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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE sinister developments of the situation in South Africa, indicated in Mr. Gandhi's *communique* to the press, will fill Indians with dismay. The Precious and Base Metals Act, if the interpretation put upon it by the court is true, means ruin, Mr. Gandhi tells us, for merchants and for those residing in the whole of the gold areas, and the Act itself must be changed and the Indian community saved. The refusal of temporary permits to Indians, which is another serious grievance, in spite of the understanding to the contrary at the time of the settlement, is also in pursuance of the policy which the Union Government seems to have decided upon, *viz.*, to reduce the Indian settlers to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. The "ruthless extermination" which is thus threatened can only be averted by prompt and effective action by the Government of India and if necessary by the public also. And, Mr. Gandhi adds, "the situation warrants a repetition of Lord Hardinge's action and immediate despatch to South Africa of a mission consisting of, say, a disinterested civilian and an equally distinguished Indian publicist." Will the Government of India act courageously now, as it did in the time of Lord Hardinge?

THE dissenting minute appended to the Select Committee's report sets out the position of the moderate members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council in regard to the Emergency Powers Bill, and it is to be hoped that it will set at rest the calumnies which are being perseveringly circulated against them. The minute acknowledges the two great improvements effected in the bill as originally drafted, *viz.*, that it has been limited in

duration to a period of three years, and that its application has been restricted to offences connected with anarchical and revolutionary movements. Still, the minute proceeds to say, the policy and principles of the bill cannot be approved of and the members signing the minute must reserve the right to oppose the measure altogether. Without prejudice to this right, certain suggestions are made and the general objection is mentioned that no restrictions should be imposed on the personal liberty of a citizen, except as the result of a conviction in a court of law. This will show how utterly unfounded were the stories set afloat by 'nationalist' papers like the *Hindu*, though it is too much to expect an expression of regret from any of these papers. In this connection, we find that we were not correct in our statement of the non-publication by the *Hindu* of Mr. Banerjee's disclaimer, and we are sorry for the error we made. The fact remains, however, that the *Hindu* was responsible for publishing falsehoods against respected leaders.

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WHILE the opposition to the Rowlatt Bills remains uncompromising, we cannot approve of the movement of passive resistance proposed to be started under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. If the Government is so unwise as to carry these bills on to the statute book in the teeth of the unanimous protests of the country, the politicians must indeed take means to secure the repeal of the measure, but, in our judgment, they must take other means than a resort to passive resistance. Settled facts have been unsettled before with the help of less strong forms of constitutional agitation, and it need not be supposed that the agitation which availed to undo, for instance, the partition of Bengal, will necessarily fail in this instance. Public life has immensely gained in strength during the last decade or so, and the usual forms of protest promise much better results now than they did ever before. At all events, other methods of opposition should be exhausted before battle is joined in the way commended by Mr. Gandhi.

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NOR do the circumstances of the case seem to us to be at all favourable for the success of such a movement. Passive resistance has proved a success when it is directed against a particular legislation requiring something positive or forbidding something definite, when the matter complained of affects, in an acute manner, a fairly restricted

area or population. As Mrs. Besant said in *New India* in 1915, "The conditions of successful passive resistance are: a clearly defined grievance, deeply felt by the great majority of the people, a public whose sympathy can be obtained, a small area in which, practically, all the people concerned exercise such resistance." She repeated this in her speech at Bombay the other day: "Sometimes a man like Mahatma Gandhi, dealing, as he had done, with a comparatively small area, with a clear and distinct issue, that something in force had to be resisted at personal pain and agony—under those conditions—had, to his immortal glory, led some bodies of his countrymen to victory."

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BUT the circumstances of this case are different. Here there is no specific enactment, to which passive resistance can be offered. As Mrs. Besant said in Bombay: "They could refuse to obey an unjust law, but the law must touch them before they could resist it. They might refuse to obey an unjust order, but that order must be issued before they could resist it." It is difficult to see how in the circumstances the campaign of passive resistance is to be conducted. Mrs. Besant also uttered another note of warning: "Let those that invited crowds to action realise that the responsibility was on their lips who fired the crowd on to a course they might not realise, and let them take care that they themselves did not escape while they were sending others to a sacrifice." This caution is of course utterly superfluous in the case of Mr. Gandhi, who will never lead others into hardships which he will not suffer in his own person and who will do all in his power to induce the participants of the movement to exercise self-restraint, which is absolutely essential. To some others, however, Mrs. Besant's warning may not be equally superfluous, and she was right to beseech her audience to "think what weapons were available before they took up that last resource of a despairing people—passive resistance."

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AGAIN, the question arises, what are we going to resist passively? Hardly anything contained in the bills themselves. If resistance is confined to the provisions of this particular legislation, there is little chance of a conflict arising with the authorities. One may passively resist the Rowlatt Acts for years without ever coming in the path of the police. This is recognised by those who have joined the campaign inasmuch as they have to artificially disobey other laws also, in order to get into conflict with the authorities. Mrs. Besant, after her speech in Bombay in a different strain, has agreed to sign the pledge of passive resistance, subject to the qualification that she will not offer resistance to any other laws than the sedition laws now being enacted. We for our part consider that the breaking of some other laws is the operative part of the pledge now being taken in Bombay, and we cannot understand how those who do not agree to it are to carry out the pledge in practice.

PASSIVE resistance is thus not a suitable remedy, though it may easily prove harmful. We greatly fear that it will hinder the reform proposals and possibly the introduction of the bill in May. There are people who will say, "What does it matter?" But we believe otherwise and own to a feeling of anxiety on the score of reforms. The failure of Mr. Tilak's case, although Indian sentiment is sharply opposed to the verdict of the English jury, will create a prejudice against Indian leaders, however unfounded it may be, and will be used as an argument against reforms. It is not wise to put another weapon into our enemies' hands.—We have the highest admiration for Mr. Gandhi and the liveliest appreciation of the services he has rendered to our country. That he should feel it necessary, after his recent grapple with death, to lead this campaign, speaks of his stern sense of duty. It is with the greatest pain that we have to differ from him, but we cannot approve of the plan which he has recommended for adoption.

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IT is astonishing to find the *Bombay Chronicle* complaining that the dissenting members have in effect given up their opposition to the bill since, instead of contenting themselves with an a comprehensive condemnation of the whole bill, they have entered upon a consideration of the details of it. It is not our contemporary's complaint that the amendments required by them, while reserving to themselves the right of opposing the bill altogether, are inadequate or undesirable; its complaint rather is that amendments have been suggested at all. In its judgment, to descend to an examination of detail is impliedly to concede the principle, to which opposition is professed. The *Chronicle* has no doubt taken a very high ground here but its reasoning is not valid; if it is, Messrs. Khaparde, Patel and Malaviya have already agreed to the principle of the bill, having moved detailed amendments in the select committee. They did so, without prejudice to their right to oppose the bills absolutely, as did Mr. Banerjee and others. There is nothing morally wrong in trying to soften the rigour of the provisions of the bill, without waiving one's right to oppose the whole of its policy. This was the very course recommended by Mrs. Besant, and we do not think that the dissenting members, in taking it, have laid themselves open to the criticisms made by the *Bombay Chronicle*.

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THE suppression of independence of opinion and sanity of judgment in the British press under the crushing might of money bags, has been a subject of constant comment for some time past. Something of that sort appears to be happening in this country also. The complaint has often been heard that the new party machine set up in this presidency, as in other provinces, to manufacture public opinion after a certain new pattern is being controlled by people whose greatest and perhaps solitary qualification for political leadership is

possession of ready cash, and that foresight, common sense and statesmanship are being crushed in the process. Whatever amount of truth there may be in this complaint, the attitude of certain leading men and organs of public opinion towards the excess profits tax, for example, is undoubtedly very significant. Many of those who have been the leaders in their advocacy of the interests of the masses and of the growing power of democracy, have observed a discreet silence about the proposed tax. While the principle of the excess profits bill has been generally approved in the Viceregal Council and vehemently attacked by wealthy commercial and capitalist interests, the *Bombay Chronicle*, for instance, has not said a word either in favour of or against it. Perhaps its comments on the subject made months ago are regarded as enough. Or, it may be that it is not convenient for the *Chronicle* to come out with an expression of its opinion.

THE Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw Wacha did well to ask in the Imperial Council, if Government had taken steps to give effect to the suggestion made by Mr. Andrews with a view to ameliorating the condition of Indian labours in Fiji. To this question Government returned a rather vague answer, to the effect that "we have asked that representations should be made to secure reforms with regard to housing and hospital accommodation for free as well as indentured labourers in Fiji." Surely, Government's action should have been much more effective than to "ask that representations should be made." Could not Government themselves represent these matters and bring about a reform of abuses? The Governor of Fiji mentioned some time since that some action was contemplated, and our Government should have told us how far matters had progressed. With regard to the vital question of closing down the remaining years of service of the indentured labourers, Government's reply was disappointing; viz., that "the mere cancellation of indentures unaccompanied by such reforms will only aggravate the present situation." It is difficult to follow Government here. And the old difficulty of shortage of shipping was again pleaded when the repatriation of time-expired coolies was urged. The Fiji Government is under an obligation to provide shipping, and it is not known how long the coolies are to be made to remain at the place from which they perhaps ardently wish to escape.

THE *Hindu* of February 25th mentions that the 'Moderate' party have formed a new committee in England. "Lord Carmichael will be its first president—a good selection. Both Mr. Charles Roberts and Mr. H. E. A. Cotton have joined the committee. The committee had asked the Moderates to supply funds. The first call was for Rs. 15,000 of which half has already been remitted. The committee will try to counteract the mischievous activities of Lord Sydenham's Indo-British

Association. There is room for such organisations in England, and the Moderates are to be congratulated on their decision to have one."

MRS. BESANT has now mentioned the fact, to which we adverted some time ago, that the editor of the *Hindu* and Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar, among others, were advocates of the policy of rejection which they subsequently changed, and the change was so complete that the *Hindu* went the length of declaring, in advance of the determination of the fate of the reforms, that any "reforms"—even though reactionary—must be accepted, and that the terms of the declaration of 1917 must be adhered to in suggesting amendments—a characteristic application of the principle of self-determination.

THE suggestion thrown out by Mr. Arundale in *New India* with regard to the establishment of a political party with a recognised leader makes a strong appeal to us. We think it will be all to the good if such regularly constituted parties came into being, and the public knew the number and the quality of adherents which every variety of opinion commanded. It will conduce to an exhaustive discussion of public questions from all points of view and to the formulation of well-defined political platforms.

MR. SRINIVASA SASTRI writes from Delhi in a private letter: "Limaye's death has thrown me into a fit of bewildered dullness. I don't know what to think. This year I have lost a good many of my old associates and friends. At this rate life will become a burden in no long time. How instinctively I used to turn to him for advice! When my judgment agreed with his, I felt I must be right. To have his love was to own a treasure; to win his regard was a sure mark of worth. I had both, heaven be blessed! I shall feel a bitter pang when I go to Poona. At every turn I shall miss him. I see him vividly before me and hear his cheery talk!"

THE *Hindu's* Delhi correspondent, whose infallibility has been so amply demonstrated, learns that "it is now proposed," in moderate quarters, "to declare that even if the Government goes behind the proposals and grants much less than what they had promised, the Moderates would cry Hallelujah." What could be the object of the Moderates in having a second conference but to water down the reform proposals? The *Hindu* has indeed a worthy correspondent, for did not the journal declare, when the first moderate conference was held, that its object was to prevent the scheme from being improved overmuch and to accept much less than what was offered in the report?

WE strongly disapprove of the campaign of calumny which is being carried on against Mrs. Besant and her associates for their political opinions, which happen for the present to be unpopular.

### THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

SIR JAMES MESTON presented his first financial statement to the Supreme Legislative Council on Saturday last. Except for the increase in the taxable minimum in the case of the income tax, the statement had no surprises for the country. The speech the Finance Member made some days ago in defence of the excess profits tax, had prepared the mind of the public for the kind of story he related in presenting the financial statement for the coming year. It was clear to everybody that the military expenditure of the country would stand at a high level and that with a severe and widespread famine, prevalent over large parts of the country, the situation would not be free from difficulty. The year that lies before us is a period of transition, and we shall be steadily passing from the extraordinary conditions of war times to the normal situation of an era of peace. This journey will have its troubles and anxieties and the people must clearly understand that the cessation of hostilities does not mean any immediate and appreciable financial relief.

The position which the Finance Member had to face in framing his statement for the next year, was briefly this. Sir William Meyer's budget for the current year had anticipated a revenue in the imperial accounts of £ 74½ million and estimated the expenditure at £ 71¾ million, leaving a surplus of £ 2½ million. But it should be recalled that the war situation underwent two dramatic changes in the present financial year. In September, when this country undertook an additional financial responsibility with respect to the new armies that were being raised for meeting the enemy's new offensive in Asia, the above calculations were upset, but Sir William gave us the assurance that the extra military expenditure for the current year would be covered by the extraordinarily large surplus that would be left in the treasury by the close of the year. These anticipations have not been fully borne out by the events which have actually taken place. Hostilities suddenly ceased, and famine made its unwelcome appearance. Trade and industries were likewise disturbed, though the total financial burden assumed by the country was largely reduced by the early termination of the war. The actual expenditure for the current year is thus calculated at about £ 90 million, an increase of no less than £ 18 million, while it is estimated that the revenue will come to £ 85½ million as against the £ 74½ million assumed in the budget. That is to say, the year will close with a deficit of £ 4½ million, and it is proposed to make it good by taking the amount out of cash balances, which means out of borrowings, immediate and prospective.

The revenue for the coming year is taken at £ 80 million and the expenditure at little more than £ 85 million. The excess profits tax being calculated to yield £ 6 million, the deficit represented by these figures, will be converted into a

small surplus of slightly more than three quarters of a million. The reduction in military expenditure is much smaller than one would have expected, and the country will be called upon to spend £ 41 million on the army as against £ 44 million spent during the current year and £ 29 million provided in the budget. Sir James Meston held out no hopes of any substantial diminution in our military charges in the future and, on the other hand, wanted the country to prepare its mind for a scale of expenditure on this head which " must be very much higher than it used to be in peaceful days." He also paid a tribute of praise to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief " for the great consideration he has shown for our financial difficulties in stating his requirements for the next year." Whatever one may think of the immediate future, one cannot reconcile oneself to the prospect in years to come, of heavy outlays on armaments and particularly in a poor country like India.

Few will feel inclined to grudge to our railways the £ 6½ million provided for renewals and repairs in the coming year. This expenditure is absolutely necessary in view of the tremendous wear and tear our railways have undergone during the year of war and in view of the desirability of maintaining railway efficiency at a high level. It is, however, difficult to appreciate the extraordinary zeal with which Sir James Meston has hastened to provide nearly £ 18 million for capital expenditure on the extension of railways. The ideal figure of capital provision in this respect, *viz.*, £ 12½ million, was never attained in pre-war years, and we fail to understand why this big jump is being taken at a time when the Finance Member is not very enthusiastic about beneficial expenditure on other heads in which improvements are urgently called for. This lavish grant is obviously intended to placate the commercial interests which have scarcely a good word to say about the excess profits tax and which will have to be largely relied upon for contributions to the next year's loan.

One might have expected the Finance Member to evince some enthusiasm for the cause of social and economic development in the near future which was arrested during war time. On the cessation of hostilities, the Government of India did indeed relax its tight hold upon provincial finance, and provincial Governments were allowed to draw upon their accumulated balances with considerable freedom. The Finance Member has also, towards the close of his statement, referred to the necessity of launching into " very heavy expenditure for the education and well-being of the people." But one cannot fail to notice the comparatively subordinate position accorded to this branch of the programme of reconstruction in a statement which deals with questions of currency and exchange at such length. India's position with respect to currency is undoubtedly one of extreme difficulty and its developments in the

immediate future will be watched with the keenest anxiety. Sir James is anxious and hopeful, pessimistic and optimistic in turn, and that only shows the immense complexity of the financial problems of India. The whole outlook is full of uncertainties and the position of the Finance Member is not one to be envied. But the country had a right to expect much more than a bare reference to the needs of education, public well-being and economy, and the Finance Member cannot be congratulated on the scant consideration which he has shown to this all-important aspect of the problem of reconstruction. We are constrained to observe that Sir James Meston has failed to rise to the height of the occasion and promises only to maintain the old traditions of his department and Government, uninfluenced by the growing needs of the country and strong public opinion with regard to them.

#### THE ROWLATT BILLS.

THE report of the Select Committee on the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill is now out. It has been signed by all the members, except Messrs. Malaviya, Patel, and Khaparde, and by Messrs. Surendranath Banerjea, Sastri and Shafi, subject to a minute of dissent. Besides this minute there is another from the Hon. Syed Nawab Ali, who takes quite a different view of the Bill as amended by the Select Committee. He thinks that "certain vital changes have been introduced in it by the amendments made by the select committee whereby its objectionable character has been much reduced, if not removed almost." He dissents from the majority report on two points which are common ground between him and the three other dissentients, as to one of which he has the identical suggestion to make and as to the other, very much the same. As he expressly mentions only these two points, it follows, by necessary implication, that he does not agree with the other minute of dissent in respect of any of the other points dealt with therein. He has expressed his view frankly and fearlessly regardless of whatever view others may take of the conclusions he has honestly arrived at as to the complexion and character of the Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee. It takes courage to express an opinion which one knows will be distasteful and repulsive to a large section of the public. The Hon. Syed Nawab Ali is well known as a man who has the courage of his conviction. We, therefore, respect his opinion, however much we may differ from it.

THE minute of dissent of Messrs. Banerjea, Sastri, and Shafi recognises, in a spirit of fairness, the fact that the bill, as now altered by the Select Committee, is improved in two important matters, or, to make use of the negative phraseology of the authors of the minute, "is not now open to two objections to which it was open in its original form." The two points in respect of which im-

provements have been made or objections removed are, first, the limitation of the duration to three years, as to which an undertaking had already been given by the member in charge of the Bill; and, secondly, the restriction of the measure expressly and unequivocally to "anarchical and revolutionary crime." It is idle to pretend that both these are not important improvements.

THE suggestion that such legislation, even when permissible as an emergent measure, or one necessitated by exceptional circumstances, must be of a temporary character was first made by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in one of his three letters to the *Times of India* on the Rowlatt Bills, which have been since widely quoted in the Press as constituting an authoritative and a valuable contribution to the discussion of the subject from the legal and constitutional point of view. Sir Narayan's pointed suggestion was taken up by the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, who threw out the hint by putting it to Sir William Vincent, by way of a question while the latter was replying to the debate. The announcement accepting the suggestion came later on and has now been given effect to in the Bill as amended by the Select Committee. We are inclined to give the credit for it to Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, with whom the suggestion originated.

THE credit for the second important improvement is due to the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru who, in the course of his vigorous and telling criticism of the Bill at its first reading, attacked the wide scope and range of the measure and expressly asked it to be restricted to what was professedly put forward as its apparent justification, namely, to cope with anarchical and revolutionary crime. This has now been done, not only by introducing these words in place of the original phraseology in the long title, the preamble and the short title, but in the body of the main provisions in appropriate places, so as to leave no room for misinterpretation or doubt whatever as to the applicability of the measure only to "anarchical and revolutionary crime." This precludes the possibility of the contention that the measure "might be used or rather abused for the purpose of suppressing legitimate political activities,"—a contention which the original wording of the Bill gave reasonable ground for urging. In this respect, therefore, the Bill as now worded is a distinct improvement.

ALTHOUGH the proposed measure is thus specifically restricted to offences connected with anarchical and revolutionary movements, its provisions are open to objection on the main ground that the whole framework is based, in some of its most vital parts, on mere executive order. As the three members who have jointly signed the minute of dissent say, in dealing with clause 21:—"It is part of our general objection to the Bill that no restrictions should be imposed on the personal

liberty of a citizen except as the result of a conviction in a court of law. Excepting Part I, the rest of the Bill gives sanction to such restrictions by mere executive order." This feature of the Bill is repugnant to a judicial conscience and in so far as the Select Committee have declined to obliterate it and have persisted in retaining it, the "policy and principles" of the Bill cannot but be disapproved.

It is perhaps not easy for those who are used to exercise executive authority unchecked and uncontrolled by the parliamentary correctives and safeguards of removal from office by a vote of the legislature, to appreciate the force of the critics who are averse to invest the executive with more power even though it be ostensibly to suppress anarchical and revolutionary crime, so long as the executive is not responsible to the elect of the people. Extraordinary weapons of great potency and far-reaching range, if made easily accessible in the armoury of the executive, are apt, by their very sight and facility and swiftness of execution, to tempt the possessor into ill deeds. "The sight of things that do ill deeds makes ill deeds done."—This is what has been truly said and pointed out for the guidance of mankind for all time and in every clime by the greatest poet of the world who has unravelled and reflected the inner working of the human mind in his immortal plays. The thought and the warning embodied by Shakespeare in those words have a double application which no ruler or statesman should ignore.

THE provisions of the Bill, therefore, which give practically unrestricted power to the executive make it a drastic measure. That the proposed legislation is unnecessary at the present moment and is not urgent, as the operation of the Defence of India Act will continue for another nine months or a year, is a contention which has not been challenged. The opposition, therefore, to the "principles and policy" of the bill remains, although the bill has been improved in two important particulars by the Select Committee. It can be still further improved and the objections to the bill minimised in some respects, at any rate, by Government accepting the several reasonable alterations suggested in the minute of dissent of the three members.

AS to the procedure for a judicial trial embodied in Part I, while it may be conceded that it is in some respects an improvement over the provisions of the original Bill, the principle of giving an accused person the option of offering himself as a witness on his own behalf is open to grave objections. It is true that in England this principle has latterly been accepted as sound and statutory effect has been given to it in 61 and 62, Vict. c. 36., that is to say since 1898. But those who advocate the application of the principle to criminal trials in India forget or lose sight of the fact that the conditions in England differ vitally from those

which prevail here in two fundamental respects which have a direct bearing on the question.

THE first is that in England the trial is by a Jury, so that the very fact that an accused person has volunteered to prove his own innocence by going into the witness-box himself is bound to produce an impression favourable to the accused in the minds of laymen of ordinary commonsense, upon whose robust sense of fairness and justice, untrammelled by legal technicalities, the fate of the accused depends. The conclusions which an English Jury would think to be right and proper on a consideration of the whole of the evidence in the case from the point of view of men of ordinary commonsense may not, probably, in many cases, would not commend themselves to the considered judgment of persons whose minds are saturated with the technicalities of the law and cannot be expected to be altogether free from the unconscious bias of a legally trained man to look at matters from what might appear, to an ordinary layman, to be a narrow point of view. The corrective to this is the verdict of the Jury in England.

THE second point in respect of which there is a vital difference between conditions which prevail in England and in India, is as regards the composition and *personnel* of the judiciary, which in England, is recruited entirely from the ranks of the practising lawyers. A practising lawyer raised to the Bench is ordinarily a different species of the judiciary from the Civilian Judge. In the Bill there is no guarantee that the three High Court judges who are to constitute the Court under clause 5 will *all* be Barrister-Judges. If this were guaranteed it would be an improvement no doubt; still, the other objection of a more vital character would remain, namely, the absence of the safeguard of a trial by Jury. We think, therefore, that this innovation of allowing an accused person the option of offering himself as a witness on his own behalf is not desirable in this country in the interest of the accused himself, however much it may be hedged round by apparent safeguards prohibiting an inference adverse to the accused being drawn from his not having availed himself of this option.

#### UNMERITED ABUSE.

THOUGH highly sensitive by nature, I do not think it right to make public complaint against every act of misrepresentation or unjust censure. An episode in the Rowlatt bills agitation, however, has gone such lengths that friends—heaven be thanked, still I have many—may well wonder what I have done to draw so much thunder and lightning. The simple truth is that, after the opening debate was over, the home member wished to discuss the matter with Mr. Banerjee, Dr. Sapru and myself. We saw him, the law member being also present. It is not right to disclose the particulars, but this may be said—that the discussion led t

no compromise or compact. The subsequent announcement in Council that the bill would be made temporary was not in pursuance of any understanding with us, though doubtless it was intended to mollify non-official opposition. Government are entitled to full credit for it, for *pace* a Madras critic, no *quid pro quo* was stipulated for and none was promised. The ingenuity of some journalists has led them to assert that one of the terms of the compact was that Mr. Banerjea was to go on opposing the bill as though there was no compact. One is reminded of the inhospitable couple who, in order to get rid of an importunate guest, enacted a mock quarrel, he making believe he was beating her and she making believe she was crying aloud for pain. The Madras critic above mentioned is very resourceful. Being satisfied that we are going to oppose the bills to the end, he does not abandon the theory of a compact between Government and us, as any simple critic might be inclined to do. No, he is not to be beaten so easily. He says the compact is there, only we wretched moderates, our plot having been discovered, are now going to betray the Government. Having first sold the public to the Government, we are about to reverse the process and sell the Government to the public! Time was when, a public man having denied that he said, meant or did a certain thing, the others agreed to drop the matter. One would earnestly plead for the revival of the rule. It would work well on the whole. I dare not ask for the resuscitation of that more ancient rule that a man should not be condemned before his guilt is established. No true moderate ever seeks the unattainable. I have read of a criminal trial at the end of which the magistrate told the prosecutor that he could not find anything against the accused. "That's it," says the prosecutor, "he has done it with so much cunning." "There is no evidence on your side." "How can I produce any when he has contrived it with such dreadful secrecy?" "Your witnesses have deposed in his favour." "That is exactly my difficulty, your Honour; he is such an infernal scoundrel." The magistrate let off the prisoner. Will the public let us off? My hope is not dead yet.

V. S. SRINIVASAN.

#### THE LATE PROF. H. G. LIMAYE.

IT is with a feeling of deepest grief that we record the death, from heart failure, of Prof. H. G. Limaye of the Fergusson College on the 26th February. Prof. Limaye had not a robust constitution, but with proper dieting and regimen he prolonged his life and took such a leading part in all public activities that nobody ever dreamt that such a sudden and tragic end was in store for him. On the 26th he did all his work as usual, taking his classes in the College for three hours and was at our office to attend a meeting of the Council of the District Congress Committee at 6 p. m. As the

meeting was adjourned for want of quorum he left for the Deccan Club in Hiraabag, where a small gathering had been called together to meet Sir M. Visvesvaraiya. He was playing billiards with a friend when he felt a spasm in his heart and all was over in two minutes, and though medical aid was immediately available on the spot, nothing could be done to help him who was gone for ever. He was about forty-seven at the time of his death, having been a life member of the Deccan Education Society for seventeen years.

Prof. Limaye took a leading part in all progressive activities in Poona and the Maharashtra. Of his educational work too much can hardly be said in praise. He was a prominent member of the band of workers centred round the Fergusson College and the allied institutions, and his fame as professor of history and economics had spread far and wide over the whole presidency. He was immensely popular among his students, as he was in all circles, and many a student can recall the numerous personal and informal conversations with him on all subjects which often gave them some views of things in general. His knowledge especially of Indian history and political science and constitutional history was immense, and he had just planned writing a book to help in the current discussion on reforms, so that it may be based on knowledge of facts rather than on mere sentiment. He was very fond of Maratha history, and in the fullness of days he may have realised his dream of having a Maratha history written by a Maratha with true historical insight. He was very keen on going to original authorities and records for correct conclusions and had only recently obtained permission from Government to examine the vast historical material collected in the Alienation Office.

But the work of the scholar and teacher did not by any means exhaust Mr. Limaye's activities. He took a prominent part in all educational movements and institutions. The Deccan Education Society, we understand, is at present thinking of considerably expanding its sphere of activities and Prof. Limaye was put in charge of the scheme for the foundation of a college in Salsette and he was fixed upon by his colleagues as the first principal of that College. He was for the last two or three months continually going between Bombay and Poona in connection with the scheme and within a week of his death he had gone over a site in Salsette with several friends in Bandra and other experts and practically settled on it. It is a great tragedy indeed that he did not live to bring his project to fruition. Mr. Limaye was a fellow of the University for the last four years and within this short space had made his mark in the Senate as a most persuasive and sound speaker who was always listened to with great appreciation. Perhaps nobody else had before acquired such influence there in such a short time. He was keen on the question of the vernaculars and in this as in all other educational matters was for the all-round

advance of his country. He was a member of the Poona Municipality for over six years and even there was always listened to respectfully and regarded as one of the most prominent members there, though he never identified himself with any of the contending factions. He held also very advanced views on social reform and was always keen on promoting the cause as much as lay in his power, not caring for the unpopularity incurred. Thus when two months ago after the meeting on Mr. Patel's Bill in the Kirloskar theatre there was some stone and shoe throwing at the president of that meeting on his departure from the place, the shoe perhaps meant for Principal Paranjpye actually struck Prof. Limaye who was in the same car. In his own family he carried out his principles whenever he could and got his two eldest daughters married only after they were of age and had been properly educated.

In politics Prof. Limaye was a devoted disciple of the late Mr. Gokhale and the true representative of the Gokhale School in Poona. In the moderate party, though he did not like the word *moderate* but preferred to call it the liberal or progressive party, he was the trusted adviser and co-worker of his colleagues. On any delicate question Haribhau ( by which name he was always known to every body in Poona ) was sure to give the soundest advice after taking into consideration all sides of the question, not giving way to passion, sentiment of the moment or thirst for popularity, though keeping steadfastly true to his progressive principles. Only the other day, he gave evidence before the Functions Committee and made a great impression on all the members by the soundness of his knowledge and views. Mr. Gokhale had a high regard for the sanity of his judgment, Prof. Limaye would have made a very valuable member of the Legislative Council and only declined entertaining the idea, when put him, of standing for election on a consideration of the trouble and expense that would be involved in canvassing in the contest.

The SERVANT OF INDIA mourns, however, not only an able, sane and renowned public worker in Prof. Limaye; its ties with him have been the most intimate ever since its start. It is not too much to say that the SERVANT OF INDIA would not have seen the light of day, had not its editor been confident of the cordial co-operation, help and advice of Haribhau. The success of our venture, such as it is, is to a great extent his. In addition to the large number of signed contributions from his pen, many of the unsigned articles and notes were also from the same source and his loss is indeed a most staggering blow to us. We shall now continue to follow our path without one of our main stays, but shall ever be asking ourselves the question, "what would Haribhau have thought on this matter?" He wielded a powerful pen both in English and Marathi, and his contributions have frequently appeared, both signed and unsigned, in many English and Marathi journals and newspapers. Two of

his most recent remarkable articles were, one in English and one in Marathi, scholarly reviews of Mr. Kincaid's History of the Marathas in the "Indian Review" (and the "Fergusson College Magazine") and the "Vividhadnyanavistar." He did not care for the passionate style that is a good deal affected now-a-days but his writings were always sober, scholarly and well-reasoned appeals to the intellect of the reader rather than to their sentiments.

Over and above the professor, the scholar, the social reformer, the publicist and the journalist, Haribhau was pre-eminently a man who impressed everybody by his thorough honesty, his gentlemanly manners, his tact and administrative abilities and a certain something which we can but call his personality. He was by these pre-eminent qualities a universal friend and had no enemies. In him Poona and Maharashtra have indeed lost a great public worker who, along with all the force he wielded openly, exerted a strong influence by his great individuality and transparent sincerity and a large circle of people a dear personal friend. The grief we feel can only be conceived; it is too great for words. May his soul rest in peace!

#### THE LATE MR. H. N. APTE.

IN the sad death of Mr. H. N. Apte, which lamentable event occurred on the evening of Monday last, Maharashtra has lost a man of wide culture, a brilliant novelist, an active citizen and a strong supporter of the cause of political and social reform. Mr. Apte has made an unequalled contribution to the development of Marathi literature, and he has not undeservedly been called the Sir Walter Scott of Maharashtra. His numerous novels and stories occupy a unique place in the literature of Maharashtra; and as the editor of *Karamanuka* and the author of novels like *Pan Lakshata Kona Ghetu* and *Ushakkala*, his name has become a household word wherever Marathi is spoken. His works were read by young and old, by men, women and children. Mr. Apte was a great lover of books and a man of varied tastes. History, politics, poetry, drama, Indian philosophy, had all equal fascination for him and there was scarcely a new arrival of repute in the bookshops that did not find a patron in him. You spoke to him of a new book you had heard or read of somewhere, and he was sure to tell you that he had already read it or was reading it. Mr. Apte had not received a University education, he could not negotiate the stumbling block of mathematics for which he had conceived an incurable distaste, and his progress towards a degree was stopped before he had taken the first step in that direction. But he made up for this deficiency by extensive reading, for which he cultivated an incurable taste. As he grew older, his knowledge steadily accumulated, and though his acquaintance with subjects could not be regarded as intimate, he was one of the best read men in the Deccan.



Mr. Apte was a warm friend and a genial companion and he was one of the finest story teller and the pleasantest talker that one could come across. He had a large fund of anecdotes and out of that vast storehouse he brought out his stories with remarkable ease. He had made a large number of friends who will bitterly mourn his loss. Mr. Apte was a devoted follower of Mr. Ranade and an affectionate friend of Mr. Gokhale and ever stood on the public platform on their side. He was an enthusiastic Congressman and attended a very large number of sessions of the national assembly. For a number of years he was a member of the Poona Municipality and for three years its President. He took a prominent part in almost all public activities and was long one of the Secretaries of the Deccan Sabha. There was no cause of public benefit in which he did not interest himself and there were some with which he had identified himself. With his long residence and prolonged work in Poona in various capacities and directions, he had acquired a large measure of experience and influence. For some time past, he had been in indifferent health, but his activities were ceaseless. Only just before the disease, which proved fatal, had taken a firm hold of him, he gave evidence before one of the reform committees in Bombay and few dreamt at the time that the end was so near. The New Poona College which owed him a great deal, the Anandashrama, the Deccan Sabha, the University and other institutions equally share the severe loss which Maharashtra has sustained in Mr. Apte's decease and which will be bemoaned by a large circle of admirers and friends.

V. G. K.

### SOCIAL WORK AT JAMSHEDPUR.

MR. THAKKAR'S REPORT FOR JANUARY.

#### (A.) STORES.

*Grains.*—Our purchases during the month amounted to about Rs. 24,000 as against Rs. 70,000 of the previous month. This was only to be expected, inasmuch as the big purchases of December were meant to furnish us with a reserve of about three months' stock. We had, therefore, on hand, sufficient stock of the principal grains and there was no need for purchases on a large scale again. In fact, out of Rs. 24,000 as much as Rs. 21,000 were on account of purchases of wheat alone, mostly from the Punjab.

The rise in the price of wheat, from Rs. 6-4 to 7-8 and 8 per maund, caused a slight fall in the quantity of wheat sold, though the net amount realized was a trifle more than in December. The sudden (but temporary) fall in the price of the inferior sorts of rice placed the local merchants in a position of advantage and enabled them to undersell us in that particular variety of rice. It might be observed, in this connection, that we are selling rice to the Company's employees at less than even the present cost price and the current market rates—at 8 seers the rupee. This, it goes without

saying, gave satisfaction all round. A slight reduction in the price of salt, which meant to the poor consumers a gain of a pice on every seer, also led to very good sales.

Lastly, we tried the system of selling rice in retail direct (to the poorer classes of the employees); and it promises to work well and give some relief to the people.

*Cloth.*—Our purchases of cloth during the month amounted to Rs. 30,000. Out of this, about Rs. 20,000 worth was purchased by me at Bombay, where I had gone about the end of the month. The balance was purchased from the Nagpur Mills. One special feature of the purchases is that they include about Rs. 10,000 worth of fents, i. e., cut pieces of odd lengths, which I was able to get at a cheaper rate (cheaper by 25%) than that for whole pieces of the same cloth.

The total value of the sale of the cloth during the month was Rs. 10,500 which gives a daily average of Rs. 339 as against Rs. 317 of December.

We propose to open of a branch in the old village of Sakohi, about a mile from here. It is arranged to open it on the 1st of March.

(B.) *Co-operative Work.*—The Co-operative Credit Society for the workmen of Electric department of the Company has been registered with the Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies, Patna. The first general meeting was held on the 13th inst, when the entrance fee and first instalment of shares were paid. A beginning has thus been made and efforts would be made to extend the movement so as to bring workmen of other departments also to take advantage of it.

February 18, 1919.

### REVIEWS.

#### FINANCIAL PROBLEMS DURING AND AFTER THE WAR.

INDIA'S WAR FINANCE AND POST-WAR PROBLEMS. By Prof. V. G. Kale, M. A., Poona. Price Rs. 2.

PROF. KALE'S present contribution to Indian economics needs no introduction to the readers of this Journal, because a series of articles on War Finance and peace time problems has already appeared in its columns a couple of months ago. Prof. Kale's first idea was to review the financial administration of Sir William Meyer on the eve of his retirement from the office of Finance member. But as Sir W. Meyer's regime was incidentally synchronous with the duration of the War, the original plan of the author was rightly given up and the book developed into a study in War Finance and problems of reconstruction. The original articles have been enlarged by material amplifications in the subject matter and the addition of chapters dealing separately with problems like those of currency, exchange, banking &c. and its value and utility have been further augmented by incorporation of comparative statistics and figures. The book presents to the general reader a quantity of facts and figures which he could have discovered for himself only by laborious study of a mass of blue books. The sudden outbreak of the War having rudely shaken the economic equilibrium of India's finance and given rise to unforeseen difficulties, it would always be a difficult matter to arrive at a correct estimate and pronounce the final judgment on Sir W. Meyer's memorable career as a Finance member. Prof. Kale appreciates the

ability and dexterity with which Sir W. Meyer handled the financial machine, and piloted the vessel through stormy weather. His only complaint is that Sir William's firm grasp of the technique of trade did not compensate for his deplorable lack of a wide outlook and deep insight into immediate needs and the possibilities of the future. This may indeed be regarded as a fault of omission, rather than of commission for which, it may be said that sufficient justification was afforded by the gloomy outlook of the titanic War.

The book under review very clearly shows the splendid assistance India rendered to the Empire in conducting the war to a successful issue by manipulating and adjusting its currency, exchange and financial machinery to the necessities as they arose from time to time. It was the fashion with some people to belittle the contribution made by India to the prosecution of the struggle and we are glad that Prof. Kale has successfully vindicated the position of this country in the matter. India's sacrifices were in many cases such that they did not strike the superficial observer, that they were, none the less, substantial. Prof. Kale has brought out this fact and the merit of his book lies in pointing out India's war services while explaining the changes which were made in her financial machinery to suit the changing conditions. The four last chapters are calculated to be of special help to the student in forming a correct idea of India's position with respect to the systems of taxation, currency and banking; and the book taken as a whole is full of instruction, inspiration and suggestion.

Indians, nay even educated Indians, may justly be charged with being 'economic illiterates' and nowhere more so than in the matter of finance. We may, however, safely assure our readers that they may confidently rely on the distinguished author of "India's War Finance" to guide them through the mazes of currency, exchange, banking, taxation and other intricacies of public finance. The story of Indian War Finance has been lucidly narrated in the book before us from stage to stage. What is more important than this is the attempt made to indicate the problems, which have been neglected in the past and require immediate solution at the hands of the present Finance Member. Politicians, and persons interested in budgets, public finance, and India's economic development generally, will be greatly benefited by the valuable light thrown upon difficult problems and the useful suggestions made in this book. The book is the first and the only one of its kind and as such, has a peculiar value and significance attached to it. We congratulate Prof. Kale on the promptness with which he has supplied the Indian public with a new addition to Indian economic literature and hope that the volume will be read and carefully studied by all those who feel interested in public questions.

THE NATIONALIST, a weekly paper. Editor: Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rao, Madras.

We welcome this new weekly, whose first number appeared last week. It is the organ of the Nationalist party, which under the auspices of a provincial branch of the Indian Home Rule League is doing vigorous propagandist work on its own lines on the beach. We have no doubt that under the editorship of Mr. Harisarvottama Rao, a well-known Nationalist, it will faithfully represent the views of the party whose organ it professes to be.

#### GUTTILA.

GUTTILA.—By F. O. and L. M. Pearce. Published by Ganes & Co., Madras.

THE authors say in the preface, that it is a poem based on the original story of Guttilla as it is found on the Sinhalese literature. I myself do not know the Sinhalese language and so accept the authors' statement made in the preface that they

have made several changes of omission and commission in the story. Both the changes tend in the direction of making the narrative quicker in pace, bolder and more human in tone, though in one respect the principle involved in the one is opposed to that involved in the other. If Musila's being made to go straight to Guttilla as a pupil, and not indirectly by serving Guttilla's parents first, is a bolder device, it is for that very reason more honest. The same Musila, treacherously cutting the string of Guttilla's Veena on the night before the day of competition is a meaner fellow, and I cannot understand him. The verse of the first part is disappointing. I do not insist upon a poet's giving me regularly accented, smooth, verses; but at the same time I do not care much for lines like the following:

Perchance will come one day.

When he will slay the master. Ay, turn pale!

What will ye think when dead upon the earth

Lies Him who is the earth's Great Glory? 'Why?'

Nor do I like the Miltonic swell in

Even so

Streams the blue Jumna, sparkling as it rolls

Its shining waters eastward, till they sink

With glad swift tumult heaving, safe at last

In Ganga's bosom.

to be followed by a bold line like

So the azure light

Floated around the master.

That brings me to note another trick of the versification of F. O. Pearce—the abrupt, sudden manner in which he halts in the middle of a line. The verse in the second part is much better and some stanzas (compare the first on page 67 and the last on page 70) are indeed fine.

And ere he went, has Vina had much more  
Of heavenly music in it since he came  
From playing in the Heights, than ere before,  
More mighty to transmute men's lower aim.

But when the invisible, unearthly flames  
Returned again to hear him on its wings,  
He left his body and his minstrel-name,  
And all earth's limiting and life-less Things  
To which man's incompleteness still unsated clings.

I welcome this attempt to render oriental tales in English verse, as a sincere indication on the part of the authors to understand the spirit of the East.

G. H. KELKAR.

## INDIA'S WAR FINANCE.

AND

## POST-WAR PROBLEMS.

By Prof. V. G. Kale, M. A.

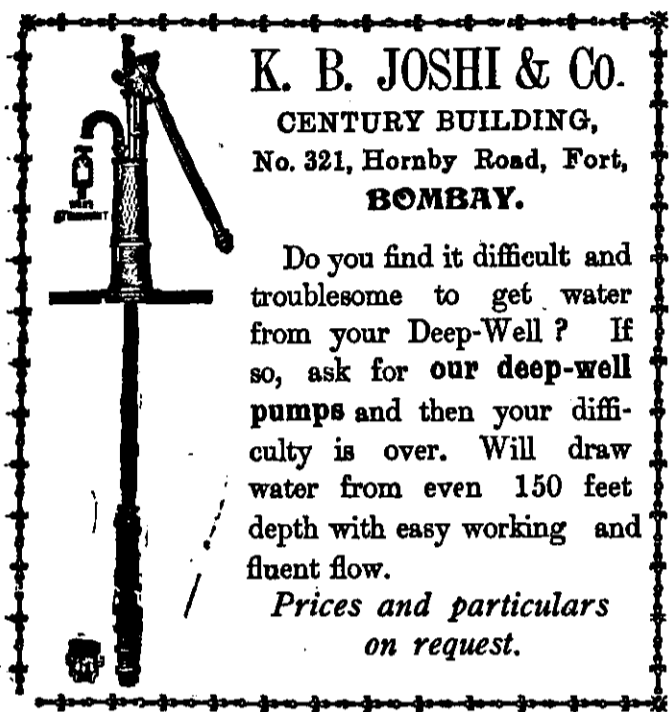
The book lucidly reviews the administration of Indian finance during war time and clearly brings out the great services rendered and sacrifices made by this country for the successful prosecution of the war to a victorious issue. It describes the effects of the war upon Indian finance, currency, exchange, trade and banking and points out in what directions urgent reforms are called for in view of the requirements of the country's progress in the era of reconstruction and rapid development. Every student of public questions and of Indian Economics ought to buy a copy. Cloth bound Rs. 2.

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