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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE reservation to the Peace Treaty, declining to participate in any responsibility regarding the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country, adopted by the Senate of the U. S. A., though not quite unexpected, will create serious disappointment in Allied countries. A group of leading men in the States has long been actively trying to pick holes in the covenant attached to the Treaty, and President Wilson spared no pains to persuade his countrymen not to shirk their obligation to support England and France in maintaining an arrangement which they had made such splendid sacrifices to render possible. But political opposition and the innate desire of Americans not to mix their nations in European complications, have played their part with the result that, as the President has remarked, the reservation cuts the heart out of the covenant and means the rejection of the Treaty of Peace.

TECHNICALLY speaking, the Treaty comes into operation even without America's adhesion to it. But much of the moral force behind the covenant and the Treaty will be lost with America standing outside in isolation. The European powers will find their hands weakened without American support and will have a tremendous responsibility thrown upon their shoulders. The treaty with Turkey has already been delayed too long and British statesmen have publicly declared that it could not be taken up until they knew America's attitude. The situation will now have to be anxiously considered and some definite decision will have to be shortly arrived at. The Turkish question has become acute and its solution cannot be delayed without serious detriment to the international political position.

THE utmost concession which the Punjab Government can bring itself to make is to release six of the leading men in prison for the day or days on which their evidence might be taken by the Commission. It has definitely refused to allow the leaders to be on parole for the period of the Commission's sittings at Lahore. We confess that the psychology of the limitation is beyond our comprehension. The Government's first position—that of refusal to release the prisoners at all—was at least more logical and intelligible. Once it has thought fit to change that uncompromising attitude, it is impossible to see why, without any reference whatever to the exigencies or requirements of the enquiry, the number of leaders to be released should be fixed arbitrarily at six—no more, no less. Nor can we see what dire calamities the Government thought would accrue, if the parole of the leaders were to be for a few days more or less. Indeed, one would have imagined that how many and which witnesses should be released for the purposes of the enquiry are points more for the decision of the Commission and that, for obvious reasons, the Government is the last body to dictate in the matter. But, a sense of propriety is not a bureaucracy's strong point—much less of a bureaucracy on its trial.

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THE second point is no less vital. It is an undoubted fact that our Punjab leaders now in gaol have first-hand and intimate knowledge of the unhappy events of April last and can throw much light on the incidents under inquiry. But it is obvious that for this end it is not enough if they are simply allowed to appear before the Committee to give evidence. During the examination of other witnesses, matters are sure to arise, corroboration or contradiction of which is possible only for men possessing personal knowledge of the incidents in question. Whether, therefore, for testifying to the truth or falsity of statements made by other witnesses, or for supplementing or contradicting them to bring out the exact truth or for determining the lines and points on which cross-examination is to be directed, the most essential thing is a close, personal acquaintance with facts. And if this were not to be available (which would be the case if the leaders are to be rushed back to the jails as soon as they had finished giving their evidence), much of the evidence, we are afraid, would be of very dubious value and the Commission would be misled to mistaken and unjust conclusions. In

the interests of truth and justice, therefore, the presence of the leaders during the entire sitting of the Commission at Lahore is an important desideratum. The additional advantage that this would induce confidence in others who, though in possession of facts, are now too terror-stricken to come forward to give evidence, has been emphasised so much that we need not dwell on it at any length.

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THERE is one other aspect which, as involving a principle, deserves more attention than it has gained. The tone of the whole correspondence on this subject would seem to suggest that, if the Government agrees to release any prisoners at all, even for a day, it is not because of anybody's right to claim it but as a matter of supreme grace. This we cannot grant for a moment; when a public inquisition into alleged official excesses is on foot, every one who has anything of moment to say must be given all reasonable facilities to place his complaints before the Commission, whether he happens to be free or in confinement. We beg to point out that, to a certain extent, the Commission has a vital interest in this question. As a body interested with the by no means easy task of establishing truth, it owes it to itself, to the public and to justice that it should insist that no channel of information likely to throw light on the Punjab affairs should be closed to it. In pressing this point on the Government, it needs no showing, the Commission would be entirely within its rights. Lastly, we recognise that technically the enquiry is not a trial; but, in substance the province is charged to have been "in a state of open rebellion." The public has thus undoubtedly the right to demand the production of such witnesses and for such period as may be judged necessary for the vindication of the fair name of the Punjab.

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"No matter what (Home Rule) proposals the Government put forward," declared the President of the Sinn Fein convention held in Dublin last month, "they should not discuss them or bother themselves about them." With a similar Sinn-Fein-like gesture, the Nationalists of Madras have all along affected to treat the M.-C. reform proposals with utter unconcern. Their histrionics assumed a most solemn form when the leaders of the party left an informal meeting called to find out the greatest common measure of agreement among different schools of thought on the reform scheme, because no agreement could be reached as to the precise provision which could be made to safeguard individual liberty. The only difference between the Sinn Fein programme and the programme of the Madras Nationalists is that, while the Sinn Fein leaders are willing to back up their words by deeds, the Nationalists are consumed with a ravenous desire to fill all the seats in the councils even when the fate of the reform bill and, with it, that of the declaration of rights are still hanging in the balance. It will do one's soul good,

therefore, to see that there are among the Nationalists some whom this position strikes as grotesque in the extreme and who pleaded in their Conference that they must in the name of honesty hold themselves aloof from the operation of reforms. Do not let anyone be unnecessarily frightened at the prospect of the country losing the services of so many able men, as there is not the remotest chance of the Nationalists acting upon this advice. Their heroics are confined to words and will never extend to action.

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IT will profit us to know what the services think of the lavish increases in salaries recommended for them in the M.-C. Report. If the members of the I. C. S. whose opinion on the reform scheme is given at length in Mr. Barker's "Future Government of India" may be taken to represent the general feeling on the question, the services regard the proposed increments in pay as a sop thrown to them with a view to removing or at least diminishing their opposition to the reforms. "Most of us," they say, for this reason "look with disgust on the rushing tactics for improvement of pay." The reforms will bring about (so they are pleased look upon it) a degradation in their present status and a contraction of their sphere of activities, and they think that "the authors of the Report propose as compensation a system of incremental pay." Of course they add that "no system of incremental pay can afford compensation for the loss of future honour, position and prestige entailed on the present members of the services," but the motive underlying the proposal for drastic increases in their emoluments lies on the surface. Indian opinion cordially agrees with this reading of the situation, and being convinced that the increments would throw a ruinous burden on the finances of the country, offers an uncompromising opposition to the proposal.

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THE civilians, however, to whose opinion we have adverted above, support the popular demand for the Governor's post being filled by "a man of ability from England with the necessary administrative knowledge." "As the need for direct official guidance ceases," they observe "... the Governor should be appointed from England by the Crown, wide experience of public affairs being considered an essential qualification for that post." Any official guidance that may be necessary in the matter of shaping policy will be supplied in ample measure by the civilian members of the executive council at joint sittings of the whole executive Government, and no civilian Governor is needed for the purpose. It is, on the contrary, of the first importance that when popular government is being introduced into India for the first time in British history, the best available administrative and parliamentary experience should be placed at the disposal of the country to guide its footsteps on the road to self-government.

**THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN ENGLAND.
IV.-BUILDING AGENCIES AND WORK DONE**

I. GOVERNMENT.

THE tendency of the operation of the various Housing and Public Health Acts has been more towards the clearing of insanitary areas than the provision of new houses. Indeed, to a certain extent, the Public Health Acts have had an actually preventive effect in laying down a standard for the erection of houses by ordinary commercial agencies. These agencies, taking up building as a matter of business, studied questions of economy and rent rather than the health and comfort of the would-be tenants. The inevitable result has been that buildings not securing sufficient light and air have been forbidden, albeit they were once generally deemed to be good enough.

The efficacy of laws like the Housing and Public Health Acts, it is easy to perceive, depend to a large extent, on the manner of their administration. From the very nature of things, the Government had to leave the matter largely in the hands of local bodies who are at least presumed to be in a better position for studying and satisfying local needs, tastes and standards. Very little, therefore, in the matter of housing has been done directly by the Government. As has already been observed, there is but one exception to this. The great increase in the number of men engaged on war-work at Woolwich Arsenal necessitated some expeditious method of providing accommodation for them and the Government had to look to it on peril of the failure of the supply of ammunition for the war. In 1915, therefore, the Government undertook to provide the required housing accommodation. It was done during 1915 and 1916, and consists of cottages and cottage flats on an estate at Eltham and hutments in various parts of Woolwich, Greenwich and Bexley. On the Eltham estate which is nearly 100 acres in extent, 1087 cottages and 105 cottages of two flats each, or a total of 1297 tenements were erected. The cottage flats consist of three rooms and the cottages from four to six rooms; and the total number of rooms provided on the estate is 5567. In the estate at Woolwich, the Government was able to provide 1602 tenements consisting of 6408 rooms. 124 tenements comprising 496 rooms were erected at Greenwich; and at Bexley were provided 626 tenements or 2504 rooms. Adding to this the 2352 tenements of hutments, which are temporary structures of the bungalow type, we get in all about 15,000 rooms as the total housing provided by the Government directly in 1915-1916.

II. MUNICIPAL BUILDING.

The earlier legislation on the subject would hardly seem to have contemplated the provision of housing by local authorities. Even with regard to re-housing, for instance, the Artizans' Dwellings Act of 1875 provided that the local authority "shall not by themselves, without the express approval of the confirming authority, undertake the re-building

of the houses on cleared insanitary areas." It was the Housing and Town-planning Act of 1890 which first gave local authorities power expressly to provide working class dwellings. Of the provisions of part iii of this Act of 1890 designed to promote the erection of working class dwellings, no more than about 140 local authorities availed themselves. In London, for instance, taking advantage of the Act, the County Council has, during a period of about 25 years, provided about 12,000 dwellings or 35,800 rooms occupied nearly by 45,000 persons. It has also provided three lodging houses containing 1874 cubicles. The expenditure for sites at their housing value and cost of building has amounted to about £3,000,000. At present it has on hand a trifle over 100 acres to be developed, and proposes to provide about 85,000 rooms at the pre-war-estimated expenditure of £6,70,000. To a more or less varying extent, almost all the big town councils similarly took advantage of the Act and have done some really valuable work. But, of all, it would appear that Liverpool has succeeded best in providing municipal buildings in which the really poor can afford to live. It is unnecessary to go into further details. Not much has been done by way of municipal building. Indeed, a look at the figures shows that more buildings have been erected by private enterprise in London alone than in all the United Kingdom by municipal bodies.

III. HOUSING TRUSTS.

London was in an exceptionally advantageous position, owing to the existence of philanthropic housing trusts. The most important of them are the Peabody Donation Fund (founded in 1862), the Guinness Trust (founded in 1889), the Sutton Trust (founded in 1900), and the Lewis Trust (founded in 1906). Of these, the first two are more or less confined in their operations to the metropolitan area and have built about 6640 and 2565 tenements containing 16,000 and 5400 rooms, respectively. The activities of the Sutton and Lewis trusts are not subject to any such limitation to the metropolitan area; and the former has already schemes in hand for Birmingham and Newcastle. These trusts have provided about 1300 and 700 tenements comprising 2900 and 1700 rooms respectively. The London County Council's report gives an interesting summary of the capital of these trusts. In 1916 the net balance (after deducting all capital expenditure on land and buildings up to that date) was as follows:—

Peabody	£82,980
Guinness	13,535
Sutton	1,286,395
Lewis	368,258

It may be added that these trusts have on hand schemes for the immediate provision of about 2500 rooms.

IV. COMPANIES AND OTHER AGENCIES.

A small amount of housing has been provided by employers of labour. No comprehensive information on the subject seems to be available, but there is no doubt that the relief so provided is as

but a drop in the ocean. Some local authorities themselves, in their capacity of employers of labour, have had to provide housing accommodation for the workmen, as has been done, for instance, by the London County Council for the employees in the Fire Brigade, Drainage and Park services. In the case of private employers of labour also, the work done is limited in extent and confined more or less to agricultural, mining and suburban manufacturing districts. The last item especially has attracted of late considerable attention as "model settlements" of which we shall say more in another place. The pioneer in this kind of mostly business, but slightly philanthropic, work was Sir Titus Salt who, when setting up his woollen Mills at Saltaire, worked out his idea of decently housing all his workmen on the spot. The plan was carried on by his successors in the business, with the result that they own over 900 excellent and cheap cottages and have made their workmen attached to the work. But more important than the actual quantity of the housing provided by them was their influence as an example. Other manufacturers have followed Sir Titus in this scheme of enlightened and far-reaching business-philanthropy; and it is to his pioneering work that we owe such fine model settlements as Port Sunlight, near Liverpool (started in 1888), Bournville, near Birmingham (started in 1895), Earswick, near York (1904), and so forth. These are all of a very elaborate character, with a number of institutions for the comfort and uplift of the millhands. Lastly, a trifling proportion has been provided, out of necessity, by manufacturers who set up new industries in places where there were none before and where there existed no housing accommodation for the workmen engaged in the works set up. In these cases, the minimum of money and heart has been put into the operations which are looked upon as a part of the business. On the whole, then, the work done in this direction by the employers of labour has been insignificant, at any rate, so small as to have on appreciable influence on the solution of the problem

HOUSING SOCIETIES.

Section 4 of the Housing, Town Planning, etc. Act of 1909 authorises Public Works Loan Commissioners to lend to Public Utility Societies two-thirds of the value of the land, instead of one-half authorised by the Act of 1890. For the purpose of this section, a Public Utility Society has been defined to be "a society registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1893, or any amendment thereof, the rules whereof prohibit the payment of any interest or dividend at a rate exceeding five pound per centum per annum." This has not proved very attractive, owing to some cause or other; and, even of the comparatively few Public Utility Societies registered under the Act of 1893, only a very small number have provided any considerable number of working-class houses.

Railways and other companies constituted under statutes are under an obligation to provide

housing in place of that which, under powers of compulsory acquisition, they may have to demolish for their purposes. Under this saving clause a few of the Railway Companies have provided some little housing—a total of about 3500 tenements or 8000 rooms. It scarce needs be said that in a majority of cases of this description, the number of persons displaced is always greater than that of those for whom new accommodation is provided.

A substantial amount of housing work has been done by Limited Liability Companies. On a rough calculation, it would appear that the combined capital expenditure of the most important of these companies amount to over £8,000,000 a year and that they have been able to provide in all about 100,000 rooms. But most of these companies were established a number of years ago and have, of late, been growing less and less extensive in their operations.

Next, we come to an important item, *viz.* co-operative building. "The special function of municipal and philanthropic building," it has been said, "has been to substitute better dwellings for pre-existing bad ones, which is the most costly and difficult, as well as the most urgent, part of the problem;" that is to say, their work has been more in slum-cleaning than in the erection of new houses. It is exactly in the latter direction that "organized self-help," in the form of co-operative building societies, has been able to do very valuable work. These co-operative societies are not to be confused with the building societies in which there is no element of co-operation, whereas these societies retain the element of co-operation by lending only to their members. These societies are generally numerous in manufacturing towns, especially in the north-western districts of England. An idea of their usefulness may be gathered from the fact that about 450 of them have built no less than 50,000 houses at a cost of about £12,000,000. Of this number, it is interesting to note, over 8,700 were owned by the societies by whom they were built, nearly 6,000 had been sold to members and over 35,000 had been built by members on money lent by their respective societies.

The so-called building societies adverted to in the last paragraph have been no unimportant factor in the problem. They do not concern themselves directly with building. They only lend money to builders and their activities have assisted purchasers in buying for occupation or investment as the case may be. Their operations are on a large scale and they deal, so to say, in the open market. On an average, they advance on mortgages about £7,500,000 annually. At the end of 1908, the invested funds of the registered building societies exceeded £72,000,000. It is not difficult to see how influential a factor in the solution of the problem an agency working on such a large scale is likely to have been.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

In a sense, most of the agencies mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs are 'private enterprise.'

as distinguished from state or municipal activities. But what is specially meant by 'private enterprise' is "private individuals who make a business of developing estates for the erection of houses or undertake the actual building of houses thereon. There are two distinct sides to the enterprise, although, in a number of instances, the two functions are combined in the same individual. One branch deals with the purchase of land in bulk and its development, sometimes letting in smaller blocks to building contractors who may also be financed through the machinery of the land-developer; the other is the builder who actually erects the houses."

At the present day, opinion is divided as to whether the State should continue to leave building to private enterprise, only providing facilities and help for builders, or whether it should boldly shoulder the burden and set about it in earnest. Those who are in favour of leaving it to private enterprise and economic forces point out the fact that in the past over 96% of the working class dwellings throughout the United Kingdom have been provided by means of private enterprise and that we should, therefore, leave the question to the same agency. Others, however, draw attention to the comparative smallness of the totality of the work done and to the poorness of the quality of the work. But what they emphasise most is the unreliable character of the agency, as it is likely to fluctuate largely owing to the influence of other factors. The argument may be summarised thus. The actual builder possesses only a relatively small capital and depends on facilities for borrowing during the progress of his work. "He does not build to hold, but to sell, and as his margin of capital is small, he is dependent upon a ready sale for the carrying on of his operations." It is obvious, therefore, that the important factor is the ease or difficulty of finding a ready market for houses built. The greater number of purchasers of houses do it as a matter of investment, while comparatively only a small number purchase for occupation. Any increase in the cost of building is bound to react on the market for houses, as capital is always attracted by more attractive investments. The disposal of houses built by the average builder would, therefore, be rendered difficult; and this, in turn, discourages building. An agency thus subject to variations due to increase in the cost of raw materials or a rise in the wages of labour should not, therefore, be entrusted with a task which, in national interests, cannot be too soon grappled with and which, above all, should be steady in the progress made from time to time.

Which school of opinion is more correct, we shall not pause to examine. With regard to certain classes of cases, at least, there is no room for doubt. In spite of the prominent part played by private enterprise, it looks as though it has reached its limitations and no alternative is left but for the State to come in and take over the burden. The general trend of opinion on the sub-

ject is best summarised in the following paragraph from a report of the Organising Committee of the National Conference on Housing after the War.

"Housing of the poor. There is, however, one phase of the housing problem which would appear naturally to fall within the scope of many local authorities, viz. the housing of the poorest classes whose wage-earning capacity is not sufficient to enable them to pay adequate rents. Clearly, private enterprise cannot deal with this need; and it is equally clear that it will have to be met. In the opinion of the Conference, this duty alone will tax to the uttermost the energies of the local authorities."

BRITISH FINANCE.

THE tremendous burden of the war debt, the excess of expenditure over revenue which has to be met every day and the unfavourable rate of foreign exchange, have directed the most anxious and earnest attention of politicians in Great Britain to the problem of financial readjustment and reform. Among the many questions that demand immediate solution in England, is that relating to the necessity of reducing, if not wiping out the enormous debt which has been incurred to finance the war. The changes due to interest and the sinking fund alone would require nearly twice the pre-war revenue of Government. All this money must be raised from year to year out of taxation and the national revenue must, besides, be augmented to provide for the increased expenditure entailed by the various schemes of reform that will have to be undertaken. The British nation is not expected to supply through taxation these large funds, and therefore the burden of the war debt must hamper the progress of the people. How to reduce the war debt is thus a financial question of paramount importance to the British nation at the present moment, and it has already given rise to a good deal of discussion. The British Government realizes the seriousness of the situation and would be prepared to adopt any practicable scheme for attaining the desired end. The solution is not, however, easy to find and the complications and the risks are so many that no measures can be taken without adequate discussion.

The situation that has to be faced is quite clear to every body. And a number of remedies have been suggested for adoption by the British Government. Among the writers who have carefully analysed the position and scientifically dealt with the important issues involved, Mr. J. A. Hobson takes a high rank. He is an author of repute, a clear thinker and a writer with liberal views. His recently published book* on the subject of the readjustment of British taxation with a view to meeting the burdens imposed by the national debt, is a valuable contribution to the discussion of the financial problem. It is not a work of temporary interest merely, and is not written to support any favourite economic creed. In a discussion of such questions, there is always a danger of extreme

* J. A. Hobson: "Taxation in the New State." Methuen and Co., London.

views being taken by partisans and faddists. The issue is too momentous to be handled in this way. On its settlement hangs the economic and even the political future of Great Britain. If, on the one side, a policy of drift or masterly inactivity may lead to bankruptcy, the application of ill-devised and ill-considered remedies may paralyze all industry and block the sources of wealth production. Mr. Hobson steers his way carefully through these extremes, though his proposals are likely to strike many as too radical to be approved.

To solve the problem of wiping out the debt seems simplicity itself. Distribute the national burden over the different classes who should be called upon to contribute from their capital a certain fixed proportion, they say. But they fail to take into account the economic consequences the nation will have to suffer and the deadening effects which industry will experience. It is a financial principle accepted by economists that taxes should be so devised that they should not discourage enterprise, destroy the very motive which animates wealth production and trench upon the minimum of subsistence necessary to keep those engaged in industry in health and comfort to enable them to make an increasing contribution to the national income. If this principle is not borne in mind, as it is not by certain people who see in profits, rents and interest only a blackmail imposed by a few powerful individuals on the weak and helpless masses, nothing but economic disaster will follow. Mr. Hobson, therefore, first discusses what are the incomes which ought to be taxed and which ought to be exempted from this larger point of view. Modern finance has, no doubt, evolved certain fundamental principles on which those members of the community who are able to bear the necessary burden of taxation, should be made to contribute to the national expenditure.

Ability to pay is made the basis of national taxation, but the capacity to bear is not carefully assessed and the burden is not equitably distributed. In the earlier part of his book, Mr. Hobson has, therefore, dealt with this theory of taxation and pointed out the reforms needed in the British financial system to square the principle with the practice, and suggested what, in his opinion, are the sources which must be tapped to secure the funds needed to reduce the national debt. The alternative plan of finding the required revenue by the ordinary processes of annual taxation, he regards as dangerous and he favours an emergency levy upon capital. Mr. Hobson thinks that large war profits have so far escaped from the reach of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and that they are a fit target for emergency taxations. He observes:—"That this mass of new wealth, due to war scarcity and risks, and obtained at the expense of the taxpayer or the consumer by a few rich, powerful, lucky or unscrupulous men, should have contributed little or nothing to the expenses of the war, is widely and justly resented, and lies

at the root of our present discontents." He is not unconscious of the difficulties that beset the assessment of the war-made wealth and the proposed levy upon it, but he feels assured that it is only by taking away the huge gains made by a few persons that the burdens can be lightened without at the same time lowering the standard of living of the mass of the population and reducing the efficiency of the working classes. That some drastic remedy must be applied to cure Great Britain's financial complaints, is now widely acknowledged and we feel sure that Mr. Hobson's contribution to the discussion of the problem will prove valuable in arriving at some sound conclusion.

THE CREWE COMMITTEE.

BY DEWAN BAHADUR M. RAMACHANDRA RAO.

THE report of the Crewe Committee on the Home Administration of Indian Affairs is one of the most important documents on Indian Constitutional Reform. The Majority Report and the admirable dissenting notes of Professor Keith, Sir James Brunyate and Mr. Basu taken together constitute a valuable contribution to the solution of the problem of the introduction of responsible Government into a bureaucratic system. The Committee very rightly observe "that the present is the most opportune time, both for political and constitutional reasons, for making the inception of reforms by a definite and unmistakable change in the Home administration of India." It is no longer possible to justify the essential features of the Home Administration of India and they have accordingly recommended the abolition of the Secretary of State's Council on its present statutory basis and the substitution in its place of an Advisory Council. In effect, they have recommended the transfer of responsibility from the Secretary of State in Council to the Secretary of State in his capacity as a Minister of the Crown, assisted by an Advisory Council. The Committee have laid down the general principles on which the relations between the Home and India Administrations should be regulated, and made specific recommendations in regard to the composition of the Advisory Committee suggested by them. Other subsidiary matters are the organisation of the India Office establishment and the apportionment of the charges of the India Office between Home and Indian revenues. It is impossible to deal adequately with all these important questions in a single article. For the present I shall confine myself to a few important matters arising on the Report.

In the first place, the Committee have quite unnecessarily narrowed down the scope of their enquiry by inviting a ruling from the Secretary of State as to whether matters of military administration were within the scope of reference to them. The Committee were distinctly of opinion that the reference included in the scope of their enquiry all matters of military administration relating to India, but they were in doubt as to whether it was

contemplated that they should go into these matters. The Secretary of State gave accordingly a ruling that these matters could be omitted from their consideration. The result of this reference is that the very important question as to how much of the military administration of India should be conducted on the spot by the Government of India and what essential matters should be left to the Secretary of State has been left out of consideration. The Government of India is increasingly doing its work in the light of Indian public opinion and has to justify its actions to the representatives of the people of India. The Secretary of State may occasionally be moved to action by far-off echoes from India, but he is under the perpetual domination of his colleagues in the Cabinet and of the Army Headquarters in matters relating to India. The growth of military expenditure and an equitable distribution of the burdens between the British and Indian Governments have been the subject of acute controversy for over a quarter of a century, and the Secretary of State for India, who is a member of the British Cabinet, is not generally in a position to resist the pressure from his colleagues in regard to military expenditure. The Welby Commission on Indian expenditure had many instances before it of this character and suggested a board of arbitration for obtaining decisions equitable to both parties in regard to the adjustment of those charges between the two Governments. In view of past experience it is a matter of extreme regret that opportunity was not taken to devise a scheme of devolution of Indian military administration and military expenditure to authorities in India. The recent appointment of an Army Commission without adequate Indian representation is a glaring instance in point of the tendency of looking at military questions from the standpoint not of India but of the Army Council in the United Kingdom.

The second point relates to the statutory declaration contained in the Government of India that the revenues of India are vested in the Secretary of State for India in Council. The most essential feature of the present system is that all the revenues of India are legally vested in the Secretary of State for India in Council and that the Government of India and the local Governments are mere agents acting under a delegated authority for spending those revenues. The Committee came to the conclusion that the reforms should be initiated by a definite and unmistakable change in the Home Administration of India. The change called for to affect the constitutional status of the Home Administration is an unequivocal declaration that the revenues of India should be vested in and expended by the Government of India subject to the control of the Secretary of State. This step would once for all do away with the necessity of a continual process of financial delegation from the Secretary of State to Indian authorities and would leave at the same time the necessary power of supervision and con-

trol to the Secretary of State for meeting his obligations to Parliament. Most of the Indian revenues are spent in India under the system of financial delegation and it is absurd to maintain the existing system of financial administration devised in 1858. The Secretary of State's Council was created to supervise the financial administration of Indian revenue. The Committee recommended the abolition of the Council, but do not propose to relieve, by appropriate status provisions, the Secretary of State, to the extent to which it may safely be done, from the responsibility for the due administration of Indian revenues. This is an illogical position. The Committee should have taken the sound step of proposing for the control of the Council of the Secretary of State the substitution of the control of the Legislative Assembly and the local legislatures over the revenues spent in India subject to the necessary safeguards. The same observations apply to contracts and liabilities. The Local Governments in India are to be permitted to borrow on the security of the resources allocated to them, and this makes it equally necessary that at least to that extent the revenues of India should vest by statute in the Local Governments in India, otherwise there will be no security for the borrowers to look to. The introduction of popular or quasi-popular Government in India is incompatible with the control of an undemocratic body like the Council of India over Indian revenues. The only line of advance, therefore, possible under the circumstances is that indicated by Sir James Brunyate: to delegate to the Legislative Assembly the power of control of expenditure at least in certain branches. As already pointed out, he has grouped all the subjects into two groups: the "A" group, which he styles the "Controlled" group, and the "B" group, or the "Popular". In the latter Sir James Brunyate has proposed that the Government of India should be free to incur expenditure within the delegation limits without reference to the Secretary of State, and that the schemes of expenditure in excess of those limits should be submitted through the Budget to the Assembly, whose vote thereon should be final, subject to the reservation of power to the Secretary of State to reverse the vote of the Assembly. This is the only position possible on the creation of an elected legislative assembly, and ought to be embodied in the Bill.

The third point that arises is that taken by Professor Keith in the minute. It must not be the function of the Secretary of State hereafter, or of his Council, to criticise financial proposals on the ground of mere internal interest. His sole duty in regard to taxation measures should be to consider them from the broad standpoint of imperial and international relations, and, except to this extent, the Legislative Assembly and the Government of India should be the sole deciding authorities on questions of taxation and fiscal legislation. Similarly, his proposal that the true function of the Secretary of State in regard to borrow-

ing should be treated as one of Agency only also points to the propriety of modifying the constitutional status of the Secretary of State in Council under the present Act. A modification of section 20 and 28 of the Bill to give effect to these views is therefore necessary. (From "United India.")

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, OCTOBER 23.

THE INDIA BILL.

TO-DAY Parliament resumed its sittings after the autumn recess, and, by Christmas, all being well, India should have her new Charter. I had a chat this evening with a high authority on the situation. As you are aware, the real crisis has now been reached, and it is not the less difficult or significant because it is taking place behind closed doors. The forces of reaction in the Joint Committee are not very powerful, but those of "balances," "judgment," "discretion" and "discrimination" are by no means to be ignored. I take this to be the situation. The key-man is the Chairman, Lord Selborne, who has presided in a spirit of great fairness and impartiality over the Committee's deliberations. His attitude has obviously changed for the better since the early days of the sittings. If he can be made to realise that serious amendments in the Bill are required, of a more liberal character—and there are signs that he is to a great extent convinced of the need—then I do not think there need be any great fear of trouble in the Commons, where Mr. Montagu will exercise strong restraint over the enthusiasms of reactionary and rebel alike. But in the Lords the situation is different. Lord Selborne exercises great influence there. Lords Midleton and Salisbury are his political companions, and the Salisbury group is the deciding factor in the Upper House. If Lord Selborne, unconvinced, is overborne in the Committee, he may feel free to put forward amendments in the Lords, and if he does, I very much doubt whether Lord Curzon will be prepared to stand by Lord Sinha in opposing them. In that case, either reactionary amendments will be sent down to the Commons, or else the Bill will have to be dropped and Mr. Montagu's resignation will then become inevitable. I do not, however—because of the faith that is in me—believe that things will come to such a pass. The signs are rather in the opposite direction, and if I do not read them amiss, the discussions in both Houses will be very short, for Lord Sydenham's will then be a voice crying in the wilderness. All being well, the Bill should become law in time for the official celebrations in December.

INDIANS OVERSEAS.

The most important happening this week has been the establishment here of a permanent organization for the protection of Indians residing overseas. For this Mr. Polak has been working hard for some time and on Friday last the Indians

Overseas Association was launched without any flourish of trumpets. Its President has not yet been elected, but a well-known peer is expected to assume that office. Meanwhile the Council has been appointed and will consist of the following:—H. H. the Aga Khan, Lord Carmichael, Lord Clwyd, Sir Krishna Gupta, K. C. S. I., Sir Sankaran Nair, Kt., Sir Abbas Ali Baig, K. C. S. I., Sir Wm. Meyer, G. C. S. I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K. C. I. E., Major Ormsby-Gore, M. P., Mr. T. J. Bennett, M. P., Col. J. Wedgwood, M. P., Mr. Charles Roberts, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, L. C. C., Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C. B. E., Mr. S. H. Swinny, Mr. R. D. Sethna, Mr. D. Dalal, Mr. B. Dube, and Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak. The Aga Khan has consented to act as Chairman of the Executive Committee and Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, as Deputy Chairman, the other members being Lord Clwyd, Col. Wedgwood, Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir Krishna Gupta, Mr. T. J. Bennett, M. P., Major W. Ormsby-Gore, M. P., and Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak who, of course, is the Hon. Secretary and Treasurer. The Aga Khan, who has a special knowledge of conditions in East Africa, has long been interested in the intricate problems with which the Association, under his guidance, will have to deal, and Sir Mancherjee is an expert of long and wide experience, who has always expressed scepticism regarding the *bona fides* of the Union Government in the matter of the South African settlement. That there is ample scope for a special non-political organization of this character is beyond dispute, for the South African trouble is still acute, and, although, owing largely to Mr. Montagu's efforts, some concession has been made to Indian claims in East Africa by the nomination (election was asked for) of two Indian representatives to the Legislative Council, yet it cannot be said that anything like a state of stable equilibrium has been reached there. Again, I learn from an excellent source that much discontent has been aroused in British Guiana amongst Indians at the activities of the Colonization Association, which has sent a delegation here, including four Indian gentlemen, to plead for the adoption of their scheme which is alleged to have the approval of the local East Indian Association. The latter, however, has, by resolution passed at a public meeting, disavowed the delegates and their scheme. It is as well that these facts should be made known in India, as the Indian delegates are about to proceed there to advocate their cause. Their compatriots in British Guiana object to the new scheme because, in their opinion, it implies labour immigration and not genuine colonization. Fiji, Ceylon, the West Indies, and British Columbia will also come within the orbit of the new Association, and it may be necessary to watch the New Zealand situation somewhat closely, in view of a telegram from the Wellington correspondent of the *Times* reporting an alarming statement by Sir James Allen, the Minister of Defence, in moving the second reading of the Treaties of Peace bill, that

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in respect of the mandate to be given to New Zealand over Samoan Islands, it would be necessary to import some indentured labour, since the Samoans were unable to do more work than to sustain themselves. Sir Joseph Ward, the leader of the Opposition, admitted that it was necessary to meet the special conditions of a tropical country regarding labour, but objected to Chinese labour in a country which New Zealand controlled. But, of course, China is not the only country that has exported indentured labour, and greedy eyes may once more turn to India.

The *Times* reveals a little bit of characteristic official "hospitality." We have recently had here certain important Chiefs from Central Arabia and the Gulf Littoral as our guests. They were first accommodated in a well-known London Hotel, and afterwards visited Scotland. Upon their return to London, they found that their rooms at the hotel were no longer available, but they were accommodated for one night only in a small suburban hotel. The reason seems to have been, says the *Times*, that the responsible Department, known as the Government Hospitality Committee of H. M. Office of Works, wished to transfer the duty of entertainment to the Indian Office, and the official in charge had left the instructions for one night's accommodation before leaving town for three days. This sudden determination to transfer the charge to a Department whose expenditure comes from Indian and not British revenues is presumably attributable, says the *Times* to the demand of higher authority for the reduction of estimates. Happily, the situation came to the notice of a distinguished official of the India Office, and he was able to make immediate arrangements for the Arab visitors to take up their residence in a commodious house in the West End. Query: Who pay the bill?

IS INDIA LITIGIOUS?

The Judicial Committee is in session again, and there are 21 Indian appeals before the "Imperial Court of Appeal" as it has been called. A writer in the *Westminster Gazette*, noting that India has slightly over half the appeals on the list of 40, draws the conclusion that "India continues to sustain its reputation as the most litigious part of the Empire." This is, of course, incorrect and unfair. These things must be judged on a population and not a numerical basis, and, if so judged, it will be found that India is, of all the Dominions, one of the least litigious. Canada, with a population of 6 millions, has nine appeals. Australia, with a population of 4 millions, has four appeals. India, with a population of 315 millions at least, has only 21 appeals, but would, proportionately to Canada, be expected to bring no less than 420 appeals. Fortunately or unfortunately, India is not so litigious as all that, and it is possible for the Judicial Committee, to get through its work each sitting by the device of two Boards. On Tuesday, upon the advocacy of Sir John Simon, before a Board composed of Lords Shaw and

Phillimore, Mr. Ameer Ali, Sir John Edge and Sir Lawrence Jenkins, special leave to appeal was granted in the cases of Lala Harkishenlal Dr. Kichlew, Dr. Satya Pal, and others. All these cases will depend, as to one of the main issues, upon that of Bugga and Ratanchand, which was the first in which special leave was granted. I think that this appeal will not come on until towards the end of the Hilary sittings at the earliest.

The formal announcement of Sir Prabhashanker Pattani's resignation from the India Council, to take up the Administratorship of the State of Bhownagar, has been made, but his intimates have known for some time that this change was a likely one, and Sir Prabhashanker is to be congratulated upon his new and certainly more congenial appointment. He has done most useful work here and his going will be much regretted.

A MODEL FREE READING ROOM AND LIBRARY.

THE United States of America have in the true democratic spirit adopted various devices to educate the people, among which is the institution of free reading rooms in small as well as big cities and towns. Whereas schools and colleges are for young people and have a limited and prescribed curriculum, these reading rooms attract all ages and all classes and place knowledge within the reach of all. There is no limit to what one may read. A town of the importance of Poona has a central library and reading room with branches in various wards.

If you are a stranger, you have to arm yourself with a certificate of recommendation from two local gentlemen. This procures you the necessary entrance-card which gives you a right to borrow and take home a certain number of books. Supported by Government and private donations, central libraries very often possess a million volumes each, while it is not an uncommon thing for a branch library to have a hundred thousand. It is the ambition of the organisers to constantly increase this number and to cater for the taste of all. Every library has separate sections for the behoof of each sex and each age. As a matter of course there is the section of periodical literature. Magazines are laid together in serial order, and the Reader's Guide peculiar to each library lays before you information about the subject-matter of the various articles. The information, as might be expected, is classified according to subjects. You have to turn to these guides which are issued every month for any information you want, so that you have not to knock about and waste your time in finding out things for yourself. Other accessories are reference books like dictionaries and encyclopedias. Some libraries boast even of picture galleries and museums. There is the attraction of lecture halls, easy chairs and sofas, and bubbling fountains so that no means are spared to make you easy and comfortable. There is no wonder reading rooms are so very popular in America. They undertake to send round travelling libraries and publish handbills to tell readers what new volumes have been added and what to read on any particular topic. Giving information of this sort has become a regular art for initiation and instruction in which there are training schools wherein librarians are trained. They are not a freak but regular institutions attached to Universities which lay down the curriculum and exact efficiency. American librarians are experts in arranging books, in card-cataloguing them and in making them easily accessible. They know how to preserve them from the worm and from the carelessness of readers. There are technical magazines as in medicine and engineering. No discredit is attached to such a profession the membership of which is largely sought after by women.

The relations between the central and branch library are exceedingly cordial. Branch libraries provide popular literature that is required by the common run of readers. If books not in usual demand are wanted, they are borrowed from the central institution.

The system of issuing books and returning them has at its basis the time-saving principle. Drug-shops are a great help in this direction. You go to the nearest druggist and hand over to him the book you want to return for which you get a receipt. If you want a book, you telephone the librarian who sends it to the druggist nearest your residence. A motor-car travels twice a day on this errand of issuing and taking away books from the druggists who are remunerated for the service they do. Thus an amount of time is saved and knowledge is placed at your very door.

Laxuman Ramchandra Phadnis, a young enthusiast, fired with real patriotism and a loyalist, started a free reading room in Poona in 1913, in rooms lent him for the purpose by the late Mr. Narhar Gangadhar Phadke who generously charged no rent. Even so early as that Mr. Phadnis felt the necessity of certain restrictions which he has steadfastly enforced. He permits no talk, no discussion, as he is convinced that it leads to unseemly brawls and disturbances. Whenever we talk, we Indians must bawl out unmindful of time and place. We must talk at the top of our voice in public squares, in promenades, in libraries, in fact in all places of public resort. Returning from theatres we must discuss the merits of the performances in a tone loud enough to awaken the sleepers. The art of whispering, talking in an undertone, we hardly know. Phadnis has enforced silence in the right place. He permits no loafing. As soon as you enter, you drop a pebble that the day's number of readers may be counted and then move towards the paper you want to read. As soon as you have done, you leave the place.

The reading room depends on private pecuniary help. It also receives free of charge certain newspapers and magazines from the proprietors. Certain gentlemen send their own periodicals to the reading room after they have done with them. Periodicals that are not thus procurable are subscribed for, for which private pecuniary help is necessary. Happily such help is always forthcoming. There is also a considerable stock of books. The rooms in which the concern was first started proving too small, the managers have moved to a spacious house for which rent has to be paid. This new domicile is quite airy and refreshing.

Popular education being the avowed aim of the institution, and the name 'free reading room,' not being sufficiently expressive of the high aim, the managers have adopted instead another title, viz. an association for the spread of knowledge. Every year there is a lecture-series for which the services of distinguished scholars are secured. No subject is tabooed, not even politics, the only limitation being avoidance of controversy. In order to economise time and make bitterness of feeling impossible, no debate is allowed, the object of giving information being eminently served.

In pursuance of the high aim stated in the last paragraph, the managers have recently started night-classes for those who cannot attend school as they have to win bread for themselves and for those who depend on them, and day classes for girls for whom schooling is out of the question on account of domestic concerns. The teachers are as yet all volunteers of both sexes. The work of instructing girls is as far as possible appropriately made over to women-volunteers and the teaching is every now and again supervised by a matronly lady, wife of a retired educational inspector. It is the society's ambition to have a net-work of such schools spread all over the town so that within the precincts of Poona, illiteracy in the case of youngsters should come to be looked upon as an abomination. Mr. Phadnis has also in mind the institution of free libraries and reading rooms all over the country. Peripatetic teachers, lecturers and readers will be sent round to facilitate the work. These last would read out newspapers to those that have outgrown the age of learning the three Rs. All this depends on voluntary help. No amount of money

will suffice to carry it out. Compulsory education can go only a little way. Its usefulness would be limited both in time and work. Youths can be given instruction up to a certain age and within certain limits. Free reading rooms and libraries with the high aim stated above must supplement the work of instruction. Fortunately the air is full of enthusiasm which has caught even the other sex. The number of volunteers would and must grow. The duty of the public is to supply the sinews of war, if illiteracy is to be successfully fought. You cannot house reading materials under trees and in the open air or even in temporary tents. You must buy plots and have your own building, which must be airy, attractive and spacious. Dingy rooms would kill enthusiasm of readers and volunteers. The housing problem is the question of the day. For mental sanitation and for avoiding the dangers of overcrowding you must have spacious halls in the midst of spacious plots which with voluntary help would grow into beautiful gardens. There must be some greenery to please the eye. Generous men and women must therefore come forth with large donations.

It is time the stream of charity flowed in this direction. Drones deserve no support whatever. They do no work for society, not even for themselves. They neither sow, nor do they reap. Steeped in ignorance they trade on the ignorance of the masses. Drones should and must be driven out, be they of any caste. Social service would and should in future be the test of every individual.

It is hoped this short account of Mr. Phadnis's activity would stir up the benevolence of the charitably disposed. Their money could not be better utilised. Every pie would be spent with a true sense of responsibility. Mr. Phadnis' patriotism is unique. He undertakes private tuition for his own livelihood and would consider it a sin to spend a pie of the institution for his own use.

At times when there is pressure of business he eats only once. He must satisfy himself that all arrangements are complete. He sometimes knocks up people at midnight who resent not the intrusion as they appreciate his selflessness and feel that it must be something important that forces on them such an unseasonable call and that would suffer from delay. There are not many men like Mr. Phadnis. The few that we fortunately have we must cherish by encouragement.

V. K. RAJAVADE.

IMPORTANT NEWS.

INDIANS OVERSEAS ASSOCIATION.

ON Friday, September 17, at the Central Buildings, Westminster, a meeting was held of Indian and European gentlemen interested in the position of Indians resident in the Colonies and Dominions. It had been hoped that the Aga Khan would preside, but he was unavoidably absent owing to a sudden call to Paris. In his absence Lord Carmichael took the chair, and amongst those present were Lord Clwyd, Sir Mancherji Bhownagree, Sir Krishna Gupta, Hon. Mr. Sastri, Hon. Mr. Chintamani, Mr. Ramachandra Rao, Colonel Wedgwood, M. P., Major Ormsby-Gore, M. P., Mr. Yusuf Ali, Mr. S. H. Swinny and Mr. Polak. Letters of regret and appreciation were read from the Aga Khan; and Mr. Bennett and Sir Sankaran Nair also sent a message of regret at inability to attend.

After a preliminary statement on the general position of Indians outside India by Mr. Polak, upon the motion of Sir Krishna Gupta, seconded by Mr. Ramachandra Rao, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

"That this meeting hereby resolves to form an Association to be known as the 'Indians Overseas Association,' to consist of resident and non-resident members, for the maintenance of the rights and privileges and the protection of the interests of Indians residing in places outside India."

Colonel Wedgwood proposed, and Mr. Swinny seconded a resolution that the following shall be members of the Council

of the Association, namely, H. H. Aga Khan, Lord Carmichael, Lord Clwyd, Sir Krishna Gupta, K. C. S. I., Sir Sankaran Nair, Kt., Sir Abbas Ali Baig, K. C. S. I., Sir William Meyer, C. C. S. I., Sir Mancherji M. Bhownaggee, K. C. I. E., Major Ormsby-Gore, M. P., Mr. T. J. Bennet, M. P., Col. J. Wedgwood, M. P., Mr. Charles Roberts, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, L. C. C., Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C. B. E., Mr. S. H. Swinny, Mr. R. D. Sethna, Mr. D. Dalal, Mr. B. Dube, and Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak.

The Executive Committee, composed of the following:—H. H. the Aga Khan, Chairman, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K. C. I. E., Deputy Chairman, the Rt. Hon. Lord Clwyd, Col. Wedgwood, M. P., Sir Sankaran Nair, Kt., Sir Krishna Gupta, K. C. S. I., Mr. T. J. Bennett, M. P., Major W. Ormsby-Gore, M. P., and Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak, was proposed by Mr. Yusuf Ali and seconded by Mr. Chintamani, and upon the motion of Mr. Sastri, seconded by Sir Mancherji Bhownaggee, Mr. Polak was elected honorary secretary and treasurer.

The following resolution, proposed by Lord Clwyd and seconded by Mr. Polak, was also carried:

"That the Executive Committee shall be empowered to carry on general business in the name of the Association, to elect members of the Association to fix subscriptions, if necessary, for resident and non-resident members and to enrol as honorary members such members of Parliament and other public men as may be willing to advance the objects of the Association."

In the course of his remarks, Sir Krishna Gupta strongly advocated the need of a permanent organisation of the character of the Indians Overseas Association, and spoke feelingly of the precarious position of Indians in different parts of the world.

Sir Mancherji Bhownaggee paid a tribute to the work of Mr. L. W. Ritch as the honorary secretary of the old South Africa British Indian Committee, of which he himself had been the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair. Among those who have consented to become non-resident members of the Association are the Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan and Mr. Syed Hasan Imam.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

THE *Times Educational Supplement*, in its number to hand by the last mail, sets forth and endorses the arguments by which Lord Meston defended the reservation of secondary and higher education to official control, as proposed by the Government of India. There is no novelty about these arguments: that the minister will have plenty to do to promote the expansion of primary education, that the higher education now imparted is very defective, and that it would impose a crushing burden upon inexperienced ministers, if they were to make good all these deficiencies. Where diffusion of education, requiring large outlay, is concerned, the task comes well to a popular government; but where improvement of the quality of education is the primary consideration, an official Government is the best machinery—such seems to be the reasoning of Lord Meston and the members of the Government of India. The unsoundness of it has been exposed before in these columns. We need put only one question now: with the grave neglect of the higher grades of education which is to the Government's debit for several decades, how do they hope to rectify their errors of policy in the brief space of ten years? Why not try a change of hands if the ministers are willing—mistakenly it may be—to assume responsibility for the task?

IT takes one's breath away when it is contended that the Calcutta University Commission's conclusions support the Government of India's plea. The fact that its distinguished President, Sir Michael Sadler, favoured the transfer of higher

education and recommended that "education in Bengal should be treated as one national work under the supervision of one Minister" is sought to be explained away by saying that it was the individual view of Sir Michael Sadler. If the Commission has done one thing more than another it is to show that the educational problem must be treated as one and indivisible. As Sir Harcourt Butler said in an inspiring address in Lucknow, the Commission's report "gives us a big view of the unity of the educational problem," in a way in which no previous commission did. Again, the Commission's recommendations for the financial provision of the different grades of education are inconsistent with the partition of education which the Government of India proposes. It requires the needs of University, secondary, and primary education to be formulated and placed before Government in order to enable the latter to apportion funds among all the administrative bodies. This apportionment will be possible when there is one controlling authority at the top; otherwise it is bound to result in much friction, which it is the object of the Reform Scheme as much as possible to avoid.

THE price of silver is rising with a vengeance, the latest quotation cabled being 66½d. per ounce. Gold standard countries had regarded the fluctuations in silver prices with unconcern for decades, but at the new rate of the white metal, the subsidiary currency even of Great Britain threatens to go to the melting pot. The French francs have already become scarce, having been hoarded, melted or exported and the same danger stares England in the face with regard to its shillings. With silver at 66½d. per ounce, it pays to melt the shilling, and the British Government, which has already prohibited the melting and breaking of correct silver coins, will have to issue paper money for very small amounts. It is an embarrassing situation for all Governments in the world, including that of India, and the developments in the near future will be watched with the keenest interest.

THE elimination of racial discrimination from the Arms Act, which was announced with such a flourish of trumpets, proves to be in practice only another way of continuing the inequalities. For in Bombay under the rules which have been framed for the issue of licenses, all those registered under the ordinance of 1917, are to be given licenses without previous inquiry; this means that all Europeans and Anglo-Indians are to receive licenses as a matter of course, while numerous classes of Indians will have to satisfy certain tests before they can be entitled to them. Is this a removal of the racial bar?

PANDIT H. N. KUNZRU was invited to deliver a series of lectures in the south of England and the south of Wales and has agreed to do so. He was to be on tour from the 15th to the 18th and again from the 22nd to the 28th of this month. He was to speak on Indian political issues, education, the position of women and the condition of the depressed classes.

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