taken by Indian merchants in the trade and industry of Bombay. . . . Indians predominate in the share market as mill-owners and as importers of and dealers in country produce and cotton brought into Bombay from the rest of India."

Under the heading of the Bengal Coal-field is given a description of coal industry; and separate paragraphs are given to the Bengal Iron and Steel Company and the Tata Iron and Steel Company's works. This is followed by a short description of the Deccan cotton tract, the jute districts, the tea districts of North East India, and indigo in Bihar. It is perhaps not generally known that the tea plant is indigenous in Assam and that the first sample of Assam-made tea was sent to England so far back as 1838. In those days Government did not adopt the *laissez faire* policy towards indigenous industries, and it is interesting to learn that investigation about tea culture was undertaken by Government who "may in fact be said to have pioneered the industry." One wonders why this policy was abandoned, or was it that the policy was adopted merely in the interests of the British tea planters? There is some ground for this supposition, for the legislative powers of the Government were utilized to help the planters in getting labour by the passing of Act XII of 1859, which is still in force in Assam, and under which "penalties can be inflicted for breach of contract on labourers who have received advances and wilfully refuse to carry out a contract to work."

The indigo industry in Bihar, which was losing ground in its struggle against synthetic indigo, is likely to hold its own if it receives all the expert assistance and financial facilities mentioned in the Report. Much will, however, depend on the terms under which we allow synthetic indigo to enter the country. The Commissioners have not given any opinion on the much debated question of the relations between the planter as owner or lessee of land and landed rights and the ryots who hold under him, on the ground that they have re-

cently been subject of special legislation. A definite opinion from a strong independent body like the Commissioners would have carried a great deal of weight with the intelligent public, but that was not to be.

It is saddening to be told that "very few Indians have risen to the rank of foremen" in railway workshops, and "still fewer have been appointed to the superior establishment." Can there be any graver indictment than this on the incapacity of foreign company-managed and even State-managed railways to enter into the feelings of Indians and train them up for future control over the railway workshops? The Commissioners give two reasons for this condition of affairs, lack of provision for training and lack of demand for such training, which they acknowledge is due "to the absence of visible prospects for its recipients." Will the Government of India be pleased to take note of this statement and issue orders for full provision being made in both company and state managed railways to give such training and also issue instructions that Indians having the requisite training should be given preference to outsiders? After referring to the industrial development of mofussil centres such as Delhi and Cawnpore, the Commissioners devote a few paragraphs to Burma, whose conditions, they say, differ in many respects from those prevailing in India. In spite of what has been done up to now in regard to the oil industry and forest industry and some mineralogical industries, the province is mainly undeveloped, and there is an ample scope for enterprising capitalists to take up the work of developing many of the local industries. In the last few years attempts have been made to differentiate between the interests of Burmans and those of the Indians in a manner which is not only unfair to the latter, but which is not likely to help the former, for their interests will not be taken into account when they clash against those of the British capitalists. Let Burmans be given full opportunity to develop their industries themselves; but if they cannot do so and outside assistance is necessary, let Indians have preference over other nations.

It is satisfying to see that the Commissioners' recommendation of a hydrographic survey, not only of Burma but of the whole of India, has in a way been forestalled by the appointment of two experts, Mr. Barlow and Mr. Mears, to undertake a preliminary inquiry about the possibilities of hydroelectric undertakings in this country. The Government of India, or rather Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill, has to be congratulated on taking this first step in the right direction.

The description of the various raw materials for industries given in chapter IV forms interesting reading. The most interesting portions from my point of view are the references at various stages to the effects of the tariff policy of other countries on our industries. Referring to (1) cotton,

(2) oilseed, (3) hide and leather, (4) and paper pulp, the Commissioners say:—

(1) "The external demand is mainly for raw cotton and is rendered effective by the imposition of tariffs in the importing countries, which has severely restricted the development of the Indian export trade in cotton."

(2) "We recognise that the success of large-scale mills producing oil for export depends not only on the skill with which they are worked and on improvements yet to be effected in the means of transport (such as possibly the adoption of carriage in bulk), but on an even more important factor—the tariff policy which may be pursued in India and elsewhere."

(3) "We also recognise that India will, for an even longer time, be unable to consume all the leather that will be produced by an extension of the industry on a scale sufficiently large to withstand the competition of exporters of hides, while tariff bars against the importation of leather exist in many foreign countries which admit hides freely."

(4) "Finally, there was a fear lest the infant undertaking might be crushed by the dumping of wood pulp from Scandinavia or North America, and there was the knowledge that Japanese experiments in this direction had not proved successful. The position of paper pulp in India after the war will undoubtedly depend very largely upon the manufacturing conditions in other countries, upon fiscal regulations, and upon the cost of transport overseas."

Would it be too much to expect the Government even now to appoint a new Commission or Committee to make inquiries into the fiscal policy of this country in view of the conclusions drawn by this Commission on the subject?

L. S.

## INDIA'S WAR FINANCE AND PEACE TIME PROBLEMS.

### IV

#### GROWING SACRIFICES OF INDIA.

THE outstanding feature of the financial developments in India which have been so far described is the valuable service rendered by this country to the Empire in the prosecution of the war. The exchange crises which arose from time to time, the currency difficulties which had constantly to be faced, the high prices which ruled in the Indian market and inflicted great hardship upon the mass of the people, the heavier burden of taxation which had to be borne by the country, the irritating restrictions that were imposed upon varied economic activities and the disappointing measures of retrenchment and economy which the Government thought it necessary to adopt—though they were neither wise nor just—in connection with expenditure on schemes of urgent reforms, were all directly traceable to one cause, viz., India's sacrifices for the Empire. The issues for which the Allies were struggling and the special significance of the war for the British Empire had now come to be appreciated even by the masses in India, who were ready to co-operate with Government in order to bring the war to a speedy and victorious end. The Government of India was doing its duty manfully and was acting upon the only principle which should have guided it, viz., subordinating everything to the supreme issue of the moment, the winning of the war. To have succeeded in keeping the financial and the general administrative machinery smoothly working in the most taxing and perplexing pre-occupations of the war was no mean achievement, and due credit must be

given for this to the Finance Member and his colleagues as much as to the people who showed excellent temper and spirit while passing through the ordeal of hardship and sacrifice. In closing the budget debate on 23rd March, 1917, Lord Chelmsford remarked with reference to this ordeal which lay before the country:—"There will be a sacrifice, not of luxuries, not of the frills and trimmings of civilization, but a sacrifice in large measure of the necessities of ordered government, and one result must be arrested progress in education, in sanitation, in public works and kindred subjects which are in other countries the touchstone of civilised life."

No sacrifice could be too great which was required for the defence, for the very preservation of the existence of the Indian nation and of the British Empire, because this was really what the war meant. But by no stretch of the imagination could it have been said that the financial condition of India was so desperate that it rendered imperative the sacrifice of the progress of education, of sanitation and of national industries during the time of war. On the contrary, the financial strength and elasticity of India was a subject of pride and admiration to our Finance Member, and the plea of war necessities coming from that quarter as justification for the arrest of the progress of beneficent schemes of advancement, could not fail to prove unconvincing to those who were keen in the matter. The position of India in this respect was peculiar. The representatives of the people, whose aspirations it was not possible for the officials to appreciate and whose enthusiasm it was not in the nature of things for them to share, have no control over the executive Government. For years together they have been pressing for urgent reforms, but the pace of Government has been slow, much too slow. The consciousness of the people was quickened by the war and the sentiments it aroused all the world over. Problems of reconstruction were being discussed and schemes connected therewith were being taken up in hand in all countries. For the Government in India to tell the people under these circumstances that war conditions must leave things marking time and that it was impossible to finance projects of improvement, was extremely deplorable. The financial dispositions proposed for the year 1917-18 give point to this criticism, and we now turn to the budget arrangements for that year.

The revised estimates for 1916-17 had a surprise in store for the country. The total revenue was estimated at £96·7 million against the £86·328 put down in the budget, an increase of more than £10 million and in spite of the fact that the expenditure had exceeded the budget estimate by £3½ million it was expected that the year would close with a surplus of £7·2 million. The railways yielded £4 million out of this large surplus and there were small increases in several of the other items of revenue. The monsoon and general economic conditions had turned out favourable, and though trade was hampered by the peculiar difficulties created by the war, the various sources of revenue had been more productive than anticipated. When the financial estimates and taxation proposals were under discussion in March, 1916, the Finance Member had resisted all suggestions calculated to modify his anticipations and dispositions: and even now he was not prepared to admit that his caution had been misplaced and defended it on the ground of the growing liabilities of Government. He decided to use the huge surplus realised in 1916-17 in paying off the emergency war debts, including



the loan taken from the gold standard reserve, and to place the country in a position to undertake fresh financial obligations for purposes of the war. In expounding his financial forecast, Sir William Meyer lucidly described the operations which took place during 1916-17 in connection with the Secretary of State's drawings, the exchange and Government of India's disbursements in this country on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and the account he gave provided an instructive illustration of India's invaluable sacrifices for the Empire.

It had been calculated that the Government here could afford to let £22½ million of its treasury balances be transferred to England, £18.6 million of this being recovered in London and about £4 million being drawn by means of Council bills. What actually happened, however, was that the total amount actually transferred during the year 1916-17 rose to the unprecedented figure of £71½ million! The disbursements, the equivalent of which was recoverable in England, amounted to £38½ million and Council bills which had to be sold on account of an acute trade demand were met here to the extent of £33 million! How was this feat performed? The treasury balances, augmented by the surplus yielded £33 million; £19½ million represented new rupee currency manufactured out of silver purchased in England and £19 million was withdrawn from the Paper Currency Reserve and invested in London. To appreciate the significance of these transactions, it must be borne in mind that the normal imports to India were restricted by reason of difficulties of transport and the reduction in the trade of Great Britain with this country and we had to export, at the same time, large quantities of goods of national importance for the prosecution of the war. The large debt which thus England owed to India, as a result of the abnormally favourable trade balance, could not be paid in gold which had to be conserved in London for the benefit of the Empire. Silver was imported for the coinage of rupees and it only partially liquidated the debt. The balance remaining to India's credit had to be lent in England and restrictions were imposed upon exports and the operations of Exchange banks. Our paper and rupee currency was steadily expanding and silver was being purchased at high prices. Sir William Meyer referred to these difficulties as "an essential service which India is rendering to the Empire in financing war expenditure abroad" and the inconveniences arising therefrom he characterised as "a war sacrifice which India has made for the Empire."

In view of the above facts one would have thought that no additional sacrifice would have been demanded of India, particularly in the form of an out and out war gift to Great Britain. The difficulties of India with respect to monetary stringency, disturbance of exchange, disbursements for His Majesty's Government and other matters described above were indeed bound to grow in the coming year with the continuance and intensification of this struggle with the enemy and measures must be taken to meet them. Devices, similar to those adopted in 1916-17, would be necessary and would have to be supplemented by a big war loan to supply Government with the resources required to carry out its obligations imposed by the war. Few, however, thought that the remedy was to be found in an unconditional war gift to England of the amount of £100 million. Apart from the serious inconveniences and hardships suffered by India, she had made a liberal contribution to the prosecution of the war in various ways. (1) Her net contribution in respect of the Expeditionary

Forces was estimated to amount, to the close of 1917-18, to £15½ million. (2) Her net annual military expenditure, which was estimated at £20½ million for 1914-15, had risen to an estimated amount of £26 million for 1917-18. (3) The political situation in Persia had thrown upon India a burden of about £1¼ million from the commencement of the war upto March 1918. (4) At the cost of serious trade restrictions and financial strain, India had put, since the beginning of the war, £46½ million into British war securities, £35 million out of this representing wholly war investments. And (5) India had resolved not to indent on the London loan market and had paid off her temporary war debt. These services and sacrifices of India did not, however, satisfy certain critics of Government, and they set up a clamour that it should bear the whole war expenditure of the Indian Expeditionary Force and float a big war loan for the purpose, or should, at any rate, hand over to His Majesty's Government, as India's gift, the proceeds of a large scale war loan.

The Government of India had long resisted these suggestions and protested strongly against charges levelled at it for its alleged parsimony and lack of imperial patriotism. It had rightly contended that India had done enough and more ought not to be expected from her poverty. But apparently the attacks of hostile critics made it uneasy, and the financial position seemed to be propitious for a gift by India to His Majesty's Government. Government thought, in view of the altered circumstances, that the time had come when, in accordance with the wishes of the representatives of the people in the Supreme Legislative Council, India should directly bear a larger share of the cost of the war. It was, therefore, proposed to make a special contribution of £100 million to His Majesty's Government and to increase the Indian Government's resources for making the recurring liabilities connected therewith to the extent of £6 million a year. The proceeds of a war loan to be floated were to be immediately handed over and the balance was to be liquidated by taking over a portion of the British war debt. That Indian sentiment earnestly desired to help in the prosecution of the war and would favour a direct financial contribution to His Majesty's Government, to the full measure of the country's capacity, was undisputed. And the Government was only doing its duty in making reasonable arrangements for a decent contribution, when the situation seemed favourable for carrying out the popular desire. What is not equally clear is the inability of Government to meet popular wishes with reference to the State's liberal assistance in the rapid promotion of the extension of mass education and other urgent national reforms. Granting that, to be decent and worthy of being made, the war contribution could not be less than £100 million, one cannot understand why a crore or two could not be spared for the promotion of national efficiency.

The Government of India did indeed provide for a special recurring grant of £200,000 a year to be allotted for improving the training and pay of teachers in primary and secondary schools. In making this grant, the Finance Member explained that it was an earnest of Government's intention to make more liberal provision for education when peace and prosperity returned. It was a welcome grant, but it only served to remind the people how slowly the country was moving when acceleration of speed was the supreme need of the hour. The object for which the grant was made was one that evoked universal appreciation, as without

trained and well-paid teachers efficiency in education was impossible. But what about the diffusion of education and the dissipation of the black clouds of illiteracy which hung over the masses and darkened their life? The Government had no scheme of popular education which was to be financed with steadily increasing grants, and educational developments were left to times of peace and prosperity. The war had not taught Government the lessons which were taken to heart elsewhere. Not that schemes were not proposed to Government, though none were evolved by it. Mr. Sarma's resolution in this behalf was defeated, and Mr. Sastri's resolution asking for an additional grant of 30 lakhs of rupees for extension of primary education was not accepted. Sir William Meyer contented himself with merely pointing out that expenditure on education proposed for 1917-18 was higher than the sum spent in 1913-14 by a little less than half a million.

Mr. Sastri asked in despair: "What is the destiny you intend for the people of this country? Are they always to be in a low state of vitality without even the rudiments of education, or are they to be worked up to a state of national efficiency such as we find in the continent of Europe among all the nations there?" The attitude of the Government of the United Kingdom towards the educational problem in that country offers a marked contrast with the position of easy self-congratulation and drift taken up by the Indian Government. About the time Sir William Meyer was stating to the Supreme Legislative Council why more funds could not be spared for the extension of education and no schemes of educational progress could be formulated in India, the Right Honourable Mr. H. Fisher, President, Board of Education in England, was evolving far-reaching and extensive projects of national education in Great Britain. The British people and the British Government have correctly appreciated the value of the provision of sound education for national efficiency and welfare. In asking for an additional grant of more than £3¾ million for educational improvement towards the middle of 1917, Mr. Fisher described in the House of Commons in glowing terms what part education had played in giving England a magnificent army to fight for liberty and right. He laid stress upon two things: first, that the Government was earnest in dealing with the problem of education and, second, that it was doing it in a systematic and comprehensive manner. Mr. Fisher said:—

"The mere fact that in the middle of a great war, when the finances of this country are strained to the uttermost, the Chancellor of the Exchequer is willing to find nearly four million of additional money for the development of public education is, I think, a sufficient indication that the Government means business. As regards the second point, I can assure the House that all the problems of public education are being considered in relation to one another, and that though in order of time some reforms must necessarily precede others, they are not being dealt with in a fragmentary and opportunist manner."

We wish the Government of India had caught some of the enthusiasm of Mr. Fisher, though the exhortations of the late Mr. Gokhale and other Indian leaders have left it cold.

To return to Sir William Meyer's proposals to raise the additional £3 million required to equilibrate his finances. As if to emphasise the official view that the complaint of the people against the enhancement of the salt duty in 1916 had no justification, he repeated that the salt tax was an admirable impost to reach the poorer classes, but ruled that financial expedient out of account owing to the abnormally high price of the commodity. Similarly, he passed over agricultural incomes as a

possible source of additional revenue as undesirable at the moment but reserved it for some future occasion, when a resort to it may become necessary. An excess profits tax was not regarded as feasible owing to the want of proper machinery for assessing it and to its temporary character. The objects selected for additional taxation were therefore, (1) incomes in excess of Rs. 50,000, which were to pay, in addition to the ordinary income tax, a super-tax varying from 1 anna per rupee for incomes between Rs. 50,000 and 1 lakh to annas 3 for incomes over 2½ lakhs, (2) jute, the export duty on which was enhanced, (3) imported cotton goods, the duty on which was raised from 3½ to 7½ per cent., and (4) railway goods traffic, which were subjected to a surcharge. The total yield from these taxes was calculated to be about £3½ million. The enhancement of the import duty on cotton price goods was at last sanctioned by His Majesty's Government in order to enable India to meet the extra burden thrown upon her by the interest charges in connection with the war contribution, though not as an act of justice to this country. The plea, however, served to silence Lancashire opposition.

V. G. KALE.

## A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

LONDON, OCTOBER 19.

### PERSONNEL OF THE REFORM COMMITTEES.

BEFORE this letter reaches you, the members of the two Committees will have arrived in India and already commenced their work. Will it be believed that up to this moment, although the names of the members are known in confidence to a few people here, there is so far no official announcement of the personnel of these Committees? It is a general complaint in the press that exclusive information appears in the *Times*, and the complaint is particularly bitter now that Lord Northcliffe is the principal proprietor of the paper. Remarkable as its news service is and varied as are its contents, there was a great deal of truth in the jibe of one of the overseas editors at a public dinner a few weeks ago, that, until people from the Dominions came to this country, they had been made to believe by the cable agencies that Britain supported only one journal of importance whose views it was deemed necessary or desirable to telegraph abroad. I am led to these remarks by the fact that the only intimation that the general public has of the appointment of the committees, is derived from an unofficial announcement in the *Times* about a fortnight ago that Lord Southborough (formerly known as Sir Francis Hopwood of the Colonial Office) had been appointed to be their joint Chairman, and a notification in yesterday's *Times* that Sir Walter Jerrad, assistant secretary at the Local Government Board, whose sudden death in hospital from appendicitis is announced, had been appointed to be a member of the Committee to consider franchise and electoral questions in connection with the proposals for constitutional reform in India. It is known that Mr. Montagu was anxious to use Sir Walter Jerrad's unique knowledge and experience for the benefit of India, and in view of the importance of the Committee's task, the Local Government Board had consented to his being spared from the work in which he was engaged of bringing the Representation of the People Act into operation. It is doubtful if he will be replaced as vice-chairman; in all probability, the appointment will fall to a well-known Indian civilian.



The names of certain prominent Indian politicians have been mentioned as having been appointed to one or other of the Committees. I venture sincerely to hope that when they are published, we shall not witness splenetic criticism of the appointment of public men, who do not happen to share to the full the views of the more advanced elements in the National Party, and I also earnestly trust that dishonourable motives will not be attributed to them for accepting the appointments. Nothing would be more capable of creating a hostile atmosphere here than attempts to discredit men, the names of some of whom in connection with Indian affairs are associated by thoughtful people here with the loftiest patriotism and great public spirit.

#### ABSTENTION FROM THE CONGRESS.

I ought frankly to warn you against any encouragement that may be derived from the approbation of the cessation of the Liberal Indian politicians from the Congress. The general feeling here is that had they attended the Congress and fought out the matter in dispute from within, almost certainly their influence upon the character of the resolutions would have been overwhelming and the relatively moderate form that, as it is, the Congress resolutions appear to have taken, owing probably to the influence of those moderates who did attend, is pointed to in proof of this contention. On the other hand, had the efforts of the Liberals within the Congress been unsuccessful, they would have undoubtedly stood on firmer ground. It is held that having made their attempt and failed, they might then have withdrawn by way of protest and held a separate convention, and there set forth, not so much their points of difference with their adversaries, as the extent to which they felt it necessary to insist that the reform proposals should be modified or improved. It is still hoped that wiser counsels will prevail and antagonistic personalities and immoderate criticism on either side will not prevent a *rapprochement* between the two sections in time for the December Congress.

#### OPPOSITION TO THE REFORM SCHEME.

It is quite wrong to suppose that the war has destroyed our own Prussianism. Political reactionaries and bureaucratic bigots will cling to their strongholds to the last, and we may yet see a tussle between Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon on the subject of Indian reforms. Every possible attempt will be made by the obscurantists to wreck the scheme. The Indo-British Association has just published a severe condemnation of it, not because it does not go nearly far enough, but because it goes much too far. The Association is fatuously recommending the handing over of limited districts to Indians for experimental purposes. The idea was first put forward, presumably under inspiration, by the *Spectator*, in its malignant attack on the reforms. Apparently Lord Islington's contemptuous reference to this proposal in the House of Lords last August, has not in any way influenced the aggressive ex-bureaucrats and "insured" merchants who form the backbone of this notorious anti-Indian organisation.

#### SIR S. P. SINHA.

Sir Satyendra Sinha is no longer in this country, and it is only proper to speak in terms of the highest praise of the services that he has rendered to India during his visits here. In public and in private, and as a representative Indian, he has officially spoken up boldly, patriotically and with a keen insight on behalf of his country. His very moderation has carried conviction, where violence

would have repelled, and it is no secret to say that his personal influence with the Dominion statesmen, whom he met here, and especially Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian Prime Minister, and Mr. Henry Burton, the South African representative, has been very great indeed. It may quite well be that the fruits of his work will not be seen immediately, but they are likely to be permanent none the less.

#### INDIAN MEMBERS OF THE INDIA COUNCIL.

You will presently have with you two of the Indian members of the Secretary of State's Council, Sir Prabhaskar Pattani and Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan. The first has been suffering from ill-health since he has been here, but has nevertheless been a source of considerable strength to the Secretary of State by reason of his wide experience and independent advice. I am not giving away secrets when I say that he has most ably represented his country here, and that is just as true of Mr. Aftab, as he is generally known to us. He is a man of high rectitude of character, very painstaking and possessed of an energetic patriotism that forbids him to indulge in the luxury of religious differentiation. Though not by training and inclination a politician, his political views are sound, broad and progressive. He is in no sense of the word an official. He will be a source of great strength to any body engaged in constructive work.

It is believed that one of the earliest functions of Parliament upon its resumption in a few days' time will be to thank India for her undertaking to assume increased financial responsibility in connection with the war, and to pass the necessary resolution enabling the additional burdens to be legally placed on the Indian Budget. In all likelihood, the opportunity will be taken to express the warmest admiration for the work of the Indian troops in Palestine and elsewhere.

### LETTERS FROM THE PROVINCES.

#### MADRAS.

Madras, December 7.

#### THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

THE woman suffragette has come, and she has come to stay in Madras. Every sensible man is glad about it, but who would have dared to predict a decade or for that matter a year or two ago that such a thing would happen so soon? Even in that boasted "home of Freedom," England, it is but recently that the claims of women to share in the task of administration were recognised by law, whose delays are proverbial. There can be no manner of doubt that the Indian women's progress in this direction has been expedited by the success of their English protagonists and now Bombay has given the municipal vote to women, the Franchise Committee has consented to receive a deputation of ladies and women even in this so-called backward and benighted presidency are all astir with the new spirit, as is evidenced by meetings held in Madras, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Bellary, Coimbatore, Vellore, Chittoor, Kumbakonum, Ootacamund, etc., etc. All in this land of orthodoxy! Why, even our reformers used to warn this country against woman suffrage! But let them go and hide their diminished heads. Woman has risen in her new-found glory, even in Madras! The New Woman, as has been well-said, is the Superman, and she will prove more than a match for all the male Partingtons of orthodoxy who may take it into their heads to stem the tide of her progress with their little besoms of old-world formulae.

There can be no doubt that the Bombay Municipality's example in giving the vote to women has encouraged women

everywhere in India to demand the same right and as I have already said they have not been slow to demand it in Madras. Already, about a dozen meetings of various Ladies' Associations have been held in different parts of the metropolis and a number of such meetings have been held and are daily being held all over the mofussil. Here is a typical resolution passed at one of these meetings:—"This meeting of the women of Adyar, Madras, is of opinion that the Municipal vote should at once be given to all women tax payers and also that women should be allowed to stand as candidates for the Municipal Council. This meeting calls upon the Legislative Council to include these two measures of justice in the Madras City Municipal Bill now under consideration."

"This meeting of the women citizens of Adyar is of opinion that in the scheme of Reforms for India women should be given equal rights with men and calls on the Franchise Committee to include the women of India on an equal basis with the men in any franchise scheme that may be drawn up."

Petitions have been sent up to Lord Southborough to the same effect coupled with a request that when the Franchise Committee pay Madras their visit about the middle of January, they should receive deputations of women as well as men. Meanwhile, Mrs. Cousins has received the following message from the Irish Women's Franchise League evincing their keen interest in the progress of their Indian sister-suffragettes. "The Irish women's Franchise League ... .. assures the Indian suffragists of warm sympathy and support in their courageous efforts to secure the enfranchisement of the women of India." (The British Labour Party as a whole does so.) Much of this activity of women, I am bound to say, is due to the vigorous work of Mrs. Cousins and Mrs. Dorothy Jinarajadasa, who have made their Indian sisters' advancement their special department of work and both of them have their residence in Madras. Indeed, I have reason to believe that the activity of women all over India is not a little due to these two disinterested workers. They have laboured long and devotedly and laboured not in vain. So far the course of Indian women's progress has run perfectly smooth, without a hitch and success has come to them perhaps sooner than they themselves expected.

It is wonderful, nothing less than a revolution, no less miraculous than the Russian or German revolution, yet it has been accomplished silently and noiselessly. The watch-dogs of orthodoxy usually wide-awake as Cerberus himself at the gates of Hades and ever on the alert and ready to spring at the throat of anyone that might do anything to disturb their age-long sleep, are apparently slumbering so far as this question is concerned. The special Congress carried a comprehensive resolution on this subject, without a single dissentient voice being raised against it, in spite of the well-known fact that several of its leading lights are the special patron-saints of superstition who refused to put their names to a harmless untouchability manifesto and are opposing such a small piece of reform as Mr. Patel's purely permissive bill! Perhaps it only shows the innate purlblindness of orthodoxy: or perhaps it illustrates the comparative irresistibility of the women's movement. We shall see. But there can be absolutely no question that the women's cause will ultimately triumph, in Madras as well as everywhere else. All honour to its first pioneers, say I!

#### THE STORY OF A MEETING—AND "ITS HAPPY END."

When such a magnificent social revolution is being so silently and noiselessly accomplished all over this ancient land, and has won the unanimous support of the special session of the Indian National Congress, is it not passing strange that such a slight, I had almost said insignificant, attempt at social reform as Mr. Patel's Hindu Inter-caste Marriage Bill should have given some very good old people the fright of their lives and filled them with vague misgivings as to the future of India? Yet such is the fact A

so-called "public meeting of the Hindu Citizens of Madras" was convened to protest against that Bill on the 29th of November last, but it came to a "happy end" as *New India* jocularly says, for the meeting came to an end almost as soon as it began! The reason of this was that the conveners of that meeting represented only a small section of the Hindus of Madras, "the Hindu Hindus" as its president called them. (A phrase that somehow reminded me of that other mystic title Brahmin non Brahmin invented by *Justice*). That being so, they had no right to speak of this "public meeting of the Hindu Citizens of Madras." That was too much like three immortal Tailors of Tooley Street to be tolerated by a twentieth century audience most of whom were, according to *New India*, heartily in favour of Mr. Patel's Bill. So they naturally objected to the meeting being called "this meeting of the Hindu Citizens of Madras." It was a very reasonable objection. They also wanted to move amendments and nobody can gainsay that in this they were within their rights, but the president arbitrarily ruled all amendments out of order. Then a proposition against the Bill was moved, but when the audience demanded that it should be put to the vote, the president agreed and asked all those who were in favour of the Bill to leave the hall! But the mover of the proposition was cleverer, for he wanted that the resolution should be declared carried *without being put to the vote at all!* Strange to say, the audience did not seem to like that idea. So confusion and chaos arose, and the president asked all those in favour of the Bill to withdraw after having convened a public meeting of the Hindu citizens of Madras, but they stuck to their guns, confusion grew worse confounded, and Police aid was called in and the meeting came to a "happy end" says *New India* here. Commenting on this fact the same journal observes, "Considering the temper of the audience it is clear that the opponents of the Bill were only a few dozens at the most and if any one present had put forward a resolution supporting the Bill, we have no doubt it would have been carried by an overwhelming majority. The chairman was perhaps anxious to avoid such a contingency"—and that was why, shrewd man that he was, he called in police aid to avoid the tables being turned on himself and his handful of followers! It was a clever move. In this connection I may mention that orthodoxy is not confined to the Hindus and that some Mohammedans of Madras held a meeting on the 2nd inst. to protest against Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan's Bill for the registration of Muslim marriages. Several among the audience were in favour of the bill and shouted "no, no" when the opposers of the bill were speaking. But when the Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan rose to oppose the resolution of protest, he was simply not allowed to speak, and the resolution was declared carried amidst scenes of confusion and disorder. Well, let us hope that these are the last swansongs of unreasoning orthodoxy. Orthodoxy is fighting with its back to the wall and orthodoxy knows it and fights with all the desperation born of despair. Let it fight—and fail. I am glad to say that the second Madras Presidency Association Conference which met here on the 1st inst. has unanimously passed a resolution according their hearty support to Mr. Patel's Bill. The Conference of the Non-Brahmin Confederation has already given it its cordial support. Thus these two bodies representing all sections of Non-Brahmins who form the enormous bulk of our population and differing on every other question, are agreed on this one point. Both of them have also passed resolutions against "untouchability." Most of the educated Brahmins are also in open—or secret—sympathy with these democratic movements. I hear that Mr. Shinde, the devoted secretary of the Depressed Classes Mission is coming over here shortly to canvass signatures for his Anti-Untouchability manifesto. I fervently hope he will have no cause to be ashamed of Madras.

#### LABOUR TROUBLE AND A LOOK-OUT.

Strikes have become pretty familiar phenomena, but a lock-out is still something in the nature of a novelty. But

unlucky Madras has witnessed two lock-outs within the lapse of a very short period. Indeed, ever since a Labour Union was started in Madras, the relations between employers and labourers have been needlessly unpleasant and nearly always strained; especially this has been so in the case of the big Buckingham and Carnatic Mills. It is rather hard to find the reason, but I am reminded of what President Wilson said to an American Labour Deputation: "In all disputes between masters and men I generally presume that the men are in the right." Not that masters are wrong as such. But as even a child knows, poor labourers cannot afford to be wilfully wrong. This was illustrated when the first lock-out was ordered in the Buckingham and Carnatic mills nearly a month ago. It was then generally felt that the moral right was on the side of the men, though the legal right was on the side of their masters; but like sensible men, the labourers submitted to the right of the "written rule" on that occasion, though their bosses unreasonably took advantage of their helplessness and imposed harder and harder terms when they saw their men yielding. The men yielded then, but the iron has entered their souls. Their ill-feeling, instead of abating steadily increased until at last it culminated in an assault on two European weaving masters of the Mills. This is not a justification of their action. There can be no justification for it. It was clearly wrong. But it is a statement of fact. And is the present obdurate—I had almost said, hard-hearted—attitude of the Mill managers bit more calculated to soften the asperity of their men's feeling? The facts are these. On the 26th of November last, some desperadoes among the mill-hands attacked and injured two of their European masters. It is alleged by the Mill authorities that the mill-hands know the culprits who perpetrated this misdeed. Then, all that I am concerned to point out, is that the Mill authorities ought to know which mill-hands know the culprits; or they must plead guilty to the charge of a vague and groundless suspicion against the mill-hands in general. If they know the mill-hands who know the culprits, then they should have dismissed only those mill-hands who, they think, know the truth and yet refuse to reveal it. They would have been perfectly justified in doing so. But instead of that, they have ordered a general lock-out from the 27th of November up to the present moment and condemned all the labourers—men, women and children, numbering, I am told, nearly 10,000—to regular starvation in these days of universal economic suffering. What doubt is there that this action of theirs is cruel, to say the least? Nobody is mad enough to think of exonerating the guilty. By all means, punish the guilty. But why should the innocent suffer? Why should thousands of women and children starve? Is there no justice in the world? Is that the sort of feeling that any wise employer should allow to spread among his workmen? Is that calculated to improve relations between masters and men in future? Rather, is it not calculated to accentuate their differences still further? Karma will go on fulfilling its cycle and the whirligig of time may bring its revenges. The masters are triumphant to-day: they feel secure in their power; they feel that their opponents are helpless and that they can dictate their terms just as they please. But let them be wise betimes. The day will come when the position may be reversed. They may see it, if they have eyes to see. An employment bureau has been formed for the labourers. I hear several labourers are already thinking of going to other parts of the country to find work. A Relief Fund has been started with the object of continuing the struggle: above all, an appeal has been made to Mahatma Gandhi to come over here and guide the men in their struggle for justice. Though he has expressed his inability to come for the present, he has sent the men, words of hope! It is devoutly to be hoped that the Mill authorities will open their mills before things are carried too far. Let them learn to temper power with justice. Better to heal than to wound.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## MR. PATEL'S BILL AND THE GOTRA FALLACY.

SIR,—One can hardly argue on any religious point with people who are orthodox at heart, since the first essential of orthodoxy is to accept without cavil everything supposed to be laid down by the ancient Rishis. But western education has produced a class of people who are orthodox, not by conviction but by policy—people who throw orthodoxy to the winds in their private life, may even ridicule it, and yet make a pretence of it in public for political or other purposes. These latter, having received some modern education, feel constrained to offer some kind of argument for their attitude of opposition to all reform; and they have sometimes to lean on very flimsy ones indeed. These can be easily exposed. The object in doing so is not to convince these pretenders—that being obviously unnecessary and impossible, since it is difficult to wake a man who only pretends to sleep—but to show the genuine opponents that they gain nothing by trusting their case to the pseudo-orthodox.

In the case of Mr. Patel's Bill, these worthies have tried to find an argument in the prohibition of consanguinous marriages supposed to be secured by the Gotra system. This involves a two-fold fallacy. The Gotra, like the surname, is an indication of the male line of ancestry only, and shows descent from some Rishi in the male line. This goes back thousands of years and is an admirable, if somewhat too far-reaching, indication of consanguinity, so far as it goes. But obviously it takes no account of the female line of ancestors. Now one would think that the mother is far more intimately connected with the child than the father can be, since for nine months the mother and child have a common stock of blood. The mother, therefore, for consanguinity at any rate, should count at least as much as the father. But owing to the sad neglect of women's rights all the world over, the Gotra system leaves this entirely out of account.

Again, under the present system, marriage between first cousins are not only allowed but are fairly common even among some sub-castes of Brahmans, in which a man is allowed to and often does marry his maternal uncle's daughter. Now Mr. Patel's Bill certainly does not propose to sanction marriages between nearer degrees of consanguinity than that.

The only argument to be considered is that all pious Hindus, I mean the genuine ones, will be shocked. But in the twentieth century, are they to have the monopoly of shocking other people? Every right-minded man is shocked by certain orthodox customs, *e. g.*, to quote one which is no longer controversial, the custom of Sati. I do not see that orthodox people can lay claim to any special guarantee from shocks, and how is there to be any progress in any direction if orthodoxy is never to be shocked? Mr. Patel's Bill is a permissive measure and does not force anything on anybody. Besides, orthodox people are free to show their displeasure by the usual means of outcasting the offenders, or exacting fees and fines from them before admitting them back into the fold. To concede more than this to orthodoxy is to bar the way to all progress.—Yours, etc.

R. D. KARVE.

## 'THE NEW STATESMAN'

PRONOUNCES

## THE SERVANT OF INDIA

QUITE EXCELLENT

and says that it is

*The Best Thing that Indian Journalism has yet Produced.*

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

BY  
**VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA, B. A.,**  
*Manager of the Bombay Central Co-operative Bank.*

AND  
**V. VENKATASUBBAIYA, B. A.,**  
*Member of the Servants of India Society.*

Pages 191. Price Re. 1.

## THE MODERN REVIEW

says of this pamphlet that it

*Fully maintains the high standard of excellence attained by the three previous publications of the (Servants of India) Society, and forms a valuable and up-to-date contribution to the co-operative literature of India.*

THE ARYA BHUSHAN PRESS, POONA.

## Sanskrit Books for Sale.

Priyadarsika with Commentary, Notes and Trans. ...	1 0
Ratnavali with Commentary, Notes and Trans. ...	1 8
Naganandam with Commentary, Notes and Trans. ...	1 8
Mahaviracharitam with Com., Notes and Trans. ...	2 8
Mrichakatikam with Com. and Trans. ...	3 0

Apply to:—**L. V. RAMCHANDRA IYER,**  
*Publisher, MADRAS.*

## NEW BOOKS.

**Is India Civilized:—An Essay on Indian Culture** by Sir John Woodroffe ... .. Rs. 2-0  
**Indian Nationalism:—Its principles and personalities.** From the vivid pen of the great Indian orator of the day, *Babu Bepin Chandra Pal.* Rs. 2-0  
**Dr. Sir S. Subramania Iyer:—His Speeches and writings** Rs. 2-8

Apply to:—**M. Radha and Co., MADRAS.**

Now is the opportunity for Novel Readers

## A NEW NOVEL "MYSTERIES OF PARIS"

BY  
**EUGENE SUE**

The Great French Novelist. Neat get up. Good paper. Neat get up. Complete in 1 volume of 400 pages. Price Re. 1-8-0.  
Address:—**SEN'S ADVERTISING SERVICE,**  
13, Krishnappa Naick Agradharam, MADRAS.

## Sovereign Ringworm Ointment

Will give miraculous cure in 24 hours for Chronic Ringworms, Dhobies' Itches and other skin diseases. Guaranteed. If not curable, money will be given back. Price per phial As. 12.

**SOVEREIGN & Co.,**  
10, Katchaleeswara Agradharam, Madras.

## Books to Read.

**870 Is India Civilized.**—Essays on Indian Culture by Sir John Woodroffe Rs. 2. *Contents* Civilization & Progress-East and West-What is Culture-Conflict of Cultures-Competition, concert, Sacrifice-Cultural attack on India-An example-A Reply-Bharata Dharma. The common principles of Indian Civilization-Brahmanism-Imitation-Some conclusions.

**591-1001 Gems of Hindu Religious thought** gleaned from the written works and Spoken words and teachings of Ancient and Modern Hindu Saints, Sages and Preceptors by P. K. Chandu Re, 1.

(Ex.)

**G. A. Vaidya Raman & Co.**

Kondi Chetty St. Madras.

A few copies.

A literary Treasure—  
Every page improves your knowledge and learning.

## GEMS OF WISDOM

Including Idiomatic Phrases, Witty and Pithy Anecdotes, Bits of Humour, living thoughts, choice thoughts in choice Language and Riddles.

COLLECTED AND SELECTED

BY

The Rev. Abednego David, W. M. S., compiler of the Treasury of illustrations. Neatly bound in full Calico Rs. 2 per copy. Postage extra. Highly spoken of by the leading Newspapers as the Hindu, New India etc., and also by the Principals of Colleges and Public speakers.

THE SHANMUGA-VILAS BOOK DEPOT,  
G. T., MADRAS.

## Best Soap made in India.

This soap has an excellent perfume and can very well compete with any best article of the kind imported from foreign countries and besides it is very cheap. For further particulars send an half-anna postal stamp.

**V. G. & Brothers,**  
564, Sadashive Peth, Poona City.

## JUST A WORD

or two to remind you to send your order To-Day for our famous—

## COSSI SILK SUIT PIECES

Worth the price, and a piece guaranteed for one suit complete.

Price Rs. 8 per piece.

Order from:—**GOOD LUCK COMPANY, BENARES, CITY.**

## THE EASTERN PHARMACEUTICAL WORKS.

### ANTI-FEVER.

An excellent preparation which can be used with great success and safety as a Curative or Preventive of Influenza, Malaria, or any other Remittent Fevers.

Guaranteed to contain no quinine, or any poisonous agents, which in the hands of laymen may lead to harmful after-effects

### HEMATIC COMPOUND.

An ideal bone and nerve tonic, an excellent blood regenerator and purifier. Invigorates and rapidly recoups lost health in convalescence from Influenza, Pneumonia, Typhoid and other tropical fevers.

Guaranteed free from alcohol.

Sole Agents:—

**Sane Bros.**

Madhav Agency, Mohan Buildings,  
BOMBAY 4.

## The Indian Review War Book

COMPREHENSIVE AND AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE WAR,  
WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS, PORTRAITS, CARTOONS,  
MAPS AND DIAGRAMS.

CONTRIBUTED BY

Officers of Indian Civil, Military and Medical Services, Ministers of Native States, Engineers, Educationists, Journalists, Lawyers, Publicists and other Specialists.

EDITED BY **MR. G. A. NATESAN.**

INTRODUCTION BY **H. E. LORD PENTLAND.**

**H. E. THE VICEROY'S OPINION:**

*A well planned volume which should be of very great use to the public for whom it is intended.*

*The Madras Mail.*—The book contains a vast amount of information, historical, political, military, naval and geographical. Various writers, many of them specially qualified, discuss the causes of the war, the forces at the disposal of the belligerents, the weapons employed, the characters and talents of the leaders, and the effects of the war. Numerous illustrations accompany the articles. 604 PAGES, 240 PORTRAITS, 107 ILLUSTRATIONS, 37 CARTOONS, 16 MAPS AND DIAGRAMS.

PRICE RS. FOUR.

(Ex.) Special offer for a short time only: Rs. 3

**G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, Madras.**