

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IT is sincerely to be hoped that an immediate proclamation of general amnesty will be made. The extreme bitterness caused by the Punjab episode must first be removed before the reforms can have a fair chance. Mr. Montagu who has fought the forces of reaction so manfully and so well and ultimately succeeded in winning for India a large measure of constitutional freedom ought now to devote his attention to the establishment of conditions in which alone the freedom can fructify. There are people who believe that with the Secretary of State the reforms were for the last few months an interest of such supreme importance that, for fear lest their enactment should be imperilled, he refrained from dealing with the official excesses in the Punjab in the way in which they should have been dealt with. Whatever foundation there may be for this suspicion, it is now imperatively necessary, in the interest of reform itself, that full reparation should be made for the Punjab outrages and that as a first step towards it amnesty should be granted forthwith.

THE revelations made in the Punjab inquiry are evoking excited comments in the British press. The Jallianwala butchery and the other monstrous orders issued by General Dyer, of which news has reached England now, have naturally led the newspapers in that country to compare them with the atrocities practised by Germany in Belgium. It is strange that the Government of India who sent alarming messages of open rebellion at the time of the disturbance should not have kept the British authorities informed of the disclosures before the Hunter Committee, and that even the Secretary of State should have come to know of them only from newspapers. The whole question is still *sub judice*,

and yet Mr. Montagu was forced to admit that the disclosures were "profoundly disturbing." We hope that when the Hunter Committee has concluded its investigations, Mr. Montagu will have the courage to bring home to the officials concerned the excesses of which they are guilty and take such steps as will be called for by the evidence.

MR. SRINIVASA SASTRI delivered a series of four lectures on the Reform Bill in Bombay on the 19th inst. and the following days. In the first three lectures he explained at length the principal provisions of the Bill and commented upon them, and the fourth he devoted to the appraisal of the progress achieved in the aggregate and to the delineation of the lines on which future work must be undertaken. In the course of his lectures he made the suggestion that the Government of India should avail themselves of non-official assistance while they are framing rules under the Bill. A vast amount of work of this subsidiary character has to be done. Indeed, too much has been laid upon the Government of India, and if it is not to be perfunctorily discharged, the Government of India will be well advised to entrust it to well-chosen committees on which the non-official element will be represented. This is the only way in which the huge mass of work which yet remains to be done will be satisfactorily done in the short space of time available before the Act takes effect.

THE Joint Committee, recommending that the Statutory Commission should not be appointed within less than ten years, further lay it down that "no changes of substance in the constitution, whether in the franchise or *lists of reserved and transferred subjects* or otherwise should be made in the interval." This is a reactionary proposal inasmuch as the M.-C. Report had provided for a revision of the list of transferred provincial subjects by the Government of India at the end of the first five years of the new experiment. It is a matter of sincere satisfaction, therefore, to learn from the pronouncement of Mr. Montagu and Mr. Fisher in the House of Commons that this impending reaction has been partially averted. For both these statesmen declared when the Bill was in committee that it would be open to the Government of India to enlarge the list of transferred subjects before the expiry of ten years. It is not clear that the recommendation in the Joint Report is intended to be carried out in its integrity, *viz.* the Government of India should take in hand the

revision of provincial subjects, with a view to the transfer of more subjects. While an inquiry is not enjoined, still the Bill at least does not bar the door to the bestowal of wider powers if the Government of India chose to bestow them. It is satisfactory that the Secretary of State has declined to abide by the retrograde proposal of the Joint Committee.

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AMONG the amendments intended to liberalise the Bill was the one tabled by Mr. Bennett, permitting the provincial legislature to nominate the first president. We wish it were possible for this small amendment to be accepted. As we have already said, it would not be possible to select first class men from Parliamentary life of England to come out to Indian provinces and shape the new councils. The best course would thus have been to let the councils elect their own presidents from the outset. As, however, this very modest amendment has been rejected by Parliament, we hope the choice of presidents will be made from among Indians as far as possible. No one will object to the appointment of a competent man from England, but if the selection is not well made it will cause a feeling of bitterness which must be rigidly excluded from the councils, so far as it may be practicable to do so. Another of Mr. Bennett's amendments provided "for publication in India of draft and other rules at the same time as they are laid on the table in Parliament."

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"THERE has been some talk," says the *Times*, "of wholesale resignations from the public service of India when the (Government of India) Bill becomes law, but it is probable that the sense of public duty which is so strong in that service will falsify these gloomy anticipations." We are confident that these forebodings will prove untrue, for the high sense of duty to which the *Times* alludes is reinforced in this case by considerations of self-interest, and both point strongly to the advisability of the I. C. S. resigning themselves cheerfully to their altered status in the new order of things. The Joint Committee have recommended that the British Government should offer to those who cannot bring themselves to accept the new conditions an equivalent career elsewhere, but it is recognised that it will be extremely difficult to give effect to this recommendation, no other country paying its public servants on such a generous scale as is in force in India. This mode of relief will thus be practically inoperative.

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NOR is the other mode of relief recommended by the Joint Committee very promising, *viz.* that of allowing civilians to retire on a proportionate pension. Before any members of the Civil Service take the extreme step of severing their connection with the service, they should take into account, the London correspondent of the *Times* of *India* warns them, "the altered circumstances of life at home for pensioners. It is true that man

does not live by bread alone, but he and his dependents cannot live without it." The writer recognises that "it is beside the mark to talk of 'conscience' in this connection. It is for the public servant wherever he may be, to conform to the supremacy of Parliament on questions of policy upon which the public welfare rests in the last resort." Self-interest thus closely coinciding with duty, we need have no fear that there will be any general exodus of the civil service from India. There is no doubt that if they remain and will loyally serve their new masters they will materially help to lay the foundations of self-government in this country.

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*New India* writes: "The point about the origin of the suggestion that a joint deputation should interview with Mr. Montagu on the Punjab question is of little practical interest now, except in so far as it furnishes an illustration of the methods by which Nationalists seek to take credit for Moderate achievements. The Hon. Mr. Chintamani referred in a lecture at Allahabad the other day to a conversation between Mr. Kunzru and himself on this subject which was discussed at the National Liberal Club. Mr. Patel got scent of it and sent invitations the following day to members of all the deputations to join together for an interview with Mr. Montagu. The idea, however, was abandoned, Mr. K. C. Roy explains in a letter to the *Patrika*, 'owing to the fact being known that Mr. Montagu would decline to receive a public deputation behind the back of the Government of India,' but would agree to informal ones to discuss the subject. The Moderate deputation as a result had three interviews with the Secretary of State." Mr. Chintamani gives the assurance that "there was nobody who did more to bring the wrongs of the Punjab to the notice of those who had the power of redressing them and to see that remedial measures were adopted than the members of the Moderate deputation collectively and individually."

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IT is true that the Moderate and the Congress deputations did not take the same line on the Punjab question. The difference, however, was not, as Mr. Tilak puts it, that the former wanted a searching inquiry while the latter wanted amnesty. On amnesty all the deputations were agreed, but the Moderate deputation were not satisfied with an exercise of mercy. Amnesty is only a remission of sins; the Moderate deputation insisted upon securing justice. They wanted the liberation of those who were unjustly incarcerated not as a matter of clemency merely, but in sheer justice. And in this case justice could not be rendered except by a public inquiry into all the measures taken to cope with the disturbances. The Congress deputation expressed willingness to have a private inquiry if it was coupled with a large amnesty. The Moderates, while asking for amnesty, declared that they could not relax their demand for an open

inquiry conducted in the full light of day. No one has worked harder for a grant of amnesty than the Moderate deputations, but it would have been suicidal to have a private in the place of the public inquiry that they at last succeeded in getting, in spite of the backsliding of the Congress deputation.

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A QUESTION was raised in the Lords as to whether the Government of India would be under an obligation to give effect to the Joint Committee's recommendation that the non-Brahmans in the Madras Presidency and the Mahrattas in the Deccan "must be provided with separate representation by means of the reservation of seats," and an assurance was given on behalf of Government that the India Government would respect the Committee's conclusions and devise a scheme of franchise on that basis. When signs are appearing that this compromise would be cheerfully accepted on all hands and that an understanding would be arrived at between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans, it is matter for keen regret that the Nationalists are still maintaining their attitude of hostility to the non-Brahman claims.

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THE Congress delegates now in England devote one paragraph in their statement on the Joint Committee's report to this matter, in which they say: "Equally deplorable is the recommendation to set up a system of special representation for non-Brahmans in Madras and Mahrattas in Bombay. We have yet to learn what claim witnesses who appeared before the Committee to advocate this proposal can put forward to represent either of these communities. The non-Brahmans in Madras and the Mahrattas in Bombay are strong enough to hold their own in any general electorate and the supposition that they are likely to be kept out of the councils by Brahman opposition or by being swamped by the voters of other communities is based on a misapprehension induced by interested persons who are opposed to reform. The establishment of this principle in any case but the exceptional one of the vast Muhammadan community of 60,000,000 people is calculated to create division and hostility between class and class where it does not now exist."

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HAD we entertained the slightest fear that the Nationalists who so denounced the reforms as to call them "suicidal" would stay away from the new councils, we should have hastened to congratulate the country upon their unanimous decision to work the Reforms Act, whatever be its intrinsic worth. For all Nationalists are now agreed that it would not be in the interest of the country to boycott these forms. Mr. Pal has now joined his voice to those of others in this sense. While this decision is to be welcomed, the reasoning upon which it is based is far from convincing. Mr. Tilak, for instance, argues that an Act passed by Parliament is binding upon all, and that those who refuse to

work it become guilty of disobedience. That Parliament has passed a Reform Act is hardly a sufficient reason for one who considers it worthless to co-operate in its effectuation. If, furthermore, one is convinced that the next General Election will within a space of four years bring into power a party which will give complete self-government at one bound, as is fondly believed, it becomes, on the contrary, one's clear duty to refuse the instalment now offered. Participation in the present reforms is calculated only to retard a radical revision of the constitution in the near future, and, those who hope to gain full home rule or at least a much bigger slice of it than is contained in the present Bill, say, a couple of years hence must be anxious not to give an excuse to the rulers to take the unktion to their souls that the Indian settlement has been arrived at.

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THE Nationalist decision to work the Bill lends itself to two interpretations: either they do not consider the Bill to be so unsubstantial as they make out; or they are not so sure that the next turn of fortune will bring them within sight of the promised land. In any case the argument that Parliament's decrees must be obeyed does not seem to have influenced their decision to any appreciable extent. Considered in this light, their repudiation of the policy of rejection has its own significance. But the fact that all parties profess willingness to work the Reform Act does not mean that they are actuated by the same spirit. Mr. Pal advises Nationalists to "utilise every right and opportunity which the Act creates or provides with a view to prove its hollowness or inadequacy." If he means that we should exhaust the powers now conferred in as short a period of time as possible and outgrow the present constitution we have no quarrel with his statement. But it must be realised that the residuum of reforms will follow only if the present reforms are worked to success and put to the utmost advantage they are capable of yielding. One must not work them with the determination to demonstrate their futility. As Mr. Natarajan observed in Bombay the other day, the reforms will be a success if we mean to make them a success, they will be a failure if we mean to make them a failure. We must not only work the reforms, but must work them with the will to make them a success.

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DR. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR'S advice in this matter is all that is to be desired:—"If the Congress applied itself to the perfectly useless task of criticising the Bill and complaining that more had not been given them in fact, it would play the rôle of obstructionist. The Congress should do exactly what every Indian subject of His Majesty should do, viz. to devise means and try to work out the scheme. . . . If the Congress did not adopt his suggestion, it would be practically the beginning of the destruction of the Congress as the representative of the Indian people."

## REACTIONARY NATIONALISM.

THE repudiation of Mr. Tilak's leadership by Mr. V. R. Shinde, who has dedicated himself to the uplift of the untouchables, will best explain to the readers outside the Deccan the inwardness of the protest against the presentation of an address to Mr. Tilak. The protest movement was organised by no less a man than the Hon'ble Mr. Paranjpye, Principal of the Fergusson College, and that fact alone must be a sufficient guarantee to those who have the privilege of knowing Mr. Paranjpye that the controversy, though seemingly personal, had its springs in public issues alone. Indeed, if the address had been voted by Mr. Tilak's friends and admirers and not been saddled upon those who take a different measure of Mr. Tilak's activities, there would have been no occasion for any protest and Mr. Paranjpye and others would have been saved the invidious task of opposing a movement to honour a sectional leader. The spirit of deification which is so rife in the Deccan is really very debasing, but no one need have protested against the proposal to present Mr. Tilak with an address if the affair had been confined to his followers. The differences that divide Liberals and Radicals in the Deccan cover the whole of the gamut. The differences are not merely political, nor mainly political. Even more serious are the differences arising on social questions. Though latterly there have been some exceptions, the extremist party in the Deccan takes as a rule a conservative view in social matters. That is why Mr. Shinde who, in politics, is perhaps more with Mr. Tilak than against him, found it necessary to enter an emphatic protest against a movement to honour Mr. Tilak and through him the obscurantism which is so strikingly typified in him, and which is the greatest curse on Maharashtra at the present moment.

The advanced politician in the Deccan is a conservative of conservatives, in social matters. It is not that he has merely held himself aloof from social reform movements, he has all along actively opposed them, and, what is worse, persecuted the reformers in ways that will not bear scrutiny. It is all camouflage to say that he felt keener interest in politics, and, on the principle of division of labour, left the branch of social reform to others. He has done all he could to retard reform on rational lines; he has always upheld the existing divisions of castes and made the rise of backward communities impossible; he has opposed the elevation of the so-called depressed classes to a higher social scale. If his opposition to reform is not so loud now as it was a generation ago, it is merely because he is conscious that the whole world is moving away from his ideals. Those who have not taken the pains to acquaint themselves with the history of social reform in the Deccan will find it difficult to realise the intensity of the hatred which the extremists of the day felt for social reform only a few years ago. The threat openly held out to burn down the Con-

gress pandal in 1895 if it was also used for the Social Conference—a threat countenanced by the acknowledged leaders of the party—will perhaps give the reader some idea of the bitterness that was sedulously created against reformers of the type of Ranade and Agarkar. It is little wonder, therefore, that the backward classes who have suffered the most under the dispensation of these social reactionaries and who have now raised a standard of revolt against their domination should have joined social reformers belonging to the higher classes at a time when the principles which they have both set themselves to combat demanded public recognition in the shape of an address to Mr. Tilak. Mr. Tilak's pronouncement against the untouchableness of the depressed classes on the one hand and on the other his careful suppression of his speech in his paper and also his refusal to sign the anti-untouchability manifesto on the avowed ground of his inability to carry out the pledge in his own person, show the straits to which the extremists are reduced at the present day. They are against their will being slowly carried along the stream, but there is reason to believe that, though occasionally a streak of light penetrates them, they still remain the lovers of darkness they have ever been.

In politics, again, it is more the methods the extremists employ than any specific views held by them which evoke opposition in the Deccan. Their views on any given question are opportunist in the extreme. The Deccan extremists have not a spark of idealism in them; they exalt expediency above principle, and voice opinions as may suit their immediate purpose. An illustration of this is afforded by the question of colonial self-government *versus* unqualified home rule, which is one of the topics in dispute between Mr. Tilak and Mr. Paranjpye. It will be recollected that, when colonial self-government was prescribed as the goal which the Indian reformers should strive to attain for India, Mr. Tilak, following the Bengal leaders, made it a principal ground of attack against the Congress leaders at Surat. He complained that it was too low an ideal for India, and spoke and wrote in that sense. At the present moment, however, nothing infuriates him so much as to be reminded of his former opinion on this question. He considers it a gross calumny that he should be represented as ever casting a glance at anything beyond colonial autonomy. Now, it is not a crime to place before oneself the ideal of complete independence, and one need not recoil from it as something very unholy, as the Deccan extremists are doing. They are free to change their views, but it is childish to accuse those who remember what views they once held of exposing them to the wrath of a cruel Government. For everyone knows that it is no offence to cherish a far-off ideal of independence of Great Britain so long as no unconstitutional means are employed. Mr. Tilak similarly held at one time that no constitutional methods were at all practicable in India, and did all he

could to shake people's faith in them, though he now holds that they alone are admissible. On boycott and agitation in England, again, his view have undergone a complete transformation. Indeed, his career since the Surat split is a sustained piece of inconsistency. One could admire the high idealism in the programme of a section of Nationalists, if they held to it persistently and regardless of consequences. For the Deccan extremists, however, who indulge in dodging and duplicity, one's feeling borders on contempt. This and the very dubious methods adopted by them for the propagation of their views—that is what political and social reformers have to face in the Deccan. The protest of the Liberal Party against the Tilak-address movement signifies a protest not only against the views held but also against the methods employed by the extremists. There was need for such a protest. At a time when a great constitutional experiment is to take place in India, it is of the first importance that the Deccan should cast aside its old habit of mind and take to ways scrupulously clean and thoroughly progressive. The capacity for pulling down is not now demanded by the country; it is the talent for reconstruction which is required. In no province are the difficulties of reconstruction so great as in Maharashtra.

#### JOINT SELECT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

LONG before this letter reaches you the Indian public will have become acquainted with the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee. Probably they have been cabled by Reuter and have appeared already in the Indian press. It is not necessary for me, therefore, to deal at any length with or even summarise the Committees' proposals. They are before the public which can judge for itself what their value is. For my part I have no doubt that they will pave the way for an early realisation of full responsible government. Whether one looks at the list of reserved and transferred subjects, or considers the position accorded to ministers or the changes made in that part of the Bill which deals with the Government of India, one cannot but come to the conclusion that on the whole the amended Bill is a more liberal measure not only than the original Bill, but also than the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. It is true that the Joint Committee rejects the proposals contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report for a revision of the powers of the provincial councils five years after their establishment, and this is a material drawback. But a comprehensive review of the amendments recommended by the Committee makes it indisputably clear that, taken all in all, its report transfers substantially more power into the hands of Indians than the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme.

#### PROVINCIAL TAXATION.

One more criticism may be levelled against the Report. It may be pointed out that it does not recommend that provincial taxation should be a transferred subject, and, on the contrary, it says: "The budget should not be capable of being used

as a means for enabling ministers or a majority of the legislative council to direct the policy of reserved subjects." The language used here and the proposal that the Governor should be authorized to pass legislation which Government consider necessary may legitimately create a fear that the councils will not enjoy the power of the purse. The objection is well-founded and is theoretically of great force. But we may feel certain that no Governor will venture to exercise the extraordinary power conferred on him to impose a tax on his sole responsibility and in defiance of the wishes of the council. Besides, the spirit of the report is to be judged from the recommendation that no financial burdens should be imposed on the people without the consent of the legislature and that land revenue, in particular, should be regulated by statute. Nevertheless, it is highly desirable that the supremacy of the elected representatives of the people in financial matters should be explicitly recognised. It is not possible to secure this by statute now, but the Governor can still be directed by means of the Instrument of Instructions to yield to the council in regard to money bills. And I should not be surprised if this method were followed. No one who has had opportunities of observing the spirit of genuine liberalism that inspires Mr. Montagu can doubt that the new measure will be administered in such a way as to show, in the words of Sir Harcourt Butler, that "reform is not afraid of itself."

#### THE INDIAN BUDGET.

It is necessary to draw special attention to the procedure that is to be followed in connection with the Indian budget as the Report does not give us an adequate idea of the change made in this respect. The original bill did not require the submission of the budget to the vote of the Assembly. At a meeting of the Committee held on the 31st October, however, Mr. Montagu proposed that, with the exception of reserved items of expenditure, "the proposals of the Governor-General in Council for the appropriation of revenue or moneys in any year shall be submitted first to the Legislative Assembly for its consent, and, after consideration by the Legislative Assembly, to the Council of State for its assent, in the form of demands for grants," provided that the Governor-General in Council shall have power to restore any item "if the Governor-General certifies that the expenditure provided for by the demand is essential for the discharge of his responsibilities." Three days later he modified his proposal; presumably, he failed to persuade the Committee to accept it in its original form. The Governor-General was enabled, in regard to any expenditure which he considered "essential to the discharge of his responsibilities" to act "as if it had been assented to," notwithstanding the refusal of the Assembly to assent to it. No mention of the other chamber is made in the modified proposal which was accepted by the Committee. Clause 25, sub-clause (7) of the amended Bill is, however, an improvement on this proposal. It requires a declaration from

the Governor-General in Council that any item which he proposes to restore is essential to the discharge of his responsibilities. Thus the important principle that the control of the Assembly over the Indian finances should be recognized has been acknowledged. In spite of its limitations, its value is by no means small. Its recognition places real power in the hands of the Assembly.

The part of the Bill dealing with the India Council does not fix that any minimum proportion of the members of the Council should consist of Indians, nor does it lay down the method by which they should be selected. The reason for the omission of such a provision lies in the opposition of Lord Midleton. Lord Crewe moved twice that "not less than one-third of the members of the Council shall be selected from a list of persons permanently domiciled in India and chosen for the purpose by the members (other than official members) of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. . . . " But only Lord Crewe himself and Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha voted for the resolution, which was accordingly lost."

#### OPPOSITION OF THE INDO-BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

The Indo-British Association is busy creating prejudice against the report. It is carrying on an active campaign to secure its rejection. Lord Sydenham addressed a meeting of sixty or more members of Parliament on the 24th instant, urging the undesirability of "rushing the Bill at a moment when it is most difficult to know what is going on in India!" A committee was formed to request an interview with Mr. Bonar Law in order to ask for the postponement of the committee stage. The request has been granted and the consideration of the Bill postponed to Wednesday next. On the 25th instant about fifty members of the House of Lords, with Lord Salisbury in the chair met to consider the Government of India Bill. The *Morning Post* says: "The speeches were critical, but not unfriendly towards the leading principles of the measure. It is certain that a number of amendments will be brought forward, mainly directed to two points: opposition to dyarchy and the strengthening of the powers of the Viceroy."

The members of the Moderate party have sent a letter to every member of Parliament urging the imperative necessity of passing the Bill as amended by the Joint Committee before Christmas. The letter has been published in the *Times* and other papers. The representatives of the Congress have met the situation by issuing a manifesto declaring that the reforms are "unacceptable in principle," and that they will give no satisfaction to the people of India.

I understand that the opponents of the Bill will specially attack that clause of the Bill which requires that the Indian budget should be voted by the Assembly. A great deal will now depend on the attitude of the Government of India and of Lord Selborne. If the former offers an uncompromising opposition to the clause in question or if the latter weakens it may be thrown out by the

House of Lords. If the House of Lords takes such a step, Mr. Montagu need not feel that he is powerless. He can, following the example of Lord Morley in 1909 when the House of Lords threatened to reject the clause which fixed the maximum strength of provincial executive councils at four, declare that he can constitutionally do by executive order what the peers will not allow him to do by statute.

In spite of the efforts that are being made to postpone the enactment of the Bill into law, the Government is firm in its resolve to pass it before Parliament adjourns. In replying to a question put to him on the 25th inst., Mr. Bonar Law said: "It is of the greatest importance that there should be no delay, and especially that it should have gone through both Houses, if that be possible, before the big meeting in India on the 26th December." He stated that the Government intended to place the Bill on the statute book before Christmas. The House showed its sympathy with him by shouting "no, no," when Col. Yate asked if he would postpone the consideration of the Bill in case it was found that there was "still cause for further delay."

H. N. KUNZRU.

London, November 27.

### CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION. REPORT.

#### IV.—THE UNIVERSITY PROPER AND HIGHER STUDIES.

(Continued from last issue.)

THE above considerations will be borne in mind with reference to the Honours courses where alone the division will be completely made between Literature and History and Philosophy. Any attempt to effect the separation earlier in the pass courses of B. A. as we know them here or elsewhere is not calculated to make for the true ends of culture. At the present stage of development of India, the pass man who may be supposed to represent the ordinary type must be allowed the privilege of assimilating such knowledge of literature as is possible for him in the two or three years of B. A. studies. English literature represents for the Indian western literature, the literature of a distinct type of civilisation, the literature of science, the literature of affairs. Lowering the literary equipment of the pass men to something less than the present standard of attainments of the Madras B. A. will handicap considerably those entering upon the various professions as of Medicine, Law, Engineering, Commerce, etc. In this connection a favourite method of argument is the citation of Japan which is supposed to have dispensed with the learning of foreign languages and carried on an intensive kind of culture with its own language. Mr. Sharp's report on the educational system of Japan appeared only 15 years ago. No radical changes have been effected since the period of the report. As the book is out of print, no apology is needed for placing before our readers the position



of English in Japanese education which is held up as an ideal for us to follow. Besides Japanese the other languages included in the curriculum are: "Chinese (written), English, French, German and Latin, together with some studied for special purposes, such as Chinese (spoken), Korean, Russian or Spanish. Of these English is begun by a few in the *higher primary school*. In the middle school Chinese and *English are compulsory*, whilst a small number also learn German or French. In the higher institutions, besides further study of Chinese, *English and either German or French are compulsory*; some learning a little of both the latter and a smattering of Latin as well. Thus a university student may have studied Japanese, Chinese, English, German, French and Latin in the course of his career, a very considerable achievement for a young man of 25, considering the immensity of the gulf which separates Chinese and Japanese from European languages. But some of the results of the study and of attending polyglot lectures are remarkable. Students' note-books, especially on scientific subjects, are filled with a jumble of Japanese, English, German and perhaps Latin; and their heads tend to be in an equally chaotic condition. A casual university man, asked if he understands English, will probably answer 'Ja!'; and then become speechless, the workings of his fevered brain being too much for any power of utterance; it is, at all events, impossible to predict in what tongue he will answer, or of how many languages a sentence will be composed."

Compared with the polyglottism of the Japanese, the bilingualism with us is more propitious for real study. The primary grade pupil need not proceed beyond his mother tongue. In the secondary and higher grades, in addition to the vernacular, English serves all the purposes of education and higher thought. The burden under which the boys groan is a myth and exclusively of the critic's creation. Normal Indian youths of whom the nation is being made are equal to master their mother tongue and English according to the standard of education they aim at. Even the Mussalman youth with his diverse linguistic needs is better off than the Japanese. We may lament perhaps that we have not in India enthusiastic popularisers of knowledge like Fukuzawa Yukichi or Nakamura Keiu, but it is due to our tendency to depreciate our own men and efforts and praise what is foreign that we do not find them about us.

English literature in the broadest sense is the best expression of the Anglo-Saxon race. The moral influence of such literature on the Indian must be of incalculable benefit just now when there is so great eagerness to transplant the democratic machinery of Government from England. Along with the acknowledgment of hegemony in matters political, a frank acknowledgment of intellectual hegemony to the extent of absorbing the best that is thought in the western countries is needed. The words of Mill are still true: "In the case of the British possessions there are strong reasons

for maintaining the slight bond of connection. It has the advantage especially valuable at the present time, of adding to the moral influence and weight in the councils of the world of the Power which of all in existence best understands liberty and, whatever may have been its errors in the past, has attained to more of conscience and moral principle in its dealing with foreigners than any other great nation seems either to conceive as possible or recognise as desirable." More than political bonds are the intellectual bonds that make for a concrete realisation of the world as it is, for broad sympathetic relationship with our fellow-men, for sanity in political thought, bonds that are made by the study of the best in English literature.

The study of English literature has been prejudiced in South India by the organisers of English studies emphasising too much the linguistic or philological side. In the older universities of England something of the traditional dignity of long-established courses was sought to be associated with the study of English by recognising as ancillary one or other of the classical languages. This reform was not accepted and the philologists won. In South India the higher study of literature started as frankly philological. The reason assigned is that in philological studies there is a definiteness, a methodical arrangement of the matter of studies which is of a high educative value, a definiteness and method which a study of higher Rhetoric and Literary Criticism lacks. The effect of the courses forcing on all alike the study of linguistics of some sort has been to make Chaucer regarded as a literary incubus and educational wisdom as represented by the South Indian Senators rejected all but unanimously and with shouts of derision the genial guide of Canterbury pilgrims from the portals of the Madras pass man. Evidence has not been lacking to show even 'Honours' men owe a grudge to Chaucer, all because of the philological paraphernalia the old bard has been bedecked with. A thorough-going revision of the English courses to the extent of making all learn the elements of philology and literary criticism giving full freedom in the university examinations to bring up one or other of the studies as inclination prompts in B. A. pass courses, a revision that will give a similar freedom of choice in the Honours courses will make the university study of English literature less distasteful than it seems to be.

In the department of History greater prominence should be given to the study of Geography, and with the growing interest in Political Economy we should like to associate the study of Sociology.

Psychology as a branch of philosophic studies must be in vital relationship with the study of Genetic Psychology necessary for pedagogics and a due training in Experimental Psychology must give us in time a body of men who would do for us here what Stanley Hall, Dewey and Earl Barnes have done for education elsewhere.

As regards Science teaching we have only one remark to make. The wastefulness due to colleges attempting to teach the same subjects as other colleges in the same locality is more strikingly displayed here than in the other courses of studies. And the demands of Science on the resources of individual colleges is something disproportionate to the results achieved. Here, if anywhere, pooling of resources in material and men is absolutely necessary. The taunt of Vandermast is not antiquated :

Lordly are the buildings of the town  
Spacious the rooms, and full of pleasant walks;  
But for the doctors, how that they be learned,  
It may be manly, for aught I can hear.

Very often the material equipment is meanly and the men splendid. India which parades its poverty when educational reforms and needs are suggested can ill afford the wastefulness of the present arrangements. The sooner the proper organisation of university teaching of Sciences is taken up, the better for the advancement of modern knowledge.

As regards applied science, technological studies proper and advancement of scientific research, close association of the university with professional and industrial life is necessary so that these studies and pursuits may be successfully carried on. The problems for special investigation reveal themselves to the practitioner of special callings—the engineer, the medical man, or the administrator. All records, inquiries and reports of Government or quasi-Government bodies or associations must be made available for investigation. Research studies abhor, like nature, a vacuum; they flourish in environments of full life activities.

K. B. RAMANATHAN.

### INDIANS IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

*History.*—Our Indian brethren went to British East Africa nearly 300 years ago when it belonged to the Sultan of Zanzibar, and it was the Indian population that brought the Europeans there. Before the Europeans went there Indian currency was in use in that country, and the British Imperial East Africa Company which came there as a trading body and which after a short time assumed the administration of the Protectorate continued the same currency. The administration of the Protectorate was in the hands of the Company till 1897, when it was assumed by the Foreign Office of His Majesty's Government and by the Colonial Office in 1905. Even now our Government pays about £1,70,000 per year to the Sultan of Zanzibar as rent for the island of Mombasa. Up to 1906 the administration was under a Commissioner, but in October 1906 a Governor was appointed. The native population of that country which, according to statistics of the Government, was nearly 2¼ lacs at the end of 1918, is partly Islams and partly heathen, but the European missionaries are converting a few to Christianity.

In the words of Mr. Churchill, "it is the Indian trader who, penetrating and maintaining himself

in all sorts of places to which no white man could go or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than any one else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication." This is a hilly country and everywhere you find mountains which are the abode of the wild beasts and there are very large forests in that country. To build a railway in such a country was a difficult task but, overcoming all these difficulties, Indians, at the cost of many lives, built the Uganda Railway (the greatest factor in the development of the country). "But for such labour," says the Commissioner of Lands, "it would never have been constructed at all." The capital was no doubt provided by Englishmen, but the main difficulty was that of labour. The chief credit for the construction of this line goes to Mr. Allibhai Mulla Jeevanjee, who was the sole contractor for the venture. Indians have acquired in this country, though in the lowlands, a very good acreage of land which they have cultivated with their ploughs. It may be stated here in passing that Indians are forbidden from purchasing land of a superior quality, which is specially reserved for Europeans only. Besides this agricultural land, Indians have got several plots in the townships for residential purposes. "Most of the trading wealth of the country is in the hands of the Indians," says Mr. Montgomery, the Commissioner of Lands. To make this clear it may be said that from 85 to 90% of the trade is in the hands of the Indian community. Only recently, since 1916, a few Europeans are starting a few stores with a view to taking away the European trade from hands of the Indians. About 80% of the subordinate staff—both in Government departments or in private firms—consists of Indians only. Not a single department or a private firm can do without an Indian clerk. The whole of the artizan class consists of Indians; all Government offices, houses, shops, etc., etc. are built by Indian artizans.

Thus, as is pointed out in the Sanderson Committee's report, the present British Protectorate is in large measure the creation of Indian immigrants. It was Indian soldiery that played a leading part in conquering and pacifying the country. It is the Indian trader who developed it. It was Indian labour that built the railway. It is the Indian banker who provides capital for agriculture, trade and industry. Indian population is between 30,000 and 35,000, and the European population is about 11,000.

*Land Laws.*—Till 1907 there was no restriction placed upon the right of Indians to possess land, but in that year the Land Board of the Protectorate recommended that Indian immigration be discouraged and that no Government land be allotted to Indians. The then Secretary of State for the Colonies, however, wisely decided that, so far as legal rights went, Indians could not be prohibited from owning land. He declared that "with regard to the granting of lands to Indians, it is not consonant with the views of His Majesty's Govern-



ment to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community;" still he gave it as his opinion that, as a matter of administrative convenience, grants should not be made to Indians in the upland areas. Hence the trouble began. In 1912 the Mining Ordinance was passed forbidding Indians to acquire an interest in mining ground. In 1915, the Government, availing themselves of the Martial Law régime which was then in force, rushed a Land Ordinance through the Council which gave power to His Excellency to veto land transactions, and this power was freely exercised in the case of land transfers where Indians had purchased land. It is estimated that the highlands which are reserved for the use of whites are about 30,000 square miles; the low lands which it is open to the Indians to occupy and cultivate are unhealthy. Besides the restrictions mentioned above regarding agricultural land held by Indians, other rules are enacted segregating Europeans and Asiatics in different localities, so far as residence and business are concerned. This is done ostensibly with a view to prevent the spread of plague among Europeans. This, however, is a hollow excuse inasmuch as Indian domestic servants are allowed to live with the whites in the same houses. The restrictions imposed upon Indians in the matter of allotment of land are unjust, particularly because even foreigners, altogether unconnected with the British Empire, are allowed to take up leases in the Protectorate. After the cessation of hostilities, several properties belonging to the enemy were brought upon the market, and although the Allies were allowed to bid, Indians were not.

*Franchise, etc.*—Indians do not possess the franchise. All Europeans, whether literate or illiterate, male or female, are given the vote, but no Indian is. The Legislature Council was first constituted in 1906 and till this year it was composed solely of Europeans. Only this year two Indians were nominated, the total number of the members of Council being 25. What the Indians want, however, is not nomination, but election. They were even promised, though in an indirect way, that their elected representatives would be given seats on the Council, but the Government have broken their word. The Executive Council consists of seven members—all European—of whom five are Government officers, while two are nominated non-official members. Up to 1917 there were no elected representatives on the municipal council, but the new committee formed in 1911 consisted of nine officials, five Europeans, two Indians and one Goanese—all elected. It was also announced at the time that on Council there would thereafter sit no official except the District Commissioner, and that 12 elected Europeans and an equal number of Indians and Goanese would be admitted to the Council. But ultimately only nomination was offered to Indians which they have stoutly refused to accept. Those who were nominated have adopted an attitude of passive resistance and their seats are lying vacant.

*Trading licenses.*—Europeans in British East Africa desire to drive out the Indians and have for some time striven hard to do so. When their efforts to restrict Indian immigration proved fruitless, they tried to hamper the trade of Indians and in that way to expel them. The Trade License Ordinance lays down stringent conditions for anyone engaging in trade before he can hope to get a license, and the license fee has been fixed at Rs. 150 for every shop (a separate fee being payable for the godowns). Any breach of the rules, unwitting though it may be, is regarded as a criminal offence and entails the withdrawal of the license. The licensing officers are all Europeans, and it can be imagined how this Ordinance will be worked in practice. Nearly 85% of the trade is in Indian hands, and so this Ordinance inflicts great hardship upon the people. There is a movement on foot to replace some Indians by natives, which the Indians do not at all mind, but the Government has declared that for any mistakes which may be committed by natives Indians in charge will be punished departmentally. This is grossly unjust. Even Indian artisans are now being replaced by natives.

*Racial Discrimination.*—The worst feature of the administration of British East Africa is the colour prejudice with which the Europeans as a race are imbued. Indians are given only lower posts in the public service; they cannot aspire to anything higher than a clerkship. All superior posts are filled by Europeans, and not always filled by competent Europeans. It is not on any competitive system that recruitment is made; it is a matter purely of patronage. Indians are not allowed to join the E. A. Volunteer Reserve Force, nor are they allowed commissions in the King's African regiments. They are again forbidden to bear arms, although the country being full of wild beasts, arms are so necessary there. Indians are not given the benefit of trial by jury, which is allowed to Europeans. In gaols Europeans, Eurasians, Goanese and Parsis are accorded better treatment in every way than Indians. The former are given the food to which they are habituated to take, the latter are not. The former are given their usual dress, while Indians generally wearing European dress are given only a white nicker, a white shirt and a white cap. The former are given indoor work, while the latter have to go out in gangs to work—repairing roads, laying out gardens for officials, &c. Indians are not always allowed to travel first class; only one second class carriage (or at the most two on occasions), with twelve seats, is available for them, and all the Indian and Goanese passengers are crammed in. In the refreshment rooms (dak bungalows) attached to the railways, even passengers travelling first are served in the second class refreshment rooms, while Europeans travelling second are served in the first class refreshment rooms. Indians are shut out from the railway platform, although there is no rule warranting such an in-

vidious distinction. On one occasion an Indian was fined for walking on the platform, and on another occasion the Hon. Mr. Abdul Rassool Allidina Visram, M. B. E., was thrown off a bench on the Nairobi Station. This matter was taken to the court, and the station master who was guilty of illegal conduct was fined Rs. 15, but the anti-Indian feeling was so strong among the Europeans that the latter gave their moral support to the offending station master. The rickshaw trade which was till recently solely in Indian hands is being put under severe restrictions. Certain rickshaws are marked "for Europeans only," and any Indian who may be seen in such rickshaws is liable to be convicted and fined.

*Martial Law.*—British East Africa was under martial law from the declaration of war up to the 25th of February last, and Indians have had to suffer terribly during the interval. Traders were ordered to sell their goods at a certain rate; they were forbidden not only to charge a higher rate, but to hold up their goods if the rate prescribed by Government entailed any loss upon them. And breaches of this order were punished with severe penalties—fine of Rs. 1,500 to 2,000, or imprisonment not exceeding six months. The Indian contractors supplying fuel to the Uganda railway had a terrible time of it, for the Germans would go out to loot them or damage the railway line, and yet the Indians were not allowed to carry arms to defend themselves against the enemy. The result was that Indian contractors were helpless and some of them surrendered to the enemy, who despoiled them of all their belongings. When news of this reached the authorities, the latter, instead of taking measures to defend Indians, arrested the poor contractors and kept them in military gaols, without any trial, for about six months. Some of them were even sentenced to undergo long terms of imprisonment and even the extreme penalty was imposed upon some. Gallows were erected in the bazaar, a large gathering of persons was assembled, the military read out the warrants and punishments were inflicted upon martial law offenders publicly. Many civilians were thus treated. Messrs. Keshavial and Savle who were sentenced to be hanged, and Messrs. Surma, Bhutt and Lalchand who were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment are cases in point. The only evidence against the first two was that of newspaper cuttings found in their premises of which they denied all personal knowledge. The inquiry conducted into their cases was little more than a farce; the counsel who pleaded for them were expressly told not to argue at length. No corroborative evidence was produced, and they owed it to the timely assistance of the learned chief justice and the help rendered by the ancestors of the accused that eventually the Governor commuted the death sentences to twenty years' rigorous imprisonment. Most of the martial law prisoners were quite innocent in the eyes of the general public. One of the darkest incidents connected with martial law may

be here described. The district officer of Fort Hall, which is a district about 60 miles distant from Nairobi, issued the queer order that every Indian should come out to salute him in military style, while he was taking his daily round in the bazaar. In April last, a manager of a well-known shop, being ill, could not come out to pay his respects. This enraged the officer so much that he went inside and is alleged to have abused and assaulted the manager and also another Indian while coming out. Stung by this gross ill-treatment, the Indian merchants went on strike and closed their shops in protest, whereupon the district officer issued warrants against the merchants. Their cases were tried in the Resident Magistrates' court at Thika. The court found against the strikers, holding that they had insulted the district officer of Fort Hall and sentenced the manager to two months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1500 and the merchants to a fine of Rs. 750, or in default to one month's imprisonment. The merchants, adopting passive resistance, went to gaol. Even after they had served their term, the Resident Magistrate issued distress warrants against them in order to realise the amount of the fine (Rs. 750) from each of them by selling the accused's property; but the acting Governor kindly cancelled the distress warrants.

D. B. DESAI.

## SELECTION.

### MR. SASTRI'S VIEWS.

In the course of an interview, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri said to a representative of the Associated Press:—

"I see in the provisions no camouflage, no taking away with one hand what has been given by the other. The power and influence newly accorded are real and if fully realised cannot but lead in no long time to the goal. The popular representatives will be on their trial from the inauguration of the scheme. In my humble judgment great political lessons are not learnt in a day. It will be some years before we understand in its entirety and derive all the possible benefit from the new order of things. While it is impossible to shut out all further agitation or stand still on the road to full autonomy, it is wise to remember that the process of digestion must be our main business for some years and must not give place to the process of further absorption. My firm belief is that many of the administrative improvements which we have advocated for the last several years like the measures of social amelioration which have occupied the energies of reformers, have a very good chance in the coming years and would be won by well directed and statesmanlike efforts on the part of our leaders. I have in view such items as the separation of the judicial and executive functions, the amendment or abolition of the Press Act and other engines of repression, and remodelling of our public services. In fact, I should be greatly surprised if such abuses outlive the first two or three years of the reformed Councils. We cannot afford to forget that notwithstanding the doctrine of self-determination further progress will be determined very largely by the way in which we exercise the powers and discharge the responsibilities created by the Government of India Act. Supreme interest attaches, therefore, to the proceedings of the political assemblies that will meet at Amritsar and Calcutta in the next few days. The tone of their discussion, the spirit that animates the leaders and the message that they give to the country will have a large part in regulating the operations

ernment of India Act at the commencement. And I have reason to believe that for this reason the events of the sessions of the Congress and the Liberal Conference, will be watched with eager attention by friends as well as enemies of India both here and abroad. The place of importance in the programme of these political gatherings will be disputed by the Government of India Act and by the Punjab occurrences. The evidence that has been recently tendered before the Hunter Committee has naturally caused the utmost distress not only to the people of India but even to those who are solicitous of the good name of British rule and British officers in this country. The comments of the Anglo-Indian press and the utterances of Englishmen, whether official or non-official, will be scanned minutely and it is to be hoped in the interests of all that both the races hold dear that they will contain nothing to aggravate the soreness that has been already caused. I go further and should be grievously disappointed if they did not contain any expressions of righteous indignation and surprise and manifest that lively sense of right and justice which after the exposure of German frightfulness in the recent war fills the consciousness of every right-thinking citizen of the world."

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