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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE House of Commons having passed the third reading of the Government of India Bill, the atmosphere in the Upper House at the time of the second reading has naturally become more favourable. The general feeling was voiced by Lords Salisbury and Crewe when they criticised the Government for taking up legislative business of a comparatively minor importance before the India Bill and protested that this procedure was disrespectful towards an enormously urgent measure. Lord Sinha, who moved the second reading opened his speech in a similar key and observed that if any arts and powers of persuasion were required to induce to Lords to accept the main principles of the Bill, he would despair of the task, but he felt so convinced that the great experiment which the measure inaugurated would prove successful and beneficial not only to India but to the Empire that he rose with humble and grateful pride to make the motion. There could have been nothing more significant than the fact that the Indian politician should, as a member of the House of Lords and as the spokesman of the British Cabinet, have assisted in the piloting of a measure of constitutional reform which he believed to be a necessary and beneficent step in the path of Indian self-government.

THE price of silver has broken another record, and it cannot be said with certainty if it will not rise still higher. The Indian Government has enhanced the rate of sterling exchange in response to the increased price of the white metal and adjusted its gold acquisition rate. This is only a mechanical tinkering with the currency situation, and the public is anxious to know when Government is going to take effective steps to stabilize the exchange. It is no consolation to us in this

country to know that the exchanges of France and England are in a similar plight. Producers and dealers are being put to serious losses and inconvenience by the rising exchange, and the application of a remedy can no longer be delayed. Government has just issued new four and eight anna coins which will be independent of the price of silver. This action will give some slight relief, but its effect upon the exchange and currency situation in general will be negligible.

THE controversy that is going on in the Bombay press regarding certain decisions expressed by the old stock exchange with a view to regulating speculative dealings and averting what appeared to it an imminent crisis points to the necessity of organizing the whole stock exchange business in Bombay on a sound basis. It is recognized by all that legitimate speculation in shares has great utility and what is required is the regulation and control of undesirable speculation. But the difficulty arises when an attempt is made to draw a line between useful speculation and speculation that is baneful. It is not, however, beyond the capacity of leading men doing business on the exchange to devise a system which will be calculated to eliminate the gambling that goes on under the cloak of speculation and to give free scope for legitimate operations. We do not wish to express an opinion on the action taken by the authorities of the stock exchange, which has been severely criticised by some as tending to help one class of speculators, but we do want to insist that in the public interest a satisfactory system must be devised which will make for smooth working and give reasonable satisfaction to all parties concerned.

ON the 7th instant, the Hunter Committee began taking evidence at Gujranwala. The first witness examined was the Deputy Commissioner, Colonel O'Brien. The poor Colonel regaled the Committee with a mass of conflicting statements and made it abundantly clear that, though he was as active as any other officer in 'suppressing' the 'terrible rebellion,' he had few facts to support him, and less evidence. But, of course, he had opinions on every subject. The result was that, when he was subjected to a brilliant cross-examination by Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed Khan, he came to grief and pathetically exclaimed that "he did not expect to be cross-examined." The witness at first stoutly maintained that at the back of the dis-

turbances there was an organised rebellion. The Colonel's woe began with this unlucky statement which was sharply taken up by Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed Khan. Did the Colonel, the responsible district officer, know of this 'organised conspiracy?' No. How was that; if such a conspiracy really existed, would not even a breath of it have reached him? Was it not more likely that nothing of that kind existed and that was why he had not heard of it? No; it did exist. Then, how was it that he had not heard of such an important movement? Was he indifferent about what was happening in his district? What could the poor Colonel do? He was on the horns of a dilemma. As a last piece of support, the Colonel clung to the verdict of the special tribunals set up for the behoof of the people. He admitted that his main (and, indeed, only) reason for his opinion was the judicial (?) decision of the special tribunal.

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IN the course of the cross-examination, the Colonel said that the Rowlatt Act had led to excitement; and that there was no other important cause. Yet at an earlier stage, he had admitted that "he did not notice any disquieting effect of these rumours (about the Rowlatt Act) and that he noticed no particular excitement until he left Gujranwala on the 12th April and that he would not have left the place, if there had been anything serious." On his return on the 14th, however, he made amends: he went round and arrested all the leaders because they "made speeches on Hindu-Moslem unity"! According to this wonderful Deputy Commissioner, speeches on Hindu-Moslem unity "incited mobs;" and "after listening to these speeches, the mob went and committed violence." What could be more natural? Two conspirators had told the approver Sayad Abas Ali who told the Police Superintendent Mr. Horon who later on told Colonel O'Brien that the mob had decided to kill all Europeans and elect their own Deputy Commissioner and Superintendent of Police. How convincing it sounds!

* * *

THE Colonel issued orders to confiscate the property of Purushotam Bugga. The myrmidons of martial law turned his house inside out and drove all the inmates—children and women—out into the streets, the victims not being allowed even to take with them their shoes. Asked whether he knew that it was so, the gallant soldier said that he did not trouble himself about details. In the words of a worthier hero, 'it was not his job.' The Colonel said later on that he thought the women and children would find an asylum somewhere, because Bugga "had a host of friends in the city." Moreover, he triumphantly argued in effect, what did this matter? His "object was that Bugga should turn up." And as a result of persecuting his family, he did turn up and surrender himself. What does anything else matter? Does not the end justify the means, however iniquitous?

* * *

THE Colonel was not behindhand in issuing 'salaaming' orders. Indeed, he went even further than others who only ordered people to 'salaam' British officers. Colonel O'Brien was more deliberate and carefully elaborated the details. "When people met European officers, they had to salute, and alight, if they were proceeding in carriages and lower their umbrellas, if they were carrying any." He added that "there was no difficulty in connection with the salaaming order and that people did not come to him complaining about the orders." Of course, the people knew better than that. It would not have taken them long to see with what kind of men they had to deal. They were all afraid, perhaps, that, if they carried complaints, the only redress they would get would be a sound flogging. The Colonel's justification of this morbid craving for 'salaams' was that "the order was good by way of bringing home to the people that they had new masters." (It was not the Germans, however, as the ignorant might suppose from the barbarities of these 'new masters.')

* * *

"WHETHER he had powers or not, he made arrests," said the Colonel. The unwary might be let into thinking that the Colonel was taking the responsibility of these measures and that he was prepared to be punished if what he was doing turned out to be unjustifiable. No such thing. The Colonel knew beforehand that it would never come to that. Here is the key—which, indeed, is a master-key which would fit almost all the Punjab incidents—of the situation. "He had no instructions as to his authority, but on the 15th he had a conversation with Mr. Thompson, Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, on the telephone. He told Mr. Thompson that he would have to take various actions and requested him that he should see that the actions were legalised, if done in good faith. Mr. Thompson told him in reply that it would be alright, if he used commonsense. 'Commonsense is, of course, a varying quality and no standard can be definitely laid down. That was perhaps what made General Beynon and Colonel Johnson maintain that everything they did was based on commonsense, and made the Government of India declare over and over that the officials had all acted in good faith.' In any case, it is not difficult to see how this *carte blanche* given by Mr. Thompson and the promise beforehand of assured protection which it conveyed were mainly responsible for the excesses committed by the Punjab officials.

* * *

THE great missionary to whom we owe the present national awakening in regard to the untouchables, Mr. V. R. Shinde, signing the anti-Tilak-address manifesto, says: "It is improper to present Mr. Tilak with an address on behalf of all the citizens of Poona inasmuch as his views on social matters are opposed to principles of equality and self-determination. This makes him, in my opinion, totally unfit to assume the rôle of a national leader."

PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS.

IN the course of a speech delivered recently in Madras, His Excellency Lord Willingdon, with that engaging frankness which sits so gracefully on him, told his audience that, while he was free to confess that the Reform Scheme contained provisions on some essential details in regard to which he had always disagreed with its promoters, he was prepared, willing and eager to sink his own personal feelings in order that he may help Indians on their way to responsible government. That His Lordship should have decided to stay on in spite of this disagreement may cause some disappointment in circles which are always eager for surprises, coups and sensations; but His Excellency's resolution is obviously based on his firm faith, which he explained, that the Bill when it passed, would give India an opportunity to take a big step forward towards responsible government. Lord Willingdon's opinion regarding the very delicate and onerous responsibilities devolving on the Governors under the scheme which are more than one man can bear, is well-known; but apparently he thinks that they have to be faced bravely and courageously in the true interests of India and he believes that the man who runs away from difficulties is not fit to be a statesman. The Joint Select Committee have referred to this aspect of the question in an arresting passage. They point out: "The position of the Governor will thus be one of great responsibility and difficulty, and also of great opportunity and honour. He may have to hold the balance between divergent policies and different ideals and to prevent discord and friction. It will be for him to help with sympathy and courage the popular side of his Government in their new responsibilities. He should never hesitate to point out to ministers what he thinks is the right course or to warn them if he thinks they are taking the wrong course."

The question of personnel of the provincial Governors, on whom such serious responsibilities will fall, is naturally one of capital importance. A glance at the formidable catalogue of these duties will suffice to bring home to one's mind the extent to which the success of the Reform Scheme depends on the capacity and character of the gentlemen who are appointed as Governors. The Governor, according to the Joint Select Committee's report, should be in the position of guide, philosopher and friend of the minister whom he appoints and dismisses. He has also got to act against the minister's advice in cases similar to those in which he sets aside the advice of the members of his executive council. He should see that the habit of free consultation between the two halves of government is fostered and that, while each advises and assists the other, neither controls or impedes the other. In case the minister and the executive council do not arrive at an amicable arrangement in regard to the allocation of revenue and balances, the Governor will have to make it

or at his discretion obtain the assistance of such authority as the Government of India may provide him with for this purpose. His constant anxiety should be to hold the balance even between the legitimate demands of both, and in regard to decisions on subjects which are common to both halves of Government, he will have to assume the rôle of informal arbitrator. His is the extremely delicate task of restoring items in the budget relating to reserved subjects taken out by the legislative council and passing laws essential in his opinion to the discharge of his responsibilities if the legislature refuses to pass them, and in cases of emergency to recommend to the Governor-General the advisability of assenting to the measures without reserving them for His Majesty's pleasure. The Governor should furthermore see that complete understanding subsists between ministers and the officials through whom they work, and it is laid down that he should concur in orders passed by ministers prejudicially affecting the position and prospects of the officers appointed by the Secretary of State.

It is not difficult to imagine the qualities which a Governor under the new order of change should possess: abundance of tact, sound judgment, genuine sympathy with Indian aspirations, consuming desire to render the prescribed path to the goal as easy as possible, a readiness to put aside his private views in the face of public opinion constitutionally expressed. Despite the very large powers he undoubtedly possesses, the Governor should more and more try to approximate to the position of the constitutional sovereign by accepting the popular verdict. We have been told that, to ensure the appointment of suitable incumbents, it has been decided to spread the net wide and to choose the best men possible for the Governorships. This is, of course, a neat and, if we may say so, a convenient formula which, beyond expressing the good wishes of those who have defined it, covers a multitude of intentions, good and bad, more of good, we readily concede, than of bad. For one thing, the tradition that these fat appointments are distributed for political reasons, often of a very doubtful hue, among persons who have 'no d--d nonsense of merit' about them, has received its quietus, one may hope, for all time. It may also be, for ought we know, that interesting departures which dazzle the public eye, break precedents and remove racial distinctions, are in contemplation. But the necessities of the situation require a more precise definition of the aim and a frank acknowledgment of the fact that the Civil Service should not, as a rule, be recognised as a recruiting field for Governorships. The *London Times*, whose advocacy of the Indian and the Irish causes is an omen of excellent augury, revealing the sure demolition of prejudice in the conservative British mind, emphasised the necessity—the other day of Great Britain being bound in honour to send her best and most vigorous men to govern Indian provinces, at least during

the next half a century. There is a movement in England to see that the Diplomatic Service is opened to classes of people other than those rich families who have monopolised the places of influence and silent power in the courts of foreign countries. The *Times* pleads for a variant of this principle in regard to Indian Governorships which it urges, should be opened to poor men of energy and ability. It is, however, difficult to conclude from this very proper demand for the best men, irrespective of wealth or political influence, whether the Civil Servant is excluded, though such an inference is not, to our mind, entirely improbable. The Montagu-Chelmsford report left this point in some doubt, though the statutory obligation regarding the appointment of good men to the Lieutenant-Governorships, was recommended to be removed, which has now been done in the bill before Parliament. But the Government of India Despatch of March 5 last shattered even the slight hope raised by the Joint Report, by openly declaring the understanding—perhaps a mental reservation in the Secretary of State—that the practice of appointing civilians to the Government of the provinces other than Madras, Bombay and Bengal will not be disturbed. This observation was naturally resented by people in the affected provinces who had believed that the system in force in the older provinces would be introduced for their benefit also, and the discussion on Sir Henry Craik's amendment in the House of Commons during the Committee stage is calculated to add little comfort to them. Sir H. Craik's amendment sought not only to restore the old clause, but, as Reuter's summary would have it, to extend the principle of appointing civilians to the three older provinces as well. Mr. Montagu took refuge, as he well may, behind his formula of the best men. Indeed, he went on to describe the qualifications which Indian Governors should possess—knowledge of India, capacity for government, possession of very great political sense. In his opinion, nobody combining such qualities should be precluded from Governorship, because they did not belong to a particular body of persons, and he stated emphatically that the clause in the bill threw the appointments open to the best men and gave the Indian civil servants every chance of becoming Governors of provinces. The result, however, is unsatisfying because there is the undoubted fact behind the very fine and brave words of Mr. Montagu that the Government of India have let the cat out of the bag by saying that the present system will continue.

We should not be considered as throwing any doubt on the very splendid traditions which the members of the civil service have built up in India and the great work that they have done and are yet to do for this country. But the Indian public have bitter experience of the harm resulting from raising civilians to positions of great trust and responsibility. We are anxious of course that it should be no longer possible for an O'Dwyer or a Craddock to infuriate the people

by their unsympathetic and tactless handling of issues. The so-called strength and vigour of their rule are really a source of potential weakness to the popularity of British rule in India. But the public desire something more, and it is an admitted fact that even the best among civilians are unable, owing to the restricted and illiberal atmosphere in which they live and grow, to take broad views about public questions, to move out of their narrow groove and to strive consciously to work for an end which is out of their daily round of routine. They lack in long views, they shut their eyes to rapid conversion of masses to democracy and they are wanting in the political sense. Especially at a time when a great body of precedents, understandings and conventions have to be carefully and sedulously thought over, discussed and built up, it will be a pity indeed if men of first-rate ability, with real zeal and enthusiasm, imbued with a high-minded resolve to help Indians to avoid the shoals and reach the haven in safety and well-equipped for this great and honourable task are not sent out to India. It is to be hoped that overpowering necessity will override considerations of vested interests and induce His Majesty's Government to pay due regard to Indian susceptibilities in this matter which are the result of unhappy experience in the past.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION REPORT.

IV.—THE UNIVERSITY PROPER AND HIGHER STUDIES.

ALL talk about "languages as media of instruction," of "the relation of school and college" must be only prefatory to the really central subject that has engaged the attention of the Calcutta Commission: what the University is, in Bengal and elsewhere, and what it must be and strive to be.

The English, German and French Universities, while having certain common features, differ from one another in this, that one type aims at high general culture, another promotes the scientific, technological, professional knowledge, and a third strives to create among its alumni a taste for scientific research. All the existing universities having been modelled on one or other of these types, we may take it for granted the above are the aims of university studies, all equally worthy to secure, but each appealing powerfully to a special class of students.

Each grade of education we have found so far to have a double purpose in view: with regard to those less favoured by fortune, the educational equipment was to qualify them for such walks of life as may be open to them at the end of that stage; and, with regard to others, the equipment was to be preparatory to the next course of studies. And in this final stage, as it is generally regarded, of education, how do the aims fit in with the fore-mentioned purposes? Those who are not economically dependent on their own exertions may be

content with high general culture leading nowhere particularly; they are the persons that may 'idle' more or less gracefully through the university. Even these will be usefuller and worthier members of society because of their studies, though they may not add to the wealth of the community. With regard to two other classes, those that study technical and professional subjects have an obvious goal to reach at the end of their university career. What about those equipping themselves for research? Unless they belong to the economically independent class like Lord Salisbury or Hutcheson Stirling, they must make research itself pay. Society or its organ, the Government, must arrange for their maintenance. So at every stage we find the theory of the pursuit of knowledge for knowledge sake does not work. A more satisfactory formula is that the pursuit is for life's sake, for a fuller, a worthier life's sake.

That the new system of education was predominantly literary may be admitted. This cannot be a matter for surprise. A Government that was regarding education as a new and venturesome experiment could not allot enough money grant for schools. If anything effective was to be done in educational work it could be by imparting instruction in the humanities—elementary or advanced—as these subjects could be taught with the least expenditure of money. And this new education would be availed of by the socially and politically advanced classes, by the *clerici*, the priestly and the clerkly classes, hereditarily connected by service with successive Governments. Those that benefited by the new education were just those who could profit most intellectually because of their long heredity of culture and training. And when Government wanted trained intelligent servants they naturally got them from the ranks of the *new vidyarthi*.

Another thing that could be said in this connection is that in the parent country whence the new educational instaurators came the system was no less literary. Except for a few Mechanics' Institutes, and the Diffusion of Knowledge Agency (satirized by the Superior Critic in *Popanilla*), there was hardly any organised science teaching. Industrial schools were thought of as ancillary to prison discipline. In Scotland where education was more advanced and more evenly and widely diffused than in England, science won recognition as part of the secondary school course only as late as 1860. And it was the advocacy of men like Huxley and Spencer that won for this department of knowledge its present position in school and college studies of England. And for a start in technical education England waited for a quarter of a century more. Even in Germany in the 'forties' it was an 'all round' education of the *gymnasien* that was in favour. It was after 1870 scientific education prospered in Germany, and Charlottenberg began its activities only 33 years ago.

If this is the history of science in the western countries, any criticism that stigmatises the sys-

tem of education introduced in 1835 as predominantly literary must appear somewhat inept as expecting more from the giver than he had it in him to give.

What about the recipient of the gift? Was science, industrial, technological teaching likely to have benefited the people? Does not this type of education require a highly developed state of society full of men trained for business and keen to push on fresh business activities, with capitalists confiding in one another and prepared to undertake large joint-stock concerns of manufacturing industries? Does it not presuppose a well-organised system of general education? Had we such a system handed down to us from Hindu, Mussulman Governments in our indigenous system? Is the religious, caste-confined professional training the thing that is regretted? It is all well to grow poetical over a golden past that seems to be in the exclusive knowledge of certain favoured folk and not recorded for ordinary mortals in authenticated documents. But the practical work of Government is with facts as they are. And in the circumstances a predominantly humanistic education was the thing needed. And it was lucky that there were men like Lord Bentinck and Macaulay to give India exactly the kind of educational impulse that was needed, and to inaugurate a new system.

It does not mean that our attitude should be one of self-complacency that we have reached perfection in the matter of education. The only point attempted is in criticising the past educational policy of Government due regard must be paid to the actual circumstances of the case.

Coming back to the 'University' question, one of the most prominent educationists of South India said that, so far as Madras was concerned, it was far ahead of other parts of India in matters educational and that his colleague from Madras at the Educational Conference* at Simla remarked that they might have saved themselves the journey by duly forwarding copies of the Madras University calendar. The suggestion of saving the worry of an educational conference by sending a parcel of the Madras University calendars was a brilliant one, and the Finance Member would have welcomed it and Madras might have thanked the Lord that it was not so educationally backward as the benighted Bengal and Bombay. Evidently Lord Curzon was not in sympathy with a view which would have been so soothing to our vanity and went relentlessly on till the University reform was effected according to his views. And the thing has not stopped there. Three quinquenniums have hardly passed and we have another reform of Indian universities in prospect. Though the Commission was ostensibly for Bengal, its findings are to be utilised for improving university education all round, even in advanced Madras. There is no standing still in a country's progress, least of all in educational activities which are so vitally connected with other more lime-lit activities of com-

* Held before the passing of the Universities Act of 1904.

merce and politics. Perhaps the old heathen had the root of the matter in him when he said that all things flow: πάντα ῥεῖ.

If Universities cannot be standing still and the studies must change with the evaluation of new values, what is the position of the department of knowledge known as the Humanities? These are broadly differentiated from Science. The first helps man to know himself, the second to know the world. There are branches of knowledge in the Humanities that call themselves by special names with the subject-matter so well organised as to admit of the rigorous logical exposition of deductive or inductive sciences. Linguistics, Psychology, Logic, Ethics and Economics might be regarded as belonging to Science or the Humanities according to the emphasis laid on the method of treatment or on the subject-matter. Still the method must be accepted as forming part of what has been hitherto the proper study of mankind. It goes against the prepossessions of men trained in the earlier un-specialised sciolism that there must be a divorce between history and philosophy and literature. But the growing elaborateness of the subjects, the increasing division and subdivisions of knowledge make it impossible for all of them to be comprehended under one group of undergraduate studies. In due time if there is not a special case made out for the preponderant position filled by the study of English language and literature in the present curriculum of studies as obtaining in the various Indian universities, it will be only one of three 'humanistic' subjects as forming explicitly a course of university studies. If the exigencies of time limits make this divorce necessary, each student will find that if he goes on far enough with his special subjects he will have to make himself familiar with the two other humanistic studies or the outlines of them before he can have a proper understanding of his own 'peculiar.' No student of literature can make a profitable study of the subject unless he has knowledge of the people's history as also a knowledge of the development of thought during the period. Copernicus and Bruno, Burleigh and Essex, Bacon and Spenser, Ficino and Minturno* cannot but be studied all together. The basis of all studies having been truly laid, the student must be expected to build on his earlier studies and enlarge gradually his circle of knowledge. Though equal attention cannot be paid to all the three branches of studies, teachers of particular studies will take care to emphasise the background of complementary studies.

(To be continued.)

K. B. RAMANATHAN.

NON-BRAHMAN REPRESENTATION IN THE DECCAN.

THE decision of the Parliamentary Committee on the question of the franchise arrangements in the

* The Renaissance inspirers of Sidney and Spenser.

Deccan, recommending that "the Mahrattas in Bombay" should "be provided with separate representation of seats," and the final decision in the matter should be arrived at by the local government, opens up once again the question of representation in the Deccan. This subject has been discussed in our press and on the platform with much heat hitherto, and when the whole problem of constitutional reform was transferred to the Parliament those who were engaged in the controversy on either side must have felt a kind of relief at the thought that they had little to do with it thereafter. But the ball has been returned from where it was first tossed. And I think it has been rightly returned. The whole question of franchise in the Deccan at any rate, has been dealt with in a somewhat perfunctory manner. Prior to the publication of the Franchise Committee's Report, the public generally—I exclude the few persons who were called on to appear before the Committee—knew nothing of what either the local Government or the Franchise Committee was going to consider or recommend. Nor was it possible for any section of the public to define its own views on all the questions concerning the representative system, for the simple reason that the materials for the formulation of views on such a subject were wholly beyond the reach of the public. The few gentlemen who were invited to give evidence before the Committee were taken into confidence a little before the Committee came to Bombay and the Government proposals were placed before them. But even then, I think, most of the witnesses had no opportunity to express their own views before the Committee in the light of the recommendations of the local Government. Summaries of their evidence had already been sent in long before the Government proposals were communicated to them, and though by the time they appeared before the Committee they had come to know what they were, their examination by the committee was generally confined to the four corners of the statements submitted without any idea of the Government proposals. The Committee's recommendations deviated in some respects from the proposals of the Government itself as well as from those of the witnesses. For instance, the majority of the witnesses from the Deccan held that the constituencies, whatever their size, should be in all cases plural. The Government of Bombay also held similar views. In a country like ours, with all its diversities of communities and faiths and opinions, single member constituencies cannot but be very unsatisfactory. We are all agreed that every possible device to secure the representation of every section of the population should be utilised before resort is had to communal reservations or electorates. Plural constituencies is the foundation on which any such devices could at all be based. For reasons best known to itself, the Committee recommended that 6 out of the 13 districts of the C. D. and S. D. should form single member constituencies, while 4 of them were to elect only 2 members each. On the

face of it this left little room for the representation of a large number of our communal and other interests. Another illustration of the hazy state of ideas evinced by our local Government as well as the Committee in this respect is the proposal that reservation of seats should be in favour of the Mahrattas and "allied communities" in Bombay. A proposal like this betrays a misconception of the fundamental principle on which a demand for any electoral protection could be based. Then again, the Bombay Government has hopelessly bungled in defining what the term "allied communities" may mean. The Bombay Government includes Kunbis, Malis, Kolis, Bhandaris, Shimpis, Lohars, Kumbars, Dhangars, Bhois, Baris, Lonaris, Bhavins and Shindes in the category of the Mahrattas. The telegraphic report of the Joint Committee's recommendations does not enable one to find out whether the "allied communities" are to be brought within the pale [of its recommendation. It is difficult to know on what principle this group of communities has been framed. It is by no means an exhaustive list. It would be simply unjust to ignore others in a situation similar to that of the enumerated castes. The right procedure is to lay down a rule applicable to all and include in the list of electorally 'protected' classes all those who fall under the rule. Nothing like that has been done by anybody as yet. Under the circumstances like this, a fresh occasion for a thorough discussion of the subject afforded by this return of the ball must be heartily welcomed.

In discussing a scheme of non-Brahman representation in this part of the country, we must not allow our attention to be diverted from the principal justification of the claim put forward by the non-Brahmans. What often happens is that though many of us agree in demanding communal representation, we do not all base our claims on the same grounds. Unless we are very careful about the *raison de'tre* of the demand, we are not likely to agree in respect of the arrangements to be made to satisfy it. To my mind, the incapacity of some of our communities to assert themselves properly in democratic politics on account of the simple fact that social traditions and constitution have failed to give them the training necessary for the purpose, is the best—and perhaps the only—reason why these 'non-politically-minded' communities ought to be specially treated in the coming representative system. It is on this ground alone that the claims of the Hindu backward communities is to be justified. That a certain community is more martial in spirit than another or that such and such a community has proved its loyalty more than any other, ought not to be considerations of any importance in this connection. The legislatures that we are going to have will be for the military and non-military castes together. If any form of electoral protection is to be restricted to one caste in preference to another, it is the weaker of the two that ought to have it. Why should the non-Brahmans or the backward classes or the Mahrattas be pro-

vided for by means of reserved seats? Not because they are so numerous or so useful, &c., but because they are citizens who ought to be represented on the Legislature and cannot be so represented for reasons beyond their present control. The Government does not seem to accept this view unqualifiedly. It is those who cry the loudest or those whose discontent might be the most serious that seem to deserve special rights according to our Government. The recognition of the Sikh claim to representation may be rightly ascribed to this. But at any rate in the case of the backward classes in the Deccan, this consideration ought not at all to apply. A careful survey of the situation in the Deccan will disclose no room for any hope that, in the absence of special provision anyone but the extremist Brahmins will be properly represented in the coming councils. The problem then is to see that all this body of men and their views will be adequately represented in the Council. Can that be done by merely reserving a few stray seats for the Mahrattas?

Well-wishers of the cause which we describe as the non-Brahman cause—I mean the cause of the uplift of the non-Brahman communities to the level of the Brahman so that all Hindus shall form one homogeneous community—ought to consider this question seriously. The counterpart of the backward classes movement in the Madras Presidency is based on the idea of unity of purpose among all non-Brahmins. Unfortunately for the noble cause of the non-Brahman uplift this is not so in Maharashtra. I need not enumerate the causes of this at this place. But I am here concerned with the results of this state of things. Here many of those who fight for the communal principle do so, not because it will give the non-Brahmins a means of self-realisation, but because they think that their individual communal strength will be kept up by means of communal electorates. I think this is neither in the interests of the individual communities nor of the country as a whole. This is exactly what the best of the Mahratta leaders, Mr. B. V. Jadhav who is now in England, has been telling his community. He writes from London in a letter: "Mere communal rights would be prejudicial even to the interests of the favoured community." That this is but too true will be clear to any one who can examine the situation. For instance, what would be the result of reserved seats for this community or that individually? The largest of the backward communities is that of the Mahrattas. But even that will not be able to return half-a-dozen Mahrattas to the Council who will fight for the only objects whose accomplishment will do any good to the Mahrattas. Not that Mahrattas will be able to push forward schemes for the Mahrattas. In the days gone by, we have had some samples of Mahratta and Lingayat representation in the Bombay Council. But none has heard of these Mahratta or Lingayat Honourables having so much as opened their lips in the Council Hall for any earthly purpose whatever. What the non-Brah-

mans at present require is the advocacy of their cause—the ventilation of their special grievances and the securing of measures which will raise them to the level of the highest castes among us—by men who will do it with ability and courage. Innocent people, I mean people who are innocent of political training, will be no use anywhere, be they Mahrattas, Lingayats or Jains. Men of the right sort are so few among all the non-Brahmans put together that, for some years to come, they would find difficulty in securing proper representatives even after pooling together all their resources. The prospects of capable men being found among any one of these communities *singly* are simply dark. Worse than this, the result of putting forward non-Brahman claims separately according to castes will engender jealousies among the non-Brahmans themselves. That will be the death-blow to the efforts of those who wish to utilise the non-Brahman movement for stamping out the *varnashrama* disease. The cry for communal representation ought to and can form a great 'nationalising and democratic force.' I think it now lies in the hands of the Bombay Government to give the movement a right turn. Break the non-Brahmans into communities and you will start the favoured ones on a mad career to self-glorification and if possible self-aggrandisement. Keep them together and it is very likely that they will learn to think of the principles for which the non-Brahman agitation was set afoot above the clash of communal rivalries.

In this connection I must express my conviction that even the best of the British officers in India are very woefully out of touch with the realities of the situation in the Hindu society. I am not writing of the Britisher at home who is proverbially ignorant of India. I heard one I. C. S. with a very long official experience in India saying that the Lingayats and Jains are one community and that the Malis could not be distinguished from the Mahrattas as a caste. These people have only a vague idea of the currents and cross-currents of social life among us. Before they evolve a system of elections with a view to secure representation to the backward classes, the officials concerned ought to consult leading Hindus of all awakened communities on the question. With the help of these leaders, I think the Government ought to re-examine this question. If they do so, they will find that they must proceed much further than has been proposed by the Franchise Committee in the direction of pluralising every constituency in the Deccan. Then as regards the question of reservation of seats, the only practical course will be found to consist in a much wider grouping of communities than has been suggested by the Bombay Government under Lord Willingdon. In addition to these reservations it would be necessary to desire means for securing impartial polling agencies. The Chikodi Taluka Board muddle of the early months of this year, a reference to which was made by a Press Note a few weeks ago, has

disclosed serious possibilities of deliberate attempts being made to weaken the voting strength of the non-Brahmans by unfair means as well as to coerce voters to favour Brahman candidates. The class of officials to whom the preparation of voters' lists and the registration of votes is likely to be entrusted is not such as could be implicitly trusted. Some steps will have to be taken with a view to reduce the chances of the Chikodi experiences repeating themselves in future.

A. B. LATTHE.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, NOVEMBER 20.

LORD SYDENHAM'S DISCOMFITURE.

LORD SYDENHAM has a bee in his bonnet, and is giving vent to his irritation in as many disagreeable ways as possible. He is profoundly distrustful of Hindus in general and of Brahmins in particular. Of these, again, the category Chitpavan is his special *bête noire*. The noble Lord is a frequent contributor to the *Sunday Times*, one of the more reactionary of the week-end papers. He has recently been discoursing on the problem of the Indian Moslems and Turkey. Their attitude on the subject of the Khilafat has aroused much uneasiness in his mind, and he has brought down upon his shoulders the resounding thwacks of Mr. Ameer Ali's protests. But the subject that evidently causes him the most uneasiness is evidently the fact that on this matter Hindus and Mussulmans are making common cause. To what purpose were the Cawnpore Mosque dispute, the Behar riots, and the Katarpur disturbances, with all the natural deductions of insuperable Hindu hatred of Mussulmans, if, on the other hand, to upset these convenient theories such inconvenient counter-theories as can be based upon the Lucknow entente and the Khilafat agitation can be quoted against him? He cannot possibly admit that the Hindu feeling in the latter is real and solid. It must be sinister, or what would there be left for Lord Sydenham, in his hours of ease, to try to terrify the House of Lords and the ignorant British public with?

But last week he caught another Tartar in his noble colleague the Under Secretary of State for India. He first wanted to know why the Congress was to be allowed to be held at all in that unsavoury place, Amritsar. Was not Amritsar one of the revolutionary centres in the Punjab? Did not the very heavens rain down blood and fire? And is it to be easily contemplated that that God-forsaken city should be allowed to be even further defiled by the gatherings of that pernicious gang of misbegotten agitators, the Congresswallas at Christmas time? Lord Sinha, in reply, remarked that he really did not see why the Congress sessions should not be held in the sacred city of the Sikhs. The India Office had had no representations from the Government of India, and it did not therefore seem that the situation was so bad as to necessitate such drastic action as prohibition,

which was evidently what Lord Sydenham had in mind.

Then came the climax. What right did the Government of India have to appoint a Brahman and a Chitpavan Brahman at that, as a member of the Indian delegation to the International Labour Conference at Washington? Was not the sinister record of the Chitpavans well-known to everyone, and did not Sir Valentine Chirol tell all that there was to tell on this subject years ago? How could the Secretary of State contemplate handing over the destinies of the millions of proletarians in India, of whom Lord Sydenham is the self-constituted protector, to the tender mercies of a representative of that most deceitful and cunning clan? Lord Sinha, in reply, strongly reprobated the un-called-for assault upon the reputation of the Chitpavan community, and entered a strong defence of the Indian Government's choice of Mr. Joshi. Perhaps your readers would like to have the proceedings *in extenso*, and I send them to you for reproduction, should you think fit.

THE JOINT COMMITTEE.

The Report of the Joint Committee, which has been so long awaited, has at last been published, together with the minutes of evidence, and an appendix containing a number of valuable memoranda and statements submitted to the Committee. It must be admitted that the Committee has done its work well and expeditiously, and I shall be surprised if there are any serious criticisms of the results of its labours, unless one can take Col. Yate and his colleagues seriously, which I do not think anyone is at all likely to do. He has already notified that the disgruntled ones will make a ferocious attack upon the Bill as amended, when the House goes into Committee, as it is expected it will do early next week. But I do not think that these fiery onslaughts will carry much weight. A Bill that comes forward with the imprimatur of Lord Selborne, Lord Midleton, Lord Sydenham, Lord Crewe, the Duke of Northumberland, Sir Henry Craik, and one or two more who are not particularly noted for advanced radicalism, is hardly likely to be very hotly disputed in either House. I imagine that the members of the Committee, in any case, will be precluded from taking part in any hostile campaign, and with the loss of the stalwarts, it is unlikely that others will be bold enough or influential enough to carry one to success. The only amendments likely to pass are those put forward officially to carry into effect the proposals of the Committee as set forth in the Report. There may be a bit of grumbling and growling from the older fogies in the Lords, but their bark is not dangerous, and neither there nor in the Commons is anything serious likely to be apprehended. Mr. Bonar Law, on behalf of the Government, has stated that it is the desire of the Government to pass the measure into law before Christmas. I shall be surprised if, all going well, that date is not considerably anticipated.

Nobody can read the Report without feeling that the Committee has approached the problem

with a very open mind. It has accepted extremism neither of the Indian nor of the Anglo-Indian variety. It is neither pro- nor anti-Brahman. On the whole, the experiment of appointing so honest-minded and upright a statesman as Lord Selborne has been fully justified. The Bill is improved in many important respects. In some, it now goes beyond the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. In only one important point, and that not a highly essential one, does it fall short of the proposals contained in the scheme, namely, for the reconsideration of the possibility of increasing the number of subjects to be transferred after five years from the coming into force of the Act. But I doubt whether anyone will make this omission a cause of rejection. And although there is bound to be some disappointment that the principle of diarchy is not to be applied to the central administration, yet feelings of annoyance will be tempered by the fact that a number of indirect attempts are made to bring the administration more closely and intimately under the influence of public opinion, through various devices of considerable ingenuity. That the Bill has been greatly liberalised cannot, I think, be honestly disputed. Even as it is, assuming that it goes through with the official amendments, there is nothing to be over-enthusiastic about. But it ought to be admitted that a genuine attempt has been made to steer an honest course amidst a number of conflicting counsels. The Bill points a clear road, it indicates beyond doubt a new direction, and it is for Indians to travel along that road in the right direction as rapidly as they may choose. Nothing can now stay their progress, and they will be able to set the pace of their advance towards complete responsible government in such a way that Parliament, though technically dictating it, will, in fact, have to follow.

Among the most important changes proposed are the following.—The whole of the pronouncement of August 20, 1917, is to be embodied in the preamble (this is the reply to Mr. Patel's insistence that only a part was binding and not the whole!). Increased financial powers to be given to the legislatures, and adjustments to be made with a view to equitable provision as between transferred and reserved subjects. The President of each provincial council to be not the Governor, but a specially selected officer, and the President of the Indian legislature to be a person selected for his Parliamentary experience. The Governor of the province will depart from the advice of his ministers only in exceptional circumstances. Free consultation between the two halves of the Government to be fostered in every way, without obscuring their separate and distinctive responsibilities. Two ministers at least to be appointed in each province, who will probably act together with Cabinet responsibility. The franchise as settled by the rules not to be altered for the first ten years, save in one respect, namely, that the provincial legislatures shall be free to extend the franchise to women if they so choose. The rules to give greater

weight than under the Southborough scheme to the rural vote and artisan urban representation. The Council of State to disappear and be reconstituted, with a different franchise from that for the Assembly, as a true second chamber for the general authority. Neither Grand Committees nor the Council of State to be employed as an instrument for putting through essential legislation, which should be done by ordinance, subject to advice of a Standing Joint Committee or resolution of Parliament. Three members of the Governor General's Executive to continue to be public servants of not less than ten years' official experience in India (and who may include Indians), three to be Indians, and one to possess legal qualifications, which may be acquired in India. Where both members of an Executive Council in a Province are non-Indian officials, two more Indian non-officials to be appointed. The India Council to be reduced in numbers and in period of office, the system to be adopted being probably that of portfolios. The cost of the India Office, other than "agency," to be borne on the British estimates. Agency functions for India to be exercised by a High Commissioner for India. The Secretary of State to refrain so far as possible from interfering when the Government of India and the Legislature are in agreement, especially in respect of policy. The Joint Parliamentary Committee to be reappointed to advise Parliament in respect to the rules to be made under the Act.

THE WORK OF THE DIFFERENT DEPUTATIONS.

It will be observed that the Bill is considerably enlarged, both in bulk and in scope, and to describe it as a reactionary measure, as the *Daily Herald's* Parliamentary correspondent did in advance is absurd. It certainly is not the whole cake, but it is by no means an unsubstantial bit of it—larger, indeed, than some of us had at one time thought possible. And I am convinced that it would have been even larger had the Congress party known how to play their cards better. Unfortunately, they succeeded in creating strong prejudice and suspicion by their frankly hostile attitude, and with recent experience in Ireland, the more cautious members were not prepared to hand over to the extremest nationalists larger powers at this stage, which would probably have been conferred had not the extravagant nationalists been so hopelessly jettisoned last December. If any thanks are due to the relatively liberal shape that the Bill now takes it must in the main, I think be shared by those who did not pretend to speak for the Congress. Mr. K. C. Roy and Mr. Surendranath Banerjea succeeded in removing many of the suspicions and a great deal of the ignorance and prejudice that had previously existed in journalistic quarters here. Mr. Chintamani added a noteworthy contribution in this direction as well as in some others, and Mr. Sastri and Ramachandra Rao's services have been invaluable, especially in regard to detailed reform. Mrs. Besant, too, has done very effective propa-

ganda work here, and has carried many people with her who had previously been regarding her somewhat askance. Dr. Sapru and Mr. C. P. Ramaswami's influence upon the minds of the Committee was evident. Others who have contributed to the changes that have been brought about are, of course, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who is disappointed that the Committee did not have the courage to give the women the franchise outright, Mr. Wadia and Mr. Jadhav. Sir Sankaran Nair, of course, was a giant. The more reactionary proposals of the Government of India were defeated by his evidence and the supplementary evidence of Sir Claude Hill. Sir James Meston appears largely to have failed to impress the Committee with the views of the Government of India.

The Report seems to have been generally well-received. At this early stage it is likely that individuals will reserve their views, but it is already evident that the distrust with which the Bill as originally published was received is disappearing. The *Times* to-day gives the measure its blessing, and urges that there should be no more hesitation or delay. Lord Selborne's name on the report has evidently disarmed most criticism. It will now be expected that responsible Indians will do their utmost to work the measure in a spirit of efficiency and co-operation, and, where it is shown by actual experience to be defective, they will be in a much better position to secure the necessary changes when next Indian affairs come up for readjustment.

Mr. Charles Roberts, who left for India last week, is, I am informed upon the very best authority, not travelling upon private business. Your readers will be free, therefore, to draw their own conclusions as to the objects of his mission. I would like to say that, among Englishmen who have contributed to the liberalising of the Bill, none has rendered greater service, by quiet, steady, and persistent constructive work than he.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IT is almost universally admitted that the devastating war will have been fought in vain if the League of Nations does not soon become an accomplished fact and guarantee the maintenance of the world's peace. But unfortunately the attitude of the United States of America and the situation in Europe and Western Asia have not only delayed but endangered the translation of pious wishes into acts. Circumstances seem to have encouraged Germany to attempt to bluff the Allied powers, and the Bolsheviks are having a merry career in Russia and Central Asia. The effect of all this appears to be to drive France and England back upon the alternative of alliances which were supposed to have been discredited by the verdict of Europe's history before the recent war. M. Clemenceau's discussions with Mr. Lloyd George in London related, among other things, to the urgent need of an alliance between England, France and Italy and of treaties for mutual defence. One would despair of the future of the world if things at last

culminated in such agreements, but optimists incline to the view that the prospect is not so gloomy.

In the Senate of the United States, Senator France opposed a motion for the ratification of the treaty of peace with Germany on the ground among others that the American Republic would thereby guarantee the perpetuation of the rule of the British aristocracy in India, which rule, he said, had failed in that country. He quoted the following figures illustrating the extreme poverty and the widespread illiteracy of the people of India to prove his statement.

| | National wealth per capita. | National income per capita. |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| United States ... | \$ 2,154-00 | \$ 372-00 |
| Great Britain ... | 1,913-00 | 232-00 |
| France ... | 1,238-00 | 182-00 |
| Germany ... | 1,512-00 | 156-00 |
| Austria-Hungary ... | 1,121-00 | 112-00 |
| Italy ... | 555-00 | 111-00 |
| India ... | 70-00 | 9-75 |

As to illiteracy, Mr. France said: "The sums spent by England for education in India are pitifully small, \$ 0-015 per annum per capita, as against the \$ 4 per capita which we have expended in the Philippines. Only 6,780,721 out of about 75,000,000 children in India attend school, and the illiteracy among these people, who are of the very highest intellectual capacity, is 93 per cent., whereas during our 20 years of rule in the Philippines we have reduced the illiteracy there to 56 per cent. Seven per cent. of the Hindus of the Aryan race, after 140 years of British rule, are literate, as against 44 per cent. of the Filipinos after 20 years of our rule there."

AN Indian friend writes to us from England: "No one who is acquainted with politics as they are in India should have any difficulty in understanding the position of affairs in Ireland. In both the countries frustrated hopes and repressive measures have led to the same bitterness and impatience. The extremists are as much applauded in Ireland as in India. In public speeches every remark which is a strong criticism of the methods employed by the British Government is loudly cheered: Everything national is glorified in Ireland as in India. Because of the situation of their country, prominent Irishmen hold broader views than Indians; but one is conscious of a certain narrowness of outlook that characterises the lesser men, because their standard is not international but national. In Ireland, too, politicians, while denouncing outrages, hold the Government responsible for them. There, as in India, men holding balanced views counsel prudence and restraint by pointing out the utter hopelessness of an armed resistance, although admitting the moral justification of the aspirations towards independence. Men of position and influence, who till very lately believed that it was more necessary for them to engage in social work rather than political, have been drawn into the world of politics. Does not this remind one of men of high position in India who were till lately working exclusively in social or other non-political fields, but who have been drawn into the vortex of politics by the forces called into being by the war?"

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