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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WE learn on very good authority that Martial Law prisoners will not be allowed the benefit of royal clemency and that they will be granted no remission of sentences. It will be seen that the press *communiqué* announcing a general jail delivery did not distinguish between prisoners convicted under ordinary law and those convicted under martial law, and yet the Punjab Government, to whom the selection of offenders in their province was left, have put, if the information we have received from a reliable source proves correct, a narrow and pettifogging interpretation upon His Majesty's order and thus by their own act denied the concession to the very men who needed it above all others. It is more than doubtful if the conditions obtaining in the Punjab justified a declaration of martial law, and the popular view is clear that gross injustice has been done in the cases in which leading citizens have been involved. Under the best of circumstances martial law leaves much room for injustice in such cases, and we cannot resist the temptation of quoting once again the universally accepted opinion that "the so-called 'sentences' of the so-called 'courts martial' held under a proclamation of 'martial law' are not judicial sentences at all; that is to say, they are not founded on any precise law, but are merely acts of a peculiarly solemn nature done in the course of repressing disorder." It follows therefore that none deserve royal pardon more than those who, in the judgment of the general public, are unjustly punished under martial law, and if they are to be excluded from the benefit of royal clemency, it may be confidently asserted that the concession will not be much valued in India.

THE charges of inhuman cruelty which the Irish-American delegates preferred against the

Irish Government have been categorically answered by the Government, but the delegates have now made some further allegations and insist that they should be investigated by an impartial body "appointed by the Peace Conference and excluding from membership the interested countries; or by a committee selected equally by the Prime Minister of England and the elected representatives of Ireland, the chairman to be agreed upon the parties." The delegates are ready to substantiate all their charges and only desire the immediate appointment of the commission in view of the possibility that evidence now in existence may be destroyed and witnesses placed beyond the reach of the commission of inquiry. With regard to the disturbances in the Punjab and the measures taken by Government to quell them, Indians also urge the immediate nomination of the commission—it has already been delayed overmuch—and the rigid exclusion from it of the interested parties, whose acts, whether of violence or the employment of excessive severity, are in question. The Moderates now on deputation in England have only voiced the universal feeling in this country in expressing indignation and dismay at the imposition of martial law sentences on the leading men in the Punjab and calling for the appointment of an impartial tribunal without further delay.

* * *

THE attacks that occurred in the recent disturbances upon railways, telegraphs, Government offices, etc., are used in certain quarters to prove that there was an attempt at waging war against the King. It is said that the only object with which the outrages were committed could be "the coercion of Government by a display of criminal violence into adopting a course of action which would not otherwise have been adopted." While the object with which such an assertion is made as to the aim of the rioters is clear enough, we ask what evidence has so far been adduced to prove that those who took part in the disturbances organised a concerted movement in order to coerce Government into repealing the Rowlatt legislation, and in the absence of such proof it is futile to try to convince the public that there was an attempt at levying war upon the King's Majesty. Without doubt the Satyagraha movement was started with the object of securing the repeal of the Rowlatt law, and indeed it was the avowed object of the other constitutional movements also, organised by those who did not approve of Satyagraha. But the

conductors of these movements eschewed violence on principle. If some mischief-makers took advantage of the *hartals*, etc., engineered by people whose creed is absolute non-resistance, and created trouble, it is not to be assumed that they also shared the object of the constitutionalists, and the existence of a certain number of rioters in the midst of the latter will not make the whole movement a criminal conspiracy. The generality of the design which is assumed by those critics who are bent upon making out a case for treason by waging war against the King's Majesty is certainly not proved. The reasoning on which such a conclusion is based may be stretched to apply to the most innocent agitation, for every agitation seeks to bring pressure upon Government or to "restrain the King from reigning according to law."

* * *

IT is satisfactory to learn from Sir George Barnes's letter to Mr. Gandhi that the Government of India are doing all they can to support the just claims of the Transvaal Indians. Sir George assures us that "the events in South Africa which have led up to the passing of the new statute have caused His Excellency the Viceroy" and himself "deepest anxiety, and that His Excellency has repeatedly pressed the Indian case on the Colonial Office, through the Secretary of State for India." We rejoice to see that the Government of India "associate themselves entirely with the views expressed by Lord Sinha in the memorandum which he laid before the Imperial Conference of 1918 that Law 3 of 1885 is an anachronism and opposed to the spirit of modern legislation." Instead of taking our stand on the assurances given at the time of passing the Law of 1908 and repeated later that no right then enjoyed would be taken away, it is best to press for the annulment of the Gold Law altogether which imposes upon Indians restrictions from which even the aboriginal natives are exempt.

* * *

THE remedy suggested by Mr. Gandhi is simple: that pending the appointment of the commission promised by the Acting Prime Minister of South Africa, mining ground be included in the wards and streets in which, according to the Gold Law of 1885, Asiatics can take up residence and own property, and receivers of revenue be instructed to issue trade licenses to them. And the coming commission must secure the complete abolition of all racial restrictions. The principle underlying this demand is that while to the Government may be conceded the right to restrict immigration it is its bounden duty to confer upon the immigrants who are admitted all the civic rights which belong to all citizens. We hope that the representations of the Government of India will not fail of their effect, and that the Transvaal Indians who as a last resort are again preparing to offer passive resistance will be assured before the movement is commenced that the ruin threatening them will be averted by the intervention of His Majesty's Government.

WHILE we endorse the comment of the *Indian Social Reformer* in its issue of July 13 on the control the Government continues to exercise on the importation of the precious metals, though it is necessary even in this matter to take into account the serious difficulties that have yet to be faced in procuring silver and supplying the rupee currency required by the people, we are constrained to observe that the remarks of our contemporary are largely irrelevant and exaggerated. The present four-anna piece is so small and inconvenient to handle that a nickle coin of the same value is sure to prove popular as the one anna and two-anna pieces have proved. It is difficult to say the same thing about the proposed eight-anna piece though there is no reason why people should not take kindly to it, looking to the great demand that there is for an adequate supply of the subsidiary coinage. The rupee and the smaller coins have long been tokens, and we hope the *Social Reformer* does not imagine that Government coins this money for supplying silver to people in a convenient form. The facilities the public has for purchasing silver for purposes of ornaments or trinkets will not be taken away if the proposed nickel coins are minted by Government; and all the outcry of our contemporary as regards Indian women's ornaments and wealth is simply beside the point.

* * *

SO far as the social condition of our masses is known to us, we do not think that women's reserves against emergencies are ever kept in the shape of four-anna and eight-anna pieces to a considerable extent. Even supposing that our contemporary is right, few would expect the *Social Reformer* to oppose a measure that would educate the people in the mere economic uses of the precious metals without giving a shock to their religious or social sentiments and inflicting any loss on them. Our contemporary's reference to the protest of the *Economist* against the excessive use of the printing press in Canada to provide additional volumes of currency is absolutely irrelevant. As a token and divisional coin, Government is not expected to make the half rupee contain anything more than half or two-thirds in bullion value, and it is better that our women should be given a coin that will always purchase eight annas worth of commodities than that their reserves should be held in silver coins that will contain bullion to the extent of half their face value. The *Reformer's* chivalry is commendable, but it seems to us to be misplaced.

* * *

GREAT play is made in certain quarters with some impertinent statements contained in the judgment of the Lahore conspiracy case as to the decay of the influence of the so-called Moderates in the Punjab. Let us say it out plainly that if the Moderates, fighting against great odds, are unable to make their way against a combination of the official and unofficial extremists, it reflects

no discredit upon them; it only proves how badly the country is governed. In every country the power of the Moderates always depends upon their ability to secure important reforms and redress of grievances at the hands of the Government, and whenever the Government adopts an unsympathetic policy, the influence of the Moderate party wanes and if it persists in its folly for a sufficiently long period, the Moderates are wiped out. Thus the Moderates of Ireland—the Nationalists—are very low at the present moment. Sinn Fein has swept the country and the constitutionalist party has been practically destroyed. In an impressive passage Mr. T. P. O'Connor described the other day in the House of Commons how the Irish Parliamentary party had ups and downs in their fortunes according as the Irish Government favoured a liberal or illiberal policy and how ultimately, after the Ulster rebellion, almost the whole of Ireland changed from constitutionalism to revolutionism.

SAID Mr. O'Connor:

There have always been two conflicting methods by which Irish self-government could be attained. In my early days Fenianism was rampant, and revolutionary methods were regarded as the only means of obtaining self-government for Ireland. In these days those who came here, after having bought a constituency, and I am not surprised that there was a decay of faith in Parliamentary efforts. Then came Mr. Butt and the constitutional movement. It will surprise some Hon. Members to hear that when Mr. Butt started his party in 1870, of which we are the remnants to-day, he was stoned, hooted, and driven from his platform. I remember that he was standing as a Home Ruler at Limerick associated with Joseph Biggar, a very prominent Member of this House at a meeting held at Dubarton or Manchester and they were met with stones and with nuts to prevent them speaking. Mr. Parnell, during the first years of his political activities was attacked by a remnant of the revolutionary movement, but in time Mr. Parnell, and his successor, Mr. Macarthy, and Mr. Dillon and Mr. Redmond, were able to achieve so many great reforms that practically revolutionary movement ceased to exist. A good deal of it was left, it is true, in New York and other big cities of the United States, but so low had the revolutionary movement in America fallen in the days after the constitutional movement, that I was able to raise in a single city in America more money for the constitutional cause than the revolutionary party were able to raise in a whole year. There was only one member of our party who became a Sinn Feiner, and he is a leader in the city of St. Louis in the United States. He vacated his seat, but he was snowed under by the man who represented the constitutional movement, and that movement would have been alive to-day if it had not been for you.

AGAIN:

The story of Ireland would never be told if there was not a paradox in it. The right Hon. Gentleman the member for Duncairn (Sir E. Carson) was almost as much a hero of the revolutionary movement as he was with his friend, in the North of Ireland, and they (the revolutionaries) thanked him for liberating Ireland from the miserable, cowardly gospel of constitutional agitation and teaching the youth of Ireland the higher and nobler gospel of the sword. That is what accounts for the gradual growth of the revolutionary feeling in Ireland. That, alone, however, would not have produced it without the

help of the Government. . . I do not accuse hon. Member of the Government of any deliberate policy in this matter but if it had been deliberately intended to destroy the constitutional movement and create a revolutionary one in its place, they adopted the kind of methods and policy best calculated towards that end. Then there was the Rebellion. That in itself was not a very important event in regard to the number of people who took part in it, and it was not a popular movement at the time. The number of people in sympathy with it in Ireland was small, and if it had been treated properly the number in sympathy with it would have been smaller still. But when you send your soldiers to deal with the people in a spirit of military dictatorship when you really require the best statesmanship and the best tact of the best men of the country when you have fifteen executions of young men, the spirit of Ireland is changed. You can find in history many quick triumphs of policy, but I defy you to give in the history of any country a triumph so wide and prompt as the policy of execution which changed a friendly country into a hostile and rebellious country in the course of twenty-four hours.

THE *Nation* has well put the point in its issue of June 21:

These distinguished Irishmen (Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon and other Parliamentary leaders) were not hypocrites. They said moderate things because they believed moderate things. Similarly, the Ireland that followed them was a genuinely moderate Home Rule Ireland. Home Rule at that time seemed a straight, smooth road to liberty. When it was found to be merely a road of insult and futility, barred by armed men under the direction of ignominious persons such as Galloper Smith (now Lord Chancellor of England), the majority of Irishmen began to wonder whether the steep and thorny way to an Irish Republic might not after all afford more hopeful travelling. The treatment of the insurgent leaders after Easter week convinced them that the policy of England in Ireland was one not of co-operation but conquest. They saw in a sudden vision their country being ruled by foreigners by the sword. The nation that has been haunted by this terrific vision and that can yet go on following moderate counsellors has not yet appeared on the earth.

PROF. KALE has shown up in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 28th instant the calumnies of the Maratha rulers contained in Mr. Vincent A. Smith's "Oxford History of India." In a chapter headed "The Robber State," Mr. Smith says: "Shivaji was primarily a fierce robber chieftain who inflicted untold misery on hundreds of thousands of innocent people. . . The Maratha independent rule in all its varieties until 1818 was the rule of professed robbers. . . In short the Marathas were robbers by profession." Discerning critics know, however, that Shivaji, judged by the time in which he lived, was among the wisest of rulers, and such indiscriminate abuse as Mr. Vincent has chosen to shower upon Shivaji and his descendants only serves to test the critical faculty and the impartial spirit of the eminent historian.

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'HOME' CONTROL OVER INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

I.—GENERAL CONTROL.

THE majority report of the Crew Committee and the minutes of dissent written by Sir James Brunyate, Prof. Keith and Mr. Basu, make very interesting reading. In them is strongly reflected the divergence of view which has long prevailed over the question of the relations of the Secretary of State for India towards the Indian Governments and of the position of the India Council in the governance of India. The Government of India, subjected more and more to public criticism in this country and conscious of its status of a central authority responsible for the well-being of the vast population of this dependency, has always chafed at the rigorous control exercised over it by the Secretary of State from London. In the controversy surrounding this question, the latter has invariably taken his stand upon the responsibility which the statute has thrown upon his shoulders and upon the imperative necessity of subjecting the Government of India to strict supervision in order to enable him to discharge his Parliamentary responsibility satisfactorily. The Secretary of State for India, being a member of the British Cabinet, is directly responsible for the government of this country to Parliament, and whatever authority he may allow the Government of India to exercise in an unfettered way, must be in consonance with that responsibility. Under the existing statute, the Government of India are the servants of the Secretary of State whose orders they must obey and whose consent they must obtain before taking any measures outside the ordinary routine. In matters of detail they may act according to their discretion, because that does not affect the authority of the Secretary of State, but in all important matters they must consult and secure the permission of the authorities in London.

This state of things is naturally not compatible with the constitutional reforms which are now before Parliament. The fundamental principle of those reforms, so far as the report under consideration is concerned, is that Parliament and therefore the Secretary of State who is responsible to it will have to relax their hold upon the Government of India and the provincial Governments in proportion as the legislatures in India come to exercise a steadily increasing degree of control over the executive Governments in this country. Under the Government of India Bill, the Indian Legislative Assembly will have a majority of elected members and the position of the Government of India will be rendered extremely difficult and invidious when it finds itself between two authorities, the legislature on one side and the Secretary of State on the other. It will no longer be able to get measures passed or defeated in the popular Assembly with the help of official votes; and it will be awkward to expect it to secure the assent

of the Secretary of State to such measures. This was one of the chief questions which Lord Crew's Committee had to consider and it could not but recommend a large degree of relaxation of control and delegation of authority on the part of the Secretary of State in conformity with the spirit of the Scheme of Reform before Parliament. The basis of delegation recommended by the Committee is as follows:—"that without prejudice to the further relaxation of control by the Secretary of State, the principle of previous consultation between the Secretary of State and the Government of India should be substituted in all cases where the previous sanction of the Secretary of State in Council has hitherto been required; but the Secretary of State should, from time to time, revise the list of subjects on which he requires such previous consultation and inform the Government of India accordingly." These recommendations are to apply to all projects, both legislative and financial, "subject to the reservations that may be necessary for the proper discharge of the Secretary of State's Ministerial responsibilities." The Committee indeed recognizes the new position that will be created by the constitution of the Assembly on a considerable popular basis and recommends that the Governor General should refuse assent to legislation only in cases in which the Secretary of State feels that his responsibility to Parliament for the peace, order and good government of India, or paramount considerations of imperial policy, require him to secure reconsideration of the matter at issue by the Legislative Assembly.

Prof. Keith is not satisfied with the concession of discretion to the Government of India allowed in the majority report. While he agrees that the control of the Secretary of State must be kept intact in matters affecting the peace, order and good government of India or of some part of the Empire other than India, he feels that the substitution of prior consultation for prior consent and the grant of permission to the Secretary of State to define the cases when he considers such prior consultation necessary, do not improve matters from the point of view either of the dignity of the Government of India or the increasing influence of the Indian legislature. Prof. Keith is afraid that, under the change proposed by the Committee, there will, in substance, be no alteration in the effectiveness of the control of the Secretary of State, as the advice of that authority, in the ultimate issue, if it is pressed, is indistinguishable from a command and that the promise of further decentralization hardly rises above the level of a pious platitude, the significance of which the Committee has failed to grasp. There is much to be said in favour of the view Prof. Keith has taken and it is impossible to accord to the Secretary of State a position in which he will be able to flout the combined opinion of the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly. But we are interested in this controversy particularly from the point of view of popular control over Govern-

ment. It will be small consolation to the people of this country that Parliamentary control is removed to a large degree from the Government of India if their own control is not substituted therefor. What the Reform Scheme promises to give us in the central Government, is only increased influence, and we would certainly like that this influence should be effectively exerted and that the interference of the Secretary of State should not stand in the way of the exercise of popular control.

II.—THE INDIA COUNCIL.

WHILE the majority report of the Crew Committee is content with laying down a simple formula with regard to the relaxation of control over the Government of India and the provincial Governments, that except in matters of major importance in which the previous sanction of the Secretary of State will be necessary, the Government of India need hold only a consultation with the authority in London and thus in this and other directions, there will be a large measure of delegation of power from the higher to the lower strata of Government, Prof. Keith, Sir James Brunyate, members of the Committee and others outside it, hold the view that the position of the Government of India is not likely to improve unless the transference of authority from Whitehall to Delhi is made more generous, clear and specific. The real difficulty lies in reconciling the claims of the Indian Government to greater freedom of initiation and action, specially in view of the reforms contemplated in the Government of India Bill, and the Secretary of State's position of direct responsibility to Parliament which postulates a large measure of control. The Secretary of State will certainly realise the invidious position of the Government of India as the latter must appreciate the Secretary of State's relations to the British Parliament. It is only in giving a concrete form to what is accepted in the abstract by both sides that the difficulty of the solution lies, and we feel that experience gained in acting upon the formula laid down in the majority report will create conventions which will ultimately be found satisfactory both in England and India.

The India Council has long been regarded as an anachronism and a useless encumbrance; and the transfer of its agency work to a High Commissioner and the diminution of correspondence and supervision now carried on by it, as a result of the contemplated delegation of authority to the Government of India, make its continuance unnecessary. That Council has been a body of expert advisers with whom the Secretary of State might consult and, in matters of revenue, it was likewise designed as a check upon him. When it is remembered that in spite of the existence of this body of advisers, the Secretary of State alone has been responsible to Parliament and that in the future there will be no work in the India Office which may not be executed with equal efficiency by a permanent

staff, any case that may be put up in favour of the continuance of the Council falls to the ground. We, therefore, welcome the suggestion of the Crew Committee that the India Council should go but are not equally satisfied of the desirability of substituting an Advisory Committee in its place. The argument that, in the absence of the India Council, the Secretary of State will become an autocrat does not impress us at all; and similarly the plea for the substitution of an advisory body of experts is unconvincing. The permanent staff of the India Office which will include officers with recent Indian experience will certainly be equal to the tasks which the proposed Committee is expected to perform. The Committee is again not going to have the statutory relationship of responsible, though subordinate, association with the Secretary of State, as Sir James Brunyate points out and, as Mr. Bhupendranath Basu argues, it will retain the demerits of the present system and will lose many of its merits. If, however, the proposal of the Committee is accepted, we would support Mr. Basu's suggestion that at least half its members should be Indians, and that the bulk of them should be nominated from among those selected by the non-official members of the Indian legislature. It will be remembered that when Lord Crew's Council of India Bill was before Parliament such a cautious reformer as Sir William Wedderburn had expressed the view that there was no reason why Indians should not supply a half of the Council. The case for an increased proportion of Indians becomes stronger still when the Advisory Committee has no statutory powers but only performs the function of tendering advice.

We think that the Crew Committee's report will, on the whole, be received with a considerable degree of satisfaction in this country on account of the spirit of progress it breathes, though it will not be possible to agree to some of its recommendations. For years India has demanded that the salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates, and that demand having been supported in the Joint Report, it has been pronounced as reasonable by the Crew Committee. One important recommendation made in the Montagu-Chelmsford report has not, however, found favour with the Committee, and it is in connection with the appointment of a select committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs. The Committee believes that the proposed arrangement is not likely to produce the anticipated result, *viz.*, the creation of well-informed opinion on Indian affairs in the House of Commons. It regards the arrangement as superfluous and calculated to interfere with the work of the Secretary of State and to militate against the development of responsible government which is the goal of reforms. These objections do not appear to us to be strong. It is difficult to see how the select committee which has no administrative functions will cause embarrassment to the Secretary of State, nor how it will be incompatible with the progressive realization of responsible government

which is promised to India. India is yet a long way off from that goal and the select committee will perform a very useful function in drawing Parliament's attention to Indian affairs till the government of this country is ultimately transferred to the control of the Indian people. The other matters dealt with by the Crew Committee are of comparatively minor importance and need not detain us here. The essential points to consider are the abolition of the India Office, the delegation of a growing measure of authority to the Government in this country, the ensuring of the responsibility of the Secretary of State to the House of Commons and the increasing association of the Indian people in the government of their own country here and in England. We hope the Joint Committee will embody these principles into the Government of India Bill.

THE FUTURE FUNCTION OF THE I.C.S.

ALTHOUGH perhaps not quite so vocal as several other classes of the opponents of reform in India, the I.C.S. with its complete organisation and its vast collective experience and prestige offers the greatest amount of passive opposition to the political evolution of India. The highest authorities are keen on conciliating it, knowing that its decided opposition to any reform scheme is sure to make it futile. The Morley-Minto reforms did not put forth their expected results because the Civil Service with its champions at the headquarters of Government regarded them with a scarcely veiled contempt and in its own impersonal way thwarted them to the best of its abilities. Of course there have been some brilliant exceptions in its ranks, but the general verdict expressed above is fairly accurate. The Morley-Minto reforms theoretically gave great opportunities to the elected members of influencing Government by means of interpellations and resolutions in the councils. But the rules made mainly on the advice of the Civil Service allowed any unpleasant questions sought to be ventilated in the councils to be strangled before their birth under various clauses.

The reforms now on the anvil deliberately go beyond influence and seek to give power and responsibility, in however limited a measure, to the elected representatives of the people. What is likely to be the position of the I.C.S. in future, especially when their reform scheme is completely worked out? So far as the conditions of service, *viz.*, pay, prospects, leave, pension, &c. are concerned it may be said without fear of contradiction by the most vehement champion of Indians' rights that any undertaking given to any individual whatsoever by the Government as at present constituted will be scrupulously kept by every minister, to whatever political complexion he may belong. One may chafe, and often with some justification, at the frantic way in which the pay and prospects of the Europe-recruited services are being improved, and their numbers increased, before the Reform Bill is passed into law and the

Indian ministers can have a say in the matter. It is a point of honour, not to say a legal obligation, to keep all our promises to the letter and the spirit of the covenant. But pay and prospects, leave and pension, although they bulk largely in the horizon of a civilian, are not all in all. Power is one of the greatest of moving forces in the life of an individual. What power will the civilian of the future possess in the country? It is clear there cannot but occur the most far-reaching changes in the position of the civilian under the new régime. A civilian must make up his mind once for all to see a vital revolution in his position and power *vis-a-vis* the people of the country. It is possible that some may not be able to reconcile themselves to this revolution; and occasionally we have heard a remark, half in jest though half in earnest, that one of the first problems before responsible ministers of the future would be the retirement of a considerable number of civilians on proportionate pensions who cannot reconcile themselves to receiving directions and orders from the people's ministers whom, but the day before, they had been bossing over in all the plenitude of their power.

For the last hundred years the district officer has been the personification of Government to the people. He was the veritable *mabap*, though in the opinion of some this maternal or paternal relation often savoured of the step-mother or the step-father. He continues to fondly believe that people still want this personal rule. Hence he is bemoaning the advent of these new-fangled reforms introduced by one whom he is pleased to call by the ugly names of a *doctrinaire*, a mountebank, a demagogue. He is continually reiterating the dogma that the Indian loves personal rule and that he cannot understand the impersonal rule of a council, a constitution, a system. But we take leave to challenge the truth of this dogma, for mere reiteration does not give it any additional verity. The rule under a native state is far more personal and *mabapish* than the rule under the British; but we would ask the upholders of this dogma to go in for an inquiry as to how many subjects of the native states are content to remain such because of the personal rule therein and how many British subjects are willing to emigrate so as to become permanent subjects of a native state, even the most enlightened. Let there be no misgiving on this point; when an Indian asks for self-government it is not the self-government of the native states that is wanted; he has in his mind the picture of a democratic form of self-government, wherein everybody will be able to influence his fellows, wherein no limit will be set to the career of any individual but the natural one set by his own abilities, and wherein every body of people will be allowed a voice as regards the way in which their affairs are to be managed. Under such a democratic system there will be hardly any room for the legendary collector sitting under the mango tree dispensing justice, rewards and punishments without reference to law, regarding his own pleasure and will as the fountain head

of all existence in his district, in whose eyes the person who has the courage to oppose the whim of the *mabap* is a greater malefactor than the veriest criminal. Under such a system, the various functions of government will be completely differentiated and a collector will not any longer be a glorified variety artist doing the work of the judge, police officer, excise officer, schoolmaster, doctor, engineer, banker, hunter, and even a chaplain in addition to that of a pure collector of revenue.

In spite of any soft words such as those used by Lord Curzon in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Reform Bill it is no use shutting our eyes to the fact that the position of the district officer is going to be altogether different from what it has been. When there are ten million electors scattered all over the country, of whom some thirty or forty thousand will be in each district, who are awake to the fact that their own representatives in councils assembled and led by their own ministers are above these officers, personal rule over these electors must receive a sharp shock. On the other hand, it is hoped that the villages themselves will be well organised in their own panchayats and will become small self-governing units. The collector will not have much to do in such villages beyond the collection of the taxes. His position doubtless will be such that he can exert an enormous amount of influence; but while he formerly exercised power and popular representatives only influence, the rôles will be now reversed. The qualities required of the district officer will be somewhat different, and we trust that his high sense of duty and his culture will see him equal to the task. We think that in spite of the hard names showered upon Mr. Montagu he had a more correct perspective of the true position of the future civilian when he said :

The announcement of the 20th August, 1917, promised the transfer of responsibility. From whom to whom? To the people of India from the Civil Service of India. If they were to tell the Civil Service to-day that their political position would be the same in the future as it had been in the past, the announcement of His Majesty's Government became meaningless. For the past ten years he had been in close association with the Home Civil Service. Was their position unendurable? Was there any doubt about the great imperial services they rendered, because they were subordinate to the policy laid down by the Parliament? There was for the Indian Civil Service indispensable and honourable part in the future of India. The pronouncement of 18 months ago meant nothing unless it meant that the political destinies of India were gradually reposed in the people of India and gradually taken from those who had gloriously shaped India as we knew it to-day. Although any talk of reform in any country brought out of retirement those who walked dangerously, as it seemed to him, with their heads over their shoulders, gazing admiringly on the past, he did not believe that there was any civil servant in India who thought that the appointed destiny of the country could be delayed or altered in the interest of the Service.

REMINISCENCES OF MR. GOKHALE.

ON the morning of 20th of February, 1915, a private message was received at Nagpur that Mr.

Gokhale was no more. He had expired the night previous. We know he was seriously ill and could not live long. But we had hoped that he would be able to leave some record of his views as a member of the Public Service Commission. It is a well-known fact that his end was hastened by the bitter and malicious controversies raised at the time. But remembering what great public interests were involved in the prolongation of his precious life even for a short while, it was not too great a sacrifice to make to leave him in peace while in the grip of his death-illness, so that he might leave to his countrymen the legacy of his invaluable opinion. But that was not to be. I made his acquaintance when he first took his seat as a member of the Viceroy's Council as Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta's successor on the 20th of December, 1901. Sir Pheroze Shah ostensibly resigned on the ground of ill-health, but, I believe, he retired in order to give Mr. Gokhale a wider scope to serve his country. On Mr. Gokhale's unanimous election by the Bombay Council, Sir Pheroze Shah wrote to me that we would have as our colleague one who would soon make his mark in the public life of the country. Mr. Gokhale was then not much known. For eighteen years he had given the best that was in him in discharging the obligation of his pledge to an institution, which was and still is the embodiment of the highest spirit of ungrudging self-sacrifice for the public good, the Fergusson College of Poona. But he had not till then taken any conspicuous part in the public life of the country. Those who had read his evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure of 1897 knew what a careful and capable student of Indian economics he was and how deeply read in all that concerns the government of the Empire. We had no introduction to one another. None was needed. I knew he was Mr. Gokhale no sooner I saw him in the corridor of the Council Chamber, where we were waiting for the arrival of the Viceroy and we had a warm mutual *namaskar*. It did not take long before he made his personality felt. His very first Budget speech (delivered in March, 1902) showed the man as he was. It was a comprehensive criticism of the whole financial policy, the result of most careful and exhaustive study. The Finance Member said in reply that Mr. Gokhale had dealt with so many questions and in such detail that, not having sufficient notice to prepare careful answers, he was unable to give the full reply he should have been glad to offer. Throughout the time we were both in Council, and that was four years, we remained on terms of closest intimacy. I need hardly say how greatly I profited by exchange of views with him on all public questions of the day. We used to meet often either at his place or at mine or at the residence of Babu Shishir Kumar Ghosh of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*. Our discussions were frequent and at times animated. He used to chaff me in those days as his "brake." Later on he himself set up as the inspiration of his public life

Mr. Ranade's well-known ideals as set forth in the prospect of the Deccan Sabha: "Liberalism and Moderation will be our watchwords. . . Moderation implies the conditions of never vainly aspiring after the impossible or after too remote ideals, but striving each day to take the next step in the order of natural growth by doing the work that lies nearest to our hands in a spirit of compromise and fairness." We all know his courage. No finer example of this could be found than in the manly apology he made for his attack while in England on English soldiers in connection with plague measures in Poona in 1897, as soon as he was convinced that it was unmerited. Like the tall cliff in the well-known passage of the poet, he stood unmoved at the rolling clouds of calumny. Soon after this, that is, in December, 1897, he attended the Amraoti Congress, and the chilling, I had almost said hostile, reception he received from its extreme radical wing would have driven another man in disgust from public life. The feeling in this quarter was so strong that he could not be included in the list of speakers. But firm in the conviction that he had acted rightly and as a man of honour should, he stood unmoved and met the demand for his retirement from public life with the noble reply that he would go on doing his duty whether it be sunshine or shade, for public duties undertaken at the bidding of no man were not to be laid down at the desire of any one. We know also how magnificently he was equipped for his high duties. But his wonderful grasp of public affairs was not an intuition or inspiration. It was the result of prodigious industry, hard study, strenuous preparation and the severest discipline, acting in combination with intellectual gifts of the highest order. But I speak of him here as I knew him in private life. What a life it was! Its simplicity, its purity, its gentleness, its noble self-denial, its lofty ideals, constituted an amalgam for which it would be difficult to find a parallel anywhere. Whenever I was with him I felt the magnetism of his sweet personality. At first his relations with Lord Curzon were good, I had almost said cordial. He seldom met him in private, but he was in close and constant touch with Sir Walter Lawrence, the Private Secretary, and through Sir Walter he was able to convey his ideas on public affairs to His Excellency. And I have reasons to think that this was not without its effect on the policy of Government. I need hardly add that so long as this intercourse lasted, it was all for the country's good. On the New Year's day of 1904, Mr. Gokhale was made a Companion of the Indian Empire. In conveying him his felicitations, Lord Curzon sent him an autograph letter. A finer tribute to a public man could not be conceived, and it was, I need hardly say, thoroughly well-deserved. Mr. Gokhale had not come to occupy then that position in the public life of the country as he did later on when he respectfully asked to be exalted higher honours and to be permitted to remain as he was. His relations, how-

ever, with Lord Curzon became strained soon after the introduction of the University Bill. He opposed it from a high sense of public duty, but his Lordship could not put up with this opposition with equanimity and severely upbraided Mr. Gokhale for, as he said, his unfounded suspicious attitude. When he got his chance later on, Mr. Gokhale quietly remarked that he had not deserved the rebuke that had been administered to him. The rebuke was, however, repeated later on with greater emphasis. At the close of the day's sitting even some official members came to Mr. Gokhale and told him that he had their sympathy in the unmerited reprimand levelled at him. One other incident I may mention as showing the character of the man. Sir Dr. Ramkrishna Bhandarkar was specially nominated an additional member to help in the elaboration of the University Bill. Generally, his views were in disagreement with Mr. Gokhale's and when it became his duty to criticise Dr. Bhandarkar's presentation of the case, he pre-faced his speech by the graceful remark that the learned Doctor was his preceptor at College and he could not speak of him or of anything that fell from him except with great reverence. This put me in mind of the fine incident in the Mahabharata when Arjuna, before battling with Dronacharya, made his obeisance at the feet of his revered guru and prayed for his benedictions. One more incident, which we enjoyed much, I will relate here. Mr. Pedler, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, in defending the Bill had gone out of his way to attack the Calcutta graduates, calling them convict graduates. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting here Mr. Gokhale's fine retort, which was given on the spur of the moment:—

"The Hon'ble Mr. Pedler had told the Council of dishonest clerks, unscrupulous managers of Colleges, and convict graduates. I do hope, for the Hon'ble Member's own sake as much as for the credit of the educated classes, that there has been another and a brighter side to his experience. Else, my Lord, what a sad sense of failure he must carry with him into his retirement! Happily all educationists have not been so unfortunate in their experience nor, if I may say so, so one-sided in their judgments. There have been men among them who have regarded the affection and reverence of their pupils as their most valued possession, who have looked upon the educated classes with a feeling of pride, and who have always stood up for them whenever anyone has ventured to assail them. One such Professor, within my experience, was Dr. Wordsworth, grandson of the great poet, a man honoured and loved as few Englishmen have been on our side. Another such man is Mr. Selby, whose approaching retirement will inflict a most severe loss on the Education Department of our Presidency. My Lord, I am aware that it is invidious to mention names; but these two men have exercised such abiding influence over successive generations of students during their time that I feel no hesitation in offer-

ing a special tribute of recognition and gratitude to them. Their hold over the minds of their pupils has been due, not only to their intellectual attainments, but also to their deep sympathy with them as a class which they had helped specially to create. I believe that such men have never had occasion to complain that their views on any subject did not receive at the hands of educated Indians the consideration that was due to them. It is through such men that some of England's best work in India is done; it is these men who present to the Indian mind the best side of English character and English culture. It is such men that are principally wanted for the work of higher education in India in the present state of things, and the best interests of both the rulers and the ruled may safely be entrusted to their keeping."

For Lord Kitchner, Mr. Gokhale had the highest regard. He once referred to him in a felicitous passage in one of his speeches during the University Bill debate as that "great soldier" sitting on the right of His Excellency. I know that between the two there soon grew up strong friendship, the admiration and esteem of one virile nature for another. I may mention here that whenever the Budget discussion came on, Lord Kitchener used to feel rather nervous that Mr. Gokhale by his persuasive eloquence might convert the Government to his views regarding Army Estimates. To show how magnanimous he was I will give here an instance. Once while passing through Nagpur he was grossly and wantonly insulted by a military officer, with whom he was travelling in the same compartment. The matter was reported to Government. Hearing of this, the officer in question sent an apology to Mr. Gokhale. But Lord Curzon, who had just then punished an English regiment for their misconduct towards Indians, was for making an example of the delinquent. No sooner Mr. Gokhale came to know of this, he wrote of his own accord that with the apology the incident so far as he was concerned was over and he would be glad if it was allowed to rest there. I had this from Sir Andrew Fraser, then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. At our special request, he once broke his journey at Nagpur on his way back from Calcutta to Poona. He was then engaged in thinking out his scheme to found the "Servants of India Society." He unfolded it to me. He said Indians furnished the highest type of self-abnegation in their *Sanyasis* who renounced the world and its material interests and, subjecting themselves to rigorous self-discipline and self-effacement, consecrated their lives to the service of God. Why should not such a nation find devotees willing to consecrate their lives to the service of their Motherland in the spirit of the religious *Sanyasis*? I told him that this was exactly the idea our immortal Bunkim had developed in his "Ananda Math" and the "Bande Mataram" song was the outward manifestation of this spiritualised patriotism. But what was possible to create in the pages of a work of fiction, I said, might not be equally

possible of materialisation in actual life. Mr. Gokhale replied that he had thought long and deep on the subject and had made up his mind to launch his scheme, for in it lay, he added, the salvation of our country. For unless we had a band of men moulded by one idea and schooled and spiritualised by rigid discipline into a compact body of selfless workers, we cannot have the driving force so necessary for our advancement. Soon after this, in June, 1905, the Society was founded. He had barely ten years to nurture it. That it has proved a potent agency for political and social service, cannot now admit of any doubt. It will be for the nation to make it grow and prosper and realise fully the ideals of its noble founder. He paid another visit to Nagpur; that was in the course of his itinerary in connection with the primary education propaganda. I could see he was far from well. He badly needed rest both to his brain and body. I gently pointed this out to him, but he said he could not think of rest while his work was still unfinished. I expostulated, adding what I thought would be a home-thrust, that his life was not his own but his nation's. But alas! it had no effect. He said that if he died while serving his country that was just the kind of death he longed for.

We had our memorial meeting on the 27th of February. The city was then in the grip of plague and the people were camping out. Nevertheless the meeting, which had to be held in the Civil Station, was well attended. People came from their camps a long way off to attend it. Later on, on the 3rd of April, we had another meeting to settle about the form of the memorial. Besides a personal memorial in the shape of a portrait, we decided upon having a Library in his name to serve as an information bureau and also to have a permanent fund for the Servants of India Society. Later on, the subscribers registered themselves into a Society under Act XXI of 1860 called "the Gokhale Memorial Library Society," the main object as stated in the Memorandum of Association being the establishment in Nagpur of a Library for the study of economic, historical, political, social and administrative questions. We have purchased a house in the new townlet of Nagpur, "Craddock Town," where the library is located and which also serves as the residential quarters for the local members of the Servants of India Society. The rest of the fund is in Government securities, which are vested in the Treasurer of Charitable Endowments under Act VI of 1890. Our Chief Commissioner, Sir Benjamin Robertson, had asked to be associated with the memorial as soon as he heard we were going to have one, and he sent us a handsome subscription and so did Sir Frank Sly, Mr. Gokhale's colleague in the Public Service Commission. When our Council met on the 13th of March, 1915, Sir Benjamin referred to Mr. Gokhale's death in the following words:—

"To Mr. Gokhale's brilliant talents and to his life work for India, into which he threw himself.

with his wonderful energy and with whole-souled devotion, tribute has been paid in the last few weeks throughout the length and breadth of the country. To me his death has been a personal loss which I deeply deplore, as I was his colleague in the Imperial Legislative Council and was brought into close touch with him in the discussion of many matters of public importance. Chief amongst these was the question of the grievances of Indians in South Africa. No one can testify more than I can to what Mr. Gokhale did to bring about a settlement of this difficulty, by his marvellous clear-sightedness and his moderate and statesmanlike views. India is the poorer by his death, but his example will remain for all time to guide and encourage all those who are working for her advancement and for the welfare of her people."

On behalf of the non-official members I replied as follows:—

"We thank you, Sir, for your most kindly reference to the passing away of our great leader and statesman, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and for your warm sympathy with us in the irreparable loss we have sustained by his death while he was yet in the midst of his great work in the cause of his country—a work for which he sacrificed his valuable life."

The overwhelming sense of loss comes upon me afresh as I write the above, and I pass on with a heart as heavy and with feelings as highly strung as on the day when we heard that he had left us.

B. K. BOSE.

UPLIFT OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

THE following suggestions were submitted to the Madras Government by the Secretary of the Madras Branch of the Servants of India Society:—

We regard education as the pivot on which the whole problem of the elevation of the depressed classes should be made to turn. It is our earnest hope that before long the Government of Madras will introduce compulsory free primary education in this Presidency for Panchamas as well as other classes of people. Meanwhile, special efforts require to be made and special facilities provided for the education of the Panchamas. It is our considered opinion that a Panchama elementary school should be started forthwith throughout the Presidency in every locality which is inhabited by 100 or more Panchama families (including Pariahs, Pallars, Chucklers, etc.) within a radius of two miles and where such a school is not already in existence.

A Model School for Panchamas should be established in one or two important centres in each district. The Model School should be the centre of all social activities directed towards the uplift of the Panchamas in that locality. It should be conducted on lines of regular settlement work such as is being carried on by several Missionary bodies in various parts of India by the Bombay Social Service League among the mill-hands in the city of Bombay and by philanthropic bodies in the slums of London. The head-master of the school should be given free quarters in the locality and be required to live among the Panchamas. It should be his endeavour to move freely among them and both by example and precept inculcate in them ideas of cleanliness, self-respect and a cultured life. Like the Catechist or Pastor, he should visit the houses

of the Panchamas, inquire after their welfare, hear their complaints and grievances and bring them to the notice of the authorities concerned. He should also see that the locality is swept and lighted properly. He should take care of their health and distribute simple medicines to the sick. For this purpose, a chest of medicines should be attached to the Model School. His business should also be to organise magic lantern lectures, sports, and picnics all of which, we believe, will tend to wean the Panchamas, by slow though at first imperceptible degrees, from the evil habits of drink and gambling. To this end, every Model School should be provided with a small garden and play-ground and a magic lantern and slides dealing with sanitation, temperance and hygiene. Considerable difficulty is experienced in getting suitable slides. For this purpose the Government will do well to prepare syllabuses and slides in consultation with the medical, sanitary, and educational departments and place such slides at the disposal of these model schools. It should be one of the primary duties of the head-master to organise Panchama Rate-Payers' Associations in the locality.

Such associations are necessary, if Panchamas are to take their legitimate place in the public life of the country, get trained in civic action, to ventilate their grievances, contest election and so on. The head-master's work in the school should be so arranged as to facilitate the social work proposed above.

It goes without saying that education in all these Panchama schools, elementary and model, should be absolutely free, including the free supply of books, slates, pencils, etc. Over and above this, we are of opinion that some small inducements either in cash or kind should be offered from time to time—say once a year—to the boys and their parents, preferably to those among them who are most regular in attendance or the most successful in studies. This will be an attraction to the Panchamas, who otherwise may not take advantage of the educational facilities provided for them. It will be the head-master's duty to induce as many children to attend the school as possible; but we would recommend a bonus of one or two rupees being given him for every pupil that attends the school over a certain number.

The curriculum in these schools, both elementary and model should not be the same as in the ordinary schools, but should include some special features. Twice a week at the end of the day's lessons, incidents and stories, and stories from epics and history should be related to pupils such as will tend to widen their outlook, increase their general knowledge, and fill them with modern ideas. To give concrete instances, the lives of Saints Nandanar, Kannappar, and Thiruvallar should be narrated to them with as much charm and embellishment as the head-master can command and he should constantly hold them up before them as the ideals which they should all strive to copy in their lives. The lives of Buddha, Kabir Das, Guru Nanak, and other great reformers of India as well as the lives of Booker T. Washington and other western reformers, should also be taught. Songs that will make the young Panchamas brave and loyal, patriotic and manly, should be sung every day both by masters and pupils before the school closes for the day. This is the sort of work which we ourselves have been carrying on in some Panchama schools at Madras, and we attach even greater value to the teaching of these things to the growing Panchamas than to the regular curriculum. We, therefore, suggest that all this should form part and parcel of the curriculum in every Panchama school. In view of all this, every model school should be furnished with a little library of about 50 small vernacular books, containing select stories, biographies, songs, &c., and the pupils should be encouraged to read them often. To ensure proper results, examination in general knowledge should be occasionally held (in addition to school examinations), and successful students should be awarded suitable prizes.

Further, we are of opinion that education imparted in the model schools should not be purely academical, but should also include the teaching of manual arts such as carpentry, weaving, boot-making, etc. When we consider that most of the Panchamas are abjectly poor and depend on manual labour for their daily livelihood, it becomes clear that they will welcome this branch of education and take advantage of it to a greater extent than literary education.

Following our recommendation regarding social work in connection with model schools provision will have to be made in the Panchama Training School at Madras for the teaching of social work, either in the ordinary curriculum or as a special course.

Our next proposal is that one Panchama Middle School with hostel accommodation should be established immediately in each "natural division" of the Madras Presidency in such central places at Bajahundry, Bellary, Trichinopoly, Tinnevely, Calicut. About 25 scholarships should be allotted to each hostel. We attach very great importance to hostels, for we feel that without separate hostels for Panchamas all efforts for their higher education may end in failure. We may state in passing that the fear of conversion prevents many Panchamas from sending their children to Mission Schools and Colleges, and the establishment of separate hostels for them will remove this fear. Moreover the hostel will go a long way towards developing their communal life. It is not for us to add anything more by way of explanation on the advantages of residential schools, especially for Panchamas. Education should be free in these Middle Schools and include technical education.

It follows as a corollary from this that some provision should be made for the Higher and Collegiate education of the Panchamas. With this end in view, we suggest that a Hostel for Panchama students should be established at Madras, with 50 scholarships. Special arrangements can be made for their admission in the existing High Schools and Colleges free of all fees. In this connection we strongly urge that the Grant-in-Aid Code should be so amended that every school and college which receives any portion of public money in the shape of grants, must throw open its doors to all classes of people, including Panchamas.

It is high time that restrictions regarding the use by Panchamas of public roads, public wells, public water-pipes etc., were removed. It is a crying shame and a scandal that public schools and colleges, roads, taps, etc., which are maintained, repaired or helped in any way by public funds, should any longer be closed to any section of the public.

Much good can be done to the Panchamas, especially in urban areas, through the organisation of co-operative credit societies and stores. There are, however, some special difficulties in the case of Panchama societies. It is almost impossible for them to get adequate loans from central banks, because these usually lend to the extent of one-eighth, one-sixth of the total value of the immoveable property of the members of the borrowing societies and in the case of the Panchamas this total is naturally very little. Moreover, Panchama societies require special supervision, and we would commend to your notice the recommendations of the Mac-lagan Committee on Co-operation "that the support of the clerical staff of these societies is an object for which grants might suitably be given by local Governments." Government should also make a departure from their general policy with regard to the financing of these Co-operative Societies by giving them loans at 6% at least to the extent of the private deposits and share capital put together. It would perhaps be still better to start a Central Bank for Panchama Co-operative Societies and that Government aid be confined to it. There is urgent need for starting Co-operative Grain Stores for Panchamas in all the Municipalities and major unions. Not only cheaper but more wholesome provisions should be made available to the Panchamas by their means.

We earnestly invite the attention of the Government to the order of the Commissioner of Berar issued on a representation made by the Depressed Classes Mission Society regarding the nomination of members of the depressed classes on district and local boards and municipalities. In this connection we would also mention a resolution the Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye proposes to move at the next session of the Bombay Legislative Council. It also recommends the nomination of the depressed classes to the local boards, municipalities and unions wherever suitable Panchamas are available. We urge that this step should be immediately taken by the local Government as this will do more than anything else to raise the status of the Panchamas and make them self-respecting and respected members of the public. With this object in view, we have already alluded to the necessity of organising Panchama Rate-Payers' Associations in every District throughout the presidency—a task which we have thought it best for the present to leave in the hands of the Model School headmaster. But all non-official efforts in this direction should be given encouragement.

As we strongly believe that a permanent department of Government mainly interested in the uplift of the Panchamas is necessary in order to effect tangible reform, we suggest the creation of a separate portfolio for this subject which should be in charge of a Minister in the reformed Government of the future.

In conclusion, I beg to assure you that the members of the Servants of India Society will be glad to co-operate with the Government to the best of their ability for the amelioration of the depressed classes.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"CASTE CHRISTIANS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—In an article on 'Caste Christians and Pariah Christians' in your journal of the 17th July, the writer (Mr. V. R. Shinde) has stated that the Roman Catholic Pariah convert "is the same untouchable and unapproachable a generation after his first convert forefather as he was before," and thinks that "perhaps the condition of converts to Protestant Christianity may be better."

Many of your readers may be aware of the fact that of all districts in India there are more Christians (Protestant and Roman Catholic) in Tinnevely than in any other. Many of these converts are from the Sanar community—professional drawers of toddy from the palmyra palm. There is a story that when the late Sir Seshiah Sastri was asked why there were more converts from the Shanar caste than from any other, he is reported to have said in his inimitable style that "that was because they were already thirty feet nearer Heaven." But this is a digression.

I may state for the information of your readers that in Palamcottah (the capital of the Tinnevely district), there is a society of "Caste Christians" (!) called the "Brotherhood." Its members are chiefly from the educated section of Indian Protestant-Christians and its object is to preserve the Hindu *acharas* and practices of the high caste Hindus and to prevent and punish those of its members who infringe its rules and associate with the low caste Christians. The European missionary is powerless against this educated (?) intolerant section of his flock and is content to call them followers of the religion of Jesus.—Yours, etc.

A. Y. NARAYANIAH.

Tinnevely, July 20.

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