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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE news that the resolution about the establishment of the League of Nations has been passed unanimously by the Peace Conference will be received with supreme satisfaction all over the world. It is to be a permanent organisation with a secretariat establishment. Important questions arising out of war conditions, such as those of German colonies, Mesopotamia, reparation, &c., are to be considered by the League when it is formed. This is glad tidings indeed, and it will restore confidence in the work of the Peace Conference in those circles which had begun to show signs of despair. In fact when it was reported that German colonies were to be distributed among the more important Powers or that every farthing of the cost of the war was to be recovered from Germany, there appeared to be hardly any room for the principles of justice and equity coming into operation. Now, however, there appears to be a gleam of hope for an equitable settlement, and we shall watch with great interest the further developments that take place.

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WHILE Central Europe is in a state of dissolution and Eastern Europe is in the grip of Bolshevism, a wave of serious industrial unrest appears to be passing over Western Europe. All that can be gathered from the meagre reports available shows that large sections of the population both in England and France have been in a ferment, and that strikes on a large scale have either already taken place or are soon likely to take place. Something of the kind had been expected. No one

ever thought that the readjustment of society after the war would be accomplished without serious upheavals. These internal problems will tax the energies of European statesmen almost as much as those of international settlement.

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THE situation in Ireland does not show signs of improvement. The Constituent Assembly met at Dublin in secret session and proclaimed a Republic. Meanwhile comes the news of the formation of a Centre party whose ideal is self-government within the Empire. No definite information is available as to the intentions or measures of the Coalition ministry.—While the whole world is moving forward towards the recognition of people's rights, Portugal displays the novel spectacle of a monarchist rising. But the movement is not widely supported and may fizzle out in a short time.

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WE do not propose, on this occasion, to examine the provisions of the new Coercion Bills in detail, as we are convinced, apart from their merits, that they are very inopportune in time. The Rowlatt Committee reported before the Secretary of State and the Viceroy had formulated their reform proposals and therefore had no means of judging of the ameliorative effect the proposals would produce upon popular feeling in India. The reform scheme, whatever criticisms it may have evoked in some particulars, has indubitably done much to produce a soothing effect, and will be rendered still more efficacious as a prophylactic against sedition if it is widened and liberalised in the way demanded by public opinion. Those who engage in seditious conspiracy may care nothing for reforms; indeed, they would rather hope for their miscarriage; but the general atmosphere of discontent which is indispensably necessary for the success of revolutionary movements will have given place, under the influence of the liberal policy inaugurated by the reforms, to such a spirit of general contentment that anarchist conspiracies can have no chance of success in the altered conditions which will be brought into being by constitutional reforms.

* * *

AFTER all it is on such conciliatory measures that Government must depend, and we deprecate most earnestly the frame of mind, exhibited by many officials, in which they come to regard coercion as their first resource to put down sedition.

Now that reforms are to be introduced, let them be given a fair chance. If it is found that they do not produce the effect which in all probability they will, Government can at any time, and even after the reformed councils come into being, pass legislation of a repressive nature. Moreover, Government must not be blind to the fact that the passage of the coercive bills, in advance of reforms, will in effect be very prejudicial to the reception of the reforms themselves. They will therefore be extremely ill-advised to persist with the bills. In any case, it is beyond doubt that the preventive measures outlined therein will arm the officials with powers which they can by no means be trusted to use with discretion. They are far too drastic and must prove an engine of oppression.

* * *

AT long last, we understand, the grievances of the elementary school teachers have been considered by the Bombay Government. It would appear that Government are thinking of giving these people a war allowance of Rs. 4 p. m. and that effect will be given to it from January 1918. We also understand that Government propose to raise the minimum pay of elementary teachers from Rs. 10 to Rs. 12, when the war allowance ceases. This is good so far as it goes. But we do not think that this can be considered as adequate in any sense. The elementary school teacher should get at least as much as, if not something more than, what an unskilled labourer obtains. It is common knowledge that the wages of such classes are at present not less than 8 to 10 annas *per diem*. In these circumstances, we should have thought that Government would see their way to give elementary school teachers a war allowance of Rs. 4 over and above the new scale of Rs. 12, thus making their pay Rs. 16 during these hard times. However that may be, if Government have really decided to take the steps indicated above, they should make a public announcement immediately. A lump amount of Rs. 48 would go a long way in alleviating the hard lot of the poor teachers.

* * *

THERE is a persistent demand throughout the country for a reduction of freight on Burma rice. The reduction, which has so far taken place, though very welcome, is utterly inadequate. To all appearances, there is large scope for further bringing down the rates. If Government pay to the British Indian Steam Navigation Co. only Rs. 20 per ton on rice brought from Rangoon to Bombay, there seems to be no reason why they should charge Rs. 40 to the merchants, realising a profit of Rs. 20 on every ton and sending up the price proportionately for the poor and starving consumer? This is the very last source to which Government should look for an income. If, under a system of Government control of shipping, an extra twenty rupees is added to the freight, can any reduction be expected when the control is withdrawn, as it is proposed to do, towards the end of March, and private companies are left free to

put up the rates as much as they like? Government make a large deduction on the rates in the case of fodder railed from one place to another, as a concession. Why should a different policy, a policy of profiteering, be followed in the matter of shipping? The proper proceeding would be not only to add nothing to the rates of private companies by way of profit, but to reduce the rates still further for licensed merchants, thus suffering a loss and debiting it to famine relief. The policy adopted by Government is wholly wrong and appears to be without any justification. It will be instructive to set against the remissions and suspensions which Government are allowing the huge profit made by them in this manner and to see how the balance is struck.

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A CRY has been raised by interested parties that the control of rice works to the serious disadvantage of the Burmans, who do not get an adequate return for the crop they grow, but the cry has no foundation in fact. The real grievance rather is that the control does not extend to all the varieties of rice, some of the coarser varieties being free from it. 'White broken rice,' for instance, of the lowest quality, C1, C2, C3, is not subject to control; the same is the case with the so-called 'boiled rice' and 'jungle's white rice' of all descriptions, as well as 'cargo rice.' In famine, it is specially the lower varieties which need to be rigorously controlled in price, but it is just these which at present enjoy an undeserved exemption. It is computed that uncontrolled rice will amount, on a very rough estimate, to a quarter of controlled rice, and one can well imagine, if this figure is approximately correct, to what extent the desired process of the levelling down of prices must have been interfered with by so much quantity remaining outside of Government control. Further, it has to be noted that if some varieties of rice are controlled, and the 'cargo rice' in the unfinished form or the 'boiled rice' of those very varieties is left uncontrolled, a large quantity of rice which is intended to be placed under control will escape it and a serious leakage will take place in the desired control. If the information which has reached us is accurate, a clear case is made out for widening and stiffening the present control of rice, and we hope Government will take measures to redress the grievance.

* * *

New India is having a series of angry articles directed against those who, by the *tactique* adopted by them at Delhi, have caused a cleavage in the National party. This division the paper seems for one brief moment to hail with joy, as a precursor of the government by parties which will be introduced into India when she will enter upon responsible government, as a result of the effectuation of the reform scheme. "Home Rule seems the nearer for the advent in India of the party system," it exclaims with delight; but the feeling of joy is very short-lived, and the paper proceeds

to bewail the schism and condemn in rather severe terms those who, by their uncompromising attitude, have presented to the world the spectacle of the National Congress "divided into sharply opposed parties." It is undoubtedly a pity that a fissure should come about in the ranks of politicians just at the time when the signs from all sides, except for the appointment of Lord Sinha to be Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India, are unfavourable and opposition is hardening against the official scheme. And the argument is fallacious which seeks to justify the present differences in the belief that they will facilitate the formation of parties in the new regime. The parties that will come into existence hereafter will be based on entirely different principles, and the present split can derive no support from the introduction of responsible government into India.

* * *

THE Congress, according to *New India*, "has become a popular crowd rather than a deliberative assembly as it used to be," and the result was that "sane counsels did not prevail," and "superlative adjectives had an easy triumph over their comparative counterparts" at Delhi. Differences arose both as regards the substance of the demand and the manner in which it was to be put forward. "The majority thought it necessary to put India's demands to the extreme limit, and to couch these demands in the most uncompromising language at their disposal." Circumstances were now such that "strategy and tactics should enter into the manipulation of the Indian Home Rule army," and that "the British public should, in its present doubtful mood, be approached along the lines of least resistance," but the majority, "stood for compulsion by threat," and "refused absolutely to listen to those who could get Home Rule for them" along these lines.

* * *

WHILE deploring the triumph of "clamour" over "judgment" at Delhi, *New India* has a fling at a section of the Moderates who have, according to it, given to reform proposals their "unqualified approval" and even hints that if the scheme comes to be whittled down, it will be because of the attitude of these politicians. As a fact, unqualified approval no one has given; the Moderates also are critics, though friendly critics, of the scheme. The conclusion, therefore, based on a false premiss cannot be right. If *New India's* reasoning is correct and what we get is principally determined by what we demand, it would follow that the policy which is characterised in *New India* as unwise and even fatal is really the only right one to adopt, and the extreme Nationalists are justified in attributing the drawbacks in the scheme to the refusal of Mrs. Besant, Mr. Jinnah and other "progressive moderates" to put the country's demands at the highest.

* * *

THE strike of labourers in Bombay has practically come to a close without any need of resort-

ing to the method of arbitration, two out of the three conditions demanded by the operatives being almost wholly conceded by the mill-owners. An advance of 20 per cent. will be given over the present war bonus as special allowance in consequence of the prevailing high prices of foodstuffs. The wages for the month of January will be augmented by a bonus ranging from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20, according to periods of service of the labourers. The demand for the payment of wages for the days of strike has, of course, been refused. The majority of the strikers had not resumed work for some days in the vain expectation of their being able to force their demands in entirety from the mill-owners. As the terms offered by the mill-owners were very fair, it was impossible that they should hold out for a long time. Now that they have resumed their work, the labourers, with a just pride for having successfully vindicated their right to better wages and conditions of service, ought to acknowledge the generous attitude of their employers and must appreciate the moral effect of His Excellency's benevolent intervention.

* * *

THE All-India Cantonment Conference, which held its session at Ambala under the distinguished presidency of Rai Sahib D. Laxminarayan of Kamptee, has broken new ground altogether and has legitimately ventilated the grievances of the residents of Cantonment areas. At present the Cantonment Committees do not contain any elective element in them and their affairs are exclusively managed by Government nominees on the plea that the area under their jurisdiction is specially reserved for military purposes. For the efficient maintenance of sanitation, it may be conceded, perhaps, that a greater degree of control may be reserved in the hands of military authorities. But their total exclusion from even the elementary rights of civic responsibility is neither just nor desirable. Such committees also receive no grants from the public funds in aid of their educational efforts, and the areas have thus generally to go without any educational facilities. The Bombay Government admitted the injustice involved in this, when the Hon. Mr. E. H. Jaffer, in August last brought the fact to the notice of the council that the Cantonment Committees were spending almost nothing on primary education. These and other defects were shown in the resolutions of the Conference and popular control demanded.

* * *

THE *Mahratta* speaks of Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyengar as one of the most uncompromising critics of Mr. Montagu's reform scheme. It further says that he was one of those who first sounded the knell of its rejection, but subsequently modified his attitude of relentless opposition. The *Hindu* will now realise how groundless was its complaint against us, as to what we wrote on the policy originally advocated by its editor and his subsequent change of front.

LABOUR CONDITIONS IN FIJI.

ABOUT the middle of November last, the Governor of Fiji laid on the table of his legislative council a memorandum on Mr. C. F. Andrews' second report on the conditions of Indian labour in that colony. The memorandum comprehensively dubs the report as an "unjust and unmerited slur" upon both the planters and the Government and complains generally against "the extravagance of its language." Since the Governor does not care to cite specific instances from what he calls an "exaggerated and misleading" account, it is not possible to refute in detail the charges brought by him against Mr. Andrews and to vindicate the version given by the latter. But no Indian can help strongly protesting against the style of controversy which the Governor of Fiji has adopted towards Mr. Andrews. For the report of Mr. Andrews is noted, above everything else, for its scrupulous regard for truth and its absolute freedom from the language of exaggeration. Amidst much evil which he felt constrained to record in Fiji, he has been careful to note at length all the improvement that has been latterly effected and to give unstinted praise wherever it was due. Lest the gruesome story of immorality prevailing in the "lines" and other factors in the seamy side of life in Fiji should produce an incorrect impression on the minds of Indians, he has been frequently at the pains to caution them against imputing unworthy motives to the officials of the colony, who, he assures us, are "high-minded men who wish to do justice." In condemning he never loses measure; in praising he never lays it on too thick. That such a guarded and circumstantial statement coming from a social worker of such high moral purpose, should be treated by the Governor in the way he has will excite widespread indignation in India.

But the statement of the Governor is far more remarkable for the admissions it contains and its general corroboration of the facts mentioned by Mr. Andrews than for the faint attempt made in it to impugn the accuracy of his version. "At the same time," thus proceeds the statement, "Mr. Andrews has made certain criticisms which cannot unfortunately be refuted. In his condemnation, for example, of the Indian labour "lines" as unfit for occupation by married couples and their families, I find it impossible to agree with him. It would be unwise, and indeed impracticable, to insist upon the immediate provision of separate married quarters. Reasonable time must be allowed. But the change must be effected as soon as possible. It must also be admitted that the hospital arrangements for Indians, and their medical treatment generally, require improvement; and that care and education of Indian children demand more attention than they have received in the past. The disproportion of the sexes is also an urgent problem." The Governor further warned the employers that they would have to make sacrifices for the sake of the labourers and acknowledged

the duty of Government to spend more largely in their interest. When it is remembered that the proprietors of the C. S. R. Co. has made huge profits during war time, the "sacrifices" that the Fiji Government will call upon them to make need not fill them with any great terror, and the note of caution that the Governor has sounded in the above remarks as to the pace of future progress seems to us to be out of place. It would also have been well if the Governor had told when Government would be able to fulfil their contract of repatriating the Indians whose indenture has expired. It is sinful to compel people, against their will, to live in the immoral surroundings which admittedly prevail in Fiji, longer than it is absolutely necessary, and it is surprising that on one of the principal grievances to which Mr. Andrews gave voice in his report the Governor should have thought it fit to maintain silence.

It is well known that Mr. Andrews does not look with favour on any scheme for the emigration of Indians as coolies under a so-called "free contract." The Governor of Fiji is at a loss to understand why the scheme for assisted emigration which has been recently promulgated or a similar system which purports to be free, should not meet with general support in India. "On the question of free contract immigration," says he, "I join issue with Mr. Andrews. I refuse to believe that it is impossible to devise some scheme of immigration from India, which shall assist the industrial development of this colony, and at the same time provide for immigrants, in the first instance, congenial employment under favourable conditions, and ultimately a prospect of settlement and advancement far more attractive than any prospect which their own country offers them. I have not been here long, but I have already seen something of the industrial and agricultural possibilities of these islands, and I do not hesitate to say that the man who makes the errors of the past a pretext for closing the door against immigration from India in the future will be doing a lasting disservice to our fellow-subjects in that Empire." Now, the first thing that we have to say on this is that it is for the colonies to propose to the Indians a scheme which will be acceptable to them as conceived really in their interests. It is none of the duty of Indians, as the Government of India has warned, to devise proposals to substitute free for indentured labour in the colonies. The one scheme which has been outlined meets with universal disapproval in India as being free only in the name, but emphatically not so in effect. There has always been a great demand for labour within the borders of India herself, and that demand is growing every day; the rate of wages too is mounting. If then the Indian labourer is to leave his country, of his own free choice, for a far-off colony, the conditions must really be attractive to him. The employers in the Crown Colonies can in no circumstances be placed in a position of advantage over the em-

players in India, and no measures can be taken by the Government of India to let the colonies exploit Indian labour at the cost of the mother country.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE CHIEFS' CONFERENCE.

THE opening speech of H. E. the Viceroy, at the Chiefs' Conference, will be read with profound disappointment by all lovers of Native States. H. E. has abstained from making any reference to the ideal, which has been laid down in the joint report, for British India. It was expected that His Excellency will reiterate what he eloquently expressed at the Bharatpur Darbar. He reminded their Highnesses very pertinently that the British Government is the Paramount Power in India. The illustrious authors have emphatically stated the serious limitations on the rights of the Native States in the shape of interference on the part of British Government in their internal administration to prevent flagrant misgovernment. He concluded his speech by saying that Princes and Chiefs have a joint heritage with the peoples of British India. Is it not, therefore, necessary to recommend to the Princes and Chiefs, the policy which His Majesty's Government, after careful consideration and inquiry, have thought fit to adopt for British India? The Government of India have asked the opinions of the Native States about the reform proposals. It is a great pity that these opinions are not published. As a matter of fact, at the time of the Minto-Morley reforms the opinions of rulers Native States were made available to the public. We do not see why this precedent should not be followed now, when the question involved is of such vital importance. We doubt whether even a single Chief has expressed his willingness to co-operate with Government in the immediate introduction of responsible government. It is, therefore, all the more necessary under the circumstances that their Highnesses should be gently advised about the necessity of their adopting the ideal of responsible government. The Princes and Chiefs have shown nervous solicitude for the treaties and engagements being kept in tact. No one has the remotest idea to violate, in any way, these sacred treaties and engagements, but we would respectfully question their Highnesses what treaty rights entitle them to ask for a Council of Princes or for a Standing Committee or for direct relation with the Government of India or for a joint deliberation in matters of common interest. These are all generous concessions extended to the Ruling Princes by the Paramount Power. If the Princes are anxious for these privileges, is it not incumbent on them that they must with equal willingness and enthusiasm come forward and avow their intention to follow in the footsteps of His Majesty's Government? And if the Princes have not the grace or courtesy to adopt the policy so clearly enunciated in the

Report, we think that it is the duty of the Paramount Power in the interest of one-fourth of the vast population of this continent, to advise the Princes and Chiefs to adopt this ideal. H. E. the Viceroy, in not making such a pronouncement, failed in his duty towards the subjects of Native States, who are guaranteed good government.

As regards the proposal for discriminating between Princes who enjoy full powers of internal administration from others, it appears from the letter of a writer in the *Pioneer*, that considerable misapprehension prevails on this point. In the report, the proposed demarcation is sought to be justified by the argument that uniformity of terminology tends to obscure distinction of status. But when we remember the fact that treaties and engagements are concluded with every State, it is not possible that there could be any confusion in the existing distinction of status. Similarly, it is observed, that practices appropriate in the case of lesser Chiefs may be inadvertantly applied to greater ones also. We know that the Political Department is jealously watchful of such practices. Even the minutest details of observances, such as the way in which Ruling Princes are to be received, the right or left position in which a political officer is to be seated, the number of paces which he is to traverse in the Darbar, the distance where he is to be welcomed, the use of the terminology to be employed in the case of heirs-apparent and wives of Ruling Princes and sundry other matters are so rigidly insisted upon by the Political Department that there is not much force in the argument that the dividing line is needed to ensure the observance of paper practices. We wish the point had been made clear. It is quite necessary to tell in this connection that such a dividing line should have nothing to do with the social functions or ceremonial practices so far observed in connection with the Native States. If the custom of inviting Ruling Princes and presenting them in Darbars as before is strictly maintained, if salutes and honours and the precedence, dependent on them are scrupulously continued, if rank and *izzat* at banquets and other state functions are carefully observed, and if there is not going to be the slightest diminution in the pomp and paraphernalia of the Ruling Princes, all apprehensions about the dividing line would be completely allayed. The dividing line undoubtedly is necessary to assist future relations between the Crown and the States. But what the future relations are to be, it is not made clear in any part of the Report or in the speech of the Viceroy. The only additional reason given is that such a distinction is necessary for issuing invitations. If, on the other hand, the necessity of consulting important States on such matters as war emergencies, participation in war loans, enlisting of recruits, contribution for war purposes, broad policies about famines and epidemics, about exploring the resources of the State for industrial development, about the Imperial Service troops, about the efficient condition of standing armies of the Native States,

and such other important affairs had been mentioned and emphasised the utility of this proposal would have been quite obvious and would never have been confused with matters with which it has no concern. To adjust the relations of the Crown, as regards the various items mentioned above, a distinction of important and unimportant states is imperative. And the growing needs of the Empire make it abundantly clear that for expediting communication and taking prompt action as regards all these important problems a dividing line should be drawn. When necessity of this differentiation is made clear, no Ruling Prince or no Native State will legitimately raise any objection to it. All these questions are undoubtedly related primarily to Native States of large income and vast population. If some criterion of income and population is added to the test of full powers of internal administration, a dividing line could be very easily drawn.

The second ground of uneasiness about this dividing line is the concluding remarks of para 302 of the report. It is stated that the proposal in para 306 to 311 apply to States which may be so classified as important. As a matter of fact, commissions of inquiry into disputes and into cases of misconduct, and joint deliberations on matters of common interest affect all States irrespective of their importance or powers. The illustrious authors of the report do not, we think, intend to deprive even a small State of the right of claiming a forum for the adjudication of its disputes or the right of expressing its views on matters of common interest. If the paragraphs had not stated that the proposals in Chapter X relate only to States of the former class, no objection whatever for the dividing line would have been raised by any Native State.

As regards the Council of Princes, His Excellency the Viceroy has stated that (1) attendance and voting in such a Council will be voluntary, and that (2) each individual state represented in it will retain the right of separate negotiation with Government, and (3) the right to expect that Government will consult the Darbar in writing in regard to important matters affecting their interest. With these limitations, the Council of Princes would only be an advisory body. Further the absence of foremost Ruling Princes, such as, H. E. Highness the Nizam, H. H. the Maharaja of Indore, H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, and H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda will have the natural effect of lowering the prestige and influence of such a Council. Under these circumstances, and in view of the fact that the Council is going to be purely advisory, why should the smaller States be excluded from being represented on this Council by groups? The Viceroy was pleased to re-affirm what he stated at Dhar about the smaller States. If they are 'partners and co-partners and co-workers,' and if they really occupy such a position in the estimation of the Government of India why should they be excluded from the Council of Princes? The difficulty about the inclusion of all the Native States in the Council of

Princes will be solved, if the smaller states are allowed to be represented by groups. It seems, from the speech of the Viceroy that with a view to elevate some Princes to the Council the restrictions on their powers are proposed to be removed. We fail to see the propriety of this proposal. If the Council of Princes is going to be merely advisory, why should not these States be grouped together and given some representation? There is a very serious objection besides, to the removal of restrictions on powers of these States. These restrictions relate to the power of a State to pass sentences of death on their subjects. They are imposed with a view to safeguard the liberties of subjects of such States. The fact that there is a higher court of reference to review or confirm acts as a great deterrent in restraining many Chiefs from arbitrary exercise of their powers to the detriment of their subjects. If the inadequate judicial machinery of petty States, the personal factor of a chief dominating all round, the calibre and the strength of those who wield authority in such a State and the caprices and prejudices of autocratic rule in a limited sphere, are taken into consideration; the surrendering of this residuary jurisdiction by Government would be attended with serious consequences to the subjects of such Native States. Government is a trustee, bound to safeguard the interests of the subjects of Native States, where the question of life and death is involved. And after all, why should this power be conceded if only to enable a Chief to adorn the Council which is purely of an advisory character? H. E. the Viceroy shrewdly warned their Highnesses that the Council of Princes could not be vested with definite powers, unless the Ruling Princes are willing in some measure to entrust to such a corporate body, rights which they at present enjoy as individuals. The whole situation, therefore, has been summed up in this broad hint. Unless the Princes surrender in some measure their powers to the proposed Council of Princes, unless it is more fully representative in character by the inclusion of all Native States, whether individually or by groups, the Council of Princes, would never command that respect and that influence which the Princes devoutly wish that it should. And it remains entirely in the hands of the Princes themselves to bring about such a consummation, as was shadowed forth in the Viceroy's opening address.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

SOCIAL WORK IN TATA IRON & STEEL CO.'S WORKS.

SAKCHI, or Jamshedpur as it is recently renamed, is the new industrial town brought into existence by the colossal Iron & Steel Works, so inseparably connected with the name of the late Jamshedji N. Tata, the great industrialist and patriot. It is situated on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway at a distance of 1050 miles from Bombay and 150 from

Calcutta. Being newly built, it presents a remarkably tidy appearance, and it is scrupulously clean, with detached houses and wide open spaces in front of every house. Its wards and roads are named after the American fashion, according to the letters of the alphabet e. g., H, L, or G town and C, D, or E road. The works are kept going all the twenty-four hours on every day all the year round, with a slight break of perhaps 3 or 4 days in the year. There are three shifts of workmen every day, each shift working 8 hours a day. The total number of workmen skilled and unskilled is about 25,000. The management and superior workmen are imported mostly from the United States of America and from Great Britain, and there were several Germans too upto the commencement of the War. Other workmen come from all parts of India, the Punjab, Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces. Even Nepal, Malabar, and China supply their quota of workmen. Unskilled workmen are drawn from the aboriginies of this and surrounding districts, the Santals and Kols, mostly the former.

During the last year of the War prices of foodstuffs and cloth were going up by leaps and bounds all over the country, and so the management made up their mind to take steps to ameliorate the conditions of their workmen in Jamshedpur. The Company's employees and their dependents number about 50,000, and it can be easily imagined what a stupendous work lay in front of them. The Board of Directors set apart in July, 1918, a sum of rupees ten lakhs to be utilised in providing capital for setting up large stores of cloth and foodstuffs for the benefit of this large population of the town. On account of the failure of monsoon over a large part of the country and consequent scarcity of foodstuffs, this provision on the part of the management was not only fully justified but proved to be imperatively necessary to save the situation. The management asked the Servants of India Society to depute one of its members to proceed to Sakchi and report on the proposal and to work out a scheme in detail. I came here in the beginning of August, 1918, and made the required report and was subsequently asked to give effect to the proposal and to manage the stores for a period of twelve months. The Managing Director wrote to the President of the Society for the same, requesting him to lend the services of a member. The President readily agreed, and accordingly I undertook on behalf of the Society the starting of the stores and their management for the period of one year.

The supply of provision to the large army of workmen is done by a number of wholesale and retail shopkeepers. Wholesale shopkeepers, who are not more than a dozen, having capital at their command, import foodstuffs and sell on about a month's credit to retail shopkeepers, sixty or seventy in number, who sell in small quantities to consumers. Thus, before rice, for instance, was passed on to the consumer, profit of these two

merchants was added to the cost price. It was the purpose of the Company to cut out the middleman's profit as much as possible and to supply necessaries to its employees at a price not much above the cost price. The company having set up its own stores, took the place of the wholesale merchants' stores. It charges no interest on the capital invested, and adds about 5 p. c. for establishment and other expenses to the cost price. Further, due care is taken to see that retail dealers do not charge more than 5 p. c. over the Company's wholesale prices. Rice was purchased and railed from Midnapore, Bankura, Balasore and Sambal-pore districts, wheat from Bilaspur district, *tur dal* from Gorakhpur district, salt (which is imported from Aden and Port Said) from Calcutta, and ghee from Bilaspur district (Pendra road). For the purpose of making purchases from all these places and making myself conversant with local markets and merchants, I had to do considerable travelling. The following figures show the extent of purchases made month by month:

September 1919	Rs. 25,000
October "	Rs. 15,000
November "	Rs. 31,000
December "	Rs. 68,000

It may be interesting to many to know that salt used in Bengal Presidency and the greater part of Bihar and Orissa is not Indian salt, but that manufactured at Aden, Port Said, Mussowah, Spain and Liverpool. It is very fine and free from dirt. Madras Salt is used only in the Cuttack Division of Orissa. Prices have thus been kept down and are appreciably below those obtaining in Kharagpur Junction and Calcutta.

The next step was to open cloth stores for the benefit of the employees. Bengal and Bihar and Orissa suffered considerably, perhaps more than any other part of India during the last year from the cloth famine. Fortunately, during October last there was a slump in the cloth market and taking advantage of that, a large quantity of cloth, all made in India and mostly in the Nagpur Empress Mills, was bought to the extent of about Rs. 60,000. The stores were opened on the 19th of November last, and the daily sale all in retail has averaged about Rs. 400. These stores are not intended for making profit and nothing is sold wholesale to shopkeepers, except to licensed hawkers, on a small commission, who sell at Company's prices. Everything is sold strictly on cash payment. This shop has proved a veritable boon to artizans and workmen, who have found out that the shopkeepers, used to charge them 50% more than what is now charged in the stores. A policeman, who said, he had used but one dhoti during the whole of the past 12 months, bought 2 pairs, because he got them very cheap from this shop and thus satisfied his cloth hunger for a couple of years to come. Further stock of cloth costing about Rs. 26,000, has been added.

The formation of Co-operative Credit Societies has been the next item of social work undertaken

by me. The ubiquitous Kabuli, with his *lathi*, is not absent from this place and about a dozen of them thrive on the needs of poor people, who pay the usual interest of 1 to 2 annas per rupee per mensem, i. e. 75 to 150% per annum.

One Credit Society of workmen of an Electric Repairs Shop, with 58 members, has already been formed and two others, one for sweepers called Ghasis and the other for Khalasis from Surat District of Gujerat are under formation. It is hoped that about a dozen of these share-banks will be formed within the next few months, thus enabling poor artizans to liquidate their prior debts contracted at inordinate rates of interest, the loan to be undertaken from their Societies being recovered by easy instalments for their pay.

But it is not intended to confine our welfare work merely to a provision of supplies to workmen at reduced rates and putting them in the way of redeeming themselves from the load of indebtedness, though the work must necessarily begin with these under the circumstances. But of the five months that I have so far devoted to the work here, the first was spent in the preliminary work, the remaining period being devoted to the organization of and the making of purchases for the two stores and the spadework of the Co-operative Credit Societies. Now that the stores are in working order, more time can be devoted to other forms of social work, e. g. formation of boys' and mens' Clubs, sports and excursions for the children, starting of primary schools in the various vernacular languages of India (for all Indian languages are represented in this very cosmopolitan town), restaurants to wean men away from grog-shops, of which there are two close to the works, and similar other activities. I am confident these will bring about a lasting improvement in both the economic and moral conditions of these workmen, and I only hope that it will be granted to me to start all these new branches of work within the next seven months, for a greater part of which I hope to be residing in this town.

A. V. THAKKAR.

FRANCHISE IN THE FEDERAL COUNTRIES.

NO one who has closely followed the development of Indian Constitution can fail to recognise the fact that the fundamental principle on which its ultimate form should rest, must be federalisation and not unification. That is not only desirable but necessary in the interests of the various component parts of this vast Indian continent, possessing differing characteristics and divergent interests. So we feel that an intimate acquaintance with the organisation of legislative assemblies in countries which have achieved a "closer union," is really essential for our purpose. This article describes the franchise obtaining in those countries.

THE UNITED STATES.

When the decision to break loose from the control of the mother country was arrived at by the colonies in America, there was no organisation to direct united and concerted action. To carry on war effectively, the need for such an organisation was greatly felt, and the Confederation of 1781 came into existence. There were many defects in the articles of the Confederation which rendered its satisfactory working impossible. So by the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, most of the evils were remedied, and a new constitution was agreed upon. The present system of government is, in the main, based on the constitution of 1787, with a few amendments introduced since then.

The legislative power is vested in the Congress consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Section 2 of Article I. provides that the House shall consist of members elected every second year by electors whose qualifications are the same as those required for the State legislatures. The States failed to exercise their power properly, and the necessity arose for two amendments to put an end to such an abuse of power. One lays down that if any State abridges the right of every male of full age to vote for federal purposes "the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens of twenty-one years of age in such States." The other defends the right to vote of citizens of full age against differentiation owing to "race, colour, or previous condition of servitude." The candidates should be twenty-five years of age, must have been citizens of the United States for seven years, and be residents of the State of their candidature. For making the House really representative of the people and placing the different States on a footing of equality, it is necessary to apportion representatives according to their numbers. The Apportionment Act fixes the number of representatives each State is entitled to after each decennial census. The power to determine the population unit is vested, subject to two limitations, in the Congress. These limitations require that each State shall have at least one representative, and that the number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand. The following table gives an idea of membership and population unit at different times:—

Year.	Population unit.	No. of members	Population.
1787	30,000	65	
1800	154,325	330	5,308,483
1901	193,000	391	75,994,575
1910	210,415	433 & 435 (in 1912)	91,972,266

The United States has remained "a federation in respect of the Senate, and a nation in respect of the House of Representatives." The equal representation of States in the Senate by two members

each chosen by their respective legislatures recognises their separate entity on an equal footing. The term of office of Senators is six years. The Senate is divided into three classes, each class vacating at the end of the second year. Senators should be thirty years of age, must have been citizens of the United States for a period of nine years and be inhabitants of the State which chooses them.

For purposes of election the states that are represented by more than one member are divided into electoral districts containing equal number of inhabitants. Provision for such a division was for the first time made in 1842. The districts "shall be composed of contiguous and compact territory containing as nearly as practicable an equal number of inhabitants." Only in exceptional circumstances the election of representatives at large is permitted. The State legislatures exercise power of dividing the States into congressional districts. All States are provided with two houses. Generally all male citizens of 21 years of age are voters. The members of both the houses are elected for varying terms. The number of Senators is not as large as that of Representatives, and the electoral districts, that elect representatives to the Senate, are larger than congressional districts. In a few States, the Senate is renewed partially at the end of two years. Residence qualification, varying from two years in the case of Rhode Island and Kentucky to three months in Michigan and Maine, is strictly enforced. In some States mere registration is sufficient, while in some others payment of taxes is essential for the exercise of vote. Unnaturalised persons who declare their intention to become citizens are granted franchise in some States in the West. In the Southern States, various methods have been adopted to exclude the negroes from the franchise, without infringing the amendment regarding color etc., already referred to. In all States, "untaxed Indians" are not allowed to exercise the franchise. In the State of Massachusetts, Connecticut and others, knowledge of English is made a condition precedent to acquiring the right to vote. Some of the Southern states insist on the voters giving some "reasonable explanation of what they read." There are many features that are common to many states, while there are also some in which they differ widely. It is not possible to mention them all within the small compass of an article.

Woman suffrage has been granted by some of the States. In Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Nevada, Montana, and New York, women enjoy suffrage on equal terms with men. The power of permitting women to take part in Presidential elections is vested in the State legislature. In 1913, the State legislature of Illinois granted to women the right to vote in the elections of President and Vice-President. Indiana, Ohio, and North Dakota also extended such a privilege to

women in 1917. But in these States women cannot participate in the elections to the Congress.

SWITZERLAND.

In Switzerland, the legislative and executive authority is vested in the Federal Assembly consisting of two Houses. The National Council consists of 189 representatives of the Swiss people, directly chosen for three years by the people in the ratio of one member for each 20,000 population. No canton or half canton is left unrepresented. All citizens of the Republic who have attained the full age of twenty years exercise the right to vote. Every voter is eligible for membership of the National Council. The State Council is composed of 44 members, chosen by cantons each returning two representatives. Cantons enjoy the exclusive privilege of determining the term of office and the method of election of their representatives in the State Council.

The cantons in Switzerland are sovereign states enjoying independent legislative powers. The government of each canton is slightly different. In some small cantons, the people exercise their power directly without any other intermediate machinery. In such, all male citizens of full age enjoy the right to attend and vote at the cantonal gatherings. There are some large cantons where this is not possible, and in which a body elected by universal suffrage, exercises powers in the interests of the cantons. All big cantonal constitutions provide for *referendum*. In certain cantons like Zurich, all measures are submitted to the popular vote, while in others it is optional and is employed only when called for by petition. "Popular initiative" is being slowly introduced in some cantons, by which the right of a certain number of people to introduce laws by petition is conceded.

GERMANY.

Recent events have greatly affected the condition of affairs in Germany. But before stating briefly what the present state of things is, we deem it necessary to give a short account of the constitution that existed prior to the Revolution. The legislative functions of the Empire were vested in the Bundesrath and the Reichstag. Like the Senate in America, or the Council of States in Switzerland, the Bundesrath was a federal council on which the States of the Empire found representation. But unlike the States in the United States and cantons in Switzerland, the constituent parts of the federation were not placed on a footing of equality. Prussia not only possessed 17 representatives, but also controlled, in the least, the representation of 30 representatives. The Reichstag consisted of 441 members elected for a term of five years by direct, secret, universal manhood suffrage. Even in this assembly Prussia dominated. The representation was in the ratio of one for every 131,640 inhabitants. In 1912, 14,442, 387 were eligible for voting, population in 1910 being 64,925,993.

The States of German Empire did not all possess the same constitution. There were some states like, Saxony, Prussia, Württemberg, Lubeck which were provided with two Houses, and there were also some in which the legislative power was vested in a single chamber that was partly elected. The franchise was not the same for all. Generally in States which possessed a bicameral form of Government, citizens of full 30 years of age paying direct taxes were eligible for candidature, while those of 25 years of age making some direct contribution to the State exercised the right to vote. In most cases direct election was the rule. In Württemberg no property qualification was required. Possession of landed estate worth 4,000 marks in the case of candidates, and 3,000 in the case of voters, was the qualification for the Upper House in Saxony.

Conflicting reports have reached us regarding the new German Constitution. Whatever may be the changes that are likely to take place, if Germany is to be refederated at all, its constitution must to some extent be based on that of the United States. The legislative power is to be vested in two Houses, namely, the Peoples, and the States. The principle of representation for the States in the federal council shall be one deputy for every million inhabitants. The life of the two Chambers has been restricted to three years. The franchise is given to all Germans over 20 years of age. It is believed that nearly 39,000,000 persons of which 21,000,000 will be women, will be entitled to vote. The whole of Germany has been divided into electoral districts, each electing a list of candidates on the average not more than 12. As regards other points, nothing can be definitely said.

R. S. R.

REVIEWS.

SHORT NOTICES.

THREE GREAT BENGALIES.—Published by Messrs. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Annas Four each.

We have received three sketches of three eminent Bengalees. It would be presumptuous on the part of anybody to introduce Lord Sinha to the Indian public. Lord Sinha occupies a unique position in the public life of this country. As such, a sketch of his life and career must furnish extremely interesting reading. The other two, Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray, are great scientists of world-wide repute. They have won laurels in the field of science. So their lives too, will be read with peculiar interest. In these books, we get, not only a good account of their lives, but also extracts from their speeches and writings here and there, which give us an insight into the character of these great personalities.

S. R.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF PANDIT MADAN MAHON MALAVIYA.—Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rupees Three.

In this volume, we have an up-to-date collection of speeches and writings of this true son of India. Those who go through the pages of this book cannot fail to be struck by the fact that his activities are many and varied, and that anything that will further the interests of the Motherland, has

always received his sympathy and support. The Hindu University, to which he has devoted all his time, energy and talents, is pre-eminently a fruit of his labour. At the present moment, when the action of the Government on the recommendations of the report of the Industrial Commission is awaited with anxious interest, Pandit Malaviya's able minute on the subject will be read with great benefit. The lengthy biographical account, which the publishers have done well to add to this edition, has many valuable lessons for the coming generation of public workers.

R. S. B.

LETTERS FROM THE PROVINCES.

MADRAS.

Madras, Jan. 26.

We have had a thick succession of interesting events during the last few days, but as I dare not draw too much on your hospitality or on the indulgence of your readers, I propose to keep some things over to my next letter and confine myself in this to the visit of the Reforms Committees and the attitude of the Non-Brahmins towards them.

DR. NAIR RE-ENTER.

As your readers are aware, the Reforms Committees were due here on the 13th instant and suddenly and dramatically Dr. Nair arrived here on the 8th—of course accidentally, if not for reasons of health. You will be glad to know on the assurance of no less an authority than Dewan Bahadur P. Theogaraya Chetty that Dr. Nair's stay in England has very much improved his health and that it is now beyond anxiety. The usual marks of public appreciation were shown him—reception at the station at which were present all the leaders of the Non-Brahmana movement, presentation of addresses on the platform, a procession, more addresses, a public lecture at which the hero recounted his exploits &c.—only there was no offering of the holy water (*poorna kumbham*) from the temple as it is tainted with Brahmanism and the non-Brahmanas have conscientious objection to it. Following these demonstrations came off the meeting of the confederation of the South Indian Peoples' Association and one or two other conferences of non-Brahmins in the moffusil. These gatherings, I guess, were meant to impress upon the Reforms Committees the strength and volume of the movement.

DR. NAIR'S WORK IN ENGLAND.

Dr. Nair told his admiring audience that he had done very active and useful work in England—after the unfair muzzling had been removed of course. He had long talks with Mr. Bhupendranath Basu and though the latter was dead opposed to communal representation in the beginning, Dr. Nair had the satisfaction of converting him to his views before he left England. Then he had an interview with Mr. Montagu and with Sir William Duke, with many members of Parliament and as many editors of London and provincial newspapers as he could manage to get. Sir William Duke asked him if, instead of the form of communal representation that he was asking for, it would do to reserve certain seats for certain communities in plural constituencies. "No" said Dr. Nair, "it won't satisfy me, because that is not communal representation. You might call it by any name. It is not communal representation and communal representation is what I am after." He found the editors too busy with the war and they asked him to come again at a more suitable time, and he has kindly promised to do so. Your readers will perhaps ask, "We know he wants communal representation. But what is his attitude towards the reforms?" Judging by his article in the *Empire Review* and his alliance with the Indo-British Association, one would think that he was opposed to any great reform and certainly the grant of responsible government, even though in several instalments. But as in his own words "we will do his very best to wreck any measure which does not

contain communal representation,' your readers may yet hope that he will let poor India have some reforms if communal representation is provided for in some shape. Of the kind of facts that Dr. Nair gave publicity to in England let your readers judge by the following passage taken from a verbatim report from the *Justice*. "I had to explain to him (Mr. H.E.A. Gotton) how only a small number of non-Brahmins get into the Legislative Council in Madras in spite of the preponderance of non-Brahmin voters. He asked me in the present Council how many non-Brahmins were elected. I said one out of ten." Yet any book of reference will tell you that out of a total elected strength of 21, at the time that Dr. Nair made the statement 10 were Brahmins and 11 were non-Brahmins of whom 5 were non-Brahmin Hindus. What Dr. Nair ought to have said was that out of nine constituencies composed of Municipal and Local Board members, eight returned Brahmins members, though an overwhelming majority of the voters are non-Brahmins. It may interest your readers to know that Mr. T. Rangachariar, a Brahmin who represents the City of Madras in the local Legislative Council, owes his seat to Dr. Nair who supported him against Dewan Bahadur P. Theogaraya Chetty, his co-leader of the non-Brahmin movement now, but then one of his bitterest opponents. It does not lie in Dr. Nair's mouth to help a Brahmin to a seat in the Council and then complain that he has got one.

NON-BRAHMIN BOYCOTT THE COMMITTEES.

When the composition of the two Committees was published, numerous protests were engineered from here on the ground that the Franchise Committee contained two Brahmins Babu Surendranath Bannerjee and Mr. Sastri, though the *Patrika* is never tired of publishing the former's beef-eating propensities and the latter dines more frequently with Europeans and Mussalmans than most non-Brahmin leaders do. Apparently the objection is to their not being able to help their Brahminical birth. An extraordinary session of the non-Brahmin confederation met and passed a resolution that in view of the composition of the two Committees they should be boycotted. These protests and resolutions were duly communicated to the Committees and all authorities from the Secretary of State downwards. Our watchful local Government became very anxious and in order to avoid the threatened calamity nominated as added members four good non-Brahmins, I mean men thoroughly known for their non-Brahmin sympathies. That seemed to palliate the indignants and it was widely rumoured that they would graciously appear before the Committees. This belief was strengthened by the fact of the local Government having invited the most prominent non-Brahmin associations and leaders to give evidence before the Committees. But the unexpected was destined to happen. The dramatic reappearance of Dr. Nair on the local political stage introduced fresh complications. He was the host without whom the reckoning had been made. He opened the eyes of the non-Brahmins to the loss of dignity that would result by appearing before Committees that were packed and that took evidence *in camera* (what a shame!) and they need not fear that their case would go by default as they could use the powder they saved to much better advantage in England. Your readers will perhaps think that this was a counsel of despair and that these tactics will prejudice even friends against the non-Brahmins. All that I can say is, that Dr. Nair believes differently and in sporting spirit I wish him good luck.

GOVERNMENT EAT THE HUMBLE PIE.

Meanwhile, our Government has had to eat a very humble pie. It is in the position of the gentleman in the story who raised the ghost but when it became inconvenient he could not lay it at rest. There are people here who claim to possess documentary evidence to prove that the local Government, at any rate some influential members of it, were responsible for the birth and growth of the non-Brahmin movement. Of late,

in successive honours lists its leaders have been figuring prominently. The Government showed an extraordinary solicitude for Dr. Nair's health and secured for him passage to England. In deference to the sentiments of the non-Brahmin Conference they chose as added members to the Committees all good non-Brahmins. In the limited number of witnesses chosen to appear before the Committees, the non-Brahmin leaders and associations were given a favoured proportion. It is freely rumoured here that even the proposals of the local Government have been fashioned to suit their sentiments. Even though Dr. Nair returned from England just on the eve of the Committees' visit of this place, it is believed that the Government put him in as a witness before the Franchise Committee. After all this yielding on the part of an obliging Government, for the non-Brahmins to boycott the Committees and make the Government look ridiculous on the eyes of the public! Lord Southborough is known to be impatient of delays. What should he have felt when a whole day of each Committee was wasted by these spoilt children of the Government? And yet I wonder whether Lord Pentland's administration will be the wiser for this experience.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR JOHN WOODROFFE AND MR. ARCHER.

SIR,—It is rather late in the day now to make capital out of the stale and silly pun on the word 'materialism.' 'Materialism' when opposed to 'spiritualism' can only mean a theory to explain (so far as possible) the Universe just as 'spiritualism' is a theory. Now one of these theories may be correct, or both may be wrong, but it is difficult to see how either of these theories can exalt its supporters any more than the corpuscular theory of light, for instance, can exalt anybody.

Without accepting Mr. Archer's conclusions as to the future of India, one may say that there is hardly any justification for the display of righteous indignation indulged in by the reviewer against the 'materialism' of western civilization in general and the 'all too materialistic' doctrines of Mr. Archer in particular. It sounds very much like: 'all too corpuscular' theory of light!

It is probably very pleasant, if slightly illogical, to think of one's pet theory as 'higher' than any other; but the word 'exalted' in this connection doubtless owes its origin to the rather primitive idea that God is somewhere 'up' above us, so that the 'God' theory is naturally higher than any other!

Is it any wonder that people put forward new theories when the old ones fail to satisfy them, especially when the time-honoured ones offer no proof that can satisfy the logical mind? Of course it goes without saying that logic is not 'exalted' enough for 'spiritualists.' Still one might be excused for not accepting a theory based on 'faith' alone. On the same basis, I may propose a capricious cat with three tails and unlimited power as the Prime Cause of the universe. Only, you must have faith in it. And of course, if you dare to ask for proof in support of this 'exalted' Catism, obviously you have no 'faith' and do not deserve any consideration.

However much praise our ancestors may deserve for having propounded these spiritualistic doctrines, they have never given the slightest proof that these are in any way superior to materialistic ones in their effect on society. Unless we can claim any credit for our exceptional generosity in allowing India to be conquered by whoever had a mind to it, I do not see that we have given any striking proofs of our unselfishness, or any other 'exalted' qualities. Our only way to greatness then appears to be to abuse those who do not agree with us. Let us at least be 'exalted' enough not to stoop to that.

R. D. KARVE.

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