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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

PANDIT MALAVIYA and Mr. Gandhi have made an appeal for funds towards the support of the families of those who have lost their lives or received injuries in the recent Punjab disturbances or been convicted and sentenced by the special tribunals. While means are taken to do justice to the men who have suffered injustice, the helpless condition of their families must not be lost out of sight. It is a sacred duty devolving upon us that we should do everything within our means to help them out of their present distress. As Mr. Gandhi has explained, no scruples need be felt that among the families thus supported out of public funds there may possibly be some families of those who have committed offences. The families of offenders are not themselves offenders. This is purely humanitarian work motivated by no political object, and those who minister to the happiness of the poor and the needy need not concern themselves with the guilt or innocence of those whose loss has inflicted misery upon the objects of their charity. Large funds will be needed for the purpose, and every important town must organise a band of workers to collect them. Mr. Devadhar is taking steps in Poona to form a representative committee for the collection of funds. Swami Shradhdhanandji's appeal for a number of volunteer workers to distribute relief to the distressed families in the Punjab will also, we hope, receive a sympathetic response from the public.

THE Indian deputations now in England will receive a valuable accession of strength in the delegates who sailed from Bombay on Saturday last. They will carry to England a first-hand knowledge of the situation in the Punjab as it has

developed up to date and thus add enormous strength to the elbows of those who have already commenced a fight in that country, but who must be feeling that they are seriously handicapped by lack of detailed information. It is well-known that Sir Sankaran Nair has had an opportunity of looking into many of the cases in his official capacity, and the inside view he has obtained will be of the greatest possible help in securing redress. Mr. Hasan Imam also had, as counsel, to do with some of the most important cases, and has accurate knowledge of the incidents that happened at Lahore and Amritsar. Dr. Sapru, though not professionally connected with the tragedy, has taken special pains to acquaint himself with the situation in detail, and he will ably second the efforts of Sir Sankaran Nair and Mr. Hasan Imam. It is not surprising that, as things are, the Punjab should for the moment fill a larger place in the minds of these representatives of India than even reforms, keen as all of them are on making these latter an effective instrument of future progress. We note with satisfaction that Mr. Pal, who, after his lecturing tour in the south in which he condemned satyagraha, had maintained an ominous silence on the Punjab riots and the proclamation of martial law, also spoke out against the official excesses prior to his departure and that he is proceeding to England, fired with a determination to help in preventing such outrages in future. The Moderate deputation was to wait on Mr. Montagu last month in connexion with the Punjab affair.

THE felicitations exchanged between the rulers of Jamnagar and Alwar on occasion of instituting a *Mantri Mandal* at Jamnagar recall the observations of the *Spectator* which, however unpalatable, are we think perfectly true: "As against our own scheme we must admit that though many Rajahs talk of reform when reform is fashionable at Simla, perhaps not one of them could be induced to submit his country to the experiment." The Advisory Council of Jamnagar is to consist of wholly nominated members, one third of whom will be officials, and is to advise His Highness on such matters as he may be pleased to refer to them. It is to meet twice a year with the Minister for president, and the non-officials are to be accorded the privilege of bringing up petitions for redress. And what laudations were heaped upon the Jam Saheb for introducing this modicum of reform! The Jam Saheb is honorary secretary to the Chiefs'

conference, and has herein given a fair specimen of the reform that may be expected of the Chiefs in general. The only councils they can be persuaded to constitute are, to use the language of Sir William Lee Warner, "sham representative councils intended to quiet the British conscience and to mislead the press. They may avert the evil eye of foreign opinion while they retard real reform." Let the ruling princes understand that if they are not prepared to temper their personal rule by the advice of popular representatives and gradually part with real power to them, these mock councils will deceive no-one in these days.

EVEN Mr. Patel's doubts should now be quieted. The Moderate deputation, or the Indian Liberal Federation, have not altogether turned their back on fiscal autonomy. At the Essex Hall meeting, held on July 2 under Lord Islington's presidentship, Mr. Sastri devoted the whole of his speech to a demand on behalf of India of the right to regulate her own tariff, even though her fiscal policy might conflict with private commercial interests in England. Mr. Sastri, says *India*, quoted Mr. Montagu in support of this claim with great effect. But perhaps Mr. Patel may still maintain that if on this occasion the Moderate delegation asked for fiscal freedom, they were not insistent upon the introduction of responsible government into the Government of India, as on a former occasion they asked for the latter but not for the former, and so there is a defection all the same. To satisfy Mr. Patel's captiousness, every delegate must on all occasions mention every single improvement he requires in the Bill, but perhaps even then Mr. Patel may complain that equal stress was not laid upon all the points. Some persons cannot be happy unless they have a grievance.

WE find *India* still urging the necessity of united action on the Congress deputation. Trusting that the Government will be able to carry through their Bill, it bids Indians beware lest, through their own unwise action, they should mar the chances of success. It says: "The risks are not small, the margin of safety is narrow, and there is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip. The gravest danger lies, in our opinion, not in the evidence to be given by Sir James Meston, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and their colleagues, but in the fact that there are many Indian deputations now here, whose members may fail to realise the enormous importance of jettisoning superfluous cargo in which interests are opposed and conflicting, and to concentrate upon the successful discharge of that in which all have the common interest of agreement. In other words, it is a waste of time and energy, and a disservice to India, to insist upon points of difference, at this stage, upon which the opponents of reform will certainly fasten. . . . Individual differences of opinion on points of detail and antipathetic personalities should be

subordinated to the common good in the face of the very real danger of an attempt to whittle down the Bill beyond the possibility of acceptance."

IT is to be observed that, with the freedom of vote allowed to the official members by the Bombay Government on a resolution asking for increased facilities to the depressed classes, only one member (Mr. Gebbie) exercised the freedom in favour of the untouchables, while as many as seven used the freedom to vote down the resolution. The official Noes were the Advocate-General, Major-General Jennings, I. M. S., Mr. Robertson, I. C. S., Mr. Rieu, I. C. S., Mr. Sale, I. C. S., Mr. Mountford, I. C. S., and Mr. Sathe. The resolution was ultimately defeated by 20 votes to 14, but the decision is indicative of the official and European rather than the non-official and Indian opinion. Left to the non-official Indians, the vote would have gone: 13 for and 11 against. It must also be noted that among the non-officials who cast their vote against the resolution is Sir Dinshaw Petit, who only wanted to go farther than the resolution before the Council, and the non-official majority would have increased slightly, if he had recorded his vote in favour of the resolution. Indians' unfitness for self-rule is often inferred from their narrow views in social matters; should not the narrow views in European officials be held to make them unfit for other-rule *i. e.*, rule over others. In non-Brahman circles civilians are too readily credited with liberal leanings at least in social matters. The vote on this resolution should give them furiously to think.

FOLLOWING the suggestion of a friend, we give below some figures comparing India's contribution to the war in men and money with that of each of the self-governing colonies. The figures for men are taken from an unofficial publication issued in the autumn of 1918, and those for war expenditure from Hansard of May 13 and 19, 1919.

	Soldiers.	War expenditure.
Australia	426,000 (enlisted) 321,000 (sent)	£ 291,000,000
Canada	552,000 (enlisted) 384,000 (sent)	£ 255,454,600
New Zealand	100,000	£ 75,750,000
South Africa	58,000 (employed in S. W. Africa) 10,000 (sent to Europe)	£ 32,950,000
Newfoundland	...	£ 9,800,000
India	1,401,450 (up to date)	£ 127,800,000

MR. SASTRI'S trip to Leeds was a great success, as will be seen from a letter of Sir Michael Sadler to Mr. K. C. Roy, to whom we are indebted for a copy. We take the liberty of publishing it in another column, first, because it gives details of the trip which are not available from any other source, and, secondly, because it shows how the cause of Indian self-government is winning adherents among men who exercise a potent influence for good upon the thought in England.

A CRITICISM OF THE REFORM BILL.

BY V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

THE Bill is a mere skeleton. It does not embody the whole of the constitutional changes intended. The main part of these will be put into the rules to be framed under the Act, but the Joint Committee is to consider the rules as well as the Bill. Practically it will have to pronounce on the scope and range of reform and also on the question how much of the reform is to be part of the Bill and how much is to be relegated to the rules. On the latter question the Indian deputations will possibly acquiesce in the arrangement indicated in the Bill, with one important exception—viz., the mode of appointment of the President and Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly of India and the Provincial Legislative Councils, and the precise scope of the rights of interpellation and discussion of matters of general interest. The status and powers of the Legislature are involved in these topics, and their importance requires their embodiment in the clauses of the Bill. As to the range of the reform itself, the Secretary of State has strongly deprecated all attempts to whittle it down. The deputations will mostly endeavour to get the scheme enlarged. There is agreement among them as to the liberalisation of the Government of India, as to fiscal powers, and as to the equality of status and emolument between Ministers and Executive Councillors. In the subjoined notes the clauses of the Bill are taken in order, and certain criticisms and suggestions are made. It is not possible to argue them all at length, and in many cases it is not necessary. Three matters of great importance are dealt with separately in the papers appended. [They are reprints of articles in the SERVANT OF INDIA on the Central Government or the "Third Formula," the "Future Popular Houses," and "Control of Provincial Finance" or the Joint Purse.]

Clause 3 (1). The salary of the Minister must not be less than that of the Executive Councillor. The point is fundamental, and the Bill should make it clear. It is surprising that the Government of India should have failed to take note of the sensitiveness of Indian opinion on the subject.

(1), (3), and (4). These sub-clauses, read with the relevant paragraphs of the Government of India's despatch of 5th March, throw light on the relative positions of the Minister and the Executive Councillor.

1. The Executive Councillor may be removed only by the Crown on the advice of the Secretary of State. The Minister is removable by the Governor and by the Legislature. Ordinarily the tenure of the former is secure; that of the latter is precarious.

2. Executive Councillors deliberate together and may outvote the Governor, though he can, in exceptional circumstances, set aside their decision. Ministers will not ordinarily sit together and vote on any subject: they are no collective entity as the Executive Council is.

3. The Governor may order a Minister to do a thing or not to do a thing, and dismiss him for disobedience. The decisions of an Executive Councillor can be revised only by the Executive Council acting collectively.

Obviously the Minister's position has several disadvantages when compared to that of the Executive Councillor. In part they are inherent in the office and unavoidable. How far they can be mitigated is a large question, and cannot be dealt with here.

Clause 6. By sub-clause (3) (a) the duration of a Provincial Legislative Council is left to be determined by rules. On the other hand, the Bill itself fixed in Clause 17 the lives of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State at three years and five years respectively. Why is this difference made? Another inconsistency is to be found in the denial to the Governor of a Province of power to extend the life of his Legislative Council, while under Clause 17 (b) the Governor-General can prolong the term of his Legislature. Both inconsistencies should be removed.

Clause 9. Sub-clause (2), proviso (b), empowers the Governor in emergencies to authorise expenditure even in the transferred sphere. This is in the nature of executive trespass, and must be rendered difficult by the condition that the Governor must in such cases certify in specific terms the nature of the emergencies that compel the extraordinary action.

Proviso (c) refers to expenditure of a permanent character which the Legislature need not vote every year. The contribution of a Province to the Central Government, the interest on the public debt, and certain salaries are usually included under this head. The salaries will be those of certain high offices to which appointments are made by the Crown, e. g., the Governor, his Executive Councillors, High Court Judges, the Advocate-General. The list should not be allowed to extend further down, as it would constitute a great deduction from the dignity and financial control of the Legislative Council.

Sub-clause (5) proposes to endow the Governor with a power new to the Indian Constitution, and not enjoyed even by the Governor-General under the Bill. It is the power to block legislation in certain cases. At present, when the Legislature is propitious, a private member can introduce a Bill and carry it through the various stages till it is passed. The Governor may veto it in the end, but he cannot block its progress in the Council. In the new régime he will have power, after certifying in the required form, to place a Bill before the Grand Committee. Perhaps it is necessary to extend the power to the case of a clause or an amendment in a Bill. But even though the Governor may disapprove of a Bill, clause, or amendment of which the Legislative Council is actually seized, he must wait till it comes before him in the regular course for assent or veto, and not interpose to choke it off at any previous stage.

The original scheme provided that, if a Governor certified that a private member's Bill, clause or amendment on a transferred subject impinged on the sphere of reserved legislation, the Legislature may by resolution appeal against the certificate to the Governor-General. The Bill before us drops the provision on the recommendation of the Government of India. Seeing that such questions are in other constitutions generally decided by judicial tribunals, but that the jurisdiction of these is specially barred in the Indian constitution, the appeal to the Governor-General is some sort of safeguard and must be retained.

Sub-clause (6) relegates to rules some matters vital to the status and dignity of the Legislature. The Bill itself must dispose of them. For example, the rights of interpellation and discussion of matters of general interest must be expressly given by the Bill, and on a level equal to that maintained in Parliament. In this connexion provision must be made also for raising without the ordinary notice any matter of urgent public importance, if a member wishing to do so can find, say, 15 supporters. Further, the Council being intended to be a popular House with some measure of autonomy, must be allowed by law to elect its own President and Vice-President.

Clause 12 (1) provides for the creation of a new Governor's Province. This is desirable. But express provision must be made for fully consulting the wishes of the Legislature concerned. It is a serious omission. It is not clear, however, what need there could be of creating a Sub-Province with a Deputy-Governor with possibly lower status and reduced powers. For really backward tracts the sub-clause following makes provision. Why then is this intermediate "part of a Province" contemplated? It may conceivably cause much heart-burning to the people affected.

Clause 20. Sub-clause (2) corresponds in the sphere of the Government of India to sub-clause (6) of clause 9 in the sphere of the Local Governments. Similar remarks apply here.

Sub-clause (3) should make it obligatory on the Governor-General to adopt one of the two alternative courses; otherwise much labour would be wasted. Perhaps this is the intention of the clause; if so, it can be made clearer. Also, it seems appropriate to put the reconsideration of either chamber first and the reference to a joint session second.

Sub-clause (4) contains two objectionable provisions. The certifying power of the Governor-General should not extend to measures which are "in the interests of British India or any part thereof." Every measure will come under this description, and may therefore be taken away from the jurisdiction of the Legislative Assembly or the popular House. These words must be dropped. As to cases of emergency, the Governor-General's power of ordinance is there, and should do. During the six months that an ordinance lasts, the Assembly can deal with the matter, if necessary. If, however, the ordinance power is abolished, em-

ergency legislation may be passed by the Council of State, but it should last for six months only, and come in the usual course before the popular House if it be necessary to make it permanent. A duplication of the power of emergency legislation is, anyway, to be avoided.

Before leaving the part of the Bill which concerned with the Government of India, it is necessary to say that, if the Joint Committee be persuaded to grant the introduction of responsibility to the Assembly in certain subjects, and the creation of the post of Minister in the Central Government, the provisions of the Bill in this part will have to be entirely recast. This is an extension which the Indian deputations are agreed pressing on the authorities. They ask for it, not only for its own sake, but as being necessary for the full realisation of the benefits expected from the changes to be made in the provincial sphere.

Two other important improvements the deputations are united in demanding are, first, that one half of the members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, including the Minister, if one be allowed as asked for, should be Indians, and, second, that the Government of India, acting with its Legislature, should be allowed to regulate the Indian tariff without interference from the Secretary of State, just as the Dominion Governments regulate their own tariffs. These improvements, however, are best effected in the rules.

Clause 24 (2) gives an impressive indication of the very restricted scope of the autonomy now to be inaugurated,—that the Secretary of State continues the final authority in all matters regulating the public services in India. It is something that, in a limited class of cases, the rule-making power is to be transferred to the Governments in India. Sub-clause (3), which excludes these Governments from any deciding voice as regards pensions, is another proof of the low level on which the autonomy of a great unit of the Empire starts. It is to be hoped the Secretary of State will bear this in mind, and make his yoke as light as possible. Of course, part of the dependence arises from the fact that by statute all the revenues and resources of India vest in the Secretary of State in Council, and not yet in the Government of India and its Legislature, and that the Imperial or controlling services are for the most part recruited in the United Kingdom by the Secretary of State.

Clause 26 provides for the appointment of a standing Public Service Commission in India. It is satisfactory that the personnel is in the choice of the Secretary of State, and that the rules for the work of the Commission are to be made by the same authority. Every endeavour must be made not to bring them under the control of the Government of India. In course of time they must become in India what the Civil Service Commissioners are in England, though the Government of India may not have that consummation in mind just yet. It will be some time before they can recon-

oile themselves to the prospect of surrendering the privilege of nomination.

Clause 28 (2). It is a pity that the language of this sub-clause precludes the periodic statutory Commission from inquiring into the reporting upon the extensions and modifications of the degree of responsible government in the Central as well as in the Local Governments. Could this be intended? The original Joint Report of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford left the matter in the same state of doubt, and attention was drawn to it in the Press and otherwise. Failure to rectify this blunder will aggravate a hundredfold the disappointment already caused by the opposition made by the authorities to the beginnings of popular control in the Central Government.

Clause 30. The rules to be made under the Act are of varying degrees of importance. Some will have great constitutional significance; others will only be designed to secure subordinate ends. The whole body of the rules should not be placed beyond repeal or alteration by the Legislatures in India. Many rules falling in the second group will be proved by short experience to be irksome, unworkable or easily improvable. It would be a pity to require that the suggestions of improvement should be placed before Parliament. The rules of such high import as to merit this exceptional treatment will not be many, and may be put into a separate category. The bulk of the rules may then be declared liable to repeal or alteration by the Indian Legislatures, subject to the sanction of the Governor-General.

Previous publication in India should be made a condition precedent to modifications in rules belonging to the higher category, so that the public concerned might have full opportunity of criticising them before Parliament was called upon to consider them. Of course, they would originate in most cases from the demand of the public which had been debated in the Legislatures concerned.

OUR DUTY TO THE PUNJAB.

THE considerable remission of sentences which the present Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab has ordered, as an act of clemency, in the case of Lala Harkishan Lal, Lala Duni Chand, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhry and two others shows that Sir Edward Maclagan is doing all he can to work off the inheritance of his predecessor. We gratefully acknowledge his anxiety to redress in some measure the wrong done to the province in his charge. The Punjab is at the present moment seething with a sense of injury; demonstrable injustice has been done in a number of cases; those of Mr. Kali Nath Roy and Lala Radha Kishan of the *Pratap* were among the worst of such cases; and Sir Edward, with commendable promptitude, reduced the sentences imposed upon them in a very considerable proportion. The Lahore and the Amritsar conspiracy cases were dealt with by the Martial Law Commission in a way so as to take one's

breath away and to shake to the very foundation one's faith in British justice. In one of these cases Sir Edward Maclagan has interposed, and is expected to interpose in the other, with a heavy reduction of the sentences. He has also passed orders regarding the treatment of offenders which must evoke a feeling of thankfulness among Indians. That these orders have moved the *Pioneer* to indignation and bitter scorn is the best proof of the opposition which he must be encountering from his entourage and the average official. The people of this country fully appreciate the present Lieutenant Governor's active effort to heal the wounds which have been inflicted upon the Punjab. While unstinted praise may be given to him for all that he has done to alleviate the misery of his subjects, who are so sorely stricken, it must be remembered that this does not abate by one jot the essential injustice from which they are suffering. So many of the Punjab's best sons have been pronounced felons, conspirators, and rebels. The mitigation of the sentences does not remove the stigma that has been so undeservedly cast upon them. The physical sufferings are lessened; the moral pang remains. We must not rest till their character is re-established and those who sought to tarnish it are brought to book.

Our knowledge of the Punjab trouble is yet of the scantiest. We know that a grave and cruel wrong has been done to the province, but we know also that a good deal more lies behind which has not been brought to light. The extent of the misery is not known. The rumours in regard to it that have gained currency are perhaps exaggerated, but there is no doubt that a full inquiry will reveal facts which will cause a most unpleasant surprise to the public. Swami Shradhanandji estimates that not less than 1500 persons must have been killed at Amritsar alone on April 13, and several hundreds must have lost their lives at other places. The doubts entertained by the public will never be set at rest and any possible overstatements corrected till a searching inquiry is conducted by a thoroughly impartial tribunal and the result made public. Every day that passes without the institution of the inquiry only helps to put the people in a more suspicious frame of mind and to set wild rumours afloat. Already it is feared that some of the evidence which is vital in the interests of justice may have been lost and may be difficult of reconstruction. Any further delay would be criminal as well as impolitic. Besides the individual cases into which close investigation will have to be made, the broad question which the commission will have to consider is whether the condition of the Punjab was such as to call for a proclamation of the martial law and whether its characterisation as open rebellion in order to justify such a grave step in advance has any warranty in facts. Again, the retrospective effect given to orders regarding martial law will have to be thoroughly considered. Unless the personnel of the commission is known and its

powers are defined, we must not put an excessive reliance upon this method of rendering justice, and it would certainly be unwise, as it is, to build too high hopes on it. It may easily become a white-washing commission, but even a commission, satisfactory in its personnel, we are not sure, will be empowered to reverse judgments of the Martial Law tribunals, if it is found that they are not supported by facts in the several cases.

The conclusion which emerges from this reasoning is that even the appointment of an impartial commission of inquiry does not obviate the need of preferring appeals to the Privy Council. What we are concerned to secure is not merely a remission of the sentences, even supposing that the commission of inquiry would recommend it in full, but a reversal of the judgments. This may not be within the province of the commission, but it is within that of the Privy Council. Whatever be the result therefore of the promised inquiry, appeals to superior courts must be proceeded with, but it means an expenditure of a huge amount of money. However vast it may look, it is nothing in comparison to the momentous character of the issues involved, and the sums, though large, must be forthcoming from outside provinces. The rich and the poor ought to pay according to their mite, and those who have been tried and convicted by special tribunals must be given a chance of any injustice done to them being put to rights by the highest tribunals in the land. Mr. Andrews has already made a public appeal, and it would be an abiding shame if Indians did not respond to it with alacrity. It is not a cause of the Punjab alone. The fair name of India is being soiled, and every one must give monetary help to the utmost extent of his means. We shall be unworthy of all constitutional reforms if we prove unequal to combat such a monstrous and widespread wrong as this. Having fought it successfully, we must make its recurrence impossible. The reforms, as they are outlined in the present Bill, afford us no guarantee, so far as constitutional power is concerned, to prevent a repetition of an equally glaring outrage upon justice. It will of course be much more difficult in the new régime, when large sections of governmental functions will be controlled by the popular will, and the non-official influence upon the remaining ones considerably enlarged, to declare martial law with as much facility as at present; and even more difficult will it be to administer the law with equal rigour. But we must not leave it there. Special provision must be made in the new reforms by which such an invasion of individual freedom is made statutorily impossible in like circumstances.

CURRENCY FALLACIES.

THE *Indian Social Reformer* has not improved its position by the further excursions it has made into the realms of currency, and each effort it has made to find solid ground has plunged it deeper into the quagmire of fallacious reasoning. Our contem-

porary raised a strong protest against the proposed nickel half-rupees and quarter rupees on the ground that that measure would destroy the highly cherished means our women at present possess of storing their wealth in the form of the small silver coins. We ventured to point out that this was taking an exaggerated view of the matter. In the first place, the stores of value kept in four-anna and eight-anna pieces cannot be considerable. Secondly, these coins being fractional and token coins, their intrinsic value must always be much smaller than their nominal value. Thirdly, the substitution of more convenient nickel coins will not inflict any hardship or inconvenience; and, lastly, we expressed surprise that the *Reformer* should oppose a measure which was calculated to conduce to greater convenience and improvement without imposing loss on any one. The valuable information furnished by our contemporary that the half-rupee is exactly half of the rupee and that the quarter rupee is half of the half-rupee in weight, is certainly no answer to our contention that, as a token and divisionary coin, the half-rupee cannot contain in bullion value anything more than half or two-thirds of its face value and cannot, therefore, be a suitable object to form a store of wealth. The Editor of the *Reformer* and his five educated persons may keep the tiny two-anna piece securely as a memento of the old currency régime, but the very fact that the nickel piece goes readily into general circulation, speaks volumes in its favour and in favour of the policy pursued by Government in introducing it. But this is not a material point.

In the course of its dissertations on currency, the *Indian Social Reformer* has delivered itself, among others, of the following extremely interesting propositions:—

1. 'Token' money cannot be legal tender except for insignificant amounts.

2. That the Indian rupee is not intended to be a 'token coin' is clear from the fact that it continues to be legal tender up to any amount.

3. The 'token coin' is inconvertible. Government are well aware of this, and *that is why they do not let the rupee fall far behind its metallic value.* (Italics are ours.)

4. It has been, since the mints were closed and the gold exchange standard introduced, in the way of becoming a token coin. But it is not now a token coin in the strict sense of the word, and will not be one so long as Government guarantees that, for exchange purposes, it shall not fall below 1s. 4d.

In its desperate effort to prove that the rupee has not been a token coin, our contemporary has advanced the above amusing arguments, and we would request the reader to bear with us while we examine them briefly. A reference to any text book on political economy would have shown our contemporary that the relation between the 'token' character and the legal tender character of money made out by him, is fictitious and non-essential. The legal value of token money, as distin-

guished from its metallic value, is maintained by Government by the restriction and the regulation of the supply of the coins and it has absolutely nothing to do with the legal tender quality. The rupee is not now a token coin, but not for the reason our contemporary erroneously assigns, viz., the deliberate intention of Government not to allow it to become a token coin, but owing to circumstances over which Government had no control, viz., the high price of silver. With regard to the comparative positions of the English shilling and the Indian rupee between which the *Reformer* seeks to distinguish to the advantage of the latter, the Fowler Committee in its report observed as follows:—"While it cannot be denied that the 40s. limitation tends to emphasise and maintain the subsidiary character of our silver coinage, yet the essential factor in maintaining these tokens at their representative nominal value is not the statutory limit on the amount for which they are a legal tender in any one payment, but the limitation of their total issue. Provided the latter restriction is adequate, there is no essential reason why there need be any limit on the amount for which tokens are a tender by law. It is principally to restriction of the total issue of silver coinage in the United Kingdom that we attribute the fact that 20 silver shillings (intrinsically worth at present about 8s. 6d.) pass current and are freely received, for all purposes of internal currency, indifferently with the sovereign which they purport to represent." The Committee thus considered the limit in the case of the rupee as superfluous and trusted to the regulation of the supply to keep its value at a fixed high level. With the closure of mints, the rupee was divorced from its metallic value and became a 'token'; and it had to remain a 'token,' whether there was an effective gold standard or only a gold exchange standard. There is no escape from this conclusion."

The *Reformer* says that the rupee was in the way of becoming a token coin but was saved from that transformation. In 1892-93, silver was about 40d. an oz. and under free mints the exchange value of the rupee was about 15d. By 1898-99, the former had fallen to 27d. and yet the exchange was 16d. The exchange stood at that rate though the price of silver stood much below 30d. an oz. for the next fifteen years. Can a 'good' or 'right' coin be maintained above its bullion value in this way? It is only in the case of a 'token' that there could be any disparity between the metallic and nominal values to the extent of the difference between 10 as. and 16 as. And this is why the rupee has been described as a "note printed on silver" with no obligation on Government to redeem it except when the trade balance goes against India and sterling drafts are sold on London. The best evidence our contemporary could find to prove that the rupee is not a token, is that Government "do not let the rupee fall far behind its metallic value" and that they have recently moved up its price in sympathy with that of silver. It must

follow from this that if the rupee had been a token coin (which the *Reformer* does not admit) and, therefore, inconvertible, Government would have allowed it to fall far behind its metallic value. That is to say, a token coin may be issued at a value less than its metallic value, and the English shilling, being a token, can be issued at 12d. when the value of the metal contained in it is 15d. The argument must mean that if Government had considered the rupee as a token coin, it would have gone on selling it for 16d. after manufacturing it at a cost of 20d.; but because it does not think so, therefore it does not let the rupee "fall far behind its metallic value." As a matter of fact, whether it is a standard or a token coin, it is difficult to imagine how a Government can allow it to fall 'far' or even a little behind its metallic value, unless it were in a charitable mood and wanted to give people coins at a cheaper price than it had paid to mint them. Governments get large profits out of the manufacture of token coins, and the Indian Government has built up its gold reserve out of such profits.

It is precisely because the rupee is a 'token' coin that Government have anything to do at all with the manipulation of its value; in the case of standard coins, Government regulation of this nature is unnecessary. A 'token' coin is inconvertible, or only partly convertible, under certain defined conditions; and so is the rupee, notwithstanding all that the *Social Reformer* has to say about it. All our contemporary's advocacy of the rupee cannot change the 'token' character imprinted on the face of that coin and under the gold exchange standard the national or local coin must be a 'token,' however one may qualify its description by using expressions like 'pure and simple' and 'in the strict sense of the word.' Under the gold standard, silver coins must be tokens. It is the essence of the exchange standard that the money used for internal purposes shall be kept at parity with gold by Government control of its supply coupled with limited convertibility into gold exchange. And it is for the privilege of the people to keep their stores of wealth in token and fractional money, whose intrinsic value is bound to be lower than their face value under any currency system, that the *Reformer* is fighting. It wants, as much as we want, that India should have a full gold standard and currency. But under such a system, as under the existing system, the silver coins will be 'tokens.' What will then happen to the women's stores of wealth kept in the form of half-rupees and quarter rupees made of silver, so dear to the heart of our contemporary? Gold coins will be beyond the reach of the poor people and silver coins will be tokens. We hope the *Social Reformer* will again raise a protest on behalf of the ignorant and the poor if and when the time comes.

THE LAHORE CONSPIRACY CASE.—I.

BY VERITAS.

OFFICIAL DEMENTIA OF 1907 AND 1919.

IN one of his brilliant speeches in opposing the Rowlatt legislation in the Imperial Legislative Council—I believe in his concluding speech—the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri made a reference in his usual homely and telling manner to the 'fits' of panic that have in his experience overtaken the Government of the country. Mr. Sastri, if I remember right, mentioned four such 'fits' being within his own experience. With an experience immeasurably less in quantity and variety than that of our eminent leader, even I can claim to have been an eye-witness to one 'fit' that occurred some twelve years ago in the very province, whose affairs have caused so much shock and bewilderment throughout the length and breadth of the land during the last few months. There can be no doubt that the 1907 affair in the Punjab was due to one of such 'fits' that overtook the mind of the bureaucracy. The Criminal Investigation Department was then in its infancy, but it somehow or other succeeded in creating an impression in the official mind that there would be a general rising in the Punjab—headed by Lala Lajpat Rai among others—to celebrate the jubilee of the Mutiny. In the deplorable riots at Rawalpindi in early May of that year, the authorities saw, or rather fancied that they saw, portents of an impending trouble of unusual magnitude, and they resolved to take time by the forelock. The rest is too well-known to require reiteration. There were the deportations, the trial of the Pindiee lawyers, the ordinances prohibiting public meetings, and so forth.

Thanks, however, to the sturdy commonsense of the British race, the disillusionment came sure and soon. Lala Lajpat Rai and Bhai Ajit Singh were released from the operation of the rusty regulation of 1818, the lawyers of Rawalpindi were discharged, and justice and statesmanship were again in evidence. The 1919 events are a much bigger affair than those of 1907, the provocation or the inciting cause is certainly stronger, and the dementia this time in certain respects at least exceeded all bounds. But glimmerrings of the dawn of returning sense are already visible, sure and steady. The process is tardy no doubt, but its tread is clear and unambiguous. First came the reduction of sentence in the case of Mr. Kali Nath Roy, followed by a similar order in the case of the editor of the *Pratap*. Then came the commutations of all death sentences except those of Ratta and Bugga, whose appeals have, thanks to the self-sacrificing zeal of the Hon'ble Pundit Moti Lal Nehru, been admitted by His Majesty's Privy Council, and special leave to appeal given. The remission of the order of forfeiture in several of the cases tried by the Martial Law Commissions followed later. And lastly comes the welcome news of substantial remission of sentences in the cases of Lala Harkishen Lal, Pundit Rambhaj

Dutt Choudhri and Mr. Dunichand and two others and the cancellation of the order of forfeiture of property in their case. No one says that the requirements of justice have been fulfilled. Nothing short of absolute reversal of the panic-begotten policy will meet the demands of justice and statesmanship. But saner counsels have now begun to work, and it is only fair to acknowledge it. And when one compares the days of terror, when O'Dwyerism was rampant and the present situation, one feels hopeful that all will be righted, whether by the executive Government or His Majesty's Privy Council. Only we have to remember that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and the strength of our protest (of course, constitutional protest) against ill-advised executive acts and aggressions is the measure of our fitness for self-government.

THE PRECIS OF THE CHARGE.

There has been perhaps nothing so extraordinary in the administration of British criminal law as the formidable string of charges that were formulated against the Lahore leaders. Sections 120B, 121, 121A, 109, 143, $\frac{124A}{149}$ and Rule 25 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules were all there. The charges, as originally framed against Messrs. Harkishen Lal, Rambhaj Dutt Choudhri, Dunichand and others ran as follows:—

"That you at Lahore on the 6th, 11th and 12th April, 1919, conspired to wage war against the King, abetted the waging of war, uttered sedition and abetted sedition; and

"That you at Lahore on 6th, 11th and 12th April, 1919, were a member of an unlawful assembly in the prosecution of the common object of which sedition was uttered, false reports published to cause alarm to the public."

The *précis* of the charge is a long, imaginative rigmarole, which one can hardly believe to have emanated from the legal brain of the Punjab Government. But as in a mist or fog, so in times of panic, everything appears blurred and misshapen. That is why the Punjab Government scented conspiracy and rebellion in mere constitutional agitation against the Rowlatt legislation. It is also possible that the late satrap of our province confounded criticism of his administration as an act of treason or *lèse-majesté*,—(and one Court Martial Commission possibly committed the same blunder)—and was determined to make an example of the educated malcontents and the gang of agitators. Whatever be its origin, the *précis* of charge smacks more of Colonel Frank Johnson than of the Law Department of a responsible provincial Government. The real truth of the matter is that the Law Department abdicated its proper functions and became merged with the martial law administration which our late satrap had introduced. A few sample sentences from the *précis* may be quoted here as illustrations:

"Thereupon (after the passing of the legislation) a general conspiracy was formed by persons outside the Punjab with whom the accused associated to hold tumultuous meetings and to order a general strike with the aim and object of inflaming popular feeling against Government and to so overawe it as to try and induce the vetoing of the measure. Accordingly, throughout India and in the Punjab in particular, in pursuance of the same con-

spiracy, the accused started a general strike, commonly known as a *hartal*, to take place on the 30th March intending thereby to induce disorder, paralyse the economic life of the country and excite disaffection and hatred towards Government. To give effect to this general strike, efforts were made by threats and persuasions and deliberate misrepresentations of the scope and the objects of the measure to induce shopkeepers to close their shops and workmen, servants and others to close work, and further mass meetings were to be held to excite disaffection and hatred against Government. The methods of this great strike were euphemistically called Passive Resistance.

"In spite of prohibitions, mobs of an unruly, tempestuous and riotous nature with inflammatory flags and other symbols marched on the 6th April to the Bradlaugh Hall with the active connivance and encouragement of certain of the accused. On the 9th April, in pursuance of the conspiracy to excite disaffection and feelings of enmity against Government and on the occasion of the Ram Naumi procession the accused Rambhaj Dutt, Duni Chand and others encouraged fraternization of Hindus and Mahomedans against the Government as by law established. On the 10th April, the Government of the Punjab with a view to maintaining peace and order prevented the ingress of one of the conspirators by name Gandhi into the province and on the same date ordered the deportations of two other conspirators from Amritsar by name Kitchlew and Satpal.

"The precautionary measures of the Government for the preservation of peace and order were seized upon by the conspirators to conspire to wage war against the King. In Amritsar Europeans were foully murdered, their property burnt and otherwise looted and destroyed. In Lahore on the receipt of the news and in conjunction with the riot in Amritsar and elsewhere large mobs incited by previous seditious and inflammatory utterances and acts of the accused and thus rose in rebellion against the King. Acts of war were committed on the Upper Mall, in Landa Bazar, at Mochi Gate and at the Lohari Gate, and the mob waging war were dispersed by firing on 10th for the riots on the Mall. On the 11th April, in pursuance of the objects of the conspiracy, a general strike of *hartal* was again proclaimed, which continued for some days. On the same day, riotous and seditious mobs paraded the city of Lahore in a posture of war and inflammatory notices were posted in the city. A tumultuous and seditious mob assembled at the Badshahi mosque. The said mob elected a committee of a revolutionary character to conduct a general strike, control the revolutionary movements and to advise those in rebellion and hostility to the King as to the line of action which should be accepted. *Langars* (free kitchens) were opened for the free rationing of the revolutionary mob. The said committee further attempted to dictate terms to Government as a condition upon which they would declare a cessation of the general strike and rebellion, and particularly Rambhaj Dutt and Duni Chand attempted to make terms. On the 12th the riotous mob assembled near the Fort. . . On the same day, Gokalchand, Rambhaj Dutt and Duni Chand dictated terms to Government for the stoppage of the general strike and rebellion and insulted loyal citizens. The riotous and seditious mob, on leaving the Badshahi mosque, attacked forces of His Majesty at Hira Mandi and were dispersed. Order was partially restored by the military occupation of the city on the 12th and 13th April."

MR. HASSAN IMAM'S ARGUMENT.

Mr. Syed Hassan Imam, who argued for the defence, found no difficulty in pointing out from the proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council, printed in the *Government Gazette* that none of the accused ever did or said anything which was not said by the non-official members of the Council in their opposition to the Rowlatt Bill,

and the real reason why the masses considered the Act to be a misgotten thing was that men like Nawab Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan, Hon'ble Mr. Shafi, who are among the staunchest supporters of Government, felt themselves constrained to vote against the Bill. This led the Martial Law Commissioners to break out into the following extraordinary *obiter dicta*, viz. "In our opinion, some of the Council speeches, though they are published in the *Gazette* and are for sale to the public, might, if repeated in a heated atmosphere, easily excite disaffection towards Government. The influence of such speeches on the Lahore orators has been strongly marked." It looks strange that the printer and publisher of the *Gazette of India* was not hauled up for disseminating sedition. Anyhow, it seems clear that had Colonel Frank Johnson and the Martial Law Commissioners had it all their own way, they would make short work of Legislative Councils and Councillors. Fortunately, the lease of O'Dwyerism is neither all-comprehensive nor eternal, and I think our brave spokesmen in the Councils will be none the worse for the pious and blatant effusions of a Martial Law Commission.

Mr. Hassan Imam also pointed out that the 6th April programme was observed all over the country including his own city, Patna, where there was a procession of over a lakh of men, and if the people obeyed Mr. Gandhi and called him a Mahatma, Government had no reason to complain. They might, he said, even deify Mr. Gandhi some day, but what objection could the Government have to it, so long as they rendered unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's? After this argument, the Commission found themselves in a difficult position as to upholding the charges regarding the observance of 6th April and so they wrote as follows:—"As we think it an overstatement of the case to say that there was a conspiracy to 'commit sedition' on the 6th April, we consider that the charges of sedition based on what occurred before the time of the second *hartal* must fall to the ground." I have heard it said that Mr. Montagu's highly complimentary references to Mr. Gandhi's personality and character in his speech on the Indian Budget debate were not altogether without effect upon the Commissioners and made them chary of an adverse animadversion upon the legality of the Passive Resistance movement. Mr. Gandhi should therefore thank his stars. He has certainly been more fortunate than many non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

WAS THERE A CONSPIRACY OR WAGING OF WAR?
The Commission, however, recorded the following finding:—

"After weighing all the evidence, we are of opinion that the prosecution has established that there was an active conspiracy in Lahore to bring about the repeal of the Rowlatt Act by criminal means, namely by waging war against the King, and that in furtherance thereof, war was waged from the 11th onwards."

The space at my command to-day does not enable me to enter into a detailed discussion of the

evidence that led to this finding. I shall therefore content myself with noting the attitude of the principal accused, engaged in the conspiracy and waging war both at the beginning of the trouble and on the eve of their arrest and deportation.

The prosecution evidence shews that, from the very outset, the principal accused carefully avoided even the semblance of a conflict with the Government. This is fully borne out by the testimony of high European officials and leading prosecution witnesses.

Mr. Fyson, then Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, P. W. 65, thus speaks in his deposition of the attitude of the conveners of the meeting, originally announced for 30th March: "They (conveners) also said that they were willing to give up the meeting of the 30th, if Government objected," and, further, he said that "at both meetings (held on 4th April in Deputy Commissioner's room) it was announced that Government had given no orders against holding a meeting in Bradlaugh Hall on the 6th." Mr. Broadway, Senior Supdt. of Police, P. W. 13, also said in his deposition: "At the meeting of evening of 4th, I told Duni Chand that my notice (about prohibition of procession) did not apply to a meeting held inside Bradlaugh Hall." It may be mentioned that the members of the Indian Association were not at all anxious for the observance of 6th April, if the authorities objected, *vide* Ex. D. IV/2 (being the report of the proceedings of the Association). Mr. C. L. Anand, M. A., Bar-at-Law, D. W. 3/62, who was present therein, said: "*Hartal* was discussed, but everyone was agreed that it was not the matter for the conveners of the meeting, but the shop-keepers." Consequently, Ex. P. 15 (the notice calling people to observe 6th April) makes no mention of *hartal*. Rai Bahadur Amar Nath, Joint Registrar, Lahore, P. W. 4, also states that "the Deputy Commissioner said he did not mind *hartal* so long as it was not compulsory." And it is on evidence that at the conference held in Deputy Commissioner's rooms on 4th April, Pundit Rambhaji Dutt Choudhri offered his services as a special constable.

As to their attitude on the day previous to arrest, the following excerpt from the Deputy Commissioner's deposition will best elucidate the point:

"On the evening of the 13th (April), Gokal Chand (Dr. Gokal Chand Narang, Bar-at-Law) and Duni Chand (Mr. Duni Chand, Bar-at-Law) came to me with conditions and a message for the Lieutenant-Governor. . . . I think that the matter of troops was the only condition then mentioned. I said I would give their message to the Lieutenant-Governor and told them to come next day to hear the reply. When they came, they were deported, and further I remember that it was suggested that *narmi* (a mild policy) would go a great way in allaying the excitement."

Does all this look at all like waging war? Was not this an instance of co-operation with the authorities who unfortunately misjudged the popular leaders grievously. Probably, Mr. Fyson did not quite do so, for he promised "to convey their message to the Lieutenant-Governor," and asked

them to come next day to hear the reply. Well, when they came, they were deported. The mighty ex-satrap would be content with nothing less. And yet for this, Sir Michael O'Dwyer's henchmen, including the *Indian Mirror*, have been lauding him as the saviour of the Punjab. *O tempora! O mores!*

SELECTIONS.

MR. SASTRI AT LEEDS.

We are indebted to *New India* for the following account of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's Leeds speech, taken from the *Yorkshire Post*.

The Hon. Mr. Sastri, a member of the Indian Viceroy's Legislative Council (who is at present in England as a member of the deputation of the Moderate Party), was the guest yesterday of the Leeds Luncheon Club, and addressed the members on "The case for Constitutional Reform in India."

Sir Michael Sadler, who presided, said that all present felt their ignorance about Indian conditions. They knew, however, that on what was done in India, and what was hoped our representatives would do for India during the next few months and the following years, much of the future welfare of our Commonwealth depended—possibly the right union and peaceful connection between the West and East. Mr. Sastri's visit came at a most memorable time. Yesterday began in the House of Lords a debate on the India Bill. It was the most important change in the constitution of India for many hundreds of years. It came two days after the signing by the Maharajah of Bikanir, on behalf of India as a nation, of the treaty with Germany, and the covenant of the League of Nations. (Applause.)

A BIG JUMP WANTED.

Mr. Sastri said he represented what was known as the Moderate school of political thought in India. They did not like the word "Moderate," and had, therefore, taken, for the new organisation they had formed for this purpose, the name of Liberal. They wanted their country to be raised to a position of equality in the Commonwealth with our self-governing Dominions, forming a contented, a peaceful, and, they hoped, a strong member of our sisterhood of equal States. He was rather interested to find that after a good deal of political trouble and travail of spirit, Irishmen seemed to have realised that in the Dominion status lay their salvation. Unlike Ireland, however, which would probably like to rise to that status at one bound, they in India—he was speaking of the Moderates—would be content to rise to the status by stages. The Bill now before Parliament represented the first of these stages. They considered it was a fairly substantial stage, notwithstanding that they considered there were many defects in the scheme, many gaps to be covered, and many improvements to be made. One clause proposed that every ten years or thereabouts a Parliamentary Commission should go to India, and inquire on the spot as to the precise way in which the political institutions had been working and how the constitution might be made to enter upon a higher state. He would only allude to two of the safeguards proposed. There was, for instance, ample provision made to safeguard the suzerainty of Great Britain. There was, again, ample provision made for the safeguarding of those economic, commercial, and other interests, which the English people had acquired in India. Yorkshire, which had great interests in the country, would be glad to know that in the instrument of instructions issued to each Governor of a province, there was a special clause throwing upon him in the first person the responsibility of seeing that there should not in any way be legislation or administration which would place English interests at an unfair disadvantage. They were against any discrimination in favour of anybody whatsoever.

Why did they want this big jump in their political status? They wanted it in order that they might develop their own country, and their own people in their own way. England had fashioned and moulded them, and, in fact, fixed the framework of their political constitution; but now the time had come when the national life of India, expanding in all directions, was throwing out so many offshoots, vivifying the social and religious spheres, that it was impossible for Englishmen, however well-intentioned, or however long they might serve in the country, fully to understand their needs and help them to become one political entity. This task must be accomplished by themselves, under British guidance and advice, but the primary agency must be themselves.

IS INDIA FIT FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT?

His hearers might ask if they were fit for it. He had no hesitation in saying they considered themselves abundantly fit for it. It would be a reproach to British rule for 150 or 200 years if the fact were at all otherwise. England had done her part so well that she had prepared them, by equipment, educational, political, and social, for the task. Educational establishments of vast scope and profound efficiency had been in operation amongst them for a great number of years and they had produced men of eminence in every walk of life to shoulder any system of self-government that we might devise. Were there no dangers to the stability of the British Empire? his hearers might ask. He assured them that the British hold on India was not likely to be weakened at all under the new regime. Among other safeguards there was provision made for the British being in charge of the military, the internal police, and the system of justice. There was no possibility of their imperilling the maintenance of the British suzerainty in India. There were many schools of political thought in India, but he hardly knew of any which really thought that the future of India was going to be served by attempting to travel outside the boundaries of the British Empire. They were not fools, because, after all, if they did, they might probably fall into the hands of another strong Power, and probably a Power for which they had no very strong affinity. "We like the British Empire," said Mr. Sastri. "We have developed political consciousness within the British Empire. We have derived so much benefit and we look forward to so much more benefit that you can take it that on grounds purely of self-interest, if for nothing else, your Empire is in no peril from the Indian quarter." (Applause.)

India, added Mr. Sastri, was still in a backward condition, but they might rest assured that the strength of modern civilisation, the vitality of the new spirit, was too great, indeed too vast, to be turned back by merely obscurantist opposition.

MR. SASTRI'S LEEDS TRIP.

SIR MICHAEL SADLER'S APPRECIATION.

The University,
Leeds, July 2, 19.

My dear Mr. Roy,

Mr. Sastri was happily able to stay with us here for three days—Sunday to Wednesday. His visit—for which we are indebted to your good offices—has done immeasurable good in Leeds. I have no hesitation in saying that his addresses have won the respectful and cordial sympathy and support of the leading citizens—men and women. But far more even than his spoken words, his personality has charmed and impressed those who have had the privilege of meeting him. And they are many and (in these parts) influential.

He had an evening with our chief newspaper editors,—Unionist, Liberal and Labour.

At the Luncheon Club his reception was brilliant, and the applause at the conclusion of his address significantly enthusiastic and prolonged.

He met and addressed the chief women workers of the city; saw our leading people at the University; called with me on Lord Faber and Sir Rupert Beckett at the Bank; met the Vicar and Lord Mayor of Leeds; took part, at the Lord Mayor's invitation, in the civic procession through the streets of the city, and addressed a large audience at the Theosophical Hall on "Modern India," with special reference to the Reforms.

My wife and I are very happy to feel that we have made his acquaintance and shall always feel linked to him by ties of friendship.

Believe me, Yours very sincerely,

M. E. SADLER.

THE SEVA SADAN.

THE good works of the Seva Sadan are so well known that they hardly need recommendation. No institution is performing better service for India in face of the country's present needs, and the rapidity with which its activities have widened and increased is a testimony to the esteem in which the public hold them. We wrote yesterday of the great need for increased attention to the care of the child life in India, a need so urgent that properly to meet it requires the public mind to take up an altogether new attitude of determination regarding it. But if the physical health of the children is so important, still more so, in view of the many aspects of the developments now opening before this country, is the training of their minds. The Seva Sadan goes to the root of this moral problem by attending to the spiritual and material welfare of the children's mothers. The public at large, then, as well as the Sadan itself are indebted to His Excellency the Governor and Lady Lloyd for the cordial way in which they have acquainted themselves with the work of the institution and interested themselves in its progress. A full report of their visit to its headquarters in Poona city appears elsewhere in our columns to-day and His Excellency's speech there shows how closely he and Lady Lloyd have at heart the objects for which the Society exists. Sir George Lloyd warmly praised the educational programme of the Society:

The great value of such work (said His Excellency) is character-building, which begins with the education of mothers by whom the next generation is to be reared. The important years in a child's training are the very early ones; the lessons he learns from his mother are those which he remembers all through his life. From this point of view, I attach greater importance to the spread of ordinary knowledge and culture among women than to their collegiate or higher education.

The system followed by the Seva Sadan, as Mr. Devadhar pointed out, is non-sectarian in spirit and aims at training women for patriotic service in various ways, while endeavouring directly to spread knowledge and culture among other women to make them more efficient in the discharge of their domestic and social duties. There is no limit to the scope for the useful expansion of such splendid work. At the present moment the Society are particularly well situated as regards guidance in this matter through their Honorary Organizer and General Secretary, Mr. G. K. Devadhar, having just made a prolonged visit to England and spent much time and energy in study of more highly developed work of the same kind there and in culling from it a hundred and one hints for expansion in India. The main need in the circumstances is, of course, money. Mr. Devadhar made a strong appeal to His Excellency for Government financial help, and in this educational task Government undoubtedly share the responsibility of securing success. The Seva Sadan, indeed, cannot divest Government of it in important particulars. On the other hand, Government could not do the work that the Seva Sadan see lying before them and to a great deal of it Government could not devote substantial sums at a time like the present, when heavy demands upon public funds are being made from directions in which the fruits of taxation must be devoted. His Excellency therefore made a happily sympathetic response to Mr. Devadhar's appeal but emphasized that Government's financial help must be supplementary to voluntary effort. We trust that under present conditions of prosperity the Sadan will receive from generous supporters such assistance as will both speed it upon its way and show Government how deeply public opinion appreciates the value of the work and would welcome further grants from official funds.—*The Times of India.*

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